A.W.I.U. No.110
MONTHLY BULLETINS.
1923.

## A.W.I.U.NO.IIO BALLOT COMMITTEE REPORT. JANUARY 9, 1923

We the undersigned members of the Ballot Committee elected by the Minneapolis Convention, hereby submit our report and tabulation of the 1922 fall referendum.

Committee member A.C.Linn was suddenly taken ill with appendicitis and operated upon, and was unable to function on the BallotCommittee. The two remaining members appointed W.F. Lowe to help them tabulate the ballots.

For Secretary-Treasurer

| Candidate | Field | Chi.Hall | Omaha Br. | Sioux Cty Br. | Mpls Br. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tom Wallace | 186 | 35 | 38 | 85 | 90 | 434 |
| James Kelley | 95 | 22 | 6 | 27 | 11 | 161 |
| Wm Hanley | 45 | 5 | 12 | 10 | 7 | 79 |
| **For G.O.C.** | | | | | | |
| Albert Hanson | 202 | 43 | 43 | 53 | 67 | 408 |
| Fred Mann | 167 | 41 | 37 | 72 | 68 | 385 |
| John O'Brien | 170 | 38 | 31 | 75 | 70 | 384 |
| J.A. Lee | 174 | 35 | 27 | 48 | 39 | 323 |
| Sam Oberman | 159 | 16 | 21 | 47 | 49 | 292 |
| Joe Murphy | 136 | 29 | 24 | 31 | 50 | 270 |
| Wm Dawson | 127 | 12 | 26 | 56 | 45 | 266 |
| **Alternates** | | | | | | |
| Robert Hall | 149 | 12 | 15 | 40 | 25 | 241 |
| Frank Clark | 83 | 22 | 12 | 39 | 26 | 182 |
| J.P. Allen | 87 | 12 | 10 | 35 | 28 | 172 |
| Sam Domb | 70 | 14 | 9 | 22 | 36 | 151 |
| Jos.Levine | 50 | 10 | 3 | 20 | 15 | 98 |
| Bill Newton(Dec) | 51 | 7 | 3 | 10 | 9 | 80 |

| AMENDMENTS | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No.1 | 228 | 97 | 48 | 15 | 32 | 25 | 56 | 34 | 69 | 31 | 443 | 202 |
| 4 | 310 | 22 | 52 | 4 | 51 | 4 | 82 | 16 | 87 | 12 | 582 | 58 |
| 9 | 281 | 41 | 48 | 9 | 44 | 11 | 77 | 23 | 84 | 13 | 534 | 97 |
| 18 | 184 | 125 | 31 | 21 | 28 | 16 | 48 | 39 | 55 | 34 | 346 | 235 |
| Del. Conv. | 96 | | 7 | | 5 | | 18 | | 15 | | 141 | |
| Job.Del.Conv | 67 | | 13 | | 17 | | 9 | | 24 | | 130 | |
| Mass Conv. | 114 | | 34 | | 32 | | 82 | | 64 | | 326 | |
| 43a | 280 | 37 | 51 | 3 | 33 | 8 | 77 | 12 | 86 | 6 | 527 | 66 |
| 20 | 313 | 18 | 56 | 3 | 50 | 3 | 95 | 3 | 95 | 2 | 609 | 29 |
| New By-laws | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No.1 | 185 | 130 | 41 | 14 | 32 | 20 | 55 | 36 | 68 | 29 | 381 | 229 |
| 2 | 230 | 83 | 44 | 11 | 35 | 18 | 63 | 26 | 69 | 25 | 441 | 163 |
| Total Ballots Cast. | 343 | | 62 | | 57 | | 126 | | 108 | | 696 | |

Ballots Void.

For Secretary -1 For G.O.C.- 13 On Conv.- 71 Entirely -4
Too late to be counted -22.

With best wishes, we remain

Yours for the I.W.W.

Tom Murphy, 238077
W. Severin, 253089
W.F. Lowe, 813307

BALLOT COMMITTEE.

A.W.I.U.NO.110 BALLOT COMMITTEE REPORT. JANUARY 9, 1930

To the undersigned members of the Ballot Committee elected by the Minneapolis Convention, hereby submit our report and tabulation of the 1929 ballot referendum.

Committee member A.C.Lynn was suddenly taken ill with appendicitis and operated upon, and was unable to function on the Ballot Committee. The two remaining members appointed W.F. Lowe to help them tabulate the ballots.

For Secretary-Treasurer

| Candidate | Field | Ont.Hall | Omaha Br. | Sioux City Br. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tom Wallace | 188 | 85 | 38 | 85 | 414 |
| James Kelley | 85 | 82 | 8 | 27 | 161 |
| Wm Marley | 45 | 5 | 13 | 10 | 73 |

For G.O.C.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Albert Hanson | 202 | 43 | 43 | 55 | 404 |
| Fred Mann | 187 | 41 | 17 | 73 | 348 |
| John O'Brien | 170 | 38 | 31 | 75 | 314 |
| J.A. Lee | 174 | 35 | 27 | 46 | 282 |
| Sam Oberman | 158 | 18 | 21 | 27 | 224 |
| Joe Murphy | 136 | 28 | 24 | 21 | 209 |
| Wm Dawson | 127 | 12 | 28 | 26 | 193 |

Alternates

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Robert Hall | 142 | 12 | 13 | 40 | 207 |
| Frank Cirsh | 85 | 22 | 12 | 34 | 153 |
| J.P. Allen | 87 | 12 | 10 | 30 | 139 |
| Ben Domb | 70 | 14 | 9 | 22 | 115 |
| Joe.Devine | 50 | 10 | 3 | 20 | 83 |
| Sam Newton(Dec) | 51 | 7 | 3 | 10 | 71 |

| Ballots | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| G.C. | 248 | 87 | 48 | 13 | 26 | 25 | 56 | 34 | 69 | 81 | 449 | 220 |
| 4 | 210 | 22 | 32 | 4 | 21 | 4 | 82 | 18 | 67 | 12 | 382 | 56 |
| 9 | 281 | 47 | 48 | 5 | 14 | 11 | 77 | 23 | 84 | 13 | 254 | 97 |
| 18 | 184 | 125 | 31 | 21 | 28 | 16 | 48 | 39 | 69 | 34 | 345 | 236 |
| Del. Conv. | 28 | | 7 | | 5 | | 18 | | 15 | | 111 | |
| Tob.Del.Conv | 87 | | 15 | | 17 | | 9 | | 24 | | 150 | |
| Mess Conv. | 114 | | 34 | | 22 | | 23 | | 24 | | 258 | |
| 44a | 280 | 37 | 31 | 3 | 13 | 8 | 77 | 18 | 86 | 6 | 327 | 84 |
| 80 | 313 | 18 | 30 | 3 | 30 | 3 | 88 | 3 | 92 | 2 | 360 | 25 |
| Men By-laws | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No.1 | 185 | 150 | 41 | 14 | 32 | 20 | 56 | 46 | 68 | 29 | 381 | 439 |
| 2 | 250 | 85 | 44 | 11 | 35 | 18 | 63 | 29 | 58 | 25 | 441 | 193 |

Total Ballots Cast.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 343 | 82 | 87 | 126 | 103 | 896 |

Ballots Void.

For Secretary -1 For G.O.C.- 13 -On Conv.- 71 Ballot -4
Too late to be counted -23.

With best wishes, we remain

Yours for the I.W.W.

TOM MOONEY, SECTY
W. Severin,
W.F. Lowe,

BALLOT COMMITTEE.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.1

Chicago,Ill. January 18, 1923.

Fellow Workers:

EXPERIENCE TEACHES

The new officials of the A.W.I.U. No.110 have nowassumed control of affairs at headquarters, and the General Organization Committee is in session preparing the main details for the 1923 membership drive. This general program will be based upon the program outlined by the Minneapolis convention.

In line with this preparation by the offieials, there should go forward in the branehes and among the members sueh diseussion and aetivities as will bring to the spring eonvention sueh suggestions and reeommendations as experience in other years would prompt their adoption.

It is the eapaeity of the A.W.I.U. to learn from its experience and to profit from its mistakes that has been such a faetor in enabling it to reach for and attain new records every year, so that eaeh suceeeding organization campaign is more fruitful than those whieh have preeeded. As a consequenee we find the A.W.I.U. gaining in power and influence,and winning for itself and the I.W.W. a definite place in labor history.

In the final analysis, the eapacity of the A.W.I.U. is more eorrectly aecounted for by its delegate system than any other faetor among its functioning organs. These delegates eonstitute the heart of the A.W.I.U., and, to the extent the delegates are plentiful, sound and aetive, the energy and sueeess of Industrial Union No.110 is measured. So vital is the delegate system that work toward building it up should be continuously maintained. There should be no letup in the reeruiting of delegates in any part of any year.

One of the neeessary preparatory steps for the 1923 eampaign is to reeruit and instruct delegates from now on. Every available member--and every member should be available--ought to be urged to take out the 1923 eredentials without delay. The way to do things is to do them, and the way to become a delegate is to take out credentials. If you have no eredentials, it is your duty to take them out. If you have eredentials, it is your duty to prevail upon other members to take them out. With a strong foree of delegates working to a plan we shall be prepared to line up agricultural workers in a manner that will astonish even the veterans of many drives. Preparation is the key to sueeess, and by preparing now we can make 1923 the banner membership year in the A.W.I.U.

New membership is the lifeblood of organization. Now is our time to begin training our young blood how to function as delegates. There is splendid material in the old membership which has never undertaken delegate's work. Most of these have had the exeuse that the work was beyond them because of inability to fill out the forms neeessary for enrolling members and reporting upon the business done. But, now that the Edueational Bureau is preparing a course on this very feature of organization, those who desire to funetion will no longer be able to offer this exeuse.

Let us get down to business seriously and the measure of our attention and earnestness will be marked in the monthly reports after the drive starts. The years have taught us many lessons, but one of the most important is that unity will eontrol eireumstances whieh will put the disunited to rout. A theoretieal training in the halls will qualify the membership to meet and to successfully handle situations that may arise.

Headquarters will do its part and at all times funetion in the interest of the organization. The duties of officials are

clearly defined and will be carried out in an impartial manner. With harmony, cooperation and coordination of effort within the organization the A.W.I.U. will march confidently to the greatest year in the history of an I.W.W. organization.

Build up the delegate system and other things will take care of themselves. Recruit delegates. Educate delegates. This is the one best way to face 1923.

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## J O B  N E W S

### CALIFORNIA

STOCKTON, 12-26 Land clearing job 14 miles out in the country. Work for Mc Laughlin. All hiring done at Williams Employment Office. Work nine hours, wages $4.50 per day, board $1.20 (R 302)

DINUBA, 1-4-23 Grapevine pruning about to start here. This will be mostly day work. Wages will be about 40 to 50¢ per hour. Fellow workers, you do not need fur-lined coats here; but we need more members on the job. Let's do it now. ( G 381)

PASO ROBLES California Almond Growers Asso. on the Southern Pacific R.R. Planting trees, pruning, etc. Experience not necessary. This job starts immediately after the rain starts in January. Employing from 50 to 150 in about six camps. Sentiment toward the I.W.W. fair. Job lasts from one to three months. Wages from $2.50 to $7.00 per day. Nine hour day. Blankets required Sanitary conditions and board fair. $1.00 per day for board. Hired at Paso Robles office. (J.K.)

FRESNO Kirkman Nurseries Co. Nursery work. No experience needed in most cases. Nurseries near Fresno, Mojava, and Los Angeles. Stock yards all over the state. Tying trees in bundles, pitting, trimming, packing, etc. This work should be starting in soon. Employing at Fresno about 35, Mojava about 20, Los Angeles about 30. Job lasts all winter and well into the summer. Wages vary for the kind of work. Nine hour day. Camp sanitation and board fair. Blankets required. Hired at State Tree Employment office. ( # 842079).

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## N O T I C E

The following delegates will please get in touch with the main office at once. VERY IMPORTANT.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fred Alkire | G 881 | Henry Allard | G 267 | Harry Anderson | G 411 |
| Fred Behrend | G 885 | Fred Berg | G 668 | John Callahan | G 265 |
| Wm Compton | G 190 | J.E. Conway | G 987 | E.B. Damon | G 1051 |
| Jack Doyle | G 586 | Geo. Drennow | G 489 | C.J. Driscoll | G 462 |
| Wm E. Gleason | G 168 | H.O. Hanson | G 244 | Otto Hanson | G 85 |
| Aner Jackola | G 667 | Rudy Lee | G 857 | Royl Link | G 672 |
| J.L. Mc Millen | G467 | L.R. May | G 1014 | Clay Maxwell | G 574 |
| Milton Nelson | G 245 | Jos.Hemphill | G 1717 | F.E. O'Neil | G 45 |
| Joe Smith | G 209 | Cleve Severns | G 536 | C.H. Polk | G 494 |
| Ben Younker | G 346 | Ernest Swan | G 571 | Joe Siverson | G 947 |
| Alfred West | G 81 | Bert Walker | G 1757 | G.W. Tryor | G 168 |

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### A STRIKE-- "THE I.W.W. WAY"

From the Republican. "Fresno, Calif. 1-9-'23. Three hundred men struck here, Friant, Calif., yesterday in various camps of the Warren Construction Co. for more wages, shorter hours, better working conditions, and the release of the Fellow Workers from the jails of California and other places.

"By night the campfires of the pickets could be seen dotting the railroad and other roads for miles."

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Telegram received January 18th by main office of I.U. 310: #Stop publicity. Strike won. Details later."

Strike Committee.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT JANUARY 1st TO JANUARY 16th, 1923

Receipts.

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiations | 150.00 |
| Dues | 770.00 |
| Other Unions*--Inits | 130.00 |
| " " Dues | 347.00 |
| Organization Stamps | 40.80 |
| Bond Stamps | 1.00 |
| Defense Stamps | 138.00 |
| Personal Deposits | 25.00 |
| Minneapolis Br. Propa. Fund Depbsit | 50.00 |
| Card Cases | 3.50 |
| Buttons | 8.00 |
| Literature | 27.05 |
| Duplicate Card Receipts (D.C.R.'s) | 17.50 |
| Monies Paid on Acc't Br. Secy's, Dels.,G.O.C. | 703.41 |
| Papers | 106.73 |
| Duplicate Cards | 17.00 |
| General Defense Donations | 5.00 |
| Subs | 3.00 |
| Use of Mimeo | 10.25 |
| Joint Account Receipts | 40.73 |
| Return Postage Received | .10 |
| Total | 2587.87 |

Expenditures.

| | |
|---|---|
| Subs | 5.00 |
| Commission on Inits and Literature | 41.48 |
| Wages, Br. Sec'ys,Dels, & G.O.C. | 412.00 |
| Mileage | 27.55 |
| Allow. on Reports from other Unions | 293.30 |
| Monies Adv. on Acc't Br. Sec'ys,Dels,G.O.C. | 934.29 |
| Papers | 287.08 |
| Exp. and Adv. General Defense | 104.19 |
| Main Office Salaries | 215.33 |
| Rent, Light, Heat | 318.12 |
| Stationery & Fixtures | 31.33 |
| Postage, Express, Wires | 42.04 |
| Withdrawals Mpls Br. Propa. Fund | 30.00 |
| Joint Account Expenditures | 3.75 |
| Portland Strike Donations & Exp. | 602.65 |
| Calif. C.S. Fund Withdrawls | 50.00 |
| Industrial Worker, Monthly donation | 25.00 |
| I.U. 310 Conv. Assmts | 15.00 |
| Auditing & Ballot Committee, Wages | 114.00 |
| Total | 3546.11 |

S U M M A R Y

| | |
|---|---|
| Total Receipts | 2587.87 |
| Cash on Hand January 1st | 9442.06 |
| Grand total | 12029.93 |
| Total Expenditures | 3546.11 |
| Cash on Hand January 16th | 8483.82 |

Tom Doyle,
Sec'y-Treasurer.

## NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT

The Supreme Court of Iowa has just reversed the decision of the lower court in the case of Henry Tonn, who was convicted of alleged criminal syndicalism. The Supreme Court did not remand him for retrial. The prosecution has ten days in which to apply for a rehearing.

State after state is gradually either declaring the law unconstitutional or the Supreme Courts are reversing the decision of lower courts. All but California.

Hundreds of fellow workers are awaiting trial there for charges ranging from vagrancy to criminal syndicalism. In Los Angeles the fellow workers are working day and night to"keep the ball rolling". Over a hundred and fifty have been arrested in that county alone. Others are selling the Industrial Worker and Industrial Solidarity on the streets unmolested. Others are distributing defense literature as fast as it is sent there; and at times they print their own leaflets.

However, they are short of funds. The General Defense Committee has been sending funds to various points in California and at the same time keeping up the amnesty campaign,which has practically depleted our treasury. We are short of funds. Unless we get immediate help the various campaigns will be set back for some time.

If you cannot go to California to help in the fight, then surely you can help raise funds to support those courageous fellow workers who are blazing the trail for a bigger I.W.W. in California.

Send in for a receipt book today. Write for a number of General Strike Bulletins. This bulletin contains valuable organization matter.

General Defense Committee,
1001 West Madison Street
Chicago, Ill.

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NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

Albert Hanson has been elected Chairman of G.O.C.

All money orders to Industrial Union No.110 should be made payable to Tom Wallace.

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The hall in Milwaukee has been moved to 302-5th St. Members going that way will please take note.

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Anyone knowing the whereabouts of C.H. Polk, Card #726676, who was delegate G 494, will pleasecommunicate with this office and advise us regarding same.

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All 1922 due stamps have been called.. If you have any on hand, same should be sent in immediately.

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All 1922 delegates of the A.W.I.U. should get in touch with the main office immediately. All I.U. 110 credentials carrying the serial letter "G" have no expired. New credentials,serial letter "AG", are now in the field.

All delegates, who have not already done so, should send in their old credentials immediately, and a list of supplies on hand, so their accounts can be transferred. Delegates should have a clearance on their 1922 account or a statement of same at once.

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Get your literature, supplies, etc. from the branches or stationary delegates:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| J.H. Snyder | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Joe Fisher | 515 N. 16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Sam Murphy | 14½ S. First St., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Emil Stelzner | Box 531 | Williston, N.D. |
| Wm Hall | Box 306 | Modesta, Cal. |

With best wishes, we remain

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman, Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treasurer
A.W.I.U. NO.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.2

Chicago, Ill. January 24, 1923.

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organization is in duty bound to arrange so that its active delegates may have sufficient funds with which to finance their organization activities. In line with this view, the G.O.C. put itself on record in favor of allowing one dollar ($1.00) commission on initiations, in case the General Referendum carries. The Spring Convention may deal with this matter also.

It was decided to send a G.O.C. man to Fargo, April 1st, to see that the hall is opened and advertised in the Bulletin and the papers.

In considering this year's organizing campaign the Plan of Action adopted by the last A.W.I.U. Convention was taken up point by point, considered in its every phase and aspect, and concurred in.

Districts were tentatively outlined for the summer's drive, the consideration of which occupied the greater part of the time the G.O.C. was in session.

Organization work in California will be directed by the G.O.C. member already there. All members are urged to give him their best and fullest cooperation.

The G.O.C. instructed the Chairman to secure and place a capable travelling delegate inthe state of Washington. If such a man is not placed in this state by April 1st, a G.O.C. member will take charge.

The G.O.C., from data placed before it, decided also to place a travelling delegate in the state of Michigan for a period of sixty days, this period to begin not later than May 16th. If the delegate succeeds in showing results, he will be retained there during the balance of the season.

In the matter of literature, the G.O.C. concluded that a few leaflets, each adapted to some particular part or phase of the drive, would supply the needs of the A.W.I.U. if they were given wide and judicious circulation. Papers, pamphlets, etc. are to be handled as in previous years.

In accordance with the instruction of the Minneapolis Convention, one thousand dollars ($1,000.00) was donated to the Work People's College, at Smithville, Minnesota. This sum will be paid in quarterly installments of two hundred and fifty dollars ($250.00) each.

Owing to changed conditions, the G.O.C. decided to hold the loan of $1,500.00 to O.W.I.U. #330 in abeyance until the Spring Convention.

A G.O.C. member was assigned to work under the direction of General Headquarters, on behalf of the General Organization, on a basis where the expenses are borne 50-50 by the A.W.I.U. and General Headquarters.

The G.O.C. has set itself to do everything possible to bring about the greatest possible cooperation between the members, delegates, the main office, and itself. It has likewise determined that this spirit of cooperation will guide it in its relationship to the other industrial unions and the I.W.W. This is the spirit that will bind the workers into that solid formation upon which the deliverance of labor from economic bondage waits.

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## N O T I C E

The following delegates will please get in touch with the main oiffce at once. VERY IMPORTANT.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fred Alkire | G 811 | Henry Allard | G 267 | Harry Anderson | G 411 |
| Fred Behrand | G 885 | Fred Berg | G 668 | John Callahan | G 265 |
| Wm Compton | G 190 | J.E. Conway | G 987 | E.B. Damon | G 1051 |
| Jack Doyle | G 586 | Geo. Drennow | G 489 | C.J. Driscoll | G 462 |
| Wm E.Gleason | G 168 | H.O. Hanson | G 244 | Otto Hanson | G 85 |
| Aner Jackola | G 667 | Rudy Lee | G 657 | Roy Link | G 672 |
| J.L.Mc Millen | G 467 | L.R. May | G 1014 | Clay Maxwell | G 574 |
| Milton Nelson | G 245 | Josl Hemphill | G 1717 | F.E. O'Neil | G 45 |
| Joe Smith | G 209 | Cleve Severns | G 536 | C.H. Polk | G 494 |
| Alfred West | G 81 | Ernest Swan | G 571 | Joe Siverson | G 947 |
| Ben Younker | G 346 | Bert Walker | G 1757 | G.W. Tryor | G 168 |

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR FISCAL PERIOD--FEB.1,1922 to JAN.16,1923.

Report of Auditing Committee Account Tom Doyle, Sec'y-Treas.

| Turned over by Albert Anz to Tom Doyle: | | Distributed as follows: | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In bank | $ 7,739.91 | On hand Feb.1,1922 | $ 7,739.91 |
| In Safety Deposit: | | Redeposited: | |
| Spring Drive | 5,000.00 | * May 26,'22 Spring Drive | 5,000.00 |
| Deportation Fund | 1,500.00 | * Nov.22 Deportation Fund | 1,500.00 |
| Total | $ 14,239.91 | Total | $ 14,239.91 |

RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiations I.U.110 | $ 31282.00 |
| Dues " " | 38159.50 |
| Initiations Other I.U.'s | 3566.00 |
| Dues " " | 6758.00 |
| Organization Assm'ts | 2466.50 |
| General Defense Assm'ts | 11407.50 |
| Bond Assm'ts | 457.00 |
| Card Cases and Pennants | 98.50 |
| Buttons, Pins, Etc. | 308.50 |
| Literature | 1726.92 |
| Monies Paid on Acc't by Br.Sec'ys,Dels,G.O.C. | 33769.72 |
| Papers, Magazines, Subs | 4052.39 |
| Duplicate Cards | 501.00 |
| Duplicate Card Receipts, (D.C.R.'s) | 1088.50 |
| Personal Deposits | 1327.67 |
| Dept. of Educ.,Lit. Receipts | 88.04 |
| Donations General Defense | 375.47 |
| Donations Jail Fund | 62.69 |
| Donations Papers | 7.50 |
| Donations Educational Bureau | 102.00 |
| Misc. Donations,(Strikes, Def.,Lit, Etc.) | 53.35 |
| Use of Mimeograph | 46.50 |
| Joint Account Receipts | 253.63 |
| Refunds | 16.80 |
| Refund, Wages Dels to Gen. Conv. | 28.00 |
| Gen. Hdqts,.Refund Mileage Dels Gen. Conv. | 117.28 |
| " " Bal. Due 110 on all Accounts Dec.31,'22 | 172.44 |
| I.U. 310 Conv. Assm'ts | 48.00 |
| *Deportation Fund Redeposited | 1500.00 |
| *Spring Drive Fund " (1922) | 5000.00 |
| Deposit Acc't Chicago Hall Fund | 500.00 |
| " " Calif. C.S. Fund | 1000.00 |
| " " 1923 G.O.C. Emergency Def. Fund | 1000.00 |
| " " Minneapolis Branch Prop. Fund | 50.00 |
| Return Postage Received | .32 |
| Phonograph Records | 5.00 |
| Returned Check | 12.00 |
| Error on Checks | .55 |
| Joe Murphy, Reported Twice | .50 |
| I.U. 460 Delegate Report | 4.00 |
| Duplicate Money Order ( J.Stine) | 13.50 |
| Account Supplies Lost | 4.00 |
| Total | $ 147,431.27 |

## EXPENDITURES

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Per Capita | | | | 11048.41 |
| Gen. Hdqts Supplies | | | | 3016.34 |
| Gen.Hdqts Organization Stamps | | | | 17.00 |
| Commission on Initiations and Literature | | | | 7376.83 |
| Wages, Br.Sec'ys, Tr. Dels, G.O.C. | | | | 14668.35 |
| Mileage | | | | 2229.51 |
| Allowance on Reports TO other Unions | | | | 4618.52 |
| " " " FROM " " | | | | 4308.15 |
| Monies Held on Acc't by Br.Sec'ys,Dels,G.O.C. | | | | 36797.11 |
| Papers, Magazines, Subs | | | | 4515.10 |
| General Defense, Acc't Stamps,Donations, Etc. | | | | 11937.36 |
| Main Office Salaries | | | | 7660.46 |
| Rent,Light, Heat | | | | 3466.57 |
| Stationery and Fixtures | | | | 1202.72 |
| Postage, Express, Wires | | | | 2339.72 |
| Literature | | | | 567.44 |
| Personal Deposits Withdrawn | | | | 2370.12 |
| Joint Account Expenditures | | | | 547.75 |
| Craft Cards Received as Initiations | | | | 132.00 |
| Jail Fund | | | | 27.60 |
| Educational Bureau | | | | 1931.95 |
| Donations to Papers | | | | 7.00 |
| Donation,Russian Famine Relief by Omaha Conv.'21 | | | | 500.00 |
| Misc. Donations (Strikes, Def.,Lit.,Etc.) | | | | 28.20 |
| Monies Deposited Acc't Lights (Omaha Hall) | | | | 20.00 |
| Duplicated Reports | | | | 54.00 |
| I.U. 310 Conv. Assm'ts | | | | 48.00 |
| Reports for other Unions | | | | 19.65 |
| Typewriter Repairs | | | | 17.50 |
| Storage | | | | 10.00 |
| Exp. Omaha Conference | | | | 59.95 |
| Card Returned | | | | 2.50 |
| D.C.R. to I.U. 310 | | | | 3.00 |
| Loan to Gen. Hdqts | | | | 50.00 |
| Translation and Writing Leaflet | | | | 15.00 |
| Expenses Account Defense | | | | 675.00 |
| Equity Ptg.Co. Printing | | | | 644.13 |
| Auditing Committee, Wages & Mileage | | | | 418.55 |
| Acc't Distribution of D.C.R.'s | | | | 1071.00 |
| Donations Industrial Worker (monthly) | by Mpls Conv. | | | 50.00 |
| Portland Strike | " " " | | | 1507.93 |
| Hetch Hetchy Strike | " " " | | | 500.00 |
| Chicago Hall Fund | " " " | | | 500.00 |
| Calif. C.S.Fund | " " " | | | 1000.00 |
| Gen.Def. Comm.for Publicity (Deport.Fund) | | | | 1500.00 |
| G.O.C. 1923 Emergency Def. Fund | Per 110 Mpls Conv. | | | 1000.00 |
| Spring Drive Fund (1923) | " " " " | | | 10000.00 |
| I.U. 230 Loan | " " " " | | | 500.00 |
| " 510 " | " " " " | | | 2500.00 |
| A.W.I.U.110 Conv. Expenses,Wages,Mileage, Etc. | | | | 1422.39 |
| Expenses Dels. to Gen. Conv. " " " | | | | 789.28 |
| Credits Voted on Acc'ts by Mpls Conv. | | | | 139.55 |
| Chicago Hall Fund Withdrawals | | | | 150.00 |
| Calif. C.S.Fund " | | | | 675.72 |
| Minneapolis Prop.Fund Withdrawal | | | | 30.00 |
| | | | Total | $ 146,687.36 |

## S U M M A R Y

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| On hand Feb.1, 1922 | $ 7,739.91 | |
| Total Receipts | 147,431.27 | |
| Grand Total | 155,171.18 | |
| Total Expenditures | 146,687.36 | |
| Bal. on Hand Jan.17,1923 | 8,483.82 | |
| In Safety Deposit | 10,000.00 | |
| Turned over to Tom Wallace | $ 18,483.82 | |

A.C. Linn, #407217

Tom Murphy, #238097

W. Severin, #253089

AUDITING COMMITTEE.

# J O B  N E W S

## CALIFORNIA

STOCKTON, 12926 Land clearing job 14 miles out in the country. Work for Mc Laughlin. All hiring done at Williams Employment Office. Work nine hours. Wages $4.50 per day. Board $1.20. ( R 302)

DINUBA, 1-4-23 Grapevine pruning about to start here. This will be mostly day work. Wages will be about 40 to 50¢ per hour. Fellow workers, you do not need fur-lined coats here; but we need more members on the job. Let's do it now. ( G 381)

PASO ROBLES, California Almond Growers Asso. on the Southern Pacific R.R. Planting trees, pruning, etc. Experience not necessary. This job starts immediately after the rain starts in January. Employing from fifty to one hundred and fifty men in about six camps. Sentiment toward the I.W.W. fair. Job lasts from one to three months. Wages from $2.50 to $7.00 per day. Nine hour day. Blankets required. Sanitary conditions and board fair. $1.00 per day for board. Hired at Paso Robles office. (J.K.)

FRESNO ,CALIF. Kirkman Nurseries Co. Nursery work. No experience needed in most cases. Nurseries near Fresno, Mojava. and Los Angeles. Stock yards all over the state. Tying trees in bundles, pitting, trimming, packing, etc. This work should be starting in soon. Employing at Fresno about thirty-five, Mojava about twenty, Los Angeles about thirty. Job lasts all winter and well into the summer. Wages vary for the kind of work. Nine hour day. Camp sanitation and board fair. Blankets required. Hired at State Tree Employment Office. ( #842079)

**********

## THE BERRY HARVEST

Fellow Workers:

The berry harvest is now on in the state of Texas and it is only about two months away in the state of Missouri.

No doubt a great many I.U.110 members will be heading down country in the near future, and it will greatly assist this office if all members going south this spring would, not only take a small amount of literature with them, but would keep in touch with this office at all times, so that late papers, etc. can be sent them.

This will be of advantage to all as it will provide the member with the papers and bulletins before they become ancient and will be the means of a distributing machine such as the A.W.I.U. needs in the southern fields, if they are to take full advantage of opportunities such as should exist in the berry fields this spring.

---

## LITERATURE

A good supply of free literature is on hand at all branche and will all stationary delegates. Members not in touch with any of these will please write direct to this office for same. Success is the fruit of preparation. So, let us start now and be well prepared.

**********

## MAIL

There is mail for the following in the main office.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| George Brady | Jack Egan | W.C. Moodie |
| Charlie Brooks | Gust Hamilton | Frank Norman |
| John Carpenter | Wm Hughes | John A. Sandberg |
| Pat Clancy | H. Macdonall (2) | A. Vernon |
| Thomas Dunne | J.P. Merrick Esq. | |

## EVERYONE ON THEIR TOES

From all indications the fight that is being waged by our fellow workers in California is not going to be a mere waste of energy. From various reports coming to the office of the General Defense, the fellow workers in all parts of Cal are not shirking one iota in doing everything possible to carry the fight to the persons responsible for the persecution against the organization.

The weight of the fight is proving too big for the small handful of fellow workers who are so courageously carrying on the fight. They are not complaining, however, only in regard to the jail conditions. They are denied the necessary food to keep them in fit condition. But "the spirit couldn't be better" they write.

## Fellow Workers Sing Their Way to Cell

Ten fellow workers were last week sentenced to from one to fourteen years at Sacramento. After sentence was pronounced, they sang their way back to jail. The Judge asked each one if he had anything to say before sentence was pronounced. They all did; and it caused the Judge to make remarks that even surprised the friends of the defendants. He is reported to have said that the workers have a right to change conditions, but that he was forced thru oath of office to carry out the mandates of the state. The Sacramento Star prints an article to the effect that trial Judge would in all probability ask the Governor to commute the sentences of all members now serving time under the Criminal Syndicalism law. The Judge also reduced the bail from one thousand dollars to $250. for each defendant.

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Fellow workers who are now on trial at Los Angeles are conducting their own trial. We are in receipt of letters from attorneys in Los Angeles that they are conducting their defense like trained lawyers. Latest news in reference to them can be found in our organization papers.

## MORE MEN AND FUNDS NEEDED

The fight in Calif. is now in critical period. As we have stated before, the weight of the fight is liable to prove too much for the small bunch of fellow workers who are carrying on the fight. Footloose members are needed there immediately to take the places of those who are being arrested for distributing defense and organization literature. If you are not footloose and unable to go, then surely you can get a receipt book and raise funds to help them get the necessities of life.

---

General Defense Committee.

## N O T I C E

Joe Murphy has been elected permanent field chairman of G.O.C.

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The Minneapolis raffle was won by Elmer Louis. The winning ticket was serial #16, ticket 19.

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H. Marshall, G 162, send your address to Leo Mc Caffery, in care of this office.

---

Wm Hanley, send your address to Chas. Hawkins care of this office IMPORTANT.

---

All 1922 due stamps and duplicate card receipts should be sent in at once.

---

All 1922 delegates, still carrying credentials with serial letter "G" should send in same immediately, together with a list of supplies on hand, so that their accounts can be transfered to new 1923 credentials-serial letter "AG".

---

Get your literature, supplies, etc. from the branches or sta.delegat

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| J.H. Snyder | 1219-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Joe Fisher | 515 N.16th St.,(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Sam Murphy | 14½ S. First St., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Emil Stelzner | Box 531 | Williston, N.D. |
| Wm Hall | Box 306 | Modesta, Cal. |

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman — Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treasurer

A.W.I.U. NO.IIO.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

# B U L L E T I N No.3

Chicago, Ill. January 31, 1923.

Fellow Workers:

A union has one mission--to organize workers; and one function--to safeguard and advance the interest of the working class. Whenever a union is not reaching out for the unorganized workers, it is not fulfilling its mission.

Unionism implies ordered arrangement, with needful discipline, programs carefully made and systematically carried out. The membership of a union is responsible for its progress, or its failure to progress. They are the ones who must arrange programs, impose discipline and carry on the work which adds to the membership and increases the influence of the industrial union. It is they who deal with the issues that arise in the working place; it is they who make the laws by which the union affairs are administered. The officials are merely the servants of the organization who function for the convenience of the membership. They have no power greater than members who are never heard of in connection with union affairs. Such is the I.W.W. conception, and such is the A.W.I.U.

But in the past there has been a tendency to be neglectful of important agricultural sections, and to concentrate the organizing efforts of the A.W.I.U. upon the small-grain belt of the central states. The circumstances surrounding and forcing the A.W.I.U. in bygone years left little or no option in this regard. It is time, however, to realize that 110 has now reached a stage where it can safely undertake to move farther afield and win the workers in other agricultural sections as it has won them in the grain belt. There are thousands of workers in the eastern states who have never met an A.W.I.U. delegate and to whom the I.W.W. and the A.W.I.U. are almost entirely unknown. The fruit and vegetable industry in some of the eastern states employs thousands of workers in the harvest season whom the A.W.I.U. cannot afford to neglect, and this prospect should open a vista of opportunity that should be explored anyhow.

But it is to California that we must turn at the present time. In this state the range of cultivated crops runs from rice and small-grain to a variety of vegetables and fruits which makes for harvesting and planting simultaneously over a great area. This state provides more regular agricultural employment for longer periods than perhaps any other cultivated area in America. Moreover, there are other industries in which correspondingly large numbers of workers find employment. The industries in California are dependent upon a labor supply that is constantly in motion. The climate induces the "out-of-work" in more rigorous winter states to migrate to "Sunny California, where the climate suits the clothing", and where occasional employment helps to tide over the winter season.

The large orchards and extensive packing sheds employ thousands who starvation drives to catch the pennies laboriously earned and grudgingly paid. The poor wages and inhuman conditions are no inducement to remain at work, so that there are, in working class parlance, "three gang jobs"--the gang at work, the gang leaving, and the gang coming. There is not a job in this state in agricultural employment where any worker ever decided to remain longer than just long enough to make a "road stake". They desire to find better jobs and they move around in search of them. If, instead of trying to find better jobs, the workers would decide to make these jobs better, a long step in advance would be taken. The only cure for the conditions that afflict labor in California agriculture is I.W.W. organization.

The employers of California saw that years ago and made preparations then. The result of their preparedness is the Criminal Syndicalist law, which is meant to terrorize the workers in that state from joining the I.W.W. But they know that workers in jail will not plant or

harvest the crops. If the workers organize and display solidarity, they will smash the C.S. law to smithereens, and, with the passing of that infamous measure, the death knell of present day labor dondi-tions in California will sound.

"Organization" should be the watchword in California. Every footloose rebel should head that way and function as a delegate. The touch or organization will evoke the slumbering labor spirit, and, in the test of strength, the employers of California will go down before the weight and power of the organized workers. Organi-zed in the I.W.W. the workers will open the gates of Folson, San Quentin, and every calaboose in the state. It will reach over the state line and turn the locks in Leavenworth, Walla Walla, and Mc Neil's Island. It will improve the jobs, swell the pay envelopes and shorten the hours. Organization is the answer to the industrial lords of California. Organization will preach the funeral oration over the grave of the syndicalist law and place the feet of the workers on the path that leads to industrial freedom, and justice.

Get in the game, men of the A.W.I.U.! Delegates in every sectio , members on every job, organization everywhere! When labor asserts itself, the masters will cringe because they must.

"Organize California" is the watchword, and to realize its mission the A.W.I.U. is now on the job there. When the roll is called, let every footloose rebel answer "Here"!

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## I M P O R T A N T

Extract from the minutes of the 1922 Convention:

"That the secretary-treasurer be instructed that when the 1922 accounts are closed in January he advertise by card number and by delegate number all delegates whose accounts are not clear. "Amendment. That the list be put out March 1st."

"That a month prior to putting out the list in March, the secretary-treasurer shall notify through the Bulletin all delegates whose accounts are not clear to get in touch with headquarters. All delegates whose accounts are straight are not to go on list." (Note) This is not a delinquent list but merely an effort to get all accounts straightened out between delegates and headquarters. The delinquent list will not be issued until August 1st as usual.

All 1922 delegates whose accounts are still open and who have not yet received a statement of their account from headquarters should write in at once and obtain same.

---

The following delegates will please get in touch with the main office at once. VERY IMPORTANT.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fred Alkire | G 811 | Henry Allard | G 267 | Harry Anderson | G 411 |
| Fred Behrend | G 885 | Fred Berg | G 668 | John Callahan | G 265 |
| Wm Compton | G 190 | J.E. Conway | G 987 | E.B. Damon | G 1051 |
| Jack Doyle | G 586 | Geo. Drennow | G 489 | C.J. Driscoll | G 462 |
| Wm E.Gleason | G 168 | H.O.Hanson | G 244 | Otto Hanson | G 85 |
| Aner Jackola | G 667 | Rudy Lee | G 657 | Roy Link | G 672 |
| J.L.Mc Millen | G 467 | L.R. May | G 1014 | Clay Maxwell | G 574 |
| Milton Nelson | G 245 | Jos.Hemphill | G 1717 | F.E. O'Neil | G 45 |
| Joe Smith | G 809 | Cleve Severns | G 536 | C.H.Polk | G 494 |
| Alfred West | G 81 | Ernest Swan | G 571 | Joe Siverson | G 947 |
| Ben Younker | G 346 | Bert Walker | G 1757 | G.W. Tryor | G 168 |

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## LITERATURE

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# J O B  N E W S

## CALIFORNIA

IMPERIAL VALLEY, 1-27. Lettuce and asparagus will soon be ready in the Imperial Valley. Wages what you can make them. Climate can't be beat for the rest of the winter. AG 4

DINUBA, 1-4. Grapevine pruning about to start here. This will be mostly day work. Wages will be about 40 to 50¢ per hour. Fellow workers, you do not need fur-lined coats here; but we need more members on the job. Let's do it now! ( G 381)

PASO ROBLES Calif. Almond Growers Asso. on the Southern Pacific R.R. Planting trees, pruning, etc. Experience not necessary This job starts immediately after the rain starts in January. Employing from fifty to one hundred and fifty men in about six camps. Sentiment toward the I.W.W. fair. Job lasts from one to three months. Wages from $2.50 to $7.00 per day. Nine hour day. Blankets required. Sanitary conditions and board fair. $1.00 per day for board. Hired at Paso Robles office. (J.K.)

FRESNO, CALIF. Kirkman Nurseries Co. Nursery work. No experience needed in most cases. Nurseries near Fresno, Mojava, and Los Angeles. Stockyards all over the state. Tying trees in bundles, pitting, trimming, packing, etc. This work should be starting in soon. Employing at Fresno about 35, Mojava about 20, Los Angeles about 30. Job lasts all winter and well into the summer. Wages vary for the kind of work. Nine hour day. Camp sanitation and board fair. Blankets required. Hired at State Tree Employment Office. ( #842079)

SI IOWA

SIOUX CITY, 1-30-22 Ice harvest on. Paying 25¢, but there is talk of raising it to 35¢. Several wobs on the job.

---

There is no job news coming in at present. Members on the job and branch secretaries should try and gather news of different jobs and send to this office. This news must come from the field.

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Fellow Workers:

The berry harvest is now on in the state of Texas, and it is only about two months away in the state of Missouri.

No doubt a great many I.U. 110 members will be heading down country in the near future, and it will greatly assist this office if all members going south this spring would, not only take a small amount of literature with them, but would keep in touch with this office at all times, so that late papers, etc. can be sent them.

This will be of advantage to all as it will provide the member with the papers and bulletins before they become ancient, and will be the means of creating a distributing machine such as the A.W.I.U. needs in the southern fields, if they are to take full advantage of opportunities such as should exist in the berry fields this spring.

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Following the recommendation of the last convention, the G.O.C. passed the following motion at their meeting:

"That we put a G.O.C.member or travelling delegate in the state of Michigan for at least 60 days, starting May 15th, and if favorable results are obtained he be kept there indefinitely." The G.O.C. also decided to place a travelling delegate or G.O.C. member in the state of Washington early in the spring.

All active members should get in touch with headquarters and cooperate with the movement to organize the agricultural workers of these states. There are many members of I.U. 110 in Washington and they should hold meetings if possible,and send in their ideas and suggestions on this important matter.

## EVERYONE ON THEIR TOES

From all indications the fight that is being waged by our fellow workers in California is not going to be a mere waste of energy. From various reports coming to the office of the General Defense, the fellow workers in all parts of Cal are not shirking one iota in doing everything possible to carry the fight to the persons responsible for the persecution against the organization.

The weight of the fight is proving too big for the small handful of fellow workers who are so courageously carrying on the fight. They are not complaining, however, only in regard to jail conditions. They are denied the necessary food to keep them in fit condition. But "the spirit couldn't be better" they write.

## FELLOW WORKERS SING THEIR WAY TO CELL

Ten fellow workers were sentenced from one to fourteen years at Sacramento. After sentence was pronounced, they sang their way back to jail. The Judge asked each one if he had anything to say before sentence was pronounced. They all did; and it caused the Judge to make remarks that even surprised the friends of the defendants. He is reported to have said that the workers have a right to change conditions, but that he was forced thru oath of office to carry out the mandates of the state. The Sacramento Star prints an article to the effect that trial Judge would in all probability ask the Governor to commute the sentences of all members now serving time under the Criminal Syndicalism law. The Judge also reduced the bail from one thousand dollars to $250.00 for each defendant.

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General Defense Committee.

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NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

All 1922 due stamps, defense stamps, and duplicate card receipts should be sent in at once. 1923 defense stamps are now in the field and delegates should secure same from the main office or branches.

---

The new by-laws, as amended by the 1922 Convention, will be off the press in a few days. They will be the same size as last year, as that has proved to be a most convenient size.

---

The G.O.C. has gone on record to issue three leaflets before the harvest starts. One for the berries, one for Oklahoma and Kansas, and one dealing with the ten hour day. Any member having suggestions for these leaflets will please write in, giving his ideas of what should go in the leaflets.

---

All members and delegates are requested to send in job news.

---

Get your literature, supplies, etc. from the branches or stationary delegates:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| J.H. Snyder | 1219-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Joe Fisher | 515 N. 16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Sam Murphy | 14½ S. First St., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Emil Stelzner | Box 531 | Williston, N.D. |
| Wm Hall | Box 306 | Modesta, Calif. |
| John K. Peterson | 610 Main St., | Kansas City, Mo. |

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treasurer,
A.W.I.U. NO.110

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

BULLETIN No. 4

Chicago, Ill. February 7, 1923

ZZZ

that is in him in an organization sense, so that we can approach this season with a host of delegates stragetically disposed, well trained and disciplined. With thorough preparation this year we shall add to the record for annual gains in the A.W.I.U. #110.

Systematic work will carry the organization forward. Let us systematize the drive. Organized for organization work, we shall be invincible. Build the delegate system, and the delegates will build the union. A place for everyone and everyone in his place, a function for every member and every member functioning. System, order, discipline, work. These are the watchwords of the successful. On to the drive!

---

## I M P O R T A N T

Extract from the minutes of the 1922 convention:

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| Ben Younker | G 346 | Bert Walker | G 1757 | G.W. Tryor | G 168 |

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Extract from minutes of regular business meeting, Omaha, Nebr. February 2, 1923. Eighteen members present.

"M & S. That this branch go on record as being opposed to holding the spring convention in Oklahoma City and favor Omaha for said conference. Carried.

"This motion was made as the members of this branch believe that most of the active members and delegates are in the north at the present time and will not go to Oklahoma for a convention; and that very few of the members in California will make the long trip over the hump. Also that the date is too early."

---

The G.O.C. has gone on record to issue three leaflets before the harvest starts: one for the berries, one for Oklahoma and Kansas, and one dealing with the ten hour day.

Any member having suggestions for these leaflets will please write in, giving his ideas of what should go in these leaflets.

# J O B  N E W S

## CALIFORNIA

IMPERIAL VALLEY, 1-27 Lettuce and asparagus will soon be ready in the Imperial Valley. Wages what you can make them. Climate can't be beat for the rest of the winter. (AG 4)

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---

There is no job news coming in at present. Members on the job and branch secretaries should try to gather news of different jobs and send the same to this office. This news must come from the field.

While there is little work in a great portion of the localities in which our members reside at this time of the year, the interest of the members should not relax and each-should keep in touch with the main office at all times, so that a Bulletin may be sent them.

All suggestions or recommendations on any question pertaining to the organization should be sent in for publication.

---

Following the recommendation of the last convention, the G.O.C. passed the following motion at their meeting:

"That we put a G.O.C. member or travelling delegate in the state of Michigan for at least 60 days, starting May 15th, and if favorab results are obtained he be kept there indefinitely." The G.O.C. also decided to place a travelling delegate or G.O.C. member in the state of Washington early in the spring.

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---

A good supply of free literature is on hand at all branches, and with all stationary delegates. Members not in touch with any of these will please write direct to this office for same. Success is the fruit of preparation; so, let us start now and be well prepared.

## WHERE DO YOU STAND ?

The result of the present fight being waged in California by a handful of fellow workers will largely depend on the cooperation they get from their fellow workers in and out of California. This is not a confession of failure of the fight being waged by the small group of fellow workers, but, instead, their efforts are beginning to bear fruit. Petitions are being circulated by the citizens of that state asking the repeal of the C.S. law. Two bills have been introduced in the state houses, one asking that the law be modified and the other asking for the repeal of the law altogether. This is the result of the fight being made by a surprisingly small number of fellow workers. Whether or not they can hold out against the forces arrayed against them is a question.

This forces us to put the matter squarely before you:

Are you willing to help the small group force the repeal of that vicious law?

Do you think it fair to throw the whole fight on their shoulders?

Do you sincerely believe that "An injury to one is an injury to all."?

Are you aware that the law as it stands in California affects the organization in other states, and that if the law is repealed it will make it easier for us in other places?

If you believe all of these things, then are you willing to do your share in the fight?

There are various ways in which you can help. If you are foot loose, then take up the work where those who have fallen were forced to quit. We must not under any consideration let-up on organization work. If you are unable to go, then you can help by raising funds to keep the fellow workers in prison supplied with the comforts necessary to keep them in fit condition. Write in for a receipt book, and in the meantime, take up a collection amongst yourselves.

Write today. Every minute of delay helps the opposition.

General Defense Committee,
1001 West Madison St.
Chicago, Ill.

---

The new credentials are now in the field and all members eligible to do so should immediately secure same. It is not a privilege, but the duty of every qualified member to be prepared to not only explain the doctrine of Industrial Unionism but to be prepared at all times to enroll wage workers in the only organization which will allow them industrial expression no matter where they may be working.

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All 1922 due stamps, defense stamps, and duplicate card receipt should be sent in at once. 1923 defense stamps are now in the field and delegates should secure same from the main office or branches.

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The new by-laws of the A.W.I.U. No.110 are now off the press. Every member should write in for one and study it thoroughly.

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The hall in Fargo will be opened April 1st.

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All members and delegates are requested to send in job news.

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Get your literature, supplies, etc. from the branches or sta. delegates

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| J.H. Snyder | 1919-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Joe Fisher | 515 N. 18th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Sam Murphy | 14½ S. First St. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Emil Stelzner | Box 521 | Williston, N.D. |
| Wm Hall | Box 606 | Modesta, Calif. |
| John K. Peterson | 610 Main St. | Kansas City, Mo. |

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman — Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.

A.W.I.U. No.110.

AGRICULTRUAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.IIO OF THE I.W.W.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

B U L L E T I N No.5

Chicago, Ill. February 14, 1923.

---------- OOO ---------- OOO ---------- OOO ---------- OOO ------

Fellow Workers:

## THE MIGRATORY WORKER

The migratory worker is pre-eminently fitted for the work of organizing his class. Thrown upon his own resources at an early age, torn by force of circumstances from the environs of fixed society, he becomes a student and critic of conditions among the workers in every phase of industry. Having no special vocation, he is led through necessity to try his hand in one industry after another until he has made the rounds of them all. Being the first to be weeded out in times of slack work, he finds himself burdened with time in which to think. In these times he becomes the real student of society and begins to devise ways and means of bettering the conditions for himself and his fellow workers. It is but natural that he be among the first to grasp the idea of organizing according to industry.

But, while the migratory worker is best fitted to point out the weak places in modern society, and while he is the first to grasp the remedy, in his wide range of experience he acquires the habit of acting for himself in emergency. This induces a liking for individual freedom of action, and a corresponding hatred for all forms of restraint. Ability to act he has developed to a high degree, but to act in concert with his fellows in carrying out a plan of action he must acquire organization.

In an organization such as the I.W.W., where the burden of organizing falls on the rank and file members, this discipline--the acting in unison for a common purpose--must be more or less self-imposed. The members--delegates especially--must agree among themselves on a plan and cooperate to make the results satisfactory.

The A.W.I.U. No.110 has much to be proud of from her members and delegates in the past years. Her record is one of achievement, from the birth of old 400 down to the present time. But we must mark out a new goal if the horizon of the future is to be extended over the present, as the present extends beyond the ones in the past.

In the past, through pressure from our enemy we have been forced to travel thrcugh a large portion of the wheat belt somewhat in "swarms". This brought about a situation in which fifteen or twenty delegates were gathered in one point of action, while for miles around the point no delegates could be found. This condition is met with especially in Oklahoma and Kansas. We must prepare for a better distribution of delegates in those states in order to extend our activities over the whole field, if possible. It can be done only through complete understanding beforehand and faithful cooperation among the membership throughout the drive.

Let us all make it our business to attend the branch meeting, and while there bring up the subject of organizing the spring drive. Call the attention of other branches to your decisions through your minutes. Let us have constructive and cooperative moves direct from the branches. In this way it will be possible for I.U. 110 to surpass all former records of achievement.

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Organization of the migratory workers

Means protection for the migratory workers.

## SPRING COURSE AT WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE

The Work People's College will conduct a special one-month course, lasting from March 15th till April 15th, for the special benefit of the lumber workers, as well as for all other fellow workers who can attend. The total expense to the student for the month will only be $39.00, and the attention of all those fellow workers who have been working during the winter months, and would very likely put in several weeks before looking for another job, is called to this fact.

The I.W.W. is a self-reliant labor organization, and its strength consists in its intelligent membership. The more members we get who can function as capable and efficient delegates, or who can "put a punch" into their speeches and a "kick" into their writings, the stronger gets our organization. Forceful speaking, effective writing, and efficient organizing work, are as much a matter of technique and practice as anything else. It takes time and effort to become good at anything. No full-fledged A 1 delegate and speakers ever fell out of the sky. Thisspring course has been devised to show the fellow workers who attend it the way toward developing their latent possibilities.

More detailed explanations of the course will appear in Solidarity and the Industrial Worker. All those fellow workers who are interested are asked to write to the MANAGER, WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE, BOX 39, MORGAN PARK, DULUTH, MINN.

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## I M P O R T A N T

Extract from the minutes of the 1922 convention:

"That the secretary-treasurer be instructed that when the 1922 accounts are closed in January he advertise by card number and by delegate number all delegates whose accounts are not clear. Amendment: That the list be put out March 1st.

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Following is a list of the 1922 delegates who have never made a report for any business done on their credentials and who are stil. carrying the credentials and supplies. These delegates should make a report to headquarters of the business done ( if any) and should turn in these supplies and credentials at once. Any member meeting one of these delegates should endeavor to find out what has been do:. with these supplies.

| Name | Card No. | Del. No. | Supplies | Issued. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| John Callahan | X 25823 | G 265 | $ 40.00 | 7-12-22 |
| Wm Compton | 837746 | G 190 | 80.00 | 3-18-22 |
| J.E. Conway | 837569 | G 987 | 60.00 | 8-25-22 |
| Jack Doyle | 729015 | G 586 | 117.50 | 8-14-22 |
| H.O. Hanson | 721213 | G 244 | 60.00 | 8-19-22 |
| Rudy Lee | 720927 | G 657 | 10.00 | 7- 8-22 |
| J.L. Mc Millen | X 45638 | G 467 | 82.50 | 8-30-22 |
| L.R. May | 826712 | G 1014 | 180.00 | 9- 8-22 |
| J.E. Merrifield | X 30581 | G 798 | 60.00 | 9-13-22 |
| Milton Nelson | X 3938 | G 245 | 99.00 | 7-11-22 |
| F.E. O'Neil | 840547 | G 45 | 50.00 | 7-17-22 |
| Jack Scully | X 26935 | G 1052 | 70.00 | 10- 7-22 |
| Joe Smith | 813842 | G 209 | 60.00 | 6-20-22 |
| G.W. Tryor | | G 168 | 20.00 | 8-20-22 |

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## WHERE DO YOU STAND ?

The result of the present fight being waged in California by a handful of fellow workers will largely depend on the cooperation they get from their fellow workers in and out of California. This is not a confession of failure of the fight being waged by the small group of fellow workers, but, instead, their efforts are beginning to bear fruit. Petitions are being circulated by the citizens of that state asking the repeal of the C.S. law. Two bills have been introduced in the state houses, one asking that the law be modified and the other asking for the repeal of the law altogether. This is the result of the fight being made by a surprisingly small number of fellow workers. Whether or not they can hold out against the forces arrayed against them is a question.

This forces us to put the matter squarely before you:

Are you willing to help the small group force the repeal of that vicious law?

Do you think it fair to throw the whole fight on their shoulders?

Do you sincerely believe that "An injury to one is an injury to all"?

Are you aware that the law as it stands in California affects the organization in other states, and that, if the law is repealed it will make it easier for us in other places?

If you believe all of these things, then are you willing to do your share in the fight?

There are various ways in which you can help. If you are foot-loose, then take up the work where those who have fallen were forced to quit. We must not under any consideration let-up on organization work. If you are unable to go, then you can help by raising funds to keep the fellow workers in prison supplied with the comforts necessary to keep them in fit condition. Write in for a receipt book, and, in the meantime, take up a collection among yourselves.

Write today. Every minute of delay helps the opposition.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
1001 West Madison St.,
Chicago, Ill.

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## N O T I C E

At a special business meeting of A.W.I.U. 110 members in Seattle, February 2nd, 1923, it was decided to call a conference of 110 members in Seattle about March 1st. The purpose of this conference is to outline a plan of organization for the northwestern states. Many other matters of importance will come up. All 110 members in that district should endeavor to be present. Exact date has not reached this office yet, but will be announced as soon as possible in Solidarity and the Worker. All communications and resolutions for this conference should be sent to Joe Bauer, Box 365, Seattle, Wash.

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On March 1st a delinquent delegate list of A.W.I.U. 110 will be put out to include all delinquent delegates from 1917 to 1921 inclusive. All members should write in and obtain one.

---

The new By-laws of the A.W.I.U. 110 are now off the press. Every member should write in for one and study it thoroughly.

---

The hall in Fargo will be opened APRIL 1ST.

Get your literature, supplies, etc.from the branches or sta. delegates.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| J.H. Snyder | 1219-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Joe Fisher | 515 N. 16th St. | (Box 107) Omaha, Nebr. |
| Sam Murphy | 14½ S. First St., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| W.F. Bates | Box 531 | Williston, N.D. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 306 | Modesta, Calif. |
| Ed Anderson | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman  Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U. No.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.6

Chicago, Ill. February 21, 1923.

Fellow Workers:

In spite of all the talk of prosperity at the present time, the boss by reducing the payroll, or cutting it off altogether, is providing a fruitful field for organization work; and the time has arrived when all members of the organization who are eligible should have credentials and supplies on hand, and be ready at all times to initiate a prospective member.

The members of I.U. 110 are, and always will be, classed as migratory workers; and despite all ideas to the contrary, this class is due to grow by leaps and bounds. The time is approaching when thousands of workers will leave the cities for the spring and summer. If every member of 110 who is eligible would get three or four new members by summer, we would have a great army of separated individuals welded into a compact body, which will greatly eliminate competition for jobs thru having them imbued with the big idea, "All for one and one for all".

**********

In a short time the berry harvest will be on in Arkansas and Missouri. A G.O.C. member will cover this district for 110, and all members making the berries should get in touch with him, or the main office, so they may be supplied with credentials, literature, etc.

From the few scattered reports coming in from this district, things never looked brighter from an organization standpoint.

**********

The 1923 Defense stamp is now in the field and every member should try to have at least one in his card. The General Defense is badly in need of funds to carry on their work.

**********

FRESNO, 2- 14 Kirkman Nurseries Co. Nursery work. No experience needed in most cases. Nurseries near Fresno, Mojava, and Los Angeles. Stockyards all over the state. Tying trees in bundles, pitting, trimming, packing, etc. Employing at Fresno about 35, Mojava about 20, Los Angeles about 30. Job lasts all winter and well into the summer. Wages vary for the kind of work. Nine hour day. Camp sanitation and board fair. One delegate on the job. Sentiment fair. Blankets required. Hired at State Tree Employment Office. (#842079)

**********

Excerpt from the minutes of Educational Bureau meeting:

"M & S. That this body go on record as recommending the discontinuing of a separate Educational Bureau until finances are in better shape. Yes 9, nO 4. (No's Carrol, Latchem, Miller, Hanson,)

"M & S: That these minutes be submitted to the membership thru the General Office Bulletin.
Amendment: That copy of these minutes be sent to all the different unions for publication in their bulletins. Carried."

**********

Organization is the lifeblood of unionism.

## SPRING COURSE AT WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE

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## I M P O R T A N T

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| Name | Card No. | Del. No. | Supplies | Issued. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| John Callahan | X 25323 | G 265 | $ 40.00 | 7-12-22 |
| Wm Compton | 837746 | G 190 | 80.00 | 3-18-22 |
| J.E. Conway | 837569 | G 987 | 60.00 | 8-25-22 |
| Jack Doyle | 729015 | G 586 | 117.50 | 8-14-22 |
| H.O. Hanson | 721213 | G 244 | 60.00 | 8-19-22 |
| Rudy Lee | 720927 | G 657 | 10.00 | 7- 8-22 |
| J.L. Mc Millen | X 45638 | G 467 | 82.50 | 8-30-22 |
| L.R. May | 826712 | G 1014 | 180.00 | 9- 8-22 |
| J.E. Merrifield | X 30581 | G 798 | 60.00 | 9-13-22 |
| Milton Nelson | X 3938 | G 245 | 99.00 | 7-11-22 |
| F.E. O'Neil | 840547 | G 45 | 50.00 | 7-17-22 |
| Jack Scully | X 26935 | G 1052 | 70.00 | 10- 7-22 |
| Joe Smith | 813842 | G 209 | 60.00 | 6-20-22 |
| G.W. Tryor | | G 168 | 20.00 | 8-20-22 |

## LET'S START NOW !

Attempts are being made to clear up all cases that remain from the drive of last year. There still remain in Independence five fellow workers who have served their six months sentence and are now serving their fine according to a telegram received today from the Sheriff. Attempts shall be made to sue a writ for their release.

All are out at Carthage with the exception of fellow worker Fischer and Nye, and they are to be released this week.

Fellow worker Clancy has been released from the county jail at Mc Pherson.

The Supreme Court of Kansas has reversed the decision of the lower court in the case of Fellow worker William Murphy. Fellow Worker Murphy was sentenced at the same time as Harry Breen, and was given from four to forty years for alleged criminal syndicalism. This makes two C.S. cases that have been reversed by the Kansas Supreme Court, and will go a long way towards making it safe to organize in that state in this year's drive.

All briefs have been submitted to the Supreme Court of South Dakota in the case of Fellow worker Frank Godlasky. You will recall that he was sentenced to fifteen years for alleged manslaughter. Attorneys for the defense are of the opinion that fellow worker Godlasky will be ordered released.

Fellow workers Blair and Matson have been released on one thousand dollar bonds. Blair is to go to Canada and Matson agrees to leave the country in sixty days. These fellow workers have been held for deportation.

Two big jobs confront the General Defense Committee. There are in the neighborhood of fifty fellow workers still confined in Leavenworth and over a hundred at California. With a little more cooperation from the members we should be able to effect the release of the political prisoners, and force the repeal of the California C.S. law. In the latter campaign various bodies are actively engaged in trying to secure the repeal of the law.

We call upon all members to give whatever spare time they have to these two campaigns. If you haven't a defense receipt book, then write for one today.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

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## N O T I C E

There are duplicate cards at Fresno for M. Crisp and C.D. White , also card for Eugene Murphy which was found. Write to stationary delegate at Fresno for them.

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Blank credentials AG 317, 318 and 319 were lost in or near Hoxie, Ark. February 16th. If found send in to main office.

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Get your literature, supplies,etc.from the branches or sta. delegates

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| J.H. Snyder | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Joe Fisher | 515 N. 16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
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The hall in Fargo will be opened APRIL 1st.

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With best wishes, we remain

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman — Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.

A.W.I.U.No.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

# BULLETIN No. 7

Chicago, Ill. February 28,1923.

**********

Fellow Workers:

The G.O.C. by a referendum vote has changed the date of the spring convention of the A.W.I.U. No.110 to May 30th at Oklahoma City. This will be a mass convention and every member who can possibly attend should make it his business to be there.

The most important business of the convention will be the devising of ways and means of carrying on organization work throughout the summer. Now is the time for all members who may have ideas or suggestions for making the 1923 drive a success to send them in. Members attending branch meetings should present their resolutions to them for approval, and all who are not in touch with a branch should send them to headquarters for publication in the Bulletin, so that others may have a chance to study them before the convention.

We would like to have all resolutions for the convention sent in to the main office as early as possible, by May 1st at least. This will enable the office to segregate them and get them in shape for the convention to work on. The more work that can be done before the convention the less there will be for the committees, and the routine work of the convention will be disposed of easier.

**********

## IMPORTANT

Extract from the minutes of the 1922 convention:

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| Wm Compton | 857746 | G 190 | 80.00 | 3-18-22 |
| J.E. Conway | 857569 | G 987 | 60.00 | 8-25-22 |
| Jack Doyle | 728015 | G 586 | 117.50 | 8-14-22 |
| H.O. Hanson | 721216 | G 244 | 60.00 | 8-19-22 |
| Rudy Lee | 720827 | G 857 | 10.00 | 7- 7-22 |
| J.L. Mc Miller | X 45658 | G 467 | 82.50 | 8.30-22 |
| L.E. May | 826712 | G 1014 | 180.00 | 9- 8-22 |
| J.E. Merrifield | X 30581 | G 798 | 60.00 | 9-13-22 |
| Milton Nelson | X 3938 | G 245 | 99.00 | 7-11-22 |
| F.E. O'Neil | 840547 | G 45 | 50.00 | 7-17-22 |
| Jack Scully | X 28935 | G 1052 | 70.00 | 10- 7-22 |
| Joe Smith | 813843 | G [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] Tryor | | G [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

## J O B  N E W S

### California

Fresno, 2-14 Kirkman Nurseries Co. Nursery Work. No experience needed in most cases. Nurseries near Fresno, Mojava and Los Angeles. Stockyards all over the state. Tying trees in bundles fitting, trimming, packing, etc. Employing at Fresno about 35, Mojava about 20, Los Angeles about 50. Job lasts all winter and fall into the summer. Wages vary for the kind of work. Nine hour day. Camp sanitation and board fair. One delegate on the job. Sentiment fair. Blankets required. Hired at State Free Employment Office. ( # 842079)

### Nebraska

Omaha, 2-24 Paying 30 and 35 cents on the ice. About ten days' work left. Several members on job. Two delegates. Sentiment good. AG 123.

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## NOTICES

The 1923 Defense stamp is now in the field and every member should try to have at least one in his card. The General Defense is badly in need of funds to carry on their work.

---

Blank credentials AG 318, 319 and 320 were lost in or near Hoxie, Arkansas on February 16th. If found send in to main office.

---

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Get your literature, supplies, etc. from the branches or stationary delegates:

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**********

With best wishes, we remain

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman  Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.

A.W.I.U. NO.110

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTRUAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No. 8

Chicago, Ill. March 7, 1923.

**********

## T H E B E R R I E S

Fellow Workers:

Strawberries are now for sale in the so-called better grocery and markets. They are slowly trickling in from far southern centers of early production. It will not be long before the season will be on in the Ozark region of Arkansas and south-western Missouri, from Horatio to Sarcoxie.

The picking season will start at Horatio, Ark. about April 1st; at Anderson, Mo. about April 15th to 20th; and around Pierce City and Sarcoxie, Mo. about May 1st. Starting at Horatio a man may finish picking there and still be in time for the northern fields.

Last year we were not properly prepared to do effective organization work in the berry fields. In fact, the opportunities of organizing among the berry pickers were underestimated. Still, in spite of lack of preparation, more than 200 new members were lined up. A little effort in the line of a drive ought to net us 1000 new ones this year. THEY ARE THERE -- all we have to do to get them is show the determination to do so.

Before long the various railroads traversing the berry fields will have posters at their depots, in and around there, giving the names of the towns and the number of pickers needed in each; also, the Berry Growers Associations of these towns will be advertising for pickers. Let us heed the call when it comes and go there.

In order that the members who may decide to take in the berries may not be deceived as to conditions, wages, and climate, it may be well to describe the typical conditions of the berry fields and just about what a berry picker will have to put up with until we shall be able to make conditions to suit ourselves.

First thing to do is a little reducing of the number of pickers called for in the advertisements and posters. For instance, the little town of Anderson, Mo. - a typical berry town on the K.C.S. had posters out calling for 9,000 berry pickers. This figure was based upon the number of acres planted to strawberries in that district, and was nearly correct. However, this does not mean that 9,000 outsiders were needed, but stands for the total number of pickers necessary to harvest the crop. Inasmuch as the home-guards pick berries also it means that only 3 to 4000 extra pickers were needed. Plenty at that, and all these little otherwise sleepy towns of the Ozarks turn into teeming metropolises when the berries are on full blast.

A good many of the employers in the berry fields are of the "beans, cornbread and teat-ham" variety, but that need not unduly worry a prospective berry glommer because prices for picking are so much per quart box of berries and does not include board. The berry growers will on the average, however, furnish cooking utensils and go good for groceries. You cook your food, in the majority of places, all'ee samee Hobo, beneath the sheltering branches of a tree. Wood is furnished free. Some growers have bunkhouses and cooking sheds, but they are as yet a minority. Others hire a new gang of pickers every morning, having no accomodations for the pickers on their farms. They have trucks or cars to bring the pickers to and from the patches. Many pickers prefer this arrangement.

The length of the picking season depends upon the weather. If

it be a hot dry spring the season is short. If it rains too much it is bad. The ideal is a good shower of a night about twice a week. Last year the season was good.

The price for picking is set by the Berry Growers Associations. It is the same in all patches. Should a farmer pay above the fixed price he suffers further loss by having his berries penalized at the receiving sheds. Taking this strict discipline within the berry growers into consideration it will readily be understood that only organized efforts on the part of the pickers can change price and conditions. No use railing against the individual farmer. It is the Association we must fight, and not only in one town but the whole district.

There is room for a world of improvement in conditions in general. We should demand bunkhouses and cooking sheds until such a time as we are strong enough to demand that the price include board. We should further demand a sliding scale for picking based upon the size and quantity of the berries. When picking first starts, that is after the first day or two of "scrapping", the berries are large. However, as the picking progresses they get smaller, and towards the last farther between. The sliding scale should be introduced as a compensating factor.

As a place of conditioning for a hot, strenuous summer, the berry fields of the Ozarks cannot be beat. Ideal camping places beneath sheltering oaks are aplenty. The springs are clear and cool. Bass and trout leap the brooks for those able to catch them.

Furthermore, the miners from Joplin, Pittsburg, eastern Oklahoma and the antracite fields of Arkansas come there; and this year we may expect a lot of has-been Shopmen to take in the berries also. Let us go there in a body and show these people whom we have preached Industrial Unionism to this winter that we practice what we preach and that the I.W.W. does in fact reach into all parts of industry.

(E.E.A;)

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*
*  I.U.IIO SEATTLE CONFERENCE
*
*  A conference of 110 members in the northwest will be held on March 26th in Seattle, Washington. This conference is called for the purpose of outlining a plan of action for the northwestern states. All 110 members in that district should endeavor to be present. Members having resolutions for the general 110 convention to be held in Oklahoma City on May 20th should present them to this conference for its approval. Send all resolutions and communications for this conference to Joe Bauer, Box 365, Seattle, Wash.
*
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## A.W.I.U. SPRING CONVENTION

The general convention of the A.W.I.U.110 will be held in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma on May 20, 1925. This year 110 has gone back to the old form of mass convention, and every member will have the opportunity to present his own ideas and resolutions.

Send in your resolutions and suggestions for the convention for publication in the Bulletin so that others may be able to study them before the convention.

---

The Hall in Fargo will be opened APRIL 1st.

## JOB NEWS

### CALIFORNIA.

Asparagus picking will start around Sacramento about the 20th of March. Haying early in April. When this work opens up the dull season in California will be over for the rest of the year. There is every prospect that the C.S. law is on its last legs, and with this law on the shelf organization work in California should boom. (AG 4)

FRESNO, 3414 Kirkman Nurseries Co. Nursery work. No experience needed in most cases. Nurseries near Fresno, Mojava and Los Angeles. Stockyards all over the state. Tying trees in bundles, pitting, trimming, packing, etc. Employing at Fresno about 35, Mojava about 20, Los Angeles about 30. Job lasts all winter and well into the summer. Wages vary for the kind of work. Nine hour day. Camp Sanitation and board fair. One delegate on the job. Sentiment fair. Blankets required. Hired at State Free Employment Office. ( # 832079)

### IOWA

MC CALLSBURG Farmers are hiring men for general farm work. Wages $55.00 and $60.00 per month, if you stay all summer. Not much organization among the slaves. Sentiment poor. ( AG 115)

### ARKANSAS

HORATIO Strawberries will be on around Horatio and DeQueen about the 20th of March. Fair crop. ( AG 3.)

All members and delegates are requested to send in all job news available pertaining to agriculture as spring work will soon open up. Unless it is sent in there can be no job news.

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NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

The delinquent list for I.U. 110, including all delinquent delegates up to and including 1921, is now on the press. Send in and get one, and make it your business when meeting a delinquent delegate to find out what he is doing towards squaring up. They will be out by the 10th of March.

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Fred Fisher and Fred Nye have been released from jail at Carthage, Mo. John Cheesebrew and Julius Bohlem are also out at Independence, Kansas.

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Blank credentials AG 318, 319 and 320 were lost in or near Hoxie, Arkansas on February 16th. If found send in to main office.

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The 1923 Defense stamp is now in the field and every member should try to have at least one in his card. The General Defense is badly in need of funds to carry on their work.

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Get your literature, supplies, etc. from the branches or stationary delegates:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| J.H. Snyder | 1819-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Joe Fisher | 515 N. 16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Sam Murphy | 142 S. First St., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| W.F. Bates | Box 501 | Williston, N.D. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 506 | Modesta, Calif. |
| Ed Anderson | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| Fred L. Fisher | 714 Mc Gee St., | Kansas City, Mo. |

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With best wishes, we remain

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman C.O.C. Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U. NO.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.9

Chicago, Ill. March 14, 1923.

## SUGGESTIONS ON THE SPRING CONVENTION

Fellow Workers:

Oft times among the members of the I.W.W. there have been lengthy discussions in regard to ways and means - of how, when and where we as members can improve and obtain the proper plan for the best interest of the organization as a whole. The question in mind is to us of vital importance, and must be acted upon intelligently.

There is nothing more detrimental to the I.W.W., or any other labor organization, than to bring before a body of workers a plan for the advancement or betterment of the organization, which, tho sanctioned by the majority of the members, when the appropriate time arrives for the necessary action, finds the members scattered broadcast. It is thoroughly understood that the place and time has been set aside for the coming spring convention, and undoubtedly many members will congregate there for the sole purpose of organizing the workers. In the past it is known beyond the shadow of a doubt that the majority of members as well as job delegates have come out of the harvest fields with less than they have entered, and practically became a burden upon the members who were fortunate enough to accumulate a few dollars.

The question than arises: Why didn't we,as active members, and many others in the same boat come out staky? Kindly grant me the privilege and I will try to analyze or explain. First, it may be that some members are a trifle more submissive to the master, and are more agreeable with the conditions which really exist. Second, but a few who are running at large cannot and will not submit to the same conditions on the job. Between these two elements there is friction and dissension which in my mind causes disruption and criticism.

Fellow workers, what the membership of the I.W.W. needs is unity and discipline. What I mean by discipline is not of the character of force but of the plan whereby the members may be governed and abide with any decision that may be put before them. It seems to me that the members do not come to a mutual understanding, for we know to be a positive fact that we cannot agree among ourselves on vital questions. Then, if we cannot agree among ourselves, how are we as members going to express our attitude towards the unorganized workers as to the true meaning of industrial form of organization?

I wish to make a few suggestions which I think will be beneficial to the spring convention. Let us use a little discipline in regard to bringing the members to strategic or centralized points where they will be in constant touch and communication with the officials of the G.O.C. and abide by any suggestions or plan which has been inaugurated by the spring convention, and put all the energy available to make the drive a success.

Another suggestion I would like to make is that the commission on initiations be abolished entirely. Also,that we do away with issuing large amount of supplies to delegates. Let each and every member who is eligible carry supplies not to exceed five cards and the necessary amount of stamps accordingly. This will eliminate a great deal of controversy and will enable the member to go on the point of production and accumulate a few dollars to purchase the necessities of life.

Moral -- When you are broke, you are a joke, or
Out of the jungles, on the job.

(G.W. #356566)

## *** M E E T I N G S ***

Extract from minutes of Sioux City business meeting March 6, 1923 at which eleven members were present:

M & S. That we do not concur with the G.O.C. in selecting Oklahoma City as a place to hold spring convention. Carried.

M & S. That this branch goes on record as being opposed to the spring convention being held in Oklahoma City and are in favor of holding same in Omaha. Carried.

M & S. That this branch goes on record as being opposed to the spring convention having legislative power. Carried.

M & S. That the last three motions be published in the next A.W.I.U. IIO Bulletin. Carried.

M & S. That we instruct the Br. Sec'y to send a copy of these minutes to Omaha, Seattle, Minneapolis, and Chicago. Carried.

M & S. That we elect a committee of three to draft a letter explaining why this branch does not concur with action of G.O.C. Copy of letter to accompany minutes, and to be published in the Worker and Solidarity. Carried.

A. Vernon, #238963 Chairman, H. Bennet, #794762 Rec. Sec.

Sioux City, Ia. March 6, '23.

Fellow Workers:

The A.W.I.U. #110 Sioux City , Ia. Branch are opposed to Oklahoma City being selected for the spring convention and recommend Omaha, Nebr., as Omaha is more convenient for the majority of the members, and the convention can be held there for considerable less expense to the organization.

We also consider that one convention a year with legislative power is sufficient, as two will cause more or less confusion to say nothing of the additional expense.

(Signed by the Committee.)

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Resolution adopted by the Sioux City branch of the A.W.I.U.#110 on February 19th:

We recommend that A.W.I.U. IIO issue a loan of $1,000 to the California District defense through the office of the General Defense.

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Extract from minutes of Omaha business meeting March 8, 1923 at which twenty-two members were present.

M & S. That we do not concur with the Sioux City branch, of holding the mass convention in Oklahoma City and recommend that it be held in Omaha. Lost.

M & S. That we concur with the Sioux City branch as being opposed that the mass convention be held in Oklahoma City, and recommend that it be held in Omaha. Carried.

John Downs, Chairman  Geo. Williams, Rec. Sec'y.

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## A.W.I.U. SPRING CONVENTION

The general convention of the A.W.I.U. IIO will be held in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, on May 20, 1923. This year IIO has gone back to the old form of mass convention, and every member will have the opportunity to present his own ideas and resolutions.

Send in your resolutions and suggestions for the convention for publication in the Bulletin so that others may be able to study them before the convention.

---

The hall in Fargo will be opened APRIL 1st.

To the G.O.C. of A.W.I.U. No.110.

Fellow Workers:

Whereas here in the Northwest a big part of the agricultural industry is being to a great extent neglected by the A.W.I.U.

This is a lot of agricultural work from early spring until late autumn. Much of this work is done by the migratory worker; in the spring there is orchard work, pruning and spraying; in the summer, haying and harvesting; and in the fall there is the enormous apple crop, together with other fruit. Besides these three kinds of agricultural work there are many others to numerous to mention here. What are we going to doabout it? The answer generally is "send out a G.O.C. man". Can you imagine a more pitifully weak solution for such an important question? The thing that is needed is some kind of permanent organization and right here - not in Chicago- some plan whereby the members here can discuss and act on local problems immediately.

Right now there is a crying need for propaganda. Discontent was never as sweeping among the wage workers of the Northwest as right now. To take advantage of this situation the branches of Seattle have recently elected a Propaganda Committee, which although badly handicapped by a lack of funds has been able to conduct some very good and well-attended meetings; and incidentally, it has been proven that when preparation is made good speakers appear.

Different conditions call for different kinds of tactics. The agricultural workers of this district do not roam over as much territory as in the grain raising states of the Middle-west. They are more stationary. One kind of work follows closely on the heels of another. What we need here is branches with a central, convenient point where members can meet and form plans dealing with local affairs.

Is the A.W.I.U. 110 flexible enough to meet this situation?

The members in this part of the country know what the situation is and some are trying to call a conference for the purpose of outlining a plan of action. It is a little late now because a great many will soon be leaving for the East; but the ground work must be laid if possible.

When the I.W.W. was under the per-capita system of handling finances a local group could start a branch and build up a fund for handling local affairs. Now, we must call on our Industrial Union hdqts for finances. A conference should meet soon and draw up plans if we are going to get anywhere. The G.O.C., or travelling delegate should be elected from this part of the country so as toinsure cooperation. Having no money here, he would have to be paid by Industrial Union headquarters.

In the meantime there is something we could do. The Seattle N.W. Propaganda Committee is routing speakers; money raised at big meetings is used to finance meetings in places where the collections are small and do not defray expenses. We, if 110 does put on a well organized drive here, are going to get results from their good work. The Propaganda Committee could do lots more, only for lack of money. This committee is not on pay. 110 has not all the money in the world, but don't you think we could spare $200 in order to build up the I.W.W. in general, and 110 in particular, and since we have $10,000 for the spring drive, this Northwest propaganda being an important part of the N.W.organization drive, and as the speakers will hold meetings in many localities that are 100 % agricultural towns

Therefore, be it resolved that Sec'y-Treas. of 110 be instructed to send to the N.W. Propaganda Committee, for the purpose of routing speakers, two hundred dollars. (Signed by 18 members).

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## I.U.110 NORTHWEST CONFERENCE

At a special business meeting of I.U. 110, held in Seattle March 9th to discuss the spring conference of I.U. 110 members in the northwest, it was decided to change the place from SEATTLE to SPOKANE, and the date to APRIL 2nd, 1926. This conference is called for the purpose of outlining a plan of action for the northwestern states. All 110 members in that district should endeavor to be present.

# JOB NEWS

## CALIFORNIA

Asparagus picking will start around Sacramento about the 20th of March. Haying early in April. When this work opens up the dull season in Calif. will be over for the rest of the year. There is every prospect that the C.S. law is on its last legs, and with this law on the shelf organization work in Calif. should boom. (AG 4).

FRESNO Kirkman Nurseries Co. Nursery work. No experience needed in most cases. Nurseries near Fresno, Mojava and Los Angeles. Stockyards all over the state. Tying trees in bundles, pitting, trimming, packing, etc. Employing at Fresno about 35, Mojava about 20, Los Angeles about 50. Job lasts all winter and well into the summer. Wages vary for the kind of work. Nine hour day. Camp sanitation and board fair. One delegate on the job. Sentiment fair. Blankets required. Hired at State Free Employment Office. ( #362078)

## IOWA

MC CALLSBURG Farmers are hiring men for general farm work. Wages $55.00 and $60.00 per month if you stay all summer. Not much organization among the slaves. Sentiment poor. ( AG 115)

## ARKANSAS

HORATIO Strawberries will be on around Horatio and De Queen about the 20th of March. Fair crop. ( AG 3)

## KANSAS

HALSTEAD, 3-9 Spring work opening up. Oat and barley sowing on. Farmers offering $30.00 per month. Not much demand for help. (#728086)

All members and delegates are requested to send in all job news available.pertaining to agriculture as spring work will soon open up. Unless it is sent in there can be no job news.

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The delinquent list for I.U.IIO, including all delinquent delegates up to and including 1921, is now on the press. Send in and get one, and make it your business when meeting a delinquent delegate to find out what he is doing towards squaring up. They will be out by the 20th of March.

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Get your literature, supplies, etc. from the branches or stationary delegates:

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|---|---|---|
| J.H. Snyder | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
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| Sam Murphy | 14½ S. First St. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| W.F. Bates | Box 531 | Williston, N.D. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 306 | Modesto, Calif. |
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With best wishes, we remain

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U. No.110

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

# B U L L E T I N NO.10

Chicago, Ill. March 21, 1923.

Fellow Workers:

The Industrial Pioneer is to appear again on May 1st, and we are taking this opportunity to appeal to the membership of the A.W.I.U. No.110 for the same support to the Pioneer in the future which was always accorded it in the past.

Reissuing the Pioneer is a big undertaking and lots of assistance is necessary if we are to make the magazine a success. Every one can help who will. First, you can help us build up a good-sized subscription list by subscribing yourself, or you can get others who may be interested in a working class magazine to subscribe. The rates for the new Pioneer will be $2.00 a year, $1.10 for six months, and $.60 for three months. Bundle orders of five or more copies 40 per cent discount, single copies 20¢.

In order to expedite matters, also to make the securing of subs or donations easier for the delegates and members, we have had triplicate receipt books made. These receipt books are now off the press and we are waiting for orders to send them into the field. When ordering these receipt books, don't fail to identify yourself as to card and Union numbers, also delegate number, if any. Non-members not well known here at Headquarters will please enclose recommendation from someone whom we can identify - preferably a member. These triplicate receipt books are consecutively numbered, as are too, the series of individual-receipts in each book. A credential is placed on the inside of first left-hand cover, space being designated therein for the signature of the rightful holder, and another space alloted for signature of Business Manager. If full instructions are followed out in each case, and the triplicate receipt books are filled in detail, there should be an absolute minimum of mistakes, and a maximum of protection to all. It will be found too that space is provided for on these receipt books to show whether the money collected is for subscription, donation, renewal, or bundle-order, thus making this a convenient and efficient form for the man in the field. It is necessary in using this form to lean heavily enough on the pencil to get three good clear impressions. We must have good, live subscription agents - the sooner and the more of them the better.

For the purpose of an ever wider and wider distribution of our educational propaganda, it is vital that all branches and individuals who will, give us the word to send them bundle orders. The sooner the better, that we may easier compute the total number of copies to print for the first issue. These bundle orders can of course be increased or diminished from time to time as the requirements of each place so ordering may necessitate. The 40 % reduction of retail rates offers a splendid inducement to newsdealers, book stores, and street venders, also added incentive to the branches seeking further finances with which to extend local organization work. The wider the distribution of the Pioneer, the greater its propaganda value - and to this end the bundle orders are a wonderful opportunity.

All branches should bring the good and welfare of the Industrial Pioneer up at their meeting, and all suggestions and advice will be thankfully received and considered by the management. Ways and means to raise donations to help start the Pioneer off to success, should form no small part of the discussion of each branch meeting. Always there is some way - perhaps an entertainment,-a dance, a raffle, or a picnic. The main thing is to rally to the Pioneer now when it needs your help the most. I. branches will canvas the newsstands and newsvenders in their respective towns with a view to placing bundle orders in

them for sale, great success can no doubt be achieved. Branches can also help by encouraging qualified people to write and send in articles for publication in the Pioneer. Perhaps you have good photographs to loan, that would serve to illustrate articles for publication, which we could reproduce in the Pioneer? Maybe there is a good cartoonist handy whom you might induce to help? Maybe you can, or know someone who can write good revolutionary fiction with real educational merit? Oh, there's lots to do, and plenty of us to do it, if only we each and all get our shoulders to the wheel and shove the Industrial Pioneer clear over the top as the best revolutionary working class magazine published in the English language.

When sending money to the Pioneer remit if possible by post office money order. And in event it should so happen after a reasonable time, by any of the many causes, that you do not receive a receipt for same, please be certain to notify us. All patrons of the Pioneer are asked, too, to please notify us any change of address. Write addresses as plainly and correctly as possible.

And to the end that we may achieve the success which this exceptional opportunity offers as a medium of propagandizing the working class, we are always, as before, relying on the workers themselves to carry on the great task of emancipation from slavery; and we know you will therefore swing into line and put the Industrial Pioneer in as many hands as you possibly can.

The INDUSTRIAL PIONEER can, it must, it IS going to be the best revolutionary magazine published in the English language.

Yours for Education,

Harry G. Clark
Business Manager.

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## MEETINGS

Omaha, Nebr., March 15, 1923.

In the regular joint business meeting held in Omaha, 28 members in good standing present, this motion was passed:

F.W. Raymond Henry, Chairman, Albert Frane, Rec.Sec'y.

&S. That we the members in the joint business meeting assembled, go on record demanding from the G.E.B. of the I.W.W. put out the referendum ballots to the membership in regard to compulsory organization stamp be put out for organization purposes. Carried.

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## I.U.110 NORTHWEST CONFERENCE

A conference of 110 members in the northwest will be held on April 8, 1923 at Spokane. If you can't attend, send in your ideas and suggestions pertaining to 110 organization work in the northwest. Send resolutions and communications to Bob Hall, Box 1639, Spokane, Wash.

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## GET YOUR LITERATURE FOR THE BERRY FIELDS NOW

The strawberries will soon be ready in Arkansas and Missouri. A. G.O.C. man will cover this district for I.U.110. Members making that district should get in touch with him or the main office so they may be supplied with supplies and literature.

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Those who reap must first sow. Plant your ideas. The industrial weather of normalcy will bring a quick harvest.

## HOW YOU CAN HELP IN OUR WORK

The General Defense Committee has set aside another date for a nation-wide demonstration for the release of political prisoners. To date the best response has come from the churches. We have received letters from various clergymen to the effect that they would deliver a sermon on that date, and that their subject would be "Political Prisoners". Encouraging us in making the day a success are various religious papers who are reprinting our appeal and calling on all of their readers to cooperate with us on that date. The liberal element have also signified their willingness to make April 29th one that will never beforgotten.

The response from our own branches is not what it should be, and we call on all members who read this appeal to bring the matter to the attention of their branch as soon as possible. The sentiment for the release of the politicals was never better. Let our slogan "We never forget" be a fact.

### California

Whether or not the criminal syndicalism law of California will continue for long will be answered shortly. We have told you in previous bulletins that a move for the repeal of the law was under way and that a bill had been introduced in the legislature urging its repeal. A public hearing has been granted and the following committee will speak for its repeal:

Chester H. Rowell, regent University of California, Irving Martin, Railroad Commissioner, Dr. David Starr Jordon, Stanford University, Eustace Cullinan, prominent San Francisco attorney, John F. Neylan, attorney, Warren Olney, former Supreme Court Justice, Rev. Edward L. Parson of Episcopal Diocese, William Kent, former Congressman, Mrs. Dane Coolidge, Mrs. Duncan Mc Duffie, Mrs. Jas. Ellis Tucker.

What the legislature will do is a question, but there is no question but that the publicity in the past few months shows effective results. With the cooperation of every member in California and out of California, the law can be defeated. Cooperation can be given on the job as well.

### Kansas.

The three remaining fellow workers in Independence have been released, leaving but two in prison in that state. Fellow Worker William Murphy should be released shortly as our attorney, Harold Mulks, has received no word from the court that the state has applied for a rehearing. The state had twenty days in which to file application. If Murphy is not released soon the attorney will be instructed to sue a writ for habeas corpus.

### South Dakota

Argument before the Supreme Court in the case of Frank Godlasky, alias Frank Daring, will be held April 4th. Attorneys for the defense will be C.A. Kelley, Mayor of Huron, South Dakota, and Harold O. Mulks of Chicago. Everything looks favorable for the defense.

### As Usual

The defense is in need of funds. With a number of cases springing up in the Northwest we find ourselves handicapped because of lack of funds. Will you get a receipt book and give us a lift?

General Defense Committee
1001 West Madison St.
Chicago.

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NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

The General convention of the A.W.I.U.110 will be held in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma on May 20th, 1923. This year I.U.110 has gone back to the old form of mass convention, and every member will have the opportunity to present his own ideas and resolutions.

Send in your resolutions and suggestions for the convention for publication in the Bulletin, so that others may be able to study them before the convention.

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| Fred L.Fisner | 714 Mc Gee St. | Kansas City, Mo. |

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with best wishes, we remain

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec.-Treas.
A.W.I.U.No.110

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.11

Chicago, Ill. March 28, 1923

## I.U.110 MUST STIFFEN THE LINE!

Fellow-workers:-

The members of A.W.I.U. #110 must not overlook the latest developments in agriculture. The goernment is now boosting the formation of co-operative farm marketing associations, and a government agency is now furnishing farm and market credits thru various channels. The leaders of the new co-operative associations are bankers, large farm, plantation, and orchard owners. Government loans are made to the big fish in the agricultural industry.

Agricultural marketing and financing is being organized on a big business basis. When these problems are solved, the industry will be stabilized so that big business can enter the field of production in this industry in the same manner that it now functions in all other industries.

The Morgan bonanza farm in Montana, which was operated on a factory basis during the war, produced 17,000 bushels of wheat per man in 1919. That is much higher than the average, and large capital cannot long resist this opportunity once farm marketing and finance has been placed on an organized business basis.

Fellow workers who are members of A.W.I.U. #110 must not only realize what the present trend means for the future, but also of the effect on present conditions. The formation of these organized groups of bankers and other large owners into co-operative marketing and financing associations will enable them to organize their attacks against the workers. YOU MUST MEET THIS BY STIFFENING UP YOUR ORGANIZATION. MORE AND BETTER ORGANIZATION IS THE ANSWER!

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## I.U.110 NORTHWEST CONFERENCE

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According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture reports, the storm of March 18th and 20th caused practically no damage to the strawberry crop of Arkansas and Missouri.

Several members are already around Horatio and DeQueen, and the next few weeks should mark the opening of the first seasonal work for 110 in the middle west. Members taking in the berries should write the main office for literature, supplies, etc., or get in touch with the G.O.C. member in that district.

## JOB NEWS

### CALIFORNIA

CALIF., 3-20. Kirkman nurseries near Madera, Tulare, Brentwood, Planada, and Mc Farland. Tending to young orchards, hoeing, irrigating, cultivating, etc. Wages $2.00 per day and up with board. Tractor and truck drivers, and skinners - $3.50 per day and up, with board. Nine hours work. Will be ten when nursery work starts. This outfit gives 50¢ a day raise in August and takes it away in January. Hire at free employment offices and agencies. Blankets required. Board and sanitary conditions fair. ( AG 242)

LINDSAY - 3-20 Orange picking will start in about a week. Plenty of men. ( AG 104)

### WASHINGTON

SPOKANE, 3-20 Wages for married men on ranches $100. Ranch hands $35.00 and up, choremen $35.00, milkers for 24 cows $75.00 (AG 112)

### IOWA

Farmers are hiring men in Iowa at wages from $35.00 to $60.00 per month. According to reports most of them want to pay a bonus of five or ten dollars a month if you agree to stay all summer.

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## SPECIAL MEETING OF I.U.#110,CHICAGO, ILL.

Meeting called to order by branch secretary Miller at 2:30 P.M., March 25th, 1923.

Conductors report 38 members in good standing and 17 visitors present.

Reading of communications and minutes from Omaha, Sioux City, and Minneapolis branch.

M & S. That we concur with the G.O.C. as to place of holding the spring convention - OklahomaCity - and also date-May 20. Carried: Yes 35, No 3. Read, Cooper, Elsassar recorded as voting no.

M & S. That we concur with G.O.C. in their decision to not call in two alternates to their meeting. Carried. Yes 23, No. 2. George Read and Cole recorded as voting no.

Read moves that spring convention shall have no legislative power. No second.

Tom. Doyle, Chairman James Lance, Recording Sec'y.

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Cards for the following are on hand at the Minneapolis Branch, A,W,I,U.110. Write to Sam Murphy, branch secretary, 14½ S. First St., for these cards.

I.U.110 - Ben Gonia, William Shore, Stanly Hummack, Theder Keris, Oscar Hallbeck, Barny Larson, Harvey Walkey, John Mills, W.P. Murphy, Mills Fontenot, B.W. Sorensen, Roy Widener, Mike Moran, Thos. Mc Fadden, D.J. Maloney, Fred Thorpe, Albert Erickson, Henry Nelson, Louis Kobuick, Jn.Connell, John Mason, P.J. Cunningham, William Turner, Thos.Conway Frank Harris, Wm Mills, S.C. Fitzgerald, Roy Mckay, Charles Morty, George Zimmer, Raymond Connet

I.U.120- Robt Burns, Frank Hidiko, Ben F.Johnson, Neal Cannon, D. Olsen.

I.U. 310- Carl Gustavson, Joe Dahl, Toug.Gargel, Geo. Pasco

I.U.330 - C.V. Downs.

I.U.320 - Frank Harmond, S.S. Secudany.

## NOTICE

Fellow Worker Wm Smith, card # X 30172, was found dead this week in Minneapolis. Anyone knowing anything about F.W.Smith's address please write this office or Sam Murphy, branch secretary, 14½ S. First Street, Minneapolis.

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The following delegates whose names appear on the last delinquent list have settled their account in full and have been issued clearances: R.E. Massey, A 605 (1921), J.Coleman, A 960 (1...

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R.S. Day, write to C.J.Terrell, Box 1013, Los Angeles, Calif. or care of county jail. Important, The following members should also communicate with C.J.Terrell: Blackie Rogers, Joe Garner, C.L.Johnson, Louis Renwall and Titanic Slim.

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There are duplicate cards at Fresno for the following: C.D.White, Fred E.Smith, L. Gordon, R.F. Stone, Neal Hanley, John F. Hartman, Anthony Brown, John Noonan. Also Eugene Murphy's card which was found and turned in. Write Ed Anderson, General Delivery, Fresno, for these cards.

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In issuing the delinquent list all delegates whose account did not balance either in supplies or in cash on the books at Hdqts were placed on the list. Your name may be on it. Look the list over carefully. Probably there are names on the list that do not belong there. Sometimes supplies are turned in at a branch or to a traveling delegate and the supply bill does not reach Hdqts. If your name is on this list and you think it should not be there write in giving us all the information you can, and let's try and get straightened out. If your name is not on the list and you know anyone who is, make it your business to find out what he is doing to get squared. Remember that whatever is owing to the organization is a debt to you as a member.

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Fellow Workers:-

What are you doing to help get the class-war prisoners out of the penitentiaries? Fifty-three are still confined in the federal war-opinion cases, 49 of which are I.W.W.members; eight fellow workers are locked up at Walla Walla, Wash. doomed to spend most of their lives behind the bars for defending themselves at Centralia; and scores of other fellow workers are in prison in Calif. under the state's criminal syndicalism law.

Three kindred movements are to be noted at this time: 1, the plan for observance of General Amnesty Day on Sunday, April 29th; 2, the writing of letters to President Harding by labor organizations in various foreign countries; 3, the agitation for a general strike to compel the release of all class-war prisoners here. Local committees in many cities are arranging demonstrations for April 29th, and a large number of clergymen will preach amnesty sermons. Much attention is being paid to the amnesty question by the religious press.

Once more we find ourselves handicapped for money. This, of course, is always our greatest need, for publicity work must be not be stopped. We must keep up a constant outpouring of literature and news matter. Send us all the cash you can spare. Help us to gather money from others. If you haven't a defense receipt book send for one at once.

General Defense Committee.

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The hall in Fargo will be opened APRIL 1st.

Get your supplies, literature, etc. from the branches or stationary delegates:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| J.H. Snyder | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Joe Fisher | 515 N.16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Sam Murphy | 14½ S. First St., | Minneapolis, Minn |
| W.F. Bates | Box 531 | Williston, N.D. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 306 | Modesta, Calif. |
| Ed Anderson | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| Fred L.Fisher | 714 Mc Cee St. | Kansas City, Mo. |

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Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman G.O.C. Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U.NO.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No. 12

Chicago, Ill. April 4, 1923.

**********

ALL TOGETHER FOR THE 1923 DRIVE !

Fellow-workers:

The Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No.110 drive is now under way, impelled by a determination to make 1923 the banner year in the history of the organization. Every member has a duty to perform, and as each does his bit earnestly and zealously the success of this year's drive will be measured and the benefits accruing to the agricultural worker be determined.

More delegates are going into the berries this year than ever before in preparation for the advance on the harvest fields of Texas and southern Oklahoma from the Arkansas and Missouri berry patches. Berry picking lasts up to the opening of the harvest in Oklahoma and southern Kansas. The berry pickers of the Ozark region are among the first arrivals in the grain belt. This year we are going to see that they arrive as an organized force.

While, as heretofore, I.U. 110 is centering upon the grain harvest of the central states, we are this year attacking the agricultural employments in the coast states with an organizing campaign which must result in strengthening our position in California and Washington. The employers' offensive in California is weakening and is near a breakdown, while our forces are strengthening their morale and gathering new strength. There has never before been a year when I.U.110 approached the opening of a drive with such prospects as now offer.

This is the time for all earnest members to get in the harness and pull for the organizing success that means better living and a brighter future for the migratory workers. The man who does not take out credentials now is not playing in true form. The drive is the members' business. It is they who win in its success, or lose in its failure. The degree of organization attained depends upon the number of delegates as well as upon the way they work. There should be one delegate at least with every group of workers on the trains, in the jungles, and around each town. The members are the ones who must make delegates. They must be the delegates.

Have you credentials? If not, why not? Get them today. Today is the day of action. What you do today is already prepared for tomorrow. Wherever you are, get delegate's credentials NOW. Get the other fellow worker to take out credentials. The sooner we have our delegate list made up, the sooner we can dispose of our organizing force to advantage. Remember that "we" means you as well. It is our business -- yours, mine, and the rest of us. Let us see that it is well done.

"Take out credentials" is the slogan now. Let us carry it out. Then we are in a position to move forward so that every step brings us closer to success - organization, better wages, conditions, and hours. Get in line for credentials !

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A good supply of free literature is on hand at all branches and with all stationary delegates. Members not in touch with any of these will please write direct to this office for same. Success is the fruit of preparation, so let us start now and be well prepared.

## JOB NEWS

### CALIFORNIA

Calif.3-30 Kirkman nurseries near Madera, Tulare, Brentwood, Planada, and Mc Farland. Tending to young orchards, hoeing, irrigating, cultivating, etc. Wages $2.00 per day and up with board. Tractor and truck drivers, and skinners, $2.50 per day and up, with board. Nine hour work. Will be ten when nursery work starts. This outfit gives 50¢ a day raise in August and takes it away in January. Hire at free employment offices and ranches. Blankets required. Board and sanitary conditions fair. ( AG 242)

LINDSAY, 3-27 Orange picking will be on by the 1st of April. All piece work. No price set but probably about 8¢ per box. Members scarce, but plenty of unorganized workers. ( AG 104)

### WASHINGTON

SPOKANE, 3-20 Wages for married men on ranches $100. Ranch hands $35.00 and up, choremen $35.00, milkers for 24 cows $75.00. ( AG 112)

### IOWA

DAVENPORT, 3-30. Considerable farm work going on. Wages for single men from $40.00 to $60.00 per month with board. Members making Davenport should call at 609 W. 4th St. (#493776)

### OREGON

THE DALLES, 3-25 Ranch hands being hired at from $45.00 to $65.00 per month. The bigger the ranch, the smaller the pay. Sheep herders and lambers $75.00 to $100.00. ( AG 550)

### ARKANSAS

The cold weather in Arkansas and Missouri is holding the strawberries back. Picking will start around De Queen and Horatio about April 20th. ( AG 5)

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### --- Notice ---

Arrangements have been made with the Industrial Pioneer, which is to resume publication, whereby members out of touch with the branches and stationary delegates may secure the magazine direct through the main office. If you are interested in obtaining the Pioneer, which will contain news of all the latest developments in the class struggle together with much of educational value, send your name and address to the main office and the magazine will be forwarded to you.

The Pioneer will be off the press about the 25th of April. To insure your getting the first number without fail, we advise all members interested to get in touch with the main office as soon as possible.

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Motion passed by the regular business meeting of Sioux City branch A.W.I.U. 110, March 26, 1923.

"That the Sioux City branch of the A.W.I.U. go on record in favor of establishing an eight hour day in the harvest fields this summer." Carried Yes 5 ,No 2.

H.L. Thurman, # 386812 to be recorded as voting no.

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The following delegates whose names appear on the last delinquent list have squared their account and have been issued clearances:

James Farrell 555 H ( 1920), C.R. Wasson 573 F (1919)

## ALL TOGETHER FOR APRIL 29th

On April 29th people of various classes will hold demonstrations for the release of the remaining political prisoners and fellow workers held in state prisons.

The General Defense Committee is in receipt of letters from a number of branches who will hold meetings of protest and will elect committees to distribute literature dealing with all class war prisoners. Word has come from several southern cities that a parade will be held and a number of banners will be carried by the paraders. Slogans dalling for a general strike to free the remaining class war prisoners will be the most prominent. Minneapolis has assured us that a committee composed of various organizations have decided to hold a large mass meeting on April 29th and has asked for 25,000 pieces of literature dealing with the contemplated general strike.

Hardly a branch of the Industrial Workers of the World has failed to respond to the call issued by the General Defense Committee. Co-operating with the Committee are liberals who have assured us that they will also hold meetings. Clergymen of different denominations have written to the effect that they will deliver a sermon on April 29th and that their subject will be the "Liberation of Political Prisoners".

Several hundred thousands of leaflets dealing with the contemplated General Strike is being printed by the organization, and we call on all committees to write in for them immediately. Be sure that you have a well organized committee for distribution, so that none of the literature will go to waste.

General Defense Committee.

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NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

Card numbers : X 30085, X 40315, X 49618, X 49634, X 49635 have been lost at De Noya, Okla. by delegate AG 115. Send in to the main office if found.

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Fellow-worker Arthur Hogan was killed by a train in Fargo on March 29th. Anyone knowing the address of his relatives notify this office at once.

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Fellow-worker Ed Williams, delegate G 682, please write in to the main office at once.

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The general convention of A.W.I.U.No.110 will be held in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma on May 20th, 1923. This year I.U.110 has gone back to the old form of mass convention, and every member will have the opportunity to present his own ideas and resolutions.

Send in your resolutions and suggestions for the convention for publication in the Bulletin, so that others may be able to study them before the convention.

---

Get your supplies, literature, etc. from the branches or stationary delegates:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| J.H. Snyder | 1219-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Joe Fisher | 515 N. 16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Sam. Murphy | 14½ S. First St., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| W.F. Bates | Box 551 | Williston, N.D. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 306 | Modesta, Calif |
| Ed Anderson | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| John K.Peterson | 504 W. 7th St. | Kansas City, Mo. |
| John O'Brien | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |

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Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman A.W.I.U. No.110.

Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treasurer.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.13

Chicago, Ill. April 11, 1923.

**********

PREPARE NOW! LINE UP! DELEGATES.

Fellow-workers:

Opportunity depends upon the readiness to seize and act upon a favoring development. Unless we are prepared to take advantage of a chance no opportunity exists. And, where groups are concerned, the unorganized are always unready. For the group which is facing and dealing with a situation organization is the very first requirement of effective preparation.

Industrial situations not only affect some members of a working group but all members of the group. Prospects are favorably influenced and beneficial results secured in proportion to the extent of organization obtaining in the group and the degree of intelligence with which its energy is directed. Its experience is the guide of the organized group. Now, experience is not simply the process of going through different situations, but of gaining knowledge from and by having gone through them. In this respect the A.W.I.U. #110 is equipped with an ample fund. The time is now here to draw upon it.

This year we are facing the greatest chance in the history of the organization. Are we prepared to take full advantage of it? Preparedness is the price of success and our success this year will be that which we have prepared to secure.

Here is the outlook at present:

1. There is a general revival in industry.

This will create an above average demand for wage workers, but offers advantage only where the workers are organized - and then according to how they are organized and conduct their affairs.

2. The inflow of emigration is meagre in comparison with that of former years.

This means that labor, when organized, is more favorably situated in the labor market than ever before.

3. The reported grain acreage is larger than in previous years and the crop outlook is promising.

Such a situation implies a great demand for harvest labor, which will occur at a time when other industries, preferred by the average worker, will likewise be bidding for wage workers. The employers will compete with another, this summer and fall anyway.

Out of this situation we should win great improvements for agricultural labor. And we will, if we marshall our forces, use good judgment in their disposal, and bend ourselves earnestly and wisely in advancing our demands. Necessarily, our delegates must be wherever there are harvesters. They must be with them going to the harvest, in the jungles, around the towns; and they must accompany them in their movements within the harvest belt. As organization is the first step in the direction of progress and success, so is a thorough and competent delegate system the first step in organization.

Look the prospect over, fellow workers, and then jump for credentials. Now is the time to be up and doing. This summer is ours to harvest from the seed we have been sowing for years. Let us organize ourselves and make a thorough job of it.

When, moreover, we know that craft unionism is completely

discredited and are aware that we shall experience less difficulty in lining up men than ever before, we should be encouraged to make a supreme effort in this summer's harvest drive.

Industrial conditions have dealt us a hand full of economic trumps. The question is: Shall we play them well? The game is ours, and the stakes worth winning. Let us now get busy. And the first order of business is - Report for credentials. Get your credentials today. Let us organize ourselves to organize the workers and prove to the employers and our unorganized fellows that organization means strength, success, and security.

Get your credentials now. Foresight wins. Hindsight only regrets. Do it now. Get credentials.

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## JOB NEWS

### CALIFORNIA

CALIF. 3-20. Kirkman nurseries near Madera, Tulare, Brentwood, Planada, and Mc Farland. Tending to young orchards, hoeing, irrigating, cultivating, etc. Wages $2.00 per day and up with board. Tractor and truck drivers and skinners $2.50 per day and up, with board. This outfit gives 50¢ a day raise in August and takes it away in January. Nine hour work. Will be ten when nursery work starts. Hire at free employment offices and ranches. Blankets required. Board and sanitary conditions fair. ( AG 242)

LINDSAY, 3-27 Orange picking will be on by the 1st of April. All piece work. No price set but probably about 8¢ per box. Members scarce, but plenty of unorganized workers. (AG 104)

### WASHINGTON

SPOKANE, 3-20 Wages for married men on ranches $100. Ranch hands $35.00 and up, choremen $35.00, milkers for 24 cows $75.00.(AG112)

### IOWA

DAVENPORT, 3-30 Considerable farm work going on. Wages for single men from $40.00 to $60.00 per month with board. Members making Davenport should call at 609 W. 4th St. ( # 493776)

### OREGON

THE DALLES, 3-25 Ranch hands being hired at from $45.00 to $65.00 per month. The bigger the ranch, the smaller the pay. Sheep herders and lambers $75.00 to $100.00. (AG 550)

### ARKANSAS

According to reports coming in the berries will be on around De Queen and Horatio, about the 20th of April, and a little later around Bald Knob. Members making the berries should get in touch with the G.O.C. member in that district or with the main office, so they may be supplied with literature, etc.

### SOUTH DAKOTA

ABERDEEN, 4-7-23 Good demand for farm help. Wages $50.00 per month. Not many men. (AG 141)

### NORTH DAKOTA

FARGO , 4-9-23 Plenty of demand for monthly men at from $40.00 to $50.00 per month. ( AG 7)

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### *** NOTICE ***

All job and stationary delegates should send in a report of the amount of supplies on hand May 1st. This will enable the main office to make a complete report of the standing of all subordinate parts of the organization to the convention in accordance with By-law #30.

NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

The general convention of A.W.I.U. No.110 will be held in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma on May 20th, 1926. This year I.U.110 has gone back to the old form of mass convention, and every member will have the opportunity to present his own ideas and resolutions.

Send in your resolutions and suggestions for the convention for publication in the Bulletin, so that others may be able to study them before the convention.

---

If you have not received a copy of the delinquent list send in to headquarters or the nearest branch and get one. It is time that something was done with these accounts. You may know some one whose name appears on the list. Appoint yourself a committee of one to find out what effort he is making to get square. That which is owing to the organization should be of interest to every member.

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Walter Barager, delegate A 211, whose name appears on the 1921 delinquent list, has settled his account in full and has been issued a clearance,

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Jack Egeland, card # 822378, died last week in Minneapolis. Anyone knowing his home address please write the main office or to Sam Murphy at 14½ S. First St., Minneapolis.

---

Cards for the following are on hand at the Minneapolis branch, A.W.I.U.110. Write to Sam Murphy, branch secretary, at 14½ S. First St. for these cards.

I.U.110 - Ben Gonia, William Shore, Stanly Hummack, Theder Koris, Oscar Hallbeck, Barny Larson, Harvey Walkey, John Mills, W.P.Murphy, Mills Fontenot, B.W.Sorensen, Roy Widener, Mike Moran, Thos.Mc Fadden, D.J.Maloney, Fred Thorpe, Albert Erickson, Henry Nelson, Louis Kobuick, John Connell, John Mason, P.J.Cunningham, Wm Turner, Thos Conway, Fr.Harm. Wm Ailis, S.C.Fitzgerald, Roy Mckay, Chas.Morty, Geo.Zimmer, Raymond Connet.
I.U.120 - Robt. Burns, Frank Hidiko, Ben.F.Johnson, Neal Cannon. D. Olsen.
I.U.310 - Carl Gustavson, Joe Dahl, Toug.Gargel, George Pasco.
I.U.330 - C.V. Downs I.U. 520-Frank Harmond, S.S. Secudany.

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There are duplicate cards at Fresno for the following:

C.D.White, Fred E.Smith, L.Gordon, R.F.Stone, Neal Hanley, John F.Hartman, Anthony Brown, John Noonan. Also Eugene Murphy's card which was found and turned in. Write Ed Anderson, General Delivery, Fresno, for these cards.

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| S.H. Straw | Box 306 | Modesta, Calif. |
| Ed Anderson | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| John O'Brien | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| John K.Peterson | 504 W. 7th St. | Kansas City, Mo. |

With best wishes, we remain

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treasurer

A.W.I.U. No.110

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.14

Chicago, Ill. April 18, 1923.

## LET US BE READY

Fellow workers:

The steel kings have raised wages twice within a few months. The textile barons have also granted wage advances. Even the Landis Committee in Chicago is among those who have announced wage increases. So have the packing bosses. Everywhere wages are going up as the employers strive to secure adequate working forces for their industries.

These wages increases have been advertised as showing the considerateness of capitalist concerns toward their employers and the virtues of company unionism. But the fact of the matter is that the labor market condition is dictating this policy to them. Thus does capitalist policy seek to make a virtue of necessity. They are raising wages not because they like to, but because they have to. If there are any among the wage workers who are so dense as to believe that these wage increases indicate a change of heart by the capitalists, such are indeed hopeless.

For us the question is: If the labor market condition can squeeze wage raises from the capitalists where the workers are unorganized, what would be the measure of these advances if the workers were thoroughly and scientifically organized? We do not know exactly, but this much we do know - that they would be greater than they are.

With wages going up all around agriculture, in all the other industries, there is likely to be a real shortage of farm labor, with the farmers bidding against one another for the help they must have. High wages are cheaper than wasted crops. The opportunity to organize agricultural labor is greater this year than ever before. Not only will it be easier to organize the harvest workers, but it will also be easier to win concessions at which we have aimed for years.

The sign painters in Chicago have established a five day, forty hour week. Why should the harvesters work more than ten hours per day, or even that long? This summer we should at least be able to secure the ten hour day throughout the grain belt.

Not only is there an encouraging prospect for agricultural labor but for all labor. Perhaps it is only because it is brighter for all labor that it is so bright for farm workers. However, we need waste no time speculating upon the "whys"and "wherefores". The opportunity is here, and if we make ready we shall win organization and industrial advantages from it.

We should be preparing now to do our utmost. Experience teaches us that an organization drive depends largely upon the number and quality of our delegates. This year, with such a promising outlook, we must strive for a delegate representation ample enough to meet every requirement and win advantage from every favoring circumstance. There is just one certain way in which this can be done - every qualified member must take out credentials.

Conditions will make propaganda and do the agitating this year. The sentiment for organization will be stronger and more widespread than ever before, without the restraints and handicaps that have hampered us in the past. The season for which we have longed is at hand, and the A.W.I.U. should come out of

the harvest this year with the largest paid up membership in its history. 1923 is destined to be a great year.

Fellow-workers, get credentials now. Let us be organized and ready when the ripened grain demands our attention. Get credentials today. Don't wait. Tomorrow is always a day off. D O I T N O W.

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## JOB NEWS

### CALIFORNIA

CALIF., 3-20 Kirkman nurseries near Madera, Tulare, Brentwood, Planada, and Mc Farland. Tending to young orchards, hoeing, irrigating, cultivating, etc. Wages $3.00 per day and up with board. Tractor and truck drives, skinners $3.50 per day and up with board. This outfit gives 50¢ a day raise in August and takes it away in January. Nine hour work. Will be ten when nursery work starts. Hire at free employment offices and ranches Blankets required. Board and sanitary conditions fair. ( AG 242)

LINDSAY, 3-27 Orange picking will be on by the 1st of April. All piece work. No price set, but probably about 8¢ per box. Members scarce, but plenty of unorganized workers. ( AG 104)

WALNUT GROVE, 4-11-23. Haying in on around Walnut Grove, Modesto, and Turlock. Wages $1.75 and up. ( AG 4)

### WASHINGTON

SPOKANE, 3-20. Wages for married men on ranches $100. Ranch hands $35.00 and up, choremen $35.00, Milkers for 24 cows $75.00. ( AG 112)

### IOWA

DAVENPORT, 3-30 Considerable farm work going on. Wages for single men from $40.00 to $60.00 per month with board. Members making Davenport should call at 609 W. 4th St. ( # 493776)

### OREGON

THE DALLES, 3-25 Ranch hands being hired at from $45.00 to $65.00 per month. The bigger the ranch the smaller the pay. Sheep herders and lambers $75.00 to $100.00 ( AG 550)

### ARKANSAS

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### SOUTH DAKOTA

ABERDEEN, 4-15. Farm work is being held up for lack of men. Wages $50.00 per month. ( AG 141)

### NORTH DAKOTA

FARGO , 4-9. Plenty of demand for monthly men at from $40.00 to $50.00 per month. ( Ag 7)

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### *** NOTICE ***

All members and delegates should send in all available job news, as spring is here and agricultural work has opened up. Unless reports are sent in, there can be no job news.

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Organizing activity is the life-blood of unionism.

## DEFENSE NEWS

Protests against the continued imprisonment of workingmen, six of whom are Britishers, in American penitentiaries for war-opinions are being made by labor organizations and public-spirited individuals thru-out the British Isles. These protests are being sent in most cases to the nearest American consul, but in various instances appeals have been sent direct to President Harding at Washington.

There is reason to believe that action in behalf of the political prisoners in America will shortly be taken by the labor members of the House of Commons in view of the steadily growing agitation by working class organizations. In Liverpool a mass-meeting was lately held, those present demanding that immediate steps be taken in the release of their countrymen and the other 4 workers confined in American for opinions. This meeting called upon the Transport and General Workers' Union, the National Sailors and Firemen's Union, and the Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union to abstain from working on United States ships or handling goods from that country until the politicals were liberated.

Similar expression was voiced by the Smethwick Branch of the National Unemployment Workers' Committee Movement, which pointed out that the American government had set free all spies and profiteers, and that all other nations had released all men held for war opinions.

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NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

All job and stationary delegates should send in a report of the amount of supplies on hand May 1st. This will enable the main office to make a complete report of the standing of all subordinate parts of the organization to the convention in accordance with By-law # 30.

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The general convention of A.W.I.U.No.110 will be held in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma on May 20th, 1923. This year I.U. 110 has gone back to the old form of mass convention, and every member will have the opportunity to present his own ideas and resolutions.

Send in your resolutions and suggestions for the conven-- tion for publication in the Bulletin, so that others may be able to study them before the convention.

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If you have not received a copy of the delinquent list send in to headquarters or the nearest branch and get one. It is time that something was done with these accounts. You may know some one whose name appears on the list. Appoint yourself a committee of one to find out what effort he is making to get square. That which is owing to the organization should be of interest to every member.

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Get your supplies, literature, etc. from the branches or stationary delegates:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| J.H. Snyder | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Joe Fisher | 515 N. 16th St.( Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Sam Murphy | 14½ S. First St. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| W.F. Bates | Box 531 | Williston, N.D. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 306 | Modesto, Calif |
| Ed Anderson | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| John O'Brien | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| John K.Peterson | 504 W. 7th St. | Kansas City, Mo. |

**********

With best wishes, we remain

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treasurer
A.W.I.U. No.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

# B U L L E T I N No. 15

Chicago, Ill. April 25, 1923.

## SPRING WORK OPENING UP WITH LABOR SHORTAGE

Fellow workers:

Spring work is opening up in almost the entire agricultural industry of the country, and now is the time to give I.U. 110 your cooperation by sending in for credentials and supplies. This is the year to break all records for No.110.

The United States Department of Agriculture is out with an announcement of a farm labor shortage, in which they state that last April, 1922, there were 111 men for every 100 jobs on the farms of this country, while in April 1923 there are only 88 men for every 100 jobs. The shortage of labor is greatest in the northern industrial belt, extending from the New England States west to the Mississippi River, and will be least felt in the Mountain and Pacific States. The Department also announces that the farm prices of the principal crops advanced 3.2 per cent during March.

Members of No.110 take a tip! Higher prices and a labor shortage will make for a situation that should prepare many of the unorganized for a card. Now is the time to start the 1923 drive! Don't wait until wheat harvest, but get out among the farm laborers and line them up to better their conditions, while there is a labor shortage on. The farmer does not overlook a crop shortage to get his. Inform the farm laborers that they should not fail to take advantage of the labor shortage, which will enable them to get theirs.

Berry and orange picking is on, and this is the best time to start a drive for new members. Berry picking in northern Arkansas and southwestern Missouri will last until wheat harvest starts in northern Oklahoma and southern Kansas. NOW is the time to start lining up new members for the wheat harvest drive.

It is a duty you owe yourself and fellow workers - to take out credentials at once and start the drive now. Don't wait for some one to come along and ask you to take out credentials, but get in touch with the organization at once and inform us that you are going to help in the 1923 drive. ASK FOR CREDENTIALS NOW!.

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The general convention of A.W.I.U. No.110 will be held in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma on May 20th, 1923. This year I.U. 110 has gone back to the old form of mass convention, and every member will have the opportunity to present his own ideas and resolutions.

Send in your resolutions and suggestions for the convention for publication in the Bulletin, so that others may be able to study them before the convention.

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All job and stationary delegates should send in a report of the amount of supplies on hand May 1st. This will enable the main office to make a complete report of the standing of all subordinate parts of the organization to the convention in accordance with By-law # 30.

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A 210 hall has been opened in Salt Lake City at 253 West Broadway. Members coming from the Coast can obtain literature, supplies, etc. there.

## JOB NEWS

### CALIFORNIA

BRAWLEY, 4-21 Haying and hay baling paying $3.00 to $5.00 per day. Some jobs with board, some board yourself. Members scarce. Early cantelopes will be ready to pick May 20th. They will start pulling onions in the Coachella Valley about May 1st. ( AG 4)

[illegible], 4-16 Haying is on around Tulare and Tipton. $2.50 a day. At Delano lettuce picking at 35 and 40¢ per hour.(AG 4)

### IOWA

FORT DODGE, 4-21 Farmers are hiring monthly men at from $40.00 to $50.00 per month. (AG 129)

CLEAR LAKE, 4-20 Some farm work at $2.00 per day and board. No organization. A delegate could do good work here. (#419513)

### NORTH DAKOTA

FARGO, 4-9 Plenty of demand for monthly men at from $40.00 to $50.00 per month. ( AG 7)

MINOT, 4-17 Seeding is on between Carrington and Minot. $40.00 to $45.00 per month. Men scarce. Between Wolf Point and Malta, Mont. wages are $50.00 per month, but the farmers are broke. ( AG 555)

### SOUTH DAKOTA

ABERDEEN , 4-22. Farm help very scarce. Farmers offering $50.00 to $60.00 per month. ( AG 141)

### ARKANSAS

DE QUEEN, 4-22. Berry picking on at 3¢ per box. Some few offer 4¢. Scarcity of pickers here. ( AG 8)

BALD KNOB , 4-23 Berries will be on about May 1st. Men very scarce. Sentiment good. ( AG 156)

### CANADA

WINNIPEG, 4-20 Farmers are hiring monthly men at $35.00 to $40.00 per month if you sign a contract for seven or eight months. Otherwise, no job. ( X 38011)

All members and delegates should send in all available job news, as spring is here and agricultural work has opened up. Unless reports are sent in, there can be no job news.

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## *** MEETINGS ***

Lindsay, California, April 14, 1923.

Meeting called to order 10:15 A.M. by delegate AG 4.

Present: Ten members in good standing.

M & S. That the floor be opened for discussion. Carried.

M & S. That the discussion be closed. Carried.

M & S. That a committee of three be elected to draw up a resolution pertaining to the voluntary bond stamp. Carried.

M & S. That we have a recess for twenty minutes to draw up a resolution. Carried.

Recess at 11 O'clock. Called to order at 11:20.

Resolution.

That this body go on record as being opposed to a compulsory bond stamp.

That we suggest a two dollar voluntary bond stamp to take up two spaces till we get the debts paid, and we further suggest that all Industrial Unions take the same action.

That we suggest to get the bond stamp in the field as soon as possible.

The reason why we are opposed to the compulsory bond stamp is because it conflicts with the principles of the I.W.W. constitution.

That we recommend all G.O.C. members to instruct all delegates to push the voluntary bond stamps and to be published in all I.W.W. publications.

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M & S. That we accept resolution. Carried.

M & S. That we suggest to the delegate to the spring conference to lay aside three to five thousand dollars for the drive in California this coming fall. Carried.

M & S. That we instruct the G.O.C. to bring it up before the convention to have a paid literature agent in Calif. Carried.

M & S. That we have these minutes published in all I.W.W. publications. Carried.

Adjourned 1 P.M.

Chairman AG 118 Recording Sec'y AG 274

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Horatio, Ark. April 16, 1923. Meeting called to order by G.O.C. member. Conductors report 7 members in good standing.

M & S. That those not carrying cards be seated without voice or vote. Carried.

M & S. That report of G.O.C. member be accepted as progress. Ca.

Resolution.

Whereas, the I.W.W. as a class organization has always stood firmly for the workers, and

Whereas, the I.W.W.,,as a rank and file organization, realizes that the striking shopmen have put up a long and hard fight with their old form of unionism,

Therefore, be it resolved that we, the members of the A.W.I.U. No.110 of the I.W.W., welcome the striking shopmen to the berry-harvest with an interchanging of cards, and

Be it further resolved, that we assist these workers in every way possible. ( # 734067)

M & S. That we concur with resolution. Carried.

M & S. That all members cooperate by keeping one another posted as to the conditions on different jobs in these fields and by informing the delegates as to where they can function to the best interest of the organization. Carried.

M & S. That this body go on record as standing firmly opposed to any move intended to change the proposed location of the 110 spring convention, which is dated for Oklahoma City, May 20th.C..

M & S. That we hold these business meetings on the jobs or where ever there is sufficient members and keep I.U. 110 hdqts posted directly from jobs as to progress being made, and we lose no opportunity in advancing the interest of the I.W.W. Carried.

M & S. That this body go on record as standing in favor of G.O.C. members drawing full pay while functioning in the agricultural industry in these fields. Carried.

Several good talks on good and welfare.

Chairman H. Moore Recording Secretary Jas. Dwyer.

## DEFENSE NEWS

The General Defense Committee, thru its legal counsel, will carry to the U.S. Supreme Court upon a writ of error its appeal from the injunction against the Industrial Workers of the World which has prevailed in Kansas ever since June 24, 1920. Preparations for this move are in the hands of Attorney H.S.Julian, who formulated the brief on which the case went to the Supreme Court of Kansas. Until the United States court passes upon the writ of error, matters concerning the I.W.W. in Kansas will remain in status quo - in other words, matters concerning the I.W.W. in Kansas will be the same as while the appeal was pending in the State Supreme Court.

The injunction applies to Henry Bradley and all other officers, agents, and members of the I.W.W. While on its fact it purports to restrain that organization from committing "depradations against property by criminal syndicalism and sabotage", it has been employed repeatedly to prevent I.W.W. members from getting others to join the I.W.W. and from selling I.W.W. newspapers, which enjoy second - class mailing privileges granted by the federal government.

Attorney General Richard J. Hopkins of this state applied for the injunction following the remarkable success of the I.W.W. in solidifying agricultural and oil workers in Kansas against exploitation for months preceding the final week of June 1920. Both the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union and the Oil Workers Industrial Union were named in Hopkin's petition. Hopkins declared that within a few weeks previous large numbers of I.W.W. members had come into Kansas and had"conspired and confederated together to stop work in the wheat fields and oil fields of this state, by criminal syndicalism and sabotage, as defined in the statute".

In appealing from the injunction, which was granted by Judge A.T.Ayres of the district court of Butler county, the lawyers for the I.W.W. voiced these contentions: "That a court of equity has no jurisdiction in matters of crime; equity can deal with none but property rights; no property rights of the state of Kansas were threatened; the injunction was an attempt to inflict involuntary servitude on members of the I.W.W.; and this proceeding was violative of constitutional rights of the defendants under both state and federal statutes".

It was pointed out that such an injunction against the defendants was superfluous; that it was unnecessary because there already was in existence a criminal syndicalism law in Kansas, which provided a penalty of 10 years in the penitentiary and a fine of $1,000 for any one found guilty of criminal syndicalism or sabotage. If any man committed such acts, the remedy lay in prosecuting him under the statute.

But the Kansas Supreme Court nevertheless upheld the injunction. It did so by virtue of a previous court decision in the case of the State of Kansas versus Alexander Howat. The text of that decision is not given in the supreme tribunal's ruling, but it says that " on the authority of the decision in the Howat case, this court holds the petition stated, a case of action as against all the objections urged.

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The following delegates whose names appear on the last delinquent list have settled their accounts and have been issued clearances: B.M. Shields, A 2518,( 1921), Lauri Kaurila, F 270 (1919).

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Jas. Barry, delegate AG 556, had his supplies and credentials confiscated by the bulls at Umatilla, Ore. This is a strong K K K and American Legion town. The R.R. Yards are full of stools. Members should be on the watch in going thru this town. Duplicate credentials have been issued Fellow worker Barry.

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Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies, literature, e

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| J.H. Snyder | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Joe Fisher | Box 107, 515 N.16th St. | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Sam Murphy | 14½ S. First St. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| W.T. Bates | Box 531 | Williston, N.D. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 306 | Modesto, Calif. |
| Ed Anderson | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| John O'Brien | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| Jn.K. Peterson | 504 W. 7th St. | Kansas City, Mo. |

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Albert Hanson, Chairman — Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U. No.110

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No. 16

Chicago, Ill. May 2, 1923.

## IN ORGANIZATION IS OUR SECURITY

Fellow workers:

The bright May sunshine is not more promising and comforting than is the prospect which opens before American labor for the coming months, provided that the workers do not fritter away tne opportunity which they bring.

In field, garden and orchard green shoots and bulbs denote that vegetable life is responding to the influences of springtime. Even the unattended and waste places are clothing themselves with verdure. It is the natural law.

So, also, is it in the world of labor. The blizzards and frosts of industrial depression are being succeeded by balmier economic conditions, and, in obedience to a similar law, the hopes aspirations and ambitions of the wage working class are beginning to send up shoots that enliven the barrenness and dreariness which has marked the labor world for the past five years. The storms that hurled themselves with such destructive fury upon the organized labor movement have spent themselves. For the present they have tapered into a cooing zepher breathing a seductive note of "mutuality", under the influence of which there is danger that labor may be lulled to sleep at a time when alertness and activity are necessary to bring to fruition those advantages which are as yet only in the bud.

In the times of industrial depression- times when unemployment is rife and the labor spirit at low ebb - the employers combine and actively engage to take advantage of the workers' adversity. They have no compunction. It is strictly according to the rules that govern warfare, economic as well as military. And the struggle between the classes is war, bitter, unceasing and relentless war.

It is poor generalship and criminally neglectful to fail to take advantage of any and every opportunity to strengthen the class position. So believe the capitalists, and so also must the workers come to believe. What we neglect on our own behalf we abandon to the enemy for his benefit.

An idle summer stores no winter supply, and a labor movement which gathers only what falls into its lap is indeed an idle and worthless body. Everywhere, all about and around us, the spirit to protest against present conditions is discernible among the workers. And there is, likewise, evident a distinct recognition by the capitalist employers of their comparative helplessness in the face of the industrial situation which now confronts them.

Before an organized labor opposition, even tho it falls far short of 100 per cent, they have no option but to conciliate the workers. They have now no considerable reserve army of unemployed from which to organize strikebreaking forces. If labor rises to its opportunity now, the way of its future will surely be made easier. Of themselves the capitalists have never been able to resist labor. It is only by taking advantage of labor surpluses, and arraying bodies of workers against one another, that they have been able to win to the vantage point where they are the virtual dictators of society. The workers have whipped themselves. The time is here to eliminate division and to close up the ranks of labor. We, ourselves, must do it.

So far as the A.W.I.U.110 is concerned this spirit is in evidence to a greater degree than ever before. The organization appears to

sense its opportunity and the number of members who have taken out credentials is a very hopeful sign that there will be no sleeping when the drive is on.

But the A.W.I.U. is not the I.W.W., and the I.W.W. is not yet the working class. Only as our class rises and is made secure can agricultural labor be secure. Therefore, we must relate our own activities to those of the laborers in all other industries. In all the Industrial Unions we are first I.W.W.'s. The organization holds all there is of hope for the workers. Wherever we come in contact with other workers, in whom the sun of a labor demand is awakening the consciousness of class desire, we must strive to do all in our power to cultivate that feeling and crystallize it into organization. This is the spirit that builds, and this is the spirit of the I.W.W.

Agricultural workers all over the world are moving forward. This is the year when the A.W.I.U. should go ahead more rapidly than ever before. The position we shall achieve can only be held when other workers are also brought into the I.W.W. When, and as we help to bring them we shall have started on the march forward that will lead to the industrial democracy in which alone is to be found peace and security for the world and its workers.

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## JOB NEWS

### CALIFORNIA

BRAWLEY, 4-21 Haying and hay baling paying $3.00 to $5.00 per day. Some jobs with board, some board yourself. Members scarce. Early cantelopes will be ready to pick May 20th. They will start pulling onions in the Coachella Valley about May 1st. (AG4)

TULARE, 4-16 Haying is on around Tulare and Tipton. $2.50 per day. At Delano lettuce picking at 35 and 40¢ per hour.(AG4)

LINDSAY, 4-26 Orange picking now on at 6 to 9¢ per box. Plenty of slaves. ( AG 104)

### IOWA

FORT DODGE, 4-21. Farmers are hiring monthly men at from $40.00 to $50.00 per month. ( AG 129)

CLEAR LAKE,4-20 Some farm work at $2.00 per day and board. No organization. A delegate could do good work here. ( #419516)

### NORTH DAKOTA

FARGO, 4-9 Plenty of demand for monthly men at from $40.00 to $50.00 per month. ( AG 7)

MINOT, 4-17 Seeding is on between Carrington and Minot.$40. to $45.00 per month. Men scarce. Between Wolf Point and Malta, Montana, wages are $50.00 per month, but the farmers are broke. (AG 555)

### SOUTH DAKOTA

ABERDEEN, 4-22. Farm help very scarce. Farmers offering $50.00 to $60.00 per month. ( AG 141)

### ARKANSAS

DE QUEEN, 4-22 Berry picking on at 3¢ per box. Some few offer 4¢. Scarcity of pickers here. (AG 8)

BALD KNOB, 4-23. Berries will be on about May 1st. Men very scarce. Sentiment good. ( AG 156)

HORATIO,4-29. Growers paying 3¢ for berry picking, but this can easily be raised as pickers are scarce. ( AG 323)

All members and delegates should send in all available job news, as spring is here and agricultural work has opened up. Unless reports are sent in, there can be no job news.

## DEFENSE NEWS

William Murphy, delegate for #110, whose conviction under the Kansas criminal syndicalism law was reversed some time ago by the state supreme court, has finally gained his liberty, but only after arduous efforts on the part of the General Defense Committee. He came out of prison in precarious physical condition, following a long hunger strike. Murphy was serving a 40 year term.

After the Supreme Court had reversed the conviction, the prosecuting attorney of Trego County, where Murphy was convicted, side-tracked the mandate for his release, and did the same thing when the second mandate was issued. It was finally necessary for the Supreme Court to send the order for release directly to the warden of the state penitentiary at Lansing.

Then when Murphy was out of prison on April 23, he was immediately rearrested by deputy sheriffs from Trego County and was taken to Elmwood Hospital for the Insane, at Leavenworth, on the pretext that he was a dangerous man and might hurt somebody. Telegraphic protests from the General Defense Committee to the hospital superintendent revealed that there was no reason for putting Murphy in an asylum, and the superintendent agreed to release him as soon as some one was sent to care for him, in view of his physical condition. The General Defense Committee sent a representative who brought Murphy to Chicago, where he will be placed under medical care.

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NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

The following resolutions carried at the regular business meeting, Sioux City Branch A.W.I.U. 110, April 24, 1923:

Be it Resolved, that the A.W.I.U.#110 in convention go on record to put up a prize to the delegate of A.W.I.U. #110 that gets the most subscriptions for the I.W.W. publications, to be decided in dollars and cents. The prize to be a three months course at the Work People's College, to be paid for out of the A.W.I.U.#110 treasury. Contest to start 1st of June 1923 and close the 31st day of Dec. '23. Amended to read June 1st till Nov. 15th, 1923.

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Resolved, that the A.W.I.U.#110 secure a new form of receipt for delegates, where there will be a space provided to show whatever the total deficit of the delegate (if any) is, and said total be put on each and every receipt.

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All job and stationary delegates should send in a report of the amount of supplies on hand May 1st. This will enable the main office to make a complete report of the standing of all subordinate parts of the organization to the convention in accordance with By-law #30.

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Several members have had their cards torn up by bulls at Claremore, Okla. Members should be on the look out in going through there.

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Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies, literature,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| J.H. Snyder | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
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Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman, Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U.No.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.17

Chicago, Ill. May 9, 1923

## OPPORTUNITY BECKONS IN THE NORTHWEST

Fellow workers:

California has given impetus to the I.W.W. in all the Pacific Coast states. The splendid fight which the organization in that state has been putting up for fundamental principles and constitutional rights has won the favorable attention of all fair-minded and freedom loving people on the Coast and elsewhere. The workers in particular are more inclined to regard the organization with respect than ever before. It must be our effort to crystallize into organization this feeling and thus win power on our own behalf.

In Washington, from the start of pruning and cultivating the orchards, work in the Yakima and Wenatchee Valleys, and the adjoining states of Oregon and Idaho continues until well on into the early winter months. This year we may expect a shorter than usual labor supply, and it is our duty to bend every effort to win higher wages and better conditions. In a rising labor market the disposition to organize grows among the workers. We should therefore be prepared to carry on an intensive propaganda and organizing campaign in the states of the northwest, centering, of course, upon those localities where the greatest numbers of workers congregate.

About the latter end of May strawberries will be ready at Kennewick and White Salmon, Washingon, and around the Hood River district in Oregon as well.

Alfalfa haying will start around Toppinish, Washington and Echo, Oregon about the middle of June. Then grain-hay cutting starts just before the grain harvest - about the last of June in the Walla Walla Valley and the Pendleton district.

Threshing immediately follows the harvest and will last until the end of September, depending upon the acreage and weather conditions.

The aforementioned harvests will draw men, and our delegates should be on hand prepared to line up men in greater numbers than in any previous year. In the harvest and threshing the work is hard under the hot, burning sun and, with impure water, will wear down the stoutest men. There will be much discontent on these jobs and, where men are not too plentiful, there will be a marked tendency to organize. Delegates will find plenty to do and greater satisfaction when progress is being made. This is our year if we do not lay down on the job.

### Fruit Picking

Cherries will be ready to pick along the Snake River about the last of June. Lewiston should be a good center for work and a good place for delegates to enroll membership.

The peach harvest will start in the Yakima Valley toward the end of July; apples will be ready for the pickers the last of September and will afford employment until frost comes. This is also true of the Wenatchee Valley. Men, women and children flock into these sections for this work. They come in autos from Seattle, Spokane, and other cities. These are enjoying a "vacation", living uncomfortably and working like hell for miserably small wages. They are not satisfied, but they are at a loss what to do. We must educate and organize them so that they can remedy the conditions that bear so harshly upon them and us. They are like ourselves - they want better things - but they must be taught how to get them.

A.W.I.U.110 delegates and active members will find in the

northwestern states great numbers of discontented workers whom a little of the right kind of agitation will make over into thoroughgoing unionists. Let us take the northwest seriously in this time when economic pressure is relaxing, and we will find the results far beyond our most sanguine expectations. As in other sections it will require a sufficient number of delegates - and more than a sufficiency even would not be one too many. If you are going into Washington, Oregon or Idaho see that you have credentials, supplies, and literature. The battle is ever to the strong and the way to be strong is to enlist an army of delegates so that wherever workers are in the northwest there also shall be our men to educate and organize them. Take out credentials, fellow workers. Do it today. Opportunity beckons in the northwest. Let us heed the signal. Delegates, delegates and then more delegates is the answer. See that you have credentials.

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## JOB NEWS

### CALIFORNIA

BRAWLEY, 4-21 Haying and hay baling paying $3.00 to $5.00 per day. Some jobs with board, some board yourself. Members scarce. Early cantelopes will be ready to pick May 20th. They will start pulling onions in the Coachella Vally about May 1st. (AG 4).

LINDSAY, 4-26 Orange picking now on at 6 to 9¢ per box. Plenty of slaves. ( AG 104)

### IOWA

CLEAR LAKE, 4-20. Some farm work at $2.00 per day and board. No organization. A delegate could do good work here. (#419516)

### NORTH DAKOTA

MINOT, 4-27 Seeding is on between Carrington and Minot. $40.00 to $45.00 per month. Men scarce. Between Wolf Point and Malta, Montana, wages are $50. per month, but the farmers are broke. (AG 555).

FARGO, 5-5 Plenty of demand for monthly men at from $40 to $50 per month. Potato cutting will start about May 10th at $2.00 per day and board. Conditions rotten. ( X1306)

### SOUTH DAKOTA

ABERDEEN, 4-22 Farm help very scarce..Farmers offering $50.00 to $60.00 per month. ( AG 141)

### ARKANSAS

DE QUEEN, 4-22 Berry picking on at 3¢ per box. Some few offer 4¢. Scarcity of pickers here. ( AG 8)

BALD KNOB, 4-23 Berries will be on about May 5th. Men very scarce. Sentiment good. ( AG 156)

HORATIO, 4-29 Growers paying 3¢ for berry picking, but this can easily be raised as pickers are scarce. ( AG 323)

### MISSOURI

ANDERSON, 5-6. Berry picking will be on by the 15th. Good crop and men very scarce. Growers estimate that 5000 pickers will be needed. (AG 8-AG 141)

NEOSHO, 5-4 The berries will start about May 15th. Fair crop. (AG 901)

All members and delegates should send in all available job news, as spring is here and agricultural work has opened up. Unless reports are sent in, there can be no job news.

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## N O T I C E

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS. KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

## DEFENSE NEWS

BALD KNOB, Ark. -- Two delegates of the A.W.I.U., Joe Mac Cormack and George Hart, were menaced by members of the Ku Klux Klan here a few days ago, because of their activities in organizing berry pickers in this vicinity.

MacCormack was standing in front of the railroad station about ten o'clock on the night of May 3, when he saw a mob of about 200 men heading for him. He was seized and searched, but at the moment his organization supplies were elsewhere. Notice was served upon Mac Cormack by local officials of the Ku Klux Klan that berry growers of this district "would not stand for any more forced raises in picking prices", and that the I.W.W. was not welcome here. Then they released their prisoner.

Next morning MacCormack and Hart walked down Main Street, and found the citizenry so hostile that they decided to move on. Hart, meanwhile, had picked up his supplies. While the two were waiting for a freight train the K.K.K. appeared again, seized both men, took them to a vacant hall and searched them, confiscating Hart's supplies! Both men were ordered to leave the state.

Similar treatment was dealt out recently to another #110 delegate, F.W. Brisco, near here. The Arkansas Gazette, published at Little Rock, mentions that the mob "invited attention to recent happenings along the Missouri & North Arkansas Railroad".

The mob which threatened MacCormack and Hart expressed great interest in the whereabouts of another #110 delegate, George Williams, whom, however, they did not succeed in locating. Next morning when Williams was leaving Kensett for other parts, he came upon the remains of a huge cross, still smouldering, close to the railroad tracks.

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## N O T I C E

The general convention of A.W.I.U.No.110 will be held in Oklahoma City, Okla. on May 20,1923. This year I.U.110 has gone back to the old form of mass convention, and every member will have the opportunity to present his own ideas and resolutions. Send in your resolutions and suggestions for the convention for publication in the Bulletin, so that others may be able to study them before the convention.

********

All job and stationary delegates should send in a report of the amount of supplies on hand May 1st. This will enable the main office to make a complete report of the standing of all subordinate parts of the organization to the convention in accordance with Bylaw #30.

********

Subscription book #1252 of Industrial Solidarity was lost or stolen in Kansas City about April 28th.

********

The following delegates whose names appear on the last delinquent list have settled their accounts and received clearances: R.Mc Lester, 2141 F (1919) - Joe Higgins 46 A (1921)

********

Blank card # 95050 was confiscated by the law at Neosho, Mo. Watch out for this card as some fink may make use of it.

********

Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Fred Mann | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Pat Noonan | 515 N.16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Chas.Gray | 14½ S. First St. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Ed Johnson | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 306 | Modesto, Calif. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| Jn.K.Peterson | 504 W.7th St. | Kansas City, Mo. |

---

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman  Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U.No.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.18

Chicago, Ill. May 16,1923

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## THE PROSPECTS AND THE CONVENTION

Fellow workers:

As spring work advanced in all industrial lines there has ensued a competition among the employers for the "pick" of the labor market. Wage slaves are commanding higher prices with the passing weeks. Even the railroads are raising wages for the section hands in an effort to secure adequate working forces in their maintenance departments.

The effect of this demand will be very noticeable in agricultural employments; for the farmers cannot expect to hire men unless they offer as attractive or more attractive wages and conditions than are offered in the manufacturing industries. They will realize this season that it is not adventure but necessity that drives workingmen into seasonal occupations, where the work is hard and the conditions unattractive. Farmers, in a competitive labor market, must not expect more sympathy than their rivals. They must meet competition or suffer the consequences of a labor shortage in the harvest sections.

For the first time now in some years the labor market offers advantage to the wage workers, and if they put themselves in position to press that advantage great headway will be made. With organization the agricultural workers will make 1923 a banner year, in which they will not only reap higher wages but so improve conditions and hours that there will never be any going back.

These men who have stuck by the A.W.I.U. and the I.W.W. season after season will now be able to appreciate, and perhaps to impress others with the value of the continuous membership that preserves an organization for service when the hour strikes in industry. If there were no organization going into the harvest fields the workers would be at a decided disadvantage even in a favorable year like this With a well experienced and trained organization, like the A.W.I.U., they should make such gains this year as will surprise even the most optimistic of the old time membership.

Before another Bulletin is issued the mass convention of the A.W.I.U. will be in session. It is expected, and is to be hoped, that there will be a record attendance of seasoned delegates and active members, so that plans for the coming harvest season may be thoroughly considered and full and complete campaign plans outlined.

The convention should feel its duty to take agricultural sections under consideration which there has heretofore been a tendency to overlook or to disregard.

In the eastern states there is a good outlook for organizing the migratory labor which is necessary to harvest the fruit and other crops. These workers will respond to organizing appeals as well as the workers who go to the grain harvest.

On the Pacific Coast and in the intermountain region there is a prospect which it would be folly to neglect.

With a competent delegate force to carry out the plans made or approved by the convention, the membersnip drive this year should exceed by thousands that of any previous season. Delegates and active members everywhere should press organization work this year to the limit. If they do, and they surely will, 1923 will go down in I.W.W. history as the year of labor's great awakening.

110 delegates and members in the convention as you do your

part wisely and well the prospect for this year will be very largely determined. Wise counsel is necessary for great efforts.

On, to the harvest !

---

## JOB NEWS

### CALIFORNIA

BRAWLEY, 4-21 Haying and hay baling paying $3.00 to $3.50 per day. Some jobs with board, some board yourself. Members scarce. Early cantelopes will be ready to pick May 20th. They will start pulling onions in the Coachella Valley about May 1st. (AG 4¢.

LINDSAY, 4-26 Orange picking now on at 6 to 9¢ per box. Plenty of slaves. (AG 104)

MARYSVILLE, 5-8 Farmers are hiring men for haying at $2.00 and board. ( AG 282.

### IOWA

CLEAR LAKE, 4-20 Some farm work at $2.00 per day and board. No organization. A delegate could do good work here. (419516)

### NORTH DAKOTA

FARGO, 5-11 A few men going out sorting and cutting potatoes. $2.00 and $2.25 per day. Monthly men getting from $50.00 per month up. (AG 28)

### SOUTH DAKOTA

ABERDEEN, 4-22 Farm help very scarce. Farmers offering $50.00 to $60.00 per month. (AG 141)

### ARKANSAS

DE QUEEN, 4-22 Berry picking on at 3¢ per box. Some few offer 4¢. Scarcity of pickers here. ( AG 8)

BALD KNOB, 4-23. Berries will be on about May 5th. Men very scarce. Sentiment good. ( AG 156)

HORATIO, 4-29 Growers paying 3¢ for berry picking, but this can easily be raised as pickers are scarce. ( AG 323)

### MISSOURI

NEOSHO, 5-4 The berries will start about May 15th. Fair crop. ( AG 901)

The berries are coming on in all berry districts. Pickers are very scarce. Fair crop.

All members and delegates should send in all available job news, as spring is here and agricultural work has opened up. Unless reports are sent in there can be no job news.

---

## N O T I C E

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS.

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

********

The following delegates whose names appear on the last delinquent list, have settled their accounts and received clearances:

Charles Downs - Delegate A 561 ( 1921)
Alex Wahl - " A 999 (1921 )
Tom Murphy - " H 328 ( 1920).

## TO I.U. 110 MEMBERS

You are on the eve of what we hope to be the biggest drive in the history of the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union. The opportunity was never better than what this year promises. You have learned from past experience that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Therefore, we want to drive hom to you the need of the best cooperation possible between the members of 110 and the General Defense Committee in their efforts to break down the persecution that arises everytime the organization becomes active.

The active members of 110 can help us greatly in the following ways:

FIRST: Agitate the need of selling the General Defense Stamp;

SECOND: In case of arrest immediately notify the Secretary of the Agricultural Workers' Union or the Secretary of the General Defense Committee. In notifying of your arrest give all details possible.

THIRD: Do not waive hearing. THIS IS HIGHLY IMPORTANT. By waiving hearing you stop all chances of suing a writ of Habeas Corpus.

FOURTH: Do not talk to agents of the County Attorney's office. Prosecuting attorneys leave the impression that they will release you if you will only talk. This is merely a ruse to get some material for a frame-up. You do not have to talk to anyone but your attorney. Wait until he calls on you, and then follow his instructions.

If the members will follow the above instructions, it will be the means of saving time and money, and probably long sentences. We again want to lay stress on the first point. Funds will be the most important factor. Without it we can do nothing. So impress upon the minds of every new and old member the need of buying defense stamps.

Two or three fellow workers have been arrested at Anderson, Missouri and the Defense office has already notified their attorney to look after the interests of the fellow workers.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,
1001 West Madison St.

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## RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were adopted at the regular business meeting of the Sioux City Branch, A.W.I.U., May 7, 1923:

Resolved, that spring convention be instructed to put out a compulsory four dollar ($4.00) general organization stamp. Carried unanimously.

Resolved, that this branch goes on record of sending resolution to spring convention instructing that body to donate three thousand Dollars ($3,000) to striking M.T.W. and lumber workers. Carried.

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Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Pat Noonan | 515 N. 16th St. (Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Charles Gray | 14½ S. First St., | Minneapolis,Minn. |
| Ed Johnson | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 306 | Modesto, Calif. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St., | Fargo, N.D. |
| Jn.K. Peterson | 504 W. 7th St., | Kansas City, Mo. |

********

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman — Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U. No.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.19

Chicago, Ill. May 23, 1923

**********

## O N T O T H E D R I V E !

Fellow workers:

The following statement, clipped from a report by the U.S. Department of Labor, is of more than passing interest to the membership of the A.W.I.U. #110:

> "The predicted shortage of competent farm labor is a fact, and in many sections of the country the farming interests are being hampered. A large percentage of the public employment offices report that it will soon be impossible to meet the growing demand for labor."

This statement confirms what has been repeatedly stated in this Bulletin, that, with proper and thoro organization, this is a year in which the agricultural and other workers can make advances greater than has been possible at any time previous to or since the war.

At present the A.W.I.U. No.110 spring convention is in session at Oklahoma City. Men who have been in the forefont of the A.W.I.U. struggle for years and have borne the brunt of the fighting for more adequate wages, shorter hours and improved conditions, sit side by side with new members and debate the prospects of the organization this year, and deliberate the various details of the plans of campaign submitted for the furtherance of this year's drive.

In the convention now in session there is a fund of experience and ripe judgment which will make itself a power for good on behalf of the workers who will harvest the crops upon which the world depends. The significance of the statement by the Department of Labor, above quoted, will not be lost upon the A.W.I.U. delegates, and will be of assistance in encouraging those new members who are not accustomed to regarding agriculture as an industry and the problems of the agricultural workers as class questions.

This government report, coming as it does just on the eve of the convention, should inspire the membership of the A.W.I.U. to greater effort than has ever before been made. All force expands itself along the line of least resistance, and this year the labor market condition will remove many of the impediments and handicaps of other years, with and under which we had to contend. The labor shortage in the industrial centres does not exist as a matter of fact. Only the army of the unemployed has been decreased. But, it is from this army of the unemployed that most of the harvest hands and workers in other seasonal occupations are drawn. Therefore, it is only reasonable to expect that fewer workers will be available for the harvest this year than in other years when industry has been slacker than at present.

Under these circumstances the outlook for organization and for improvements thru organization is very encouraging indeed. This should be taken to mean that the measure of advantage will be as great as the degree of organization warrants.

It is, therefore, the pressing duty of the convention to devote itself to perfecting the plan of campaign down to the last detail. Alternative programs to cover slip-ups on some important details should also be arranged. We are satisfied, while making

this suggestion, that there is little danger of these provisions being neglected, but a reminder is not at all out of place.

In the first session of the convention there has been evident a spirit of confidence and determination on the part of the new as well as the old members .. that speaks well for the outcome this summer.

When the convention adjourns the real work of the summer begins - the faithful observance and carrying out of the program decided upon. The spirit of the convention must be the spirit of the delegate and those active members who every year render so much valuable assistance in the drive.

If we continue as the preparations up to now indicate the A.W.I.U. is headed for a record year, and all hell can't stop us.

The difficulty of the empbyers is the opportunity of labor. Let us organize ourselves to take advantage of it.

On #110, with success for our goal. Only those who charge ever occupy an enemy trench. LET'S GO !

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## J O B  N E W S

### CALIFORNIA

BRAWLEY, 4-21. Haying and hay baling paying $3.00 to $3.50 per day. Some jobs with board, some board yourself. Members scarce. Early cantelopes will be ready to pick May 20th. They will start pulling onions in the Coachella Valley about May 1st.(AG 4)

LINDSAY, 4-26 Orange picking now on at 6 to 9¢ per box. Plenty of slaves. (AG 282)

YUBA CITY, 5-11. Thinning peaches. A thousand fruit tramps there. A 110 delegate could do good work.

MARYSVILLE, 5-15. Thinning peaches for $3.00 and board. Nine hours. Also some haying. (AG 282)

TULARE, 5-15. Haying on. $2.50 and board. Nine hours. (AG 282)

### WASHINGTON

WALLA WALLA, 5-13. Haying will start about the 25th or 1st of June. Wages from $2.00 and up. Of course, this could be improved with a little concerted action. (AG 117)

### NEVADA

WELLS, 5-18. The haying wont start in this country before the 1st of July. A few ranch jobs at $60.00 per month and board. (AG226

### IOWA

CLEAR LAKE, 4-20. Some farm work at $2.00 per day and board. No organization. A delegate could do good work here.(419516)

May 19. Wages for monthly farm hands in Iowa and Nebraska is $55.00 to $60.00 per month. The season is late, and from reports there is a scarcity of help. (AG 138)

### NORTH DAKOTA

FARGO, 5-16. Potato cutting now going on - 5 to 8¢ a bushel or $2.00 to 2.25 per day. General farm work at $2.00 per day. Plenty of demand for monthly man at from $40.00 to $50.00 per month. ( X 1306)

### SOUTH DAKOTA

ABERDEEN 4-22. Farm help very scarce. Farmers offering $50.00 to $60.00 per month. ( AG 141)

JOB NEWS (Continued)

ARKANSAS

BALD KNOB, 4-23. Berries will be on about May 5th. Men very scarce. Sentiment good. (AG 156)

HORATIO, 4-29. Growers paying 3¢ for berry picking, but this can easily be raised as pickers are scarce. (AG 323)

VAN BUREN, 5-15. Berry Growers Association paying 3¢ per box. A few members here and sentiment good. ( AG 156)

CARR , 5-18. Berry picking just starting. Paying 3¢ a quart. (AG 77)

MISSOURI

ANDERSON , 5-18. Berry picking just starting around here. Pickers are getting 3¢ a quart. Scarcity of pickers. (AG 323)

NEOSHO, 5-4. The berries will start about May 15th. Fair crop. (AG 901).

The berries are coming on in all berry districts. Pickers are very scarce. Fair crop.

All delegates and members should send in all available job news, as spring is here and agricultural work has opened up. Unless reports are sent in there can be no job news.

---

N O T I C E

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

*******

Harold Moore, Card # 232987 had his card stolen at Mena, Ark. May 18th. Members will please watch out for same and take it up on sight.

---

M. Hill, delegate AG 549, had card # X 74299 stolen by a bull cook near Spokane. This bull said he was headed for Chicago. Members will please watch out for him.

---

Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Pat Noonan | 515 N.16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Charles Gray | 14½ S. First St., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Howard Johnson | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 306 | Modesto, Calif. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St., | Fargo, N.D. |
| Jn.K. Peterson | 504 W. 7th St. | Kansas City, Mo. |

**********

With best wishes, we remain

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman  Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treasurer

A.W.I.U.No.110.

By Defense News Service.

C H I C A G O -- The continued imprisonment of political prisoners in American penitentiaries is to be called up in the House of Commons by Hon. Charles C. Ammon, Labour whip, according to information received here recently.

Ammon is quoted as saying that the Labour Party will seek the intercession of the British Government with Washington for their release. The Labour Party has 143 representatives in the House of Commons.

The General Defense Committee over a month ago sent an appeal to every Labour member of Parliament, following the ready response to its appeal from the English labour movement.

ldh-hf

By Defense News Service.

C H I C A G O -- Battle in the courts of Kansas, and possibly before the U. S. Supreme Court, to test the Kansas criminal syndicalism law and to set aside the injunction granted by Judge Ayers of Butler County is forecasted by an exchange of letters between the General Defense Committee of Chicago and C. B. Griffith, Attorney General of Kansas. First, Attorney General Griffith wrote to Harry Feinberg, Secretary of the General Defense Committee, as follows:

"Topeka, May 15, 1923.

Mr. Harry Feinberg, Secy,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

"Your circular letter, addressed to Citizens of Kansas, has been referred to me. You complain of the spending of $1200 in the prosecution of Harry Breen and William Murphy in Trego County, who were charged with teaching sabotage and syndicalism and a design to overthrow this Government by force, which case was reversed by our supreme court, not because these men were not guilty of the crimes charged, but because of technical defects in the information.

"In your circular letter you forgot to call attention to the latest expression of the supreme court in upholding the injunction granted by Judge Ayers of Butler County, against the I.W.W. in which it was found that the I.W.W.'s had conspired and confederated together to carry out a conspiracy to stop work in the wheat and oil fields of Kansas, by criminal syndicalism, as defined in the statute. This injunction is effective thruout the entire state and will be enforced by this department and the county attorneys.

"Many cases of destruction of wheat stacks by fire in Kansas have been traced to the teachings of the I.W.W. If the schemes of your society were permitted to be carried out, the opportunity of the people to earn a livelihood would be destroyed, and there would be no protection to property or individual rights in this state. Your members in many instances have assaulted itinerant harvest workers and others who refused to join your organization. At the critical point in wheat harvest, you have advocated hours of labor and wages that would be ruinous to every wheat producer in Kansas, and directly affect consumers of bread. The doctrine that you preach is destructive to morals, family and government. I call your attention to a song that was introduced in the case of State v. John Downs, tried in the McPherson Co. District Court, which was identified as an I.W.W. song, and which can be found in the case of State v. Breen, Vol. 110, page 823, of Kansas Supreme Court Reports. I quote from that song:

"God above is calling you to rob and rape and kill.
Smash the doors of every home, pretty maidens seize;
Use your might in sacred right to treat them as you please...

"Steal the farmers' savings, take their grain and meat;
Even though the children starve, the Savicur's bums must eat.
Burn the peasant's cottage, orphans leave bereft****
Bayonet the babies, jab the mothers, too;
Trust in mock salvation, history will say of you****
**********tne pack of G--D--- fools.'

"Your letter says: 'Write to Governor Davis, protesting the continued prosecution of I.W.W. members'. Be advised that wherever there comes to us evidence that anyone is teaching these doctrines of the I.W.W. in the State of Kansas, then the law enforcing department of the State, which includes all of the force of this office and 105 county attorneys and an equal number of sheriffs, will have no hesitancy in continuing to make their drive to enforce the law against such activities. Let there be no doubt in your mind on that point.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) C. B. GRIFFITH,
Attorney General."

To this Harry Feinberg replied on May 21 as follows:

"Mr. C. B. Griffith,
Attorney General,
Topeka, Kansas.

My dear Sir:

"Your communication of the 15th inst. is at hand and contents noted. Inasmuch as I am not an attorney and am unfamiliar with legal procedure and legal terminology, I do not deem myself qualified to enter into a discussion of the 'technical' aspects of the cases of Harry Breen and William Murphy.

"However, I have read the Court's opinions in these cases, as well as the briefs and arguments of counsel, and it is plain to me, as it must be to anyone familiar with the English language, that the cases were reversed for the failure of the State to charge or prove any overt act, or any word spoken, or literature circulated, or acts done in violation of the state statute. I also note from the brief of the State in that case that when Breen's attorney called upon you, in his brief, to point out such matters, to point to a charge of crime or evidence of any overt act, the answer was that that would be calling upon the Court to say, 'what he had in his mind when he joined the organization.' You may consider it a technicality to urge that a man cannot be convicted upon someone's assumption of what he had in his mind several years ago in another state, or cannot be convicted without charge and proof of an overt act. However, I am constrained to differ with you on this proposition.

"You do not refer in your letter to the fact that Mr. Breen was confined for approximately seven months after the Supreme Court had reversed his conviction and we were compelled to send our attorney to Leavenworth, Kansas, to obtain his release upon habeas corpus, and the largest newspaper in the United States, the New York World, was aroused to express its condemnation of such conduct. If your Department has any just explanation to make of such conduct, I would greatly appreciate a statement from you.

"It is true that in the circulars referred to mention was made that a large sum, perhaps several thousands of dollars of the taxpayers' money, was squandered in an unfounded prosecution of these men; which is proven by the fact that both men are now at liberty, and your Department did not undertake to start new prosecutions or new trials, for the manifest reason that you realized that the State had no evidence against either of these men. Certainly you would not claim that your Department neglected or declined to prosecute them when you possessed ample evidence for their conviction, merely because upon the trial of such a case his conviction was reversed on a technicality. We believe that the people of Kansas have some interest in these days of high taxation in the way their money is being expended.

"You refer to a certain injunctional order granted by Judge Ayers of the District Court of Butler County, and say: 'It was found that the I.W.W.'S had conspired and confederated together to carry out a conspiracy to stop work in the wheat and oil fields of Kansas by criminal syndicalism as defined in the statute.'

"I beg to differ with you. The Court made no such finding, and could not have made such a finding for the very simple reason that no evidence whatsoever was introduced in that case, as I am advised. A charge was made in that case by the Attorney General that they were doing so and the Court issued an order that members of the Industrial Workers of the World refrain from doing that thing. We have no objection to the order of the Court restraining us from doing something that we never did or intended to do, any more than we object to an injunction against the illegal sale of intoxicating liquor.

"You refer to a certain song appearing in the Court's opinion in State vs Breen, 110 Kas. 823. By examining the record in that case you will find that no such song was introduced in evidence. We do not assume responsibility for what the Supreme Court may have said in their opinion.

"It may be of interest to you to know that this song was written by one Kendrick, a Captain in the U. S. Army, and a former newspaper reporter, who was in no way connected with the Industrial Workers of the World.

"Be advised that the members of the Industrial Workers of the World are determined to assert their fundamental and constitutional right to accept employment or refuse to accept same from any employer or employers on such terms as they deem right and just, and to advise and to urge and to solicit others to do so, and will claim and exercise that right in the State of Kansas. 'Let there be no doubt in your mind on that point.'

"I note from the press that you called in certain newspaper men and exhibited to them your letter to me. I trust that you will extend to me the same courtesy by referring mine to them.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Harry Feinberg,

Secretary."

hf-me

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.30

Chicago, Ill. May 30, 1923.

## THE CONVENTION AND THE DRIVE

Fellow workers:

The spring convention of the A.W.I.U.#110 in Oklahoma City (May 20-24) set itself to constructive effort from the first session and maintained that attitude throughout. Good judgment and determination marked the convention from its opening to its adjournment.

The problem of financing job delegates, upon whom the success of the A.W.I.U. depends, was tackled and dealt with in the practical manner which the experience of years dictated - an allowance of 50 cents expense for each I.U.110 initiation, in addition to the 50 cents heretofore allowed, will go a long way toward enabling active delegates to sustain themselves while pushing the organizing work of the union. The new policy may not prove to be the ultimate solution, but in this very material world it is a step in the right direction. Men who devote themselves wholeheartedly to building up the A.W.I.U. will have a much better chance under the new arrangement than under the previous one, and results this season should vindicate the action of the convention.

In the matter of the Bail and Bond assessment the convention did its duty by the I.W.W. and the people to whom the organization is indebted. There is no doubt whatever that the A.W.I.U. quota will be forthcoming. The organization in recognizing the legitimacy of this claim has proven that the I.W.W. is worthy of the trust placed in it by those who came to the aid of its victimized members.

Further emphasizing its recognition of working class needs the convention arranged for the dissemination of knowledge thru qualified speakers and short written treatises dealing with current problems that are of vital interest to the agricultural workers and the working class generally. Speakers are to be routed thru the harvest territory and maintained at the principal points where working class migration justifies such a course. This detail of the campaign is both worthy and practical. In this feature of the program outlined by the convention is shown an appreciation of a great essential requirement. Every friend of working class progress will commend the convention for its attention to education.

The organizing program as presented by the G.O.C. was adopted with such revision as the convention felt necessary to improve it.

The reports of the officials showed the organization to be in a healthy condition.

Taken by and large the sessions of the convention were eminently successful. A strict adherence to the program arranged will carry the organization forward with rapid strides. This year, the industrial conditions that prevail will greatly assist the A.W.I.U. in achieving the results aimed at.

Every member should put his best efforts behind the delegate without reservation or letup, and, when the roll is called next fall, the A.W.I.U. will be found to have advanced beyond all expectations. This is an organization year in the labor world and the I.W.W. has the sound principles and correct form with which to appeal to the workers. It is up to us to see that this appeal is effectively made to as many workers as possible. This the convention has not overlooked and we, the members, must see that the spirit of the convention governs us in the drive.

Members who have not yet taken out credentials should do so without delay. Our motto must be: "Every member a delegate". With

the prospect this year and the new financial arrangement made by the convention no delegate need leave the harvest broke hereafter, as has so often been the case with out most active delegates heretofore. On every side there is encouragement for us. Let us press out advantage. The convention is over. Now let us on with our preparations for the drive. TAKE OUT CREDENTIALS TODAY.

---

The following members were nominated for General Executive Board member at the convention. This will be a short term - from August 15, 1923 until March 1, 1924, as provided by the 14th General Convention of the I.W.W. Beginning with March 1st the G.E.B. members will be elected by the organization as a whole and not by the Industrial Unions.

All nominees should write in immediately to accept or decline as the ballot must be in the field by July 1st. If you have a nominee for G.E.B. member send in his name at once and if possible have him accept before sending in the nomination. All nominees will be published in the Bulletin and those who decline, are not heard from, or are ineligible will be stricken from the list.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| H. Marshall | #352783 | Ted Fraser | # 15744 | George Read | #737033 |
| Joe Jordan | 288598 | Frank Thorpe | 713888 | Wm Murphy | 411113 |
| Sam Forbes | 196842 | Joe Levine | 429878 | Geo. Elsassar | 251302 |
| Jas. Sullivan | 415022 | L. Handler | 253772 | Miles McCabe | 402379 |
| Harry Drew | 244103 | Tom Brady | 413806 | Ed Anderson | 839899 |
| W.F. Lowe | 813307 | W.F.Powell | 719519 | G.D.Ellis | 269003 |
| | | | | H.Bennett | 794762. |

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The Duplicate Card Receipts are now in the field. A careful study of page 2 of the 110 credentials will make the manner of handling them clear. These receipts can be secured at any branch or from the traveling delegates and G.O.C. members.

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By order of the last convention and by vote of the G.O.C. an expense of 50¢ will be allowed to delegates of I.U.110 on all 110 initiations beginning June 1st. That is, in addition to the regular commission of 50¢ allowed on all cash initiations an. additional 50¢ expense will be allowed the delegate on all initiations in I.U.110. Initiations of members of other Industrial Unions by 110 delegates will only carry the regular commission of 50¢ Enter the extra 50¢ expense on the expense side of the report sheet as "Expense Account Initiations". This ruling takes effeot on June 1st.

---

The convention went on record for I.U.110 to issue a special $1.00 stamp for the purpose of wiping off the quota of I.U.110 owing on the Bail and Bond indebtedness of the I.W.W. These stamps will be in the field in a short time and should be pushed by every member and delegate.

---

Members having information on any event which has occurred or may occur in the field concerning the organization or its members should communicate with this office or the General Defense office without delay, giving all the facts you possess. It is absolutely necessary that this be done if we are to afford protection to our members.

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If is expected that the 28 members whose trail on a charge of C.S. comes up in Los Angeles on June 4th will be out on bail during the trial. These members will conduct their own defense and will have no expense for attorneys, but funds will be needed for their maintainance during the trial and anyone having a few dollars to spare can help them in their battle for our rights by sending it along as soon as possible. Make remittances to Alfred Kohn, Box 1013, Los Angeles, Calif.

# J O B  N E W S

## CALIFORNIA

YUBA CITY, 5-11. Thinning peaches. A thousand fruit tramps there. A 110 delegate could do good work.

MARYSVILLE, 5-25. Some haying at $3.00 & board. Peach picking will be on about July 4th. (AG 282)

TULARE, 5-22. Haying on around Tulare and Tipton at $3.00 to 3.50 per day and board. Not manymembers here. ( AG 290)

## WASHINGTON

WALLA WALLA, 5-13. Haying will start about the 25th or 1st of June. Wages from $2.00 and up. Of course, this could be improved with a little concerted action. (AG 117)

YAKIMA VALLEY, 5-20. Strawberry picking is now on. Good crop around Prosser and Kennewick. Pay 50¢ per crate. The prospects for a big crop of alfalfa thruout the Yakima Valley, the Columbia and Snake River country never looked better. Cutting will start in the lower Columbia river section about the 1st to the 10th of June. Cherry picking also comes on next month in the Columbia, Snake and Yakima districts. The natives claim the cherry crop will be the largest in years. Come on, you 110 cats! Let's get busy on these jobs and make conditions and wages what they should be by organized job action. ( AG 111)

## NEVADA

WELLS, 5-18. Haying wont start in this country before the 1st of July. A few ranch jobs at $60.00 per month and board.( AG 226)

## IOWA

MAY 19. Wages for monthly farm hands in Iowa and Nebraska is $55.00 to $60.00 per month. The season is late and from reports there is a scarcity of help. (AG 138)

## NORTH DAKOTA

FARGO, 5-27. Men are in demand all over the state at $50.00 and $60.00 per month. Spud cutting here will last 2 more weeks at $2.00 per day. (AG 28)

## SOUTH DAKOTA

ABERDEEN, 5-24. Farm help very scarce. Farmers offering $50. to $60. per month. (AG 141)

## NEBRASKA

NORTH PLATTE, 5-27. Alfalfa haying will start about June 15th. Men are scarce and by a little organized effort can make their own conditions. (AG 138)

## ARKANSAS

MC RAE, 5-26. Berries on in full swing. Farmers paying 3¢ per qt. Not much organization among the slaves. ( F.S.)

CARR, 5-18. Berry picking just starting. Paying 3¢ a quart.(AG 77)

## MISSOURI

ANDERSON, 5-27. Berries on in full blast. Crop only fair. Pickers are getting 3¢ a quart. Scarcity of pickers. (AG 901) Sentiment for I.W.W. good.

---

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS
KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

****

Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies, literature,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Al Frane | 515 N.16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Charles Gray | 14½ S. First St., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Howard Johnson | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 306 | Modesto, Calif. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| Charles Kolar | 504 W. 7th St. | Kansas City, Mo. |

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Albert Hanson, Chairman  Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas. I.U.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.21

Chicago, Ill. June 6, 1923.

## OKLAHOMA STARTS THE DRIVE !

Fellow workers:

From all reports the wheat harvest will start around Enid and Alva, Okla. between the 12th and 15th of June. All indications are that Oklahoma will have a good crop with Kansas somewhat short. But the crop estimators have deplored at the same time the evidence that a greatly reduced labor supply of harvest labor will be available because of the activity prevailing in the manufacturing and other industries. A fair crop and a short supply of labor spells opportunity for organization; and through organization for decent wages, hours and conditions

The convention of the A.W.I.U., which has just adjourned, saw and appreciated the significance of the relation of the nation's industrial needd to the available labor supply and prepared to take advantage of the prospect. But the very utmost the convention could do was to plan; and the carrying out of the program arranged in Oklahoma City must necessarily depend upon the cooperation of the membership. If the campaign as outlined is adherred to and energetically pushed, the outcome will be all and more than the convention anticipated or even the most optimistic of us expect. Energetic, intelligently directed effort with cooperation between the delegates and members will work a transformation in harvest labor and labor conditions.

The sentiment for the I.W.W. has never before been so strong as it is this year. This is true not only of the mid-continent belt but is equally noticeable in California where the cause of labor is being successfully pushed and the right to organize vindicated by the I.W.W. In Washington, Idaho and other states the organization is in decided favor with the workers who see in its militancy the one way in which tney can safeguard and advance their interests as workers. In those sections the delegates and active members will find a readier and greater response to organizing appeals than they have ever experienced before.

But, as usual, the main force of the organization drive of the A.W.I.U. will center upon the grain harvest in Oklahoma, Kansas and the Dakotas, and it is now time for the delegates to be moving toward Oklahoma by the shortest and quickest routes. It is there that the two harvests start - that which gathers the farmers' grain and the other that rolls up membership for I.U.110 and the I.W.W. Every member who intends to go harvesting this season should by right be in Oklahoma now, for the start made there will very largely determine the momentum of the drive. With anything like a proper coordination of its forces the A.W.I.U. can roll up closer to 100 per cent harvest organization than it has ever yet accomplished.

The opposition to the A.W.I.U. should be more timid this year in view of the likelihood that extreme measures would more than likely greatly reduce the number of harvesters which already tends to be far below that which will be required. By wise and judicious handling of the situation we shall be able to coin this timidity into higher wages and improved conditions. Good judgment should temper our energy, and this has been taken into consideration in outlining the plan of campaign for this summer and fall. As nearly as it is possible to do so in advance of actual situations arising, the arrangement contemplates united action by the members in the different sections by relating the activities of the organization in any one region to those of all the others.

Self discipline is an essential requirement of success, and this the previous experience of seasoned delegates will supply.

The outlook is heartening; for the spirit of the members and delegates has never been better than it is this year. This says a whole lot and means a whole lot more when the circumstances are taken into consideration.

Let us move into Oklahoma and southwestern Kansas as an organized force bent upon organizing, and follow up with this determination and in this spirit. Then when the cards are counted next fall the A.W.I.U. will be found to hold a royal red flush. On to the drive!

---

Nominations of candidates for the office of G.E.B. member are now in order from all branches of the A.W.I.U. and from members in the field. Whenever possible get a written acceptance of the nomination from the candidate and send it in with the nomination. This will be a seven months term from August 15, 1923 until March 1st, 1924, as provided by the 14th General Convention of the I.W.W.

Following is a list of nominees for G.E.B.member from the spring convention:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| H. Marshall | #352783 | Ted Fraser | #15744 | George Read | #737033 |
| Joe Jordan | 288598 | Frank Thorpe | 713888 | Wm Murphy | 411113 |
| Sam Forbes | 196842 | Joe Levine | 429878 | Geo.Elsassar | 251302 |
| Jas.Sullivan | 415322 | L. Handler | 253772 | Miles Mc Cabe | 402379 |
| Harry Drew | 244103 | Tom Brady | 413806 | Ed Anderson | 839899 |
| W.F. Lowe | 813307 | W.F.Powell | 719519 | G.D.Ellis | 269003 |
| | | | | H. Bennett | 794782 |

NOTE: All nominee's names and card numbers will be published in the Bulletin. Those who ineligible, who decline, or are not heard from by the 25th of June will be stricken from the list of candidates. The next Bulletin will contain a list of all nominees. Those who decline or are ineligible will be listed accordingly.

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The Duplicate Card Receipts are now in the field. A careful study of page 2 of the 110 credentials will make the manner of handling them clear. These receipts can be secured at any branch or from the traveling ddelegates and G.O.C. members.

---

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---

The convention went on record for I.U.110 to issue a special $1.00 stamp for the purpose of wiping off the quota of I.U.110 owing on the Bail and Bond indebtedness of the I.W.W. These stamps will be in the field in a short time and should be pushed by every member and delegate.

---

Members having information on any event which has occurred or may occur in the field concerning the organization or its members should communicate with this office or the General Defense office without delay, giving all the facts you possess. It is absolutely necessary that this be done if we are to afford protection to our members.

# J O B  N E W S

## CALIFORNIA

MARYSVILLE, 5-25. Some haying at $3.00 & board. Peach picking will be on about July 4th. (AG 282)

TULARE, 5-22. Haying on around Tulare and Tipton at $3.00 to $3.50 per day and board. Not many members here. (AG 290)

SAN JOSE, 5-29. Cherry picking starting now. Men shipping out of free employment office at 45 to 50¢ per hour or $4.00 for ten hours. (AG 282)

## WASHINTON

WALLA WALLA, 5-13. Haying will start about the 25th of May or 1st of June. Wages from $2.00 and up. Of course, this could be improved with a little concerted action. ( AG 117)

YAKIMA VALLEY, 5-28. Strawberry picking is now on. Good crop around Prosser and Kennewick. Pay 50¢ per crate. The prospects for a big crop of alfalfa thru-out the Yakima Valley, the Columbia and Snake River country never looked better. Cutting will start in the lower Columbia river section about the 1st to the 10th of June. Cherry picking also comes on next month in the Columbia, Snake and Yakima districts. The natives claim the cherry crop will be the largest in years. Come on, you IIO cats! Let's get busy on these jobs and make conditions and wages what they should be by organized job action. ( AG 117)

## NEVADA

WELLS, 5-18. Haying wont start in this country before the 1st of July. A few ranch jobs at $60. a month & board. ( AG 226)

## MISSOURI

PIERCE CITY, 6-3. The last of the berries are now coming in around here and Sarcoxie, Mo. About half a crop. Bad weather and poor crops have kept most of the pickers broke but sentiment for organization was never better. ( AG 264)

## OKLAHOMA

The outlook for wheat cutting in Oklahoma is for the harvest to start in the Enid and Alva district between the 12 and 15th of June. In comparison with other years there are few men in this district. Haying is now on in southern Kansas and Oklahoma. There is a good crop in Oklahoma and while the crop in Kansas will be light, with a shortage of labor, the opportunity for organization work and for wages was never better.

ENID, 6-1. Cutting will start here by the 15th of June. Wages have been set at $4.50 per day. Labor very scarce in this locality. A splendid opportunity for organization work. Crops are good here. All fellow workers should lend a hand in starting a successful drive from this point of the harvest belt. ( AG 611)

ENID, 6-2. Harvest will start between the 12th and 15th. Men very scarce here and the farmer is getting anxious. Wages $4.50 ( AG 56)

KINGFISHER, 6-4. Cutting will start about the 15th. Good crop. Not many members here and very few harvesters have come in yet. Wages offered $3.50 per day. No talk of hours. At Hennessy $4.00 is being offered. $4.50 at Enid. ( AG 156)

## KANSAS

CHASE, 6-1. Alfalfa haying about to start. The farmers are figuring on starting at $4.00 per day. Around Great Bend and Hoisington they are talking of $5.00 low for harvesting. There are fewer men here than I have ever seen and John Farmer is beginning to worry about the scarcity of help. ( AG 907)

WICHITA, 5-31. Cutting will start around Medford, Okla. and Wellington, Kans. June 12th. Fair crops.

JOB NEWS (continued)

NORTH DAKOTA

FARGO, 5-27. Men are in deman all over the state at $50. and $60.00 per month. ( AG 28)

NEBRASKA

NORTH PLATTE, 5-27. Alfalfa haying will start about June 15th. Men are scarce and by a little organized effort can make their own conditions. (AG 138)

IOWA

June-5 Wages for monthly farm hands in Iowa and Nebraska is $55.00 to $60.00 per month. The season is late and from reports there is a scarcity of help. ( AG 138)

---

Resolution submitted by the G.O.C. of I.U.110 and adopted at their convention, Oklahoma City, May 20-24, 1923.

Whereas- it is the primary object of the I.W.W. as a whole to bring about a more efficient organization to combat the evergrowing power of the capitalist class, and

Whereas- discipline among the membership will tend to those ends, and

Whereas- certain disruptive influences may give vent to their vituperations,

Therefore Be It Resolved- that we endorse Resolution in the General Constition (page 43), and

Be It Further Resolved- that we hereby reaffirm our adherence to the I.W.W. Preamble and the cardinal principles of the I.W.W., and that this resolution be given publicity in all I.W.W. publications.

---

NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

Credential AG 476 and supplies were confiscated by railroad bulls at Mc Cook, Nebr. from fellow worker John Fisher. Duplicate credentials have been issued to this fellow worker.

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Credential AG 706 and 1 due book and 10 defense stamps disappeared from the desk in the Fargo hall. Members should be on the lookout for this credential number.

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Credential AG 270 belonging to H.N. Long has been held at Neosho, Mo. Fellow worker Long has been issued duplicate credentials.

---

The minutes of the convention are now on the press and will be out in a few days.

---

Work in the harvest fields is about to open up and there is great need that the unorganized should be supplied with literature. All that is necessary is to write in and request some and it will be sent free of charge. The branches and G.O.C. members can also supply literature.

Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies, literature

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Al Frane | 515 N. 16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Charles Gray | 14½ S. First St. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Howard Johnson | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 306 | Modesto, Calif. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St., | Fargo, N.D. |
| Charles Kolar | 504 W. 7th St. | Kansas City, Mo. |

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.I.U.110

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.22

Chicago, Ill. June 13, 1923

zxzxzxz

The harvest is the dependence of the bankerand business man as well as of the farmer. These feed upon the working farmer and the labor he employs. The farmer does not get a square deal from these interests and he endeavors to pass along his own denial to us. But the operations of the system makes it imperative that we take into consideration only our own part in the harvests and keep constantly before us the fact that before and after the harvest we still have the problems of life to face and deal with. We must relate the harvest to the future. The storekeeper offers no apology for the increased prices he charges, nor is there any apology due from us because the cost of labor power is being marked up. It costs more to produce it. Those who use it must pay its cost just as they pay the increased prices of other commodities. The merchants organize, and the farmers must "come thru" in the stores. The workers also must organize and the farmer must likewise meet their prices. It is the law of the market. The market this year favors labor. That is incidental and it would be poor business not to take advantage of it. Organization alone provides the way in which this can be done effectively.

With organization the problem of harvest labor is simplified and the power of the workers provided with the means of expression. With organized harvest labor there is no power in the harvest belt capable of contending successfully. This knowledge is our inspiration and our guide. On, Delegates and Members! success is waiting in every jungle, on every train, in every group, in every town - everywhere, all thru the season. Nothing can defeat us but indifference, nothing delay us but inactivity. Push on, push on, boys! to the turning point where, organized correctly, labor will face new conditions in a new way and march forward to success. On for the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. and emancipation!

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BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

*****

Nominations of candidates for the office of G.E.B. member are now in order from all branches of the A.W.I.U. and from members in the field. Whenever possible get a written acceptance of the nomination from the candidate and send it in with the nomination. This will be a seven months term - from August 15, 1923 until March 1st, 1924, as provided by the 14th General Convention of the I.W.W.

Following is a list of nominees for G.E.B. member of I.U.110 sent in to this office:

ACCEPT

Sam Forbes # 196842

DECLINE

W.F. Powell 719519 L. Handler 253772 Ted Fraser 15744
Tm Murphy 411113 Miles McCabe 402379.

NOT HEARD FROM

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| . Marshall | 352783 | Joe Jordan | 288598 | Jas.Sullivan | 415322 |
| arry Drew | 244103 | W.F.Lowe | 813307 | Frank Thorpe | 713888 |
| Joe Levine | 429878 | Tom Brady | 413806 | Geo. Read | 737033 |
| Geo.Elsassar | 251302 | Ed Anderson | 839899 | G.D. Ellis | 269003 |
| | | | | H. Bennett | 794762 |

The Ballot will be in the field by July 1st and will be counted August 5.

---

The minutes of the spring convention are now in the field and can be secured by writing any branch or the main office.

## RESOLUTIONS

Passed by the regular joint branch meeting at Portland, Ore. une 6, 1923:

M & S. That we go on record to agitate for a protest strike sometime in July or August for release of all Class War and Political prisoners, and that we ask Ind. Union #110 to set the date, and this motion be published in all publications. Carried.

---

Resolution adopted by the Minneapolis Branch, A.W.I.U. June 10, 1923:

Whereas, there are still 51 political prisoners in jail in the United States, forty-nine of them members of the I.W.W., and as indications are that there will be a decided labor shortage in the harvest belt this summer, and

Whereas, the fellow workers in the Marine and Lumber industries are depending on us to use our economic power and will give us their support,

Therefore Be It Resolved, that the A.W.I.U.#110 go on record for a five day general strike in Kansas, a five day strike in South Dakota and Nebraska, and a five day strike in North Dakota for the release of our imprisoned fellow workers, the various dates to be set by the G.O.C., and

We further recommend intermittant strikes in between these three state wide strikes.

---

Special business meeting A.W.I.U., Alva, Okla. June 9th.

Meeting called to order by G.O.C. member. Downs elected Chairman. Conductors report 27 members in good standing. Hamilton elected recording secretary.

Floor opened for discussion of Enid affair.

M & S. That this body go on record to proceed to Enid and call for mail, as individuals to take stand. Carried.

M & S. That all members coming into Alva be notified to proceed to Enid. Carried.

M & S. That the minutes of this meeting be published in all I.W.W. publications. Carried.

***

All foot-loose wobblies should head into Enid and help put the organization on the map. This town has been hostile before and never got away with it yet, and by showing the same solidarity that was shown there last year and in other years, there is no doubt but that it can be made safe this year. Attorneys are now on their way there but organization is the only answer to these towns.

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## IMPORTANT

The special $1.00 obligation stamp ordered by the spring convention is now in the field. The money raised by the sale of this stamp will be used to pay off the Bail and Bond indebtedness of the organization. This is a debt which every member of the organization is honor bound to recognize and it is up to every one of us to wipe it out as soon as possible. These stamps can be had from all branches and traveling delegates.

---

The duplicate card receipts are now in the field and have been sent to the branches and delegates. These receipts are charged to delegates receiving them the same as all other supplies and must be accounted for. They are $5.50 each. Delegates when issuing same should fill them out plainly and sign in their own handwriting. A careful study of page 2 of the 110 credentials will make the manner of handling them clear.

# J O B  N E W S

## CALIFORNIA

MARYSVILLE, 5-25. Some haying at $3.00 & board. Peach picking will be on about July 4th. ( AG 282)

TULARE , 6-4. Haying on around Tulare and Tipton at $3.00 to $3.50 per day and board. Not many members here. ( AG 290)

SAN JOSE, 5-29. Cherry picking starting now. Men shipping out of free employment office at 45 to 50¢ per hour or $4.00 for ten hours. ( AG 282)

## WASHINGTON

WALLA WALLA, 5-20. Haying will start about the 25th of May of 1st of June. Wages from $2.00 and up. Of course, this could be improved with a little concerted action. (AG 117)

YAKIMA, 6-5. Some apply thinning here at 30¢ per hour. Board yourself. ( AG 76)

YAKIMA VALLEY, 5-23. Haying in the Yakima Valley will be on in a few days. Big crop. Wages to start $2.00 per.

Early cherries are on now around the Yakima Valley and southeastern Washing and Lewiston, Ida. The main picking of the later cherries will be on about the 10th of June. The growers are talking of paying 2¢ per pound for picking. That's this side of the story. They have not heard from the pickers yet. Come on you 110 cherry pickers! Let's see if we can't raise the ante. ( AG 111)

PASCO, 5-23. Alfalfa cutting just starting around the Columbia river districts. Will be on in full blast about the 8th of June. Wages being offered now are $2.00 per, but could be raised later with a little organization. ( AG 111)

## NEVADA

GERLACH, 6-7. Alfalfa haying will be on by June 15th. Wild hay by July 15th. Wages in hay $4.00 or better. "Make it better for the workers". Come on you wobblies put up John's hay. (GC 40)

## OKLAHOMA

ENID, 6-10. Cutting will start here by the 15th of June. Wages have been set at $4.50 per day. Labor very scarce in this locality. Good prospects for highest wages in years. (AG 611)

KINGFISHER , 6-10. Cutting will start about the 15th. Good crop. Not many members here and very few harvesters have come in yet. Wages offered $3.50 per day. No talk of hours. At Hennessy $4.00 is being offered. $4.50 at Enid. (AG 156)

CARMEN , 6-7. Wheat cutting will start by the 14th or 15th. Rain is holding up the harvest. All John Farmer can talk is"going wages". Men are scarce. ( AG 201)

POND CREEK, 6-8. Wheat cutting will be on by the 15th. There is a good crop and few men. The farmer is offering $3.50 and $4.00 per day, but we can set the wage on the job. ( AG 156)

MEDFORD, 6- 9. Harvest will be on between the 12th and 15th. Best prospect for wages and conditions in years. ( AG 8)

## KANSAS

HASE, 6-1. Alfalfa haying about to start. The farmers are figuring on starting at $4.00 per day. Around Great Bend and Hoisington they are talking of $5.00 low for harvesting. There are fewer men here than I have ever seen and John Farmer is beginning to worry about the scarcity of help. ( AG 907)

UDALL, 6-8. Wages for corn plowing are $3.50 per day. Harvest will start about June 18th.

---

Organization of the migratory workers -
Means protection for the migratory workers.

## L E T ' S  G O

In order to make the 1923 drive surpass other drives it is necessary for every member to co-operate with the Defense Committee as well as with their Industrial Union. In a few days a booklet of instructions regarding legal rights, etc. will be off the press and can be had by writing to the Secretary of your Industrial Union or can be obtained from the nearest branch and delegate.

It will help to a great extent were every member to read this booklet and follow out all instructions. Don't fail to get a copy.

General Defense Committee.

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NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

By order of the last convention and by vote of the G.O.C. an expense of 50¢ will be allowed to delegates of I.U.110 on all 110 initiations beginning June 1st. That is, in addition to the regular commission of 50¢ allowed on all cash initiations an additional 50¢ expense will be allowed the delegate on all initiations in I.U.110. Initiations of members of other Industrial Unions by 110 delegates will only carry the regular commission of 50¢. Enter the extra 50¢ expense on the expense side of the report sheet as "Expense Account Initiations". This ruling takes effect on June 1st.

---

Complaints have been made that some traveling delegates will not issue credentials and supplies to members who have not been transfered into I.U.110 for thirty days. There is no ruling to this effect and any member whose accounts are square with other Industrial Unions is entitled to take out credentials in 110 immediately after transferring, if he is eligible in other respects.

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With the rush season coming on, it is important that members and delegates take care of their mail. All letters should have a return address and all mail should be called for at station where this office has been requested to send it. When leaving a town be sure to have your mail forwarded. The post office holds mail for ten days only. Attention to mail by members and delegates will save time and money to both members and headquarters.

---

Fellow worker Tom Kelly (or Wm Joyce) who was injured in catching a train at Hope, N.D., died in Fargo, June 9th. He had been around Minnesota and North Dakota for several years and was well known to many members. Any one knowing the whereabouts of his relatives will please notify this office at once.

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Credentials AG 226, belonging to Ed Anderson, were lost or stolen at Gerlach, Nev. about June 1st. If found send in to main office or to Ed Anderson, Box 754, Stockton, Calif.

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Credentials AG 563 and supplies, belonging to Leon G.Tour[illegible] have been lost between Connersville and Greybull, Wyo. If found send in to the main office.

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Two cards (X109185-X109186) and 20 due stamps were taken from delegate AG 581, W.F. Owens, at Alliance, Nebr.on June 6th.

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Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies, literature.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Al Frane | 515 N.16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Charles Gray | 14½ S. First St., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Howard Johnson | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 306 | Modesto, Calif. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St., | Fargo, N.D. |
| Charles Kolar | 504 W. 7th St., | Kansas City, Mo. |
| Ted Fraser | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.

A.W.I.U. No.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.23

Chicago, Ill. June 20, 1923.

## T H I S I S O U R Y E A R

Fellow workers:

Swayed by their blind class prejudice the powers that have hitherto ruled the harvest country invited certain defeat when they undertook their annual campaign of intimidation around Enid, Okla. Unable to appreciate that they were facing a forbidding combination of circumstances, and flushed with the memory of days when their will was law and their outrages had the sanction and assistance of authority, the Commercial Club, and its political tools holding offices, essayed the victimization of members of the A.W.I.U.#110. This year they had the assistance of the Klu Klux Klan.

The peculiarity of this tribe is that their concern about the harvesting lies only in being anxious to dictate the terms under which those who actually harvest the crops shall labor. In other years they have been somewhat successful in separating the timid from the courageous and terrorizing the weak-kneed into remaining unorganized. By thus dividing the harvesting force they have been able to keep wages and conditions below the point to which organization would have forced them.

This year, under changed circumstances, they did not change their methods; and, with labor scarce and the A.W.I.U. delegates and members present in force, these gents arrested a number of our men. The result was exceedingly disappointing. The fighting spirit of the workers was aroused and, instead of being frightened away from Enid, the arrests proved to be a magnet which drew our members from surrounding territory to that town, prepared to vindicate their rights as men and workers.

This organized and determined resistance brought home to the Commercial Club and K.K.K. a realization that if they persisted in their illegal and foolhardy course the harvesters would be in jail but the crops would rot in the fields. And around Enid and elsewhere in the harvest belt these gentry, in the final analysis, are much more interested in saved grain than in filled jails. They are not so jealous about the law as they are anxious about the crops. So it was deemed advisable to call in their political mannikins, and our members were released unconditionally on June 16.

Of course, if there had been no organization there would have been no resistance, and the men imprisoned would have stayed in jail indefinitely. But because there was the A.W.I.U. and because it was in a position to seriously embarrass, if not to stop harvesting entirely, these men were liberated. Moreover, the wages now being paid are the highest ever known at the start of the harvest in Oklahoma.

This is due mainly to two factors- labor scarcity and organization. The percentage of organized workers among the harvesters this year is away above that of any previous year. To quote a letter from a member in Oklahoma:

> "All the way down it seemed as though every one in the country was headed for the harvest. Yet in spite of the fact that large numbers of A.W.I.U. members and unorganized workers are headed harvestward there is going to be a great shortage of help. Now is our chance. This should be our year."

THIS IS OUR YEAR. It cannot be otherwise unless we are untrue to ourselves and the cause of labor. While Enid does not submit final proof, it is an indication of what organization and

disciplined determination can accomplish. When the workers, upon whom the harvest depends, decide among themselves to present an unbroken front the thugs and plug uglies, whether in uniforms, white shirts, or overalls, are powerless. They may jail men but the crops will stand untouched, and the communities will be harder hit than the workers. Clubs will not reap grain and those who wield them will not sweat in the fields. Our power lies in the fact that we are the men upon whom the harvest and the world waits. Our labor power is the magic wand that turns crops into wealth. Without it they would run to waste. Those who control that labor power control harvesting and the destiny of all who depend upon it. The Commercial clubs, the Chambers of Commerce, with their hirelings and lickspittles will try to control it with clubs and bull pens, but we can control it and them by organization.

Unorganized workers should be impressed that the A.W.I.U. has changed the outlook and improved the prospect in the harvest. Organized, the migratory workers are strong. Unorganized, they are weak and helpless. No one is more isolated than an unorganized migrant. He is kicked with impunity and imposed upon at will. He knows this, and, knowing it, while he remains unorganized he deserves all the abuses that come his way. He is worthless to himself and dangerous to the rest of us. Work upon him! Educate him! Organize him!

Remember Enid! Let the spirit of the boys there be the guide throughout the harvest. That spirit wins men and respect for the organization, and better wages, better hours and better conditions for all of us. The first round is ours. When the last bundle from the last setting is in the strawpile #110 will have rolled up the greatest membership in its eventful history.

On to Victory! Remember Enid! Let's go!

---

## BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

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Nominations of candidates for the office of G.E.B. member are now in order from all branches of the A.W.I.U. and from members in the field. Whenever possible get a written acceptance of the nomination from the candidate and send it in with the nomination. This will be a seven months term - from August 15, 1923 until March 1, 1924, as provided by the 14th General Convention of the I.W.W.

Following is a list of nominees for G.E.B. member of I.U.110 sent in to this office:

### ACCEPT

Sam Forbes # 196842

### DECLINE

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| W.F. Powell | 719519 | L. Handler | 253772 | Ted Fraser | 15744 |
| Wm Murphy | 411113 | Miles Mc Cabe | 402379 | H. Bennett | 794762 |

### NOT HEARD FROM

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| H. Marshall | 353783 | Joe Jordan | 288598 | Jas. Sullivan | 415322 |
| Harry Drew | 244103 | W.F. Lowe | 813307 | Frank Thorpe | 713888 |
| Joe Levine | 429878 | Tom Brady | 413806 | Geo.Read | 737033 |
| Geo.Elsassar | 251302 | Ed Anderson | 839899 | G.D. Ellis | 269003 |

The Ballot will be in the field by July 1st and will be counted August 5th.

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The special $1.00 obligation stamp ordered by the spring convention is now in the field. The money raised by the sale of this stamp will be used to pay off the bail and Bond indebtedness of the organization. This is a debt which every member of the organization is honor bound to recognize and it is up to every one of us to wipe it out as soon as possible. These stamps can be had from all branches and traveling delegates.

# J O B  N E W S

## CALIFORNIA

MARYSVILLE , 5-25 Some haying at $3.00 & board. Peach picking will be on about July 4th. (AG 2828)

TULARE, 6-4 Haying on around Tulare and Tipton at $3.00 to $3.50 per day and board. Not many members here. ( AG 290

SAN JOSE, 5-29. Cherry picking starting now. Men shipping out of free employment office at 45 to 50¢ per hour or $4.00 for 10 hrs. (AG 282)

CORCORAN, 6-16. Harvest will start about June 22 at $5.00 per day and board. The ranchers here have as yet not seen the necessity of providing harvest workers with beds, but a little organization will cause them to come thru not only with beds but with better food, conditions and wages. ( AG 4)

OAKDALE, 6-13. Haying is now on at $3.00 per day. Harvest will start by June 20th at $4.50 and board. ( AG 4)

## WASHINGTON

WALLA WALLA, 5-20. Haying will start about the 25th of May or 1st of June. Wages from $2.00 and up. Of course, this could be improved with a little concerted action. ( AG 117)

YAKIMA, 6-5. Some apply thinning here at 30¢ per hour. Board yourself. Haying in the Yakima Valley is on. Big crop. Wages to start $2. per. Early cherries are now on around the Yakima Valley and southeastern Washington and Lewiston, Ida. The main picking of the later cherries will be on about the 10th of June. The growers are talking of paying 2¢ per pound for picking. That's this side of the story. They have not heard from the pickers yet. Come on you 110 cherry pickers! Let's see if we can't raise the ante. ( AG 111)

PASCO, 5-23. Alfalfa cutting just starting around the Columbia river districts. Will be on in full blast about the 8th of June. Wages now offered are $2.00 per. (AG 11)

## NEVADA

GERLACH, 6-7. Alfalfa haying will be on June 15th. Wild hay by July 15th. Wages in hay $4.00 or better. "Make it better for the workers". Come on you wobblies put up John's hay. ( GC 40)

## OKLAHOMA

ENID, 6-10. Cutting will start here by the 15th of June. Wages have been set at $4.50 per day. Labor very scarce in this locality. Good prospects for highest wages in years. ( AG 611)

KINGFISHER, 6-15. Cutting will start about the 18th. Good crop. Not many members here and very few harvesters have come in yet. Wages offered $3.50 per day. No talk of hours. At Hennessy $4.00 is offered. (AG 156)

CARMEN, 6-12. Wheat cutting will start by the 14th or 15th. Rain is holding up the harvest. All John Farmer can talk is "going wages". Men are scarce. ( AG 201)

Pond Creek, 6-11. Harvest will be on by the 14th. Wages on a sliding scale from $3.00 to $4.50 per, but a little organized effort will give them a boost. Sentiment for organization good. ( AG 156)

ALVA, 6-17. Harvest just starting all over northern Okla and southern Kansas. $4.00 to start, but men are very scarce and we can make our own wages on the job. Sentiment for organization was never better. ( AG 4)

MEDFORD, 6-9. Harvest will be on between the 12th & 15th. Best prospect for wages and conditions in years. (AG 8)

## KANSAS

CHASE, 6-1. Alfalfa haying about to start. The farmers are figuring on starting at $4.00 per day. Around Great Bend and Hoisington they are talking $5.00 low for harvesting. There are fewer men here than I have ever seen and John Farmer is beginning to worry about the scarcity of help. (AG 907)

SALINA, 6-15. Grain cutting will begin about June 20th on rye & barley, wheat a week later. Good crops and men very scarce. We can make our own wages. ( AG 131)

UDALL, 6-8. Wages for corn plowing are $3.50 per day. Harvest will start about June 18th.

# I M P O R T A N T

The duplicate card receipts are now in the field and have been sent to the branches and delegates. These receipts are charged to delegates receiving them the same as all other supplies and must be accounted for. They are $3.50 each. Delegates when issuing same should fill them out plainly and sign in their own handwriting. A careful study of page 2 of the 110 credentials will make the manner of handling them clear.

---

By order of the last convention and by vote of the G.O.C. an expense of 50¢ will be allowed to delegates of I.U.110 on all 110 initiations beginning June 1st. That is, in addition to the regular commission of 50¢ allowed on all cash initiations an additional 50¢ expense will be allowed the delegate on all initiations in 110. Initiations of members of other Industrial Unions by 110 delegates will only carry the regular commission of 50¢ Enter the extra 50¢ expense on the expense side of the report sheet as "Expense Account Initiations". This ruling talkes effect June 1st.

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With the rush season coming on, it is important that members and delegates take care of their mail. All letters should have a return address and all mail should be called for at station where this office has been requested to send it. When leaving a town be sure to have your mail forwarded. The post office holds mail for ten days only. Attention to mail by members and delegates will save time and money to both members and headquarters.

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Two new pamphlets are now off the press, the revised edition of the O.B.U. pamphlet with chart, which sells for 10¢, or the chart (revised) alone for 5¢; and the Historical Catechism of American Unionism, most of which was written by the A.W.I.U. Dept. of Education, and part of it run serially in Industrial Solidarity. It is printed on fine quality paper, in large type, and has an attractive [illegible] cover. Price 25¢.

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We are again forced to call your attention to the fact that the General Defense Committee must have the names and charges of members arrested. Unless we have the names of the arrested members we are at a loss to inform out attorney whom to call out. If a group is arrested it is satisfactory if we are in possession of one name. By informing us of the charge against the fellow worker we are in a better position to advise our attorney what action to take. Otherwise he is forced to go to the place in question without any information whatever. A booklet of instructions is being sent out to members and we want you to read it carefully and then pass it on to some other fellow worker.

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All few who paid dues or lined up with Jas. M.Dwyer, AG 323 between the 9th and 12th of June please send the record to the main office as this report has been lost. Fellow workers Jack Gray and W. Lewis in particular.

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James Shields, AG 259, write to Wm J. Carey and Fred Nyg care of County Jail, Carthage, Mo.

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The minutes of the spring convention are now in the field and can be secured by writing any branch or the main office.

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Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies, literature, etc.:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219- 4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Al Frane | 515 N.16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Charles Gray | 14½ S. First St., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| John Deady | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 306 | Modesto, Calif. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St., | Fargo, N.D. |
| Ted Fraser | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |

There is a stationary delegate at Kansas City, Mo. He can be found around 6th and Main.

With best wishes, we remain

Yours for the I W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman  Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treasurer

A.W.I.U. No.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

BULLETIN No.24

Chicago, Ill. June 27, 1923.

## ORGANIZATION IS THE KEY TO SUCCESS

Fellow workers:

To have submitted to the Enid attack would have been to have surrendered to the enemy, and without organization there would have been no alternative but submission. The difference between a cowed, disunited group of workingmen and the determined resistance which the Commerical Club and its auxiliaries met was due entirely to organization. The lesson of Enid is one which it will pay the workers to learn. In fact, it is one which they cannot afford not to learn. Organization is the key to working class progress. The programs of organized workers are arranged from their collective experience and the tactics employed are effective. Enid exemplifies the value of organization and demonstrates what tactful courage and confidence willenable the workers to do.

Along the U.P. the grain is ripening earlier than was anticipated and the yield is beyond expectation. This is true of other regions also. A shortage of labor prevails and wages must go up. The competition among the farmers for help will make for rising wages which organization will assist. Now, if ever, the power of united action should impress the harvest workers. It is neither charitable nor sensible to consider the farmer. As farm labor organizes he will be forced to recognize that his plight does not result from the wages he is compelled to pay but because in his contest with the ruling capitalist powers he is at a disadvantage. Whether the farmer pays high wages or low wages or no wages he is stripped bare by the predatory interests that rule society in America and elsewhere. Only by insisting upon our rights and organizing to vindicate them will we put the farmer in a position where he must seek relief from the only source where he can find it. It is not what he pays out that keeps him poor but what he does not take in. And that is not our business but his.

The harvest workers this year occupy a position so strategically advantageous that nothing short of blundering can deny them good wages, good conditions and shorter hours. Never, even in the war years, was farm labor so favorably situated. Organization will enable the agricultural workers to make such headway as will mark a new era in their relationship to the soil and to society. By organization they will advance thru conscious effort. Without organization there will be some advance, but unorganized it will be the water mark of high industrial tide - just the memory of a lost opportunity. If the harvest workers build up the A.W.I.U.110 they will dam their gains and there will be no recession from the wages, hours and conditions they will establish. It does not require a giant intellect to realize this fact, but it takes foresight and courgge to act upon this knowledge.

That there is appreciation of this is evidenced by the number who are enrolling themselves in the A.W.I.U. That this is an I.W.W. year is being evidenced not only among the harvest workers but in all other industries. But it is predominately a year for agricultural labor because the conditions for wage workers are less attractive on the farm than in industrial establishments. With the growth of the union among the harvest workers and wise use of it, such gains should be made this year as will make farm employment as attractive as jobs in other industries. To build up the A.W.I.U. is the logical and necessary thing for the migratory workers and it should be the endeavor for which they will put forth their very best efforts. Organization is necessary for success - to make gains and to hold what is gained.

(over)

Job News (continued)

IOWA

SIOUX CITY, 6-25. Corn plowing is general over Iowa and Nebr. at $2.50 and $3.00 per day. ( AG 26.)

NEVADA

GERLACH, 6-7. Alfalfa haying will be on June 15th. Wild hay by July 15th. Wages in hay $4.00 or better. "Make it better for the workers." Come on you wobblies put up John's hay! ( GC 40)

WASHINGTON

WALLA WALLA, 6-21. Haying is pretty well advanced around here. Wages $2.50 to $3.00 per. The employment sharks try to hire the slaves for $2.50 but you can hire out on the street for $3.00. Beds furnished in most cases unless you are a scissor and bring it with you. Wheat harvest will start in about ten days. Big crop. Sentiment for organization was never better. Come on, you active members, this is the place for you this summer. ( AG 111)

PROSSER, 6-12. Haying on at Prosser and otherparts of the Yakima Valley. Wages $2.50 to $3.00. Big crop. Prospects for the largest wheat crop in years in the Palouse country, but working conditions are the same as 25 years ago. There certainly is great need for education and organization. ( AG 111)

WENATCHEE, 6-20. The American Fruit Growers Inc., five miles out of here hire about 25 men at 40¢ per hour. They take you back and forth from town or pay $60.00 per month and board. Work will last until August 1st. Some other jobs in the apples at 45¢ per hour. Board yourself. ( AG 77)

CALIFORNIA

TULARE LAKE DISTRICT, 6-20. Barley & Wheat harvest now on. Will last 100 days. Wages header tenders $3.00-$4.00, sack sewers $5.-6.00 jiggers, $4.00-5.00, separators $8.-12.00, Cat drivers $5.00. Wages include board. Hours 8 to 14 per day, no overtime pay. ( 840079)

STRATFORD, 6-15. Harvesting just starting $5.00 a day and board. Haying $3.00 a day and board. ( AG 4)

MARYSVILLE, 6-18. Pear picking starting about the 25th out of here. ( AG 282)

OAKDALE, 6-13. Haying is now on at $3.00 per day. Harvest will start by June 20th at $4.50 and board. ( AG 4)

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The duplicate card receipts are now in the field and have been sent to the branches and delegates. These receipts are charged to delegates receiving them the same as all other supplies and must be accounted for. They are $3.50 each. Delegates when issuing same should fill them out plainly and sign in their own handwriting. A careful study of page 2 of the 110 credentials will make the manner of handling them clear.

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Howard Johnson write to John Deady, General Delivery, Fresno.

---

Members making Minot should be careful with their cards as the town clowns are tearing them up.

---

Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies, literature, etc.:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Al Frane | 515 N. 16th St., (Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| John Deady | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 316 | Modesto, Calif. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St., | Fargo, N.D. |
| Ted Fraser | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| C. Wilson | Box 842 | Marysville, Calif. |
| Charles Gray | 14½ S. First St., | Minneapolis, Minn. |

NOTE: After July 1st the hall in Minneapolis will be located at 115 Nicollet St.

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Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman  Tom Wallace, Secty-Treas.

A.W.I.U.No.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 110 OF THE I.W.W.

BULLETIN No. 25

Chicago, Ill. July 3, 1923

## THE WAGE WORKER AND DEMOCRACY

On this date, one hundred and forty seven years ago, the Declaration of Independence was given to the world and the advent of political democracy followed, as a result. The old relationship of master and slave had been clothed in new raiment and the exploitation of one class by another was continued under the new regime. The rulership of the barons had given way to the rulership of the Capitalist class. Political democracy was a necessary condition to bourgeois dominance, and as such its adoption marked a progressive step in the evolution of society. But political democracy is only a guise under which real industrial democracy has been denied. The lot of the subject class under politically democratic states has grown gradually more insecure and degraded. So much so that the celebrations which commemorate its institution in America are, for the wage workers the veriest kind of humbug. The experiences of the productive factors in modern republics and democratized monarchies press them to seek a new solution for this problem--industrial democracy--and the preamble of the I. W. W. is the proletarian Declaration of Independence. Future generations in this and other countries will cherish it as a document of equal historical value with the one issued from Independence Hall on July 4, 1776.

But on this Fourth, the problem of life is the problem of the wage workers. How to survive, and how to secure the future is the one question that insistently persists itself for solution, admits of no evation and permits no delay.

Even under political democracy the measure of labor's relief is gauged by its economic preparation. Denied political expression as a social element in the most advanced and liberal democracies, the wage workers must eventually be impressed that the real power can only be developed in economic organization. Political action, except in conjunction with capitalistic interests they realize, can bring them nothing but disappointment. And in the alliance with capitalist elements they will experience disappointment also where they depend upon political action to redress their wrongs. The way of politics for the organized proletariat is the way of danger.

The worker as worker, requires democracy in industry. As worker he must aim for and achieve it there. By economic organization, employing economic means, in an economic sphere only is industrial democracy to be realized. Political democracy is for the capitalists and industrial democracy for the workers.

In the harvest the Fourth means little to the rural workers or to the farmers for that matter. The of 1776 was a far more independent character than the farmer of today. The farm household of that day answered those who are employed around the factories today. The industrial buildings that [illegible] activities are the [illegible] today. [illegible] the old [illegible] political democracy [illegible] in the factories and come to make [illegible] this the [illegible] 147 years of political democracy, [illegible] industrial democracy, has failed.

The lesson is [illegible] while to learn. [illegible] old [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] economic [illegible] [illegible] economic [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

When we, whom society under political democracy has reduced to a condition that is unbearable, consider steps for our own preservation, we must of necessity be impressed that the sources of our power for relief and redemption are found where political democracy has not had the chance to strip us bare--in the industries.

Whatever the Fourth of July holds for the capitalists to rejoice over, it should be to us a date marking a progress which neglected to conserve our interest, and what was left unfinished by those who made the day memorable, it is up to us to carry forward to final and complete success. The next step is industrial democracy, and it is our historic task to bring that about.

Organize on the farms, organize in the industries! Organization on land and sea upon all the continents, into the farthest reaches of capitalism is necessary to working class emancipation. Organization that knows no political divisions and recognizes no boundaries. This is the basis upon which will be upreared the social structure of the future. The I. W. W. is laying the foundation and when society moves into the new structure, history will give the organization that credit which its philosophy, structure and struggles entitle it to.

The future belongs to the I. W. W. Out of its womb shall be born the INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY. The declaration of independence in its Preamble is the message of industrial salvation for the hosts which political democracy holds in thrall and bondage.

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BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS!!

* * * * * * *

Nominations of candidates for the office of G.E.B. member are now in order from all branches of the A.W.I.U. and from members in the field. Whenver possible get a written acceptance of the nomination from the candidate and send it in with the nomination. This will be a seven months term--from August 15, 1933 until March 1, 1934, as provided by the 14th General Convention of the I. W. W. Following is a list of nominees for G. E. B. member of IU 110 sent into this office:

Accept

W. F. Lowe 813807
R. Jones 546495

Decline

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| W. F. Powell | 719318 | L. Handler | 453772 | Jod Fraser | 15744 |
| Wm. Murphy | 411116 | Miles McCabe | 406679 | H. Bennett | 794762 |
| J. Levine | 429378 | Ed Anderson | 958899 | S. Forbes | 196842 |
| | | | | H. Marshall | 352783 |

Not Heard From

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Harry Drew | 244103 | Tom Brady | 413806 | Frank Thorpe | 713888 |
| S. J. Cole | 313928 | C. D. Ellis | 269003 | Geo. Read | 737033 |
| Joe Jordan | 288598 | Jas. Sullivan | 415322 | | |

NOTE: The ballot will be in the field by July 10 and will be counted on Aug. 15th.

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By order of the last convention and by vote of the G.O.C. an expense of 50¢ will be allowed to delegates of IU 110 on all 110 initiations beginning June 1st. That is, in addition to the regular commission of 50¢ allowed on all cash initiations an additional 50¢ expense will be allowed the delegate on all initiations in 110. Initiations of members of other industrial unions by 110 delegates will only carry the regular commission of 50¢. Enter the extra 50¢ expense on the expense side of the report sheet as "Expense Account Initiations."

SPECIAL BUSINESS MEETING OF A.W.I.U 110 HELD IN ELLSWORTH KANSAS

JUNE 23, 1923.

Twelve members in good standing present.

M/S That this body concur with resolution pertaining to press-stamp by F.W. Thomas, and send same to Solidarity for publication and discussion. Carried Unanimously.

M/S That this body does on record to [illegible] out on job now as soon as possible for as much as we can [illegible], if demands are not met within two days pull the job and come in. Carried Unanimously.

M/S That publicity of previous motion be carried to the point of production. Carried.

M/S That we hold no private fight with the farmer about hours or length of day, but when time to in arrives simply to go to barn. Carried Unanimously

M/S That this body go on record to give California made products Boycott wide publicity thru grain belt. Carried.

M/S That this body go on record to invite all foot-loose wobblies to winter in California. Carried.

M/S That these minutes be published in all I. W. W publications. Carried.

Chairman: Card No. 807386
Rec. Secy: Card No. X51657

---

Ellsworth, Kansas

RESOLUTION TO THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE I. W. W. OF 19 23.

Fellow Workers-

Whereas, we all know the need of a daily paper:
Therefore, be it resolved that the General Organisaion place a voluntary assesment stamp in the field to be known as the "Daily Press Stamp", and that the proceeds of this stamp shall be used for placing Industrial Solidarity in the field as a "daily" paper, and be it futher resolved that this resolution be published in all I. W. W. publicatiens.

Yours for a Daily Press to combat the Masters',

(Signed) Card No. 839653

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Reports coming in from the field show that the A W I U 110 bond stamp is going over with a bang. There is no doubt but that 110 will raise its quota of the bond indebtedness this summer. Many new members are buying this stamp on lining up and they are the ones who should be impressed with the idea that it is their duty as well as that of the old member to see that this debt is cleared.

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## JOB NEWS

### KANSAS

RUSSELL, 6-30. Ellsworth to Hays. Good men for harvesting needed badly. Organized men preferred. Wages $5.00 and $6.00 for barge men, $8.00 and $10.00 for stackers. Harvest on full swing. Will start at Colby by July 4th. (AG 131)

BUSHTON, 6-28. Few men here. Some going out for $6.00 a day. Good chances for more as they cant get men for any less.

HOLLYWOOD, 6-28. Very few men here, mostly all fellow workers. Wages $6.00 in barge and $8.00 for stackers. The farmers are going wild as there is nobody coming this way. (AG 478)

KINGMAN, 6-26. Wages here are $4.00 per day. They like the Texas longhorn here and are bringing them in by the truck load. (AG 156)

TURON, 6-25. Wages here are 4.[illegible] and 5.00 per day with men scarce. Wages are the same as Kingman. (AG 336)

GREAT BEND 6-30. Wages 5.00 for 10 hours. Harvest on for about four days. Wheat Heavey. Shipped 60 men in auto trucks from Hutchinson and Wichita in here yesterday. The men are led to believe these auto rides are free. When they get here they are charged $1.00 and the farmer that hires them is charged $2.00 (total $3.00). Same wobs refused to be boodled out of a dollar and were pinched. County Attorney threatened them with 30 days--they stood pat and were turned loose. (AG 20)

STERLING AND ELLINWOOD 7-1. Wages $5.00 for ten hours. Harvest well started. Men scarce. Wheat heavy. (AG 20)

HUCHINSON 7-1. $4.00 and $5.00, 10 hours. Harvest one hald done here. Law is forcing men that are not working in to the farmers auto, but nearly all of these men that are shanghaid get out of the auto. (AG 20)

CALIFORNIA

STRATFORD 6-25. Only a few home guards and high school kids are working in the harvest here. $4.00 to $6.00 per day of 10 to 13 hours. This will be a good place in about two weeks for any fellow worker to set in as by that time the grain will be dry and it will be too hot for boys. (AG 452)

MARYSVILLE 6-25. Peaches will be on in about three weeks. Lots of married men with big families waiting for them. (AG 104)

WASHINGTON

CASHMAN 6-25. Apple thinning is on full blast. No standard scale of wages. All the way from $3.00 to $4.00. The farmers have shipped in 400 school kids from 16 to 20 years old. Harvest will start in the Palouse and Big Bend country about July 15th. (AG 573)

WENATCHEE 6-29. Not much doing here--a few working at thinning apples at 40¢ to 50¢ per hour and $3.00 and board. Harvest in the Palouse will start about the 10th of July with a big crop. (AG 111)

WALLA WALLA 6-28. Wheat haying now on, $2.50 and $3.00. Harvest will start about the 10th or 15th. Wages will be somewhat higher than last year. Not too many men in town. Sentiment is fair, although we have an awful element to contend with and delegates need support. (AG 117)

KANSAS

HOISINGTON 7-1. The farmers are hiring men for $5.00 per day but most of them are holding out for $6.00. Harvest about half over. Threshing may start the last of next week. (AG 627)

STAFFORD 7-1. Men are scarce here and sentiment among the unorganized is fairly good. Wages are $4.00 to $5.00 per day. Harvest just begun. (AG 627)

LARNED 6-28. Wages here and at Great Bend are $5.00 per day with farmers running wild for men. Sentiment good for organization. (AG 156)

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The new local [illegible] in the field and have been sent to the branches and delegates. These receitps are charged to delegates receiving them the same as all other supplies and must be accounted for. They are $3.50 each. Delegates when issuing same should fill them out plainly and sign in their own handwriting. A careful study of page 3 and of the 110 credentials will make the manner of handling them clear.

---

Kite has ordered the following delegates for supplies, literature, etc.:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219-4th St | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Al Frane | 515 N. 16th St(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr |
| John Deady | General Delivery | Fresno, Cal |
| S. H. Straw | Box 316 | Modesto, Cal |
| Wm. Morreau | 110 Front St | Fargo, N. D. |
| Ted Fraser | 601 W. Madison St | Chicago Ill |
| G. Wilson | Box 842 | Marysville, Cal. |
| Chas. Gray | 145 Hoehst St | Minneapolis, Minn |

Hours [illegible] P. M.
Address [illegible], Chairman [illegible] Palace, San Francisco
A. F. of L. Hdq. 410

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 110 OF THE I. W. W.

B U L L E T I N No. 26

Chicago, Ill. July 13, 1923

XXXX

but above and beyond them is the cause in which they fell victims. That cause is the cause of all labor. That fight is a fight in which our interests are involved. To neglect our part in it is to enlist on the side of the enemy.

So let us go into this California fight without shackles. Debts incurred during the war are yet unpaid. Our quota is $13,150.00. Every member should be willing to go his limit in trying to eliminate handicap upon our resources. The Convention in Oklahoma City authorized a $1.00 Bail and Bond Obligation Stamp for IU 110 members. These stamps are now in the field, and delegates and members should push them to the limit.

Now, All Together, fellow workers, for the Biggest and Best Drive IU 110 ever had!

---

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS!!!

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## J O B  N E W S

### KANSAS

COLBY, 7-6-23. Fine crop around here. Wages starting off at $4.00 per day for the harvesting of barley. Excellent crop of barley to be harvested. Wheat harvest will begin from the 10th to 15th. Wages for same will depend on how much organization power there is here. The Officials here are going to have the hands stay in the Big Shady Grove, so that they can be employed handily as the demand comes in. So, fellow workers, you see you will have shady quarters cool and nice while in wait for the employer. Do not pass such hospitality up as Colby offers. Excellent crop on the St. Francis and Atwood Branch. AG 131.

COLBY, 7-8. Cutting will start about the 10th or 12th. Good crop. Wages will start at $5.00 per day. AG 141.

GENESEO, 7-3. Wages here are $5.00 for 10 hours. At Lindsborg shocking and heading $5.00. Shocking at Gypsum City at $5.00 for 10 hours, but not many men are being hired at Lindsborg or Gypsum City. AG 20.

MILTONVILLE, 7-3. Harvest about two-thirds over. Threshing will start next week at $4.00 and $5.00, but you must make your own conditions and wages. AG 410.

DORRANCE, 7-7. Along the U.P. wages are $5.00 and $6.00 for barge men; $8.00 and $9.00 for stackers. AG 556.

OAKLEY, 7-5. The barley is being cut with wages around $4.00. Wheat will be on next week and wages will be what we make them. AG 98.

ELLSWORTH, 7-3. Farmers around here, Lorraine and Holyrod paying $5.00 and $6.00, organized men getting $6.00! Harvest will be in full swingthe 4th or 5th. Men scarce. AG 247

HOLYROOD, 7-3. Wages are 60¢ per hour in header box, 80¢ per hour for stackers, and 50¢ per hour for scratchers. Ten hour working day. AG 61.

RUSSELL, 7-4. Fair Crops here and wages for barge men are $6.00 and $7.00 per day. Lots of unorganized here but organized are just as plentiful. Sentiment good. AG 740.

CLAY CENTER, 7-5. Going wages are $4.00 per day but most members are getting $5.00. Sentiment good. AG 416.

MINNEAPOLIS, 7-9. Harvest is almost over here and threshing will start next week. The wages have been set at $4.00. Wicks are plentiful. AG 902.

## JOB NEWS (Cont'd)

### KANSAS

HOXIE, 7-6. Harvest started at $6.00 and $7.00 per day. Only fair crop but men are scarce. Ag 162.

JAMESTOWN, 7-7-. Wages here are $4.00 up to $5.00 for shocking and heading. About four to six days left. AG 145

RANDALL, 7-7. Wages $4.50 to $5.00. About 7 days left. Ag 145

BELOIT 7-7. Wages $5.00 up to $6.00. Ten days to two weeks left. AG 145

SCOTTSVILLE 7-7. Wages $4.00 to $5.00. About one weeks work left. Next week thresning will start. Haven't found out what they think they will start for.

GREAT BEND, 7-7. Harvest nearly over here. Threshing crews hiring at $5.00 per day. AG 201.

MINDEN, NEBRASKA, 7-6. Crops here good and men are scarce. Harvest just starting at $4.00 and $5.00 per day. AG 5

FARGO, N. DAK, 7-5. Haying is started at $2.00 and $2.50 per day. Very few men here and they are holding out for $3.00. Rye cutting will start about July 15th and wheat about Aug. 1st. AG 28

### MICHIGAN

BRODY, 7-5. Raspberry picking is now on. Will last a couple of weeks. Wages 60¢ per crate. AG 68

FENVILLE, 7-5. Cherry picking, wages for stripping 2¢ and 2½¢ a pound. For stemming 60 to 65¢ a crate. AG 68

RIVERSIDE, 7-5. Strawberry picking nearly over. Raspberries and dewberries will be ready to pick about the 12th. AG 68.

GREAT FALLS, MONT. 7-4. Haying is paying from $2.90 to $3.25 per day. Irrigators are getting $2.50 and $3.00 with board. AG 574.

### CALIFORNIA

MARYSVILLE, 7-7. They are picking pears, peaches out of here at $2.75 per day and board. Ten hour day. AG 282

STRATFORD, 7-7. There is plenty of harvesting here at from $4.00 to $6.00 per day of ten to thirteen hours. There is lots of wheat and few men. A little action is all that is needed to better wages and conditions. AG 452.

### WASHINGTON

WENATCHEE, 7-3. The ranchers are paying $4.00 per day and board for thinning apples. Quite a lot of other work at 50¢ per hour. AG 76

ALMOTA, 7-3. Harvest is well started. Paying 50¢ per hour for shocking. Good crop and a long job. AG 406

CASHMAN, 7-8. Harvest will start in the Big Bend and Palouse country by July 15th. Big crop. Many fellow workers are going to take it in. AG 573.

WALLA WALLA, 7-1. General membership meeting. 20 members in good standing went on record to work ten hours from Barn to Barn; that the minimum wage for haying be $3.00 and any and all means be used to discourage carrying beds and that we insist that the boss furnish the beds. A collection of $5.70 was taken up for the California defense. The outlook for 110 was never better. Members determined to put 110 on the wobbly map in the northwest. AG 117.

*********

NOTICE.- Members coming through Great Falls, Montana can get supplies and literature from W. C. Goldschmidt, at 408 - 1st Ave So.

The General Defense Committee has engaged the services of two attorneys to look after the interests of members who may be detained throughout Kansas. At present Harold O. Mulks of Chicago, and Harry Fleharty of Omaha are busily engaged defending fellow workers.

Mulks was successful in obtaining a dismissal of C.S. cases at Kingman, Kansas. The fellow workers there were released on their recognizance and on date of trial were ordered dismissed. Mulks then proceeded to Hutchinson where several members have been held. We are now waiting word as to the outcome of that case.

Fleharty is now in Colby, Kansas where a number of fellow workers were arrested after an altercation with railroad police. One fellow worker was thrown from the train and suffered two broken legs.

We again wish to call the attention of all fellow workers arrested or in possession of that information to wire at least one of the names of the defendants. This is necessary in order that the attorney will know who to call out.

The General Defense is hard pressed for funds. Dont overlook the defense stamp.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
1001 W. Madison St.
Chicago, Ill.

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LOST

Credentials Nos. AG 808-809-810. D.C.R's 1101-1102-1103-1104-1105. I Defense receipt book, from A.E.Daniels, IU 230. 1 Pioneer receipt book, from A.E.Daniels IU 230. 1 Sol. receipt book, A.M. Shea, AG 314, from A. Vernon. Lost by AG 131 at Russell, Kans, on July 2nd. If found send in to main office.

ADVERTISE

Duplicate cards: Andrew Hillegard, X47339. Robert Purdy, X100893. Henry O'Neil, 835055. Write to G. Wilson Box 842, Marysville, California.

NOTICES

By order of the last convention and by vote of the G.O.C. an expense of 50¢ will be allowed to delegates of IU 110 on all 110 initiations beginning June 1st. That is, in addition to the regular commission of 50¢ allowed on all cash initiations an additional 50¢ expense will be allowed the delegate on all initiations in 110. Initiations of members of other industrial unions by 110 delegates will only carry the regular commission of 50¢. Enter the extra 50¢ expense on the expense side of the report sheet as "Expense Account Initiations."

*****

The referendum ballot from the spring convention and for the election of a member to represent IU 110 on the G.E.B. is now out and can be obtained from any 110 branch or the main office. They are also being sent to all IU branches and supply stations. Every member should make it a point to vote on this ballot.

*****

Reports on the sale of the A.W.I.U. bond stamp get better every day. Now that every one has had a chance to make a few dollars, every member, -especially the new ones - should consider it their duty to have onein their book. This debt is retarding organization work and from the tone of letters received in the office, the members of 110 are determined that their quota shall be wiped out in 1923.

# I M P O R T A N T

It is important that IU 230 get in touch with Patrick J. McGeehan whose trial on a charge for C.S. is set for September 24th at Santa Ana, California. He is about 5 ft. 4in. in height, weight about 140 lbs., dark hair, eyes and complexion. Slightly bald. This man must be located before the date of trial and any one knowing his address, please notify IU 230 main office or the General Defense.

*********

MINUTES OF SPECIAL MEETING OF A.W.I.U. 110 HELD AT COLBY, KANSAS
July 8, 1923.

Meeting called to order at 2 P.M. by H.G. Moore.
Chairman: Wm. Hanley
Rec-Secy: John Downs.
129 members present.

M/S That Town officer be given seat in meeting in front row. Carried.
M/S That we back these four men in jail to our fullest extent both financially and morally. Carried.
M/S That we move over to Russell Springs in a body at once.
Amendment to motion. That if these men are not released at Preliminary hearing that we go over to Russell Springs in a body to fill jail and that we notify all members of the I. W. W. of our action. Carried.
M/S That a committee of 5 be elected to serve notice of our action to officers at Russell Springs. Carried
M/S That we hold meetings in this park daily at 2 P.M. Carried.
M/S That Rogers, Downs, Hanely, Sales and O'Neil be elected by all for committee. Carried
Goddand Welfare. Several spoke.
M/S That we adjourn. Carried. Adjourned at 3:50 P. M.

********

Resolution passed at regular business meeting at Fargo, N. D. branch of A.W.I.U. 110, July 8, 1923:

M/S That this body go on record as being in favor of several intermittent 3 day strikes in North Dakota demanding the release of class war prisoners.
Carried Unanimously.

Wm. McDonald, Chairman
F. S. Beaumont, Rec-Secy.

********

Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies, literature, etc.:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219 - 4th St | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Al Frane | 515 N. 16th St(Box 107) | Omaha, Neb |
| John Deady | General Delivery | Fresno, Cal. |
| S. H. Straw | Box 316 | Modesto, Cal. |
| Wm. Morreau | 110 Front St | Fargo, N. D. |
| Ted Fraser | 601 N. Madison | Chicago, Ill |
| G. Wilson | Box 842 | Marysville, Cal. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet | Minneapolis, Minn |

Yours for the I. W. W.,

Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec-Treas

A. W. I. U. No. 110

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.27

Chicago, Ill. July 18, 1923

## COOPERATION, COORDINATION, SOLIDARITY

Fellow workers:

By the time this Bulletin is in the field the A.W.I.U. drive will be advancing out of Kansas territory with greater momentum than has ever before been attained.

From the start of the campaign in Oklahoma the terrorist methods employed by the powers that be met with so many setbacks that the A.W.I.U. is now encountering less serious opposition than in any preceding year. Terrorism has proven ineffectual when opposed by solidarity and such determination as has been exhibited by the organized harvest workers. Beginning with Enid, persecution of the workers has been a disappointing experience to the business and financial Fascisti and they have lost the air of cocksuredness which had always marked them heretofore. Fewer members are jailed in Kansas this season than in any previous year. This is not because the enemies of the organization have changed but because our organization is stronger and our methods more effective. There is a lesson in this year's experience which we may learn to our advantage; a lesson which it must be our effort to drive into the consciousness of the harvest and migratory workers. Nor should we wait upon another season to do so. There is yet time and plenty of opportunity to do this in the balance of the present season.

The results in the drive are the accomplishments of the delegates and members. The main office is merely the agency for recording the results of the activities of the men in the field. You cut cut our work for us. What we do you arrange for us. The all-important factor in the A.W.I.U. is the men who undertake and carry on the organization function in the several agricultural sections of the United States. The main office is the mirror in which each delegate and member sees the collective result reflected. The union is the membership. There must be no mistake about this or a serious danger would continually face the organization.

The spirit and solidarity being displayed by our membership in this drive is a guarantee of the capacity of the wage workers to conduct their own affairs. This manifestation was not born this year. It was born when men, few in number but strong in spirit, started out years ago carrying the message of unionism and hope to the migratory workers whom the fortunes of industry drove into the harvest fields. Year by year new recruits were added until the splendid organization which we now have was built up against great odds and in the face of many painful and costly experiences. The A.W.I.U. is one of the most glorious achievements of American labor. It has succeeded in a field where all its predecessors failed ignominously. It has done so because its programs were arranged and carried out by those who actually lived the life and faced in a personal way the problems of migratory life which had to be met and solved. They were men facing conditions that involved their very lives. They made the A.W.I.U. the organization that is influencing the working and living conditions under which the farm help of the United States work and live. They achieved success because they had to achieve it. It was sink or swim, and they learned how to swim.

The Bail and Bond stamps are going like hot cakes. This is as it should be. This is a debt due to those who came forward on behalf of the organization when it involved some danger to be recognised as friendly to the I.W.W. The debt represents the hard-earned savings of men and women whose love of fair play and liberty was broad enough, and whose hearts were generous enough to risk their money and more that the accused I.W.W. members might be released to attend to their affairs of the organization and to function in behalf of the working class. There has never been a debt which involved the honor of the organization, and every member to the same extent, and

if

there is hardly any likelihood of a similar debt ever again being incurred. Honor as debtors and the sentiment that appreciates genuine friendliness should prompt us, every one of us, to see that the A.W.I.U. quota is not only subscribed but over-subscribed.

Let us make the Bail and Bond stamp part of the drive and make both a monument to the A.W.I.U. capacity, spirit and determination. Push on! The way to victory is clear.

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BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

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**MEETINGS**

Aberdeen, S.D. July 15, 1923. - Business meeting A.W.I.U. Thirty-two members in good standing present.

M & S. That this meeting go on record for wages to be $5.00 for 10 hours work and the same to be published in Industrial Worker. Carr.

M & S. That this meeting go on record for wages to be $4.00 for 10 hours work in hay and the same to be published in the Industrial Worker. Carried unanimously.

---

Clay Center, Kans. July 8, 1923. A.W.I.U. business meeting. Sixteen members in good standing present.

Discussion was held about threshing in this vicinity and general opinion was that as rigs are mostly hoosier operated and cannot see the 10 hour day, most of them working 11 hours, we work by the hour and charge 50¢ per hour.

---

Colby, Kans. July 9, 1923. - Held a large educational and open forum meeting here this afternoon, attended by between 300 and 400. Several good talks by members on the benefits to be gained thru the workers organizing into the I.W.W. Everybody seemed highly interested. After the meeting adjourned five of the members who had been speaking were asked by the officers for an interview in which they wished to get an understanding as to the best way of keeping order, etc.; and they wished us to recognize the hospitality which they have afforded us harvest hands while here, which is greater than any shown elsewhere, as they erected large tents here for sleeping purposes and have allowed us the privilege of doing our cooking in the grove here by the Rock Island depot which was quickly taken advantage of by the F.W.'s. And today they have a nice cooking arrangement with tables arranged for serving and committees functioning accordingly. (AG 131)

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Colby, Kans. July 13, 1923.- Special A.W.I.U. business meeting. Seventy-five members in good standing present.

Report of Committee.

M & S. That financial report of sec'y be accepted subject to auditing committee. Carried.

M & S. That report of the committee as a whole be accepted and the committee discharged, and the remaining finances be turned over to stationary delegate at Colby, Kans. Carried unanimously.

M & S. That the witnesses elect a committee among themselves to take care of the case. Carried unan.

M & S. That this body go on record to sanction the handling of the funds by the sta. del. at Colby on Oakley case. Carr. unan.

M & S. That sta. del. be instructed to wire Chicago for supplies and literature. Carried.

John Murray, Wm Downs and Fred Quigley elected by acclamation on auditing committee.

Good & Welfare- Several members spoke in regard to the drive and the splendid spirt of the membership.

# J O B  N E W S

## KANSAS

7-14. The grain is ripening slowly and harvest will not be in full swing before the 18th or 19th. Men are going on north. (AG 850)

HOYDE, 7-16: Wages here for harvesting were $4.00 and $5.00 for ten hours. Now that threshing has started they want to pay $4.00 for 11 hours. ( AG 137)

COLBY; 7-13. Harvest just starting. Wages offered $4.00 for pitchers, $5.00 for stackers. Greatest drawback here is auto tramp, otherwise organization is 97 %. (AG 819)

LINDSBORG, 7-11. Wages are $4.50 and $5.00 for 9 and 10 hrs.(AG258)

WHITMORE, 7-10. Wages here are $4.00 & $5.00. Not many members but sentiment is good. (#796406)

HOLYROOD, 7-11. Harvest is about over. Wages for threshing is 40¢ a hundred and 50¢ an hour. The men working by the hundred are not making anything. (AG 38)

ABILENE, 7-13. Threshing started here on the 10th. Wages $4.00 and some offers of $5.00. Not many members here. John Farmer is having a hard time getting men at $4.00. Sentiment is good. (AG 611)

## NEBRASKA

MINDEN, 7-11. Harvest started first of week. Wages $4.00 to $4.50 Men scarce. ( AG 5)

SUTTON, 7-16. Threshing will start here the 18th. Wages $4.00 to $5.00. Plenty of men here. ( AG 555)

## SOUTH DAKOTA

MITCHELL, 7-15. Rye cutting now in full swing around here. Wages $4.00 & $4.50. Sentiment good. Men very scarce. Only an odd Grease Ball going thru once in a while. With a little organization we can get $5.00 per day. ( AG 704)

## NORTH DAKOTA

LARIMORE, 7-16. Rye harvest will be on by the middle of this week. Wages are $3.00 here and at Devil's Lake. (AG 709)

HANKINSON, 7-16. Haying on in full swing. $2.00 to $3.50 high. Rye cutting starting. Wages will be what the workers will make it on the job. Farmers looking for cheap help every day. Crops fair in spots. ( AG 1037)

KENMARE, 7-9. From all indications there will be big crops all over this part of the country. Have been as far west as Westby, Mont. and everywhere the crop looked fine. There are no men here yet.( 719245)

KENMARE, 7-12. Haying will start here in about a day or two. John Farmer would like to start it off at about $2.50 but as there are not many men around yet John will raise the ante. What few are here are organized. ( AG 234)

## MINNESOTA

APPLETON, 7-14. Cutting will be general around here the last of next week. John Farmer only offers $3.00 for the rye. Few men.(AG95)

## MONTANA

GREAT FALLS, 7-14. Haying is paying from $2.90 to $3.25 per day. Irrigators are getting $2.50 and $3.00 with board. ( AG 574)

MISSOULA, 7-7. Haying just started within the environs of Missoula on the Bitterroot, Flat Head and Flat Foot reservations. Ten hours a day. Wages $3.00 to $3.50. There is an element of starved out rancher in this locality who work for wages to support what they term a ranch On account of scarcity of men, by a little organized effort we should be able to boost the ante. ( AG 573)

## WASHINGTON

STARBUCK, 7-7. Haying now on. Wages $3.00 and board. Harvest will be on in 10 days. Men are not plentiful. Opportunity never was better in Starbuck for 110. ( AG 109)

LA CROSSE, 7-11. The farmers are offering $3.00 out of La Crosse. for haying. Some construction work here on the railroad, 50¢ per hour, 8 hour shift. A short job. ( AG 76)

RITZVILL, 7-10. Haying now on at $3.00. Harvest starts about July 20th. No men here. ( AG 19).

CHENEY. Haying on at $2.50 & $3.00. Harvest about July 30. Men scarce.

PULLMAN . Haying just starting. $3.00 & $3.50. Harvest about July 20th. Farmers talk of paying $5.00 to $6.00. No men here.

WALLA WALLA. Haying $2.50 & $3.00. Harvest now on. Wages $4.00 & up. Farmers worried in the N.W. over the shortage of men. Why go to Dakota when you can do as well here? Walla Walla has more idle men than all the rest of the harvest belt put together. ( AG 19)

## CALIFORNIA

MARYSVILLE, 7-10. Peach picking will start about July 20th here and at Yuba City. Wages not set yet. ( AG 282)

STRATFORD, 7-7. There is plenty of harvesting here at from $4.00 to $6.00 per day of ten to thirteen hours. There is lots of wheat and few men. A little action is all that is needed to better wages and conditions. (AG 452)

LOYALTON. Lewis ranch, one-fourth mile from depot. Plenty of haying jobs here, will last five weeks in this valley. More haying later on down the river. (Feather River) Grub is good on this ranch. Wages: $3, $3.50, $4. and board. Carry your bindle. 9 hr. day but can be made 8 by job action. The weather is very cool here. Some of these ranchers feed good. Men are very scarce at this time. Come on, 110 organize the "hay hands", then to the rice. Clean up on California, educate the slaves. Let's make it a good place for the wobblies. (GC 40).

## MICHIGAN

BRODY, 7-10. Raspberry picking is now on. Will last a couple of weeks. Wages 60¢ per crate. (AG 68)

FENVILLE , 7-10. Cherry picking, wages for stripping 2¢ and 2½¢ a pound. For stemming 60 to 65¢ a crate. ( AG 68)

RIVERSIDE, 7-12. Raspberries and dewberries are ready to pick. (AG68)

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## I M P O R T A N T

It is important that I.U. 230 get in touch with Patrick J. Mc Geehan whose trial on a charge of C.S. is set for September 24th at Santa Ana, California. He is about 5 ft. 4 in. in height, weight about 140 lbs., dark hair, eyes and complexion, slightly bald. This man must be located before the date of trial and any one knowing his address, please notify I.U. 230 main office, General Defense or California Defense office.

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By order of the last convention and by vote of the G.O.C. an expense of 50¢ will be allowed to delegates of I.U.110 on all 110 initiations beginning June 1st. That is, in addition to the regular commission of 50¢ allowed on all cash initiations an additional 50¢ expense will be allowed the delegate on all initiations in 110. Initiations of members of other industrial unions by 110 delegates will only carry the regular commission of 50¢. Enter the extra 50¢ expense on the expense side of the report sheet as "Expense Account Initiations".

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E. Hodemaner, secretary of M.T.W.I.U.510 branch in Seattle, has disappeared with organization funds. He is believed to have headed [illegible] the harvest. Members should be on the watch for this bird.

## KANSAS SITUATION

The persistent efforts of the delegates and members in Kansas is having a very good effect. In spite of the many arrests at the beginning of the drive it did not deter the members from carrying on their organization work.

The Committee has at its disposal three attorneys to look after the interests of arrested members. From all appearances the citizens of Kansas are not falling for the bunk handed out by the Attorney General's office and their actions show them to be opposed to the wholesale arrests of members.

Attorney Mulks reports the following: Redman and two other fellow workers were convicted of vagrancy at Hutchinson and their cases are being appealed to the Supreme Court.

Mc Donnell tried by jury at Hutchinson was acquited of vagrancy. Vagrancy charge against fellow worker Mickel at the same place was later dismissed.

Harry Theodore found guilty at Mc Pherson and sentenced to thirty days. Fellow worker Olson was acquited.

The five fellow workers arrested at Wellingtonare held on the charge of criminal syndicalism, bail $500. Mulks has sued a writ of habeas corpus in their behalf. One fellow worker was acquited of vagrancy.

Attorney Mulks will look after the cases of Harold Fiske and Geo. Williams who are charged with criminal syndicalism. Their cases are to come up the 18th of July. He will also attempt to effect the release of the fellow workers held at Carthage, Mo. Their trial was to come up in September.

Attorney Harry Fleharty of Omaha is taking care of the cases at Oakley, Kans. Attorney Carrol of Great Bend, Kans. is looking after the case of fellow workers Lowe and Black confined in that city. We are expecting their acquital. Attorney Kelly of Huron,S.D. is in charge of the cases in Aberdeen, S.D. Fellow worker Walker and four others are charged with vagrancy.

The expense of the above attorneys is quite a drain on the funds of the General Defense Committee. We feel confident that the members of 110 are aware of this and will do everything possible to raise sufficient funds to tide us over.

General Defense Committee.

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NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

Lost around Colby, Kans. a California Defense Receipt book issued to Louis Goettman by Sam Oberman. If found send in to main office.

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Credentials AG 568 issued to Henry Goldberg were lost at Ihlen, Minn. Take up original credentials and send in to us as F.W.Goldberg has been issued duplicate credentials.

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Credentials AG 340, card 837626 and supplies of F.W.Tom Blair were lost at Ihlen, Minn. on July 15. F.W.Blair has been issued duplicate credentials. Take up original ones and send to main office.

---

All members who did business with L.J.Wilson, AG 32, on July 9th and 10th are requested to get in touch with Headquarters of I.U. 110 as the record of business done has been lost.

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George Schudy, X 54291, initiated by I.U.110 Sept.19, 1922, transferred to I.U.310 April 16, 1923 has jumped a $50.00 bond in Long Beach California on a vagrancy charge. He is reported to be headed for the harvest. This bond must be made good by the Los Angeles Defense Committee and any member meeting this character should endeavor to persuade him to make it good.

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Credentials AG 70, issued to Charles Kolar have been lost. Take up original credentials and send in as duplicate credentials have been issued to F.W. Kolar.

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Credentials AG 740, issued to Louis Charello, were lost in Colby on July 9th. Duplicate credentials have been issued to F.W. Charello. Take up original and send to main office.

---

All delegates of A.W.I.U.110 who are in debt on their 1922 account become delinquent on August 1st, 1923, under By-law 30. However, as many of the 1922 delegates are making the drive in Kansas and have had no opportunity to get at the point of production, we have decided not to publish the delinquent list until August 20th.

---

New members who lose their cards should not line up again. For $3.50 a duplicate card receipt may be secured from any delegate of A.W.I.U.110, which will secure the member a duplicate card and will be redeemed by any delegate of 110 for $3.00 in due or assessment stamps. It will also be recognized as a token of membership by all members.

---

The referendum ballot of the spring convention and to elect a G.E.B. member for A.W.I.U.110 is now in the field. All members should vote. Delegates who have not already received ballots should secure same at once. They can be had at all I.U. branches or from the main office.

The following members have accepted the nomination: for G.E.B. member. The other nominees either declined or were not heard from.

R. Jones W.F. Lowe Sam Forbes

Ballots cast in the field should be sent to the main office of A.W.I.U.110, enclosed in a separate envelope marked BALLOT COMMITTEE. The ballot will be counted August 15.

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Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.Vernon | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Al Frane | 515 N.16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| Ted Fraser | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| John Deady | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 316 | Modesto, Calif. |
| G. Wilson | Box 842 | Marysville, Cal. |
| Bob Hall | 220½ N. Bernard St.% Griffin Hotel | Spokane, Wash. |

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U.No.110.

"An Injury to One is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No. 28

Chicago, Ill. July 25, 1923.

**********

## ORGANIZED EFFORT MAKES STEADY PROGRESS

Fellow workers:

The successful organization drive in Kansas has now already advanced across the state line into Nebraska with such momentum as promises results in excess of anything ever before achieved in the commonwealth along the Platte.

Improved system and methods are the distinctive factors that will not only bring greater results in Nebraska but will do likewise in South Dakota, where organization work is very actively pushed.

The capitalist papers are according the I.W.W., which, in this instance, means the A.W.I.U.#110, considerable attention and space. They are candidly concerned about the number of I.W.W. organizers at work among the harvesters and the activity these delegates are displaying. But, in the final analysis, it is the success which attends these organizing efforts that alarms the editors and correspondents. Voicing the fear of those whose malign influence organization of the harvest hands threatens, these papers are giving greater stimulus to the drive and making it easier for the 110 delegates to succeed in the work to which they have set their hands. Circumstances are such this year that no matter what course the employers elect to pursue they can only play into our hands. This is our year because we understand the situation better than those who oppose us. We are winning more this season because we have prepared ourselves to win more. If every season we remedy some defects of preceding years it will not be long until harvest help is solidly organized from Oklahoma to the Canadian boundary.

With the preparation made and the outlook as it now presents itself, there is no reason why South Dakota should not be solidly organized this year. This will give us a great advantage, for the harvesters will move forward into North Dakota as a thoroly organized force trained, disciplined and competent to deal with the situation as it presents itself there. The work done along organization lines from Enid to our farthest north section is related in all its stages. What was done yesterday and what is being done today is preparation for what will be attempted and accomplished tomorrow. What was done in Oklahoma influenced what was done in Kansas. The work and results in both these states is directly related to and bears upon the work and results in Nebraska, the two Dakotas and Montana. From the starting point to the last harvest section it is one drive.

Even as this is so as regards the drive in the middle west grain belt, so has that drive itself an effect upon and a relation to the lot of the agricultural workers in sections where no organization has yet been effected. A great win in the small grain states will prepare the way for successful drives in other sections of the country where other products are raised. When the middle west is solidly organized under the A.W.I.U.#110 banner we shall have the men and means that will enable us to move farther afield with the assurance that success will attend our efforts. The middle western states are only the starting point for the organization of all those who labor on the farms, ranches, orchards and gardens of the United States and Canada.

We are now well on our way toward that goal. We are not growing weary either. There is inspiration in the success that rewards our work. Nebraska is falling into line. South Dakota is adding to our forces. We advanced into both with greater strength than we have ever before attained. We shall move on over the boundaries of both with still greater strength and spirit. Montana and North Dakota will surrender to our forces. This year the middle west is 110 because

our delegates and members have been awake to opportunity and prepared to seize it. The victory is always to the strong, and the organized are the strong.

Organization stiffens weak backbones, steadies trembling knees, lifts bowed heads and strengthens weak hearts. It gives ccurage to the timid and hope to the discouraged. It is the antidote for industrial tyranny and the cure for industrial wrongs. This the unorganized must learn, and it is our mission and duty to teach them. We are doing so very successfully this season. In helping them we help ourselves. And teaching them we also learn. The future is ours. Organization and education will give it into our hands.

On with the drive! Every member an organizer and every worker a recruit. This is what wins.

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** M E E T I N G S **

Special 110 meeting Bozeman, Mont, July 16, 1923. - Seven members present.

M &BS. That we place boycott on Miller's place. Carried.

M & S. That we concur with resolution. Carried.

Whereas there is considerable work in the harvest and some construction, and
Whereas the sentiment is strong in favor or organization,
We as members of the I.W.W. record ourselves in favor of maintaining a stationary delegate or supply clerk and ask the G.O.C. of I.U.110 to take this matter up immediately.

---

General Membership Meeting Fargo, N.D. July 22, 1923. - Fifty-two members in good standing present.

M & S. That Sec'y appoint a committee to go with him before the City Commission and make application for permit to speak on the streets. CCarried.

M & S. That any member of the organization goingto work for less than $5.00 be classed as scab and have card taken away.
Amendment. That the Fellow workers set the wages in whatever locality they are in. Amendment carried.

---

Special 110 Meeting Ashland, Nebr. July 16, 1923 - Seventeen members in good standing present.

M & S. That we throw the floor open for discussion in regard to a five day strike in No. Dakota for the release of the class war prisoners. Carried. M & S. That discussion be closed. Carried.

M & S. That this meeting go on record as endorsing resolution of Fargo Branch July 8th and to include all grain states and Canada.Carr.

M & S. That this meeting is in favor of all members and delegates of the A.W.I.U. using all their energy to exceed the 110 Bond stamp quota so as to protect the small I.U.'s. Carried.

---

Special Business Meeting Sioux City Branch #110, July 17,1923.

Telegram from Chicago relating to strike in San Pedro asking cooperation of 110 read.
M & S. That we go on record to agitate for a general meeting day for the general strike starting August 5th or sooner. Carried.

---

Special Business Meeting Sioux City Branch #110, July 20,1923. Thirty members in good standing present.

Reading of the minutes of previous meeting of July 17th.

M & S. That Br. Sec'y be instructed to insert in these minutes motion made in previous meeting pertaining to advocate for meeting concerning general strike. Carried.

(over)

M & S. That this body go on record for a successful drive thru South Dakota. Carried.

M & S. That this body go on record to push the Bond stamps with determination of obtaining I.U.110 quota. Carried.

M & S. That this body goes on record to agitate a drive thru Calif. this fall. Carried.

Good and Welfare - Very good talks on Bond stamps, also on the welfare of the organization as a unit.

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Special Meeting Oxford, Nebr. July 20, 1923.- Forty-nine members present.

M & S. That we go to Phillipsburg to get release of fellow workers in jail. Carried.

M & S. That we go to Phillipsburg in body. Carried.

M & S. That a committee be elected to look after details of fellow workers in jail. Carried.

Collection of $11.85 was taken up to defray expenses of going to Phillipsburg.

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Special 110 Business Meeting , July 20,1923 Dawson, Minn. Twenty-one members present.

M & S. That we use job action according to wage. Carried.

---

Special 110 Business Meeting Aberdeen, S.D. July 21, 1923. Forty-seven members present.

Report of Defense Committee in regard to fellow workers in jail.- Report that the fellow workers in jail are receiving good treatment and are asking to get out only in legal manner. Also found jail in sanitary condition with plenty of wholesome food. All favors possible were shown by the sheriff to said committee, Didn't think that fellow workers would even be forced to stand trial. Also, sheriff informed them that no cards will be taken from the Fellow workers, but that all literature and pamphlets will be destroyed. Committee reports balance of $5.65 on hand.

M & S. That report of committee be accepted.

M & S. That money on hand be turned over to the sheriff for the fellow workers in jail. Carried.

---

Special Meeting Colby, Kans. July 19, 1923. Forty-two members in good standing present.

Report of Russell Springs Committee.

M & S. That report of F.W.Thorpe be accepted subject to auditing committee. Carried.

M & S. That report of F W. Sale be accepted and his financial report turned over to auditing committee. Carried.

M & S. That report of F.W. Rayner be accepted. Carried.

M & S. That this body go on record favoring that all old and new members take out two bond stamps. Carried.

M & S. That we condemn the action of the sheriff in aiding the 3 men who robbed and beat the F.W. out on the job in making their get-away and that we get the facts in this case for the papers for publicity. Carried.

---

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS. KEEP AWAY

FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

# J O B  N E W S

## KANSAS

COLBY, 7-20. Harvest will last a few days yet here and at Atwood. Men are leaving the country fast. A little organized effort should make the threshing good. ( AG 141)

BELOIT, 7-16. Harvest is almost over and threshing is starting. The threshers are trying to start with wages at $4.00. Fair supply of men. ( AG 410)

MACKSVILLE , 7-18. There is lots of good and willing slaves here. They are paying 30 to 40¢ per hundred . ( AG 38)

## NEBRASKA

SUTTON, 7-18. Wages here are $5.00 but very few men being taken out at all. John's excuse is a poor crop, 10 to 12 bushels to an acre and a low price for wheat, 74¢. All these farmers seem to be doubling up with each other and only in extreme cases does John hire a stiff. ( AG 902)

OXFORD, 7-22. Wages around here will be $4.00 & $5.00 per day. John Farmer very seldom offers more than $4.00. ( AG 141)

SUTTON ,7-20. Threshing is just starting here. Wages $4.00 & $5.po/ Plenty of men. ( AG 555)

## COLORADO

BRUSH, 7-22. Harvest just starting here. $3.50 & $4.00 a day.(AG162)

## SOUTH DAKOTA

MELLETTE , 7-20. Harvest in full swing around here and Ashton. Wages $4.00 & $5.00 per day. Plenty of men here. ( AG 1086)

CONDE-,7-19. Harvest is on full blast. $5.00 for shocking. Most men here are organized. ( 814669)

MITCHELL, 7-17. The farmers are cutting and are offering $3.50 to $4.00 per day. ( AG 1079.)

## NORTH DAKOTA

LARIMORE, 7-16. Rye harvest will be on by the middle of this week. Wages are $3.00 here and at Devil's Lake. ( AG 709.)

HANKINSON, 7-18. Haying on in full swing. $2.00 to $3.50 high. Rye cutting starting. Wages will be what the workers will make it. on the job. Farmers looking for cheap help every day. Crops fair in spots. ( AG 1037)

FORDVILLE, 7-20. Wages for haying from $2.50 to $3.50. $4.50 to start harvesting. ( AG 59)

VALLEY CITY, 7-21. Haying about over here. Harvest will start this week. Shocking $4.00 per day. About 35 members here. (AG724)

## MINNESOTA

Dawson, 7-20. Harvest is just starting here. Wages $4.00 low. Some are getting $4.50 for shocking. Men going thru all the time. Delegates are active. ( X 30528)

HANLEY FALLS, 7-21. Harvest started here on the 18th. Wages are $4.00 & $4.50 per day. 100 % members in this locality. Indications are that wages will be $5.00 before very long. ( AG 340)

WOODLAKE, 7-21. Harvest has started here. Wages 40¢ & 50¢ per hour. John Farmer seems determined to work harvest hands by the hour. Quite a few members here. ( AG 611)

BENSON, 7-23. Wages here are $3.50 per day, holding for four. A few shears are coming in. Sentiment among them for organization seems better than other years. ( AG 95)

## MONTANA

BOZEMAN, 7-17. Harvest will be on about the 1st of August and wages will depend on how the workers are organized. Not many men here at present. ( AG 112)

BOZEMAN , 7-17. Men going out for $3.50 for buck rake and pitching. Five dollars for stakers. $5.00 and $6.00 per day for irrigators, 14 to 16 hours at this kind of work, all others 10 hours. Monthly men $60 to $75.00. ( AG 418)

## WASHINGTON

GARFIELD, 7-20. No men around here at Palouse. Farmers talk of $6.00 & $7.00. I got $4.00 haying. Run out of gasoline looking for members or non-members. All are scarce. Wish more would play this state. Harvest starts on the 25th here. ( AG 19)

PULLMAN, 7-15. Haying around here is on with wages at $3.00. Not many men and we are trying to make it $3.50. Harvest will start August 1st. The town clown is official man catcher for the ranchers. ( J.Dunn)

WILSON CREEK, 7-18. Big Bend Country, Wages for haying started of at $3.50 & $4.00 but thru the solidarity of the members in this locality they are now receiving $4.50.

LIND, 7-18. Palouse country. Wages for haying $3.50 & $4.00. Harvest will be on by July 20th. Quite a few active members in this locality. ( AG 111)

STARBUCK, 7-18. Harvesting just starting. Men are scarce and the sentiment for organization fine. ( AG 109)

## CALIFORNIA

MARYSVILLE, 7-18. Peach picking will start about July 20th here and at Yuba City. Wages not set yet. ( AG 282)

LOYALTON. Lewis ranch, one fourth mile from depot. Plenty of haying jobs here. Will last five weeks in this valley. More haying later on down the river,(Feather River). Grub is good on this ranch. Wages: $3, $3.50,$4.00 and board. Carry your bindle. 9 hr. day but can be made 8 by job action. The weather is very cool here. Some of these ranchers feed good. Men are very scarce at this time. Come on, IIO, organize the "Hay hands", then to the rice. Clean up on Calif, educate the slaves. Let's make it a good place for the wobblies. (GC40)

STRATFORD, 7-14. Harvest is in full swing around here. Wages $5.00 & $6.00 for sack sewers, $4.00 and $5.00 for header tenders, $5.00 & $5.50 for cat skinners, all with board. Roll your own. Truck drivers 60 and 70¢ per hour, swampers 50¢ per, warehouse truckers $4.50 to $6.00 for 10 hrs, pilers $6.00 & $7.00. Eat your self. The harvesters and the truckers are pretty long winded, 10 to 12 hrs in the harvest and 11 to 14 on the trucks. A good chance to go to work. ( AG 452)

## MICHIGAN

RIVERSIDE, 7-23. Dewberry picking on full blast, 50 to 70¢ a case. Apple and peach picking will start in a few days.

COLOMA, BENTON HARBOR & ST.JOE, 7-23. Dewberries on. Wages 3 to 4¢ per quart.

HARTFORD, 7-23. Wages for cherry picking 2¢ lb., for stripping, 60¢ per case, for stemming.

FENVILLE, 7-23. Cherries ½ to 2¢ lb. for stripping.

TRAVERSE CITY, 7-23. Cherry picking on in full blast. Not set scale of wages.

STEVENSVILLE, 7-23. Apply picking started. ( AG 68)

## IMPORTANT

It is reported that some delegates are issuing receipts to members when they pay 50¢ for a duplicate card. This is absolutely wrong. The Duplicate Card Receipts were issued to cover these cases, and if a member applying for a duplicate wishes a receipt, he should take out a D.C.R. These cost $3.50 and will be redeemed by any 110 delegate for $3.00 in dues or assessment stamps. Do not issue receipts for the regular 50¢ application for duplicate, as this allows many to pass as members who are not entitled to. Any such receipts should be taken up on sight.

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The following credentials have been lost and duplicates issued. Take up the original and send in:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| AG 165 issued to | Dave Rommell | AG 719 issued to | P.J. Gilman |
| AG 811 | Thos P. Mc Coy | AG 349 | Mike Klimchuk |
| AG 754 | Walter Deschner | AG 339 | T.L.Lankford |
| AG 377 | Jacob Silverstein. | | |

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All members who were lined up by Del. AG 349 are requested to get in touch with the main office of 110 as the record has been lost.

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All members who did business with Del.AG 829, M.W.Wilde, between July 8th and 17th are requested to get in touch with the main office as the report of business done has been lost.

---

All delegates of A.W.I.U.110 who are in debt on their 1922 account become delinquent on August 1st, 1923 under By-law 30. However, as many of the 1923 delegates are making the drive in Kansas and have had no opportunity to get at the point of production, we have decided not to publish the delinquent list until August 20th.

---

The referendum ballot of the spring convention and to elect a G.E.B. member for A.W.I.U.110 is now in the field. All members should vote. Delegates who have not already received ballots should secure same at once. They can be had at all I.U.branches or from the main office.

The following members have accepted the nomination for G.E.B. member. The other nominees either declined or were not heard from:

R. Jones W.F. Lowe Sam Forbes

Ballots cast in the field should be sent to the main office of A.W.I.U.110 enclosed in a separate envelope marked BALLOTT COMMITTEE. The ballot will be counted August 15.

---

Should there be any intimidation by the authorities in North and South Dakota, the General Defense Committee is prepared to meet the situation. We have at our command several attorneys who will be able to cope with any situation that might arise. From all indications, we are not expecting any intimidation to a great extent.

The Committee expects to clear up the situation in Kansas as there are but a few cases pending. Two fellow workers are being held at Lyons, Kans. and charged with C.S. Attorney Mulks will return there shortly and demand an immediate trial. We expect an acquital should the case go to trial. There have been several arrests in Aberdeen, S.D. and later the fellow workers were dismissed. Attorney Byrnes of Huron,S.D. defended the fellow workers.

The Committee will not issue lists or receipt books in the harvest this year, relying on the defense stamps. We feel confident that the members will see the importance of buying to the limit.

General Defense Committee.

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Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies,literature,etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Al Frane | 515 N.16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| Ted Fraser | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| John Deady | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 316 | Modesto, Calif. |
| G. Wilson | Box 842 | Marysville, Calif. |
| Bob Hall | 220½ N.Bernard St. | Griffin Hotel, Spokane,Wash. |

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.

A.W.I.U.No.110.

"An Injury to One Is theConcern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.IIO OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No. 29.

Chicago, Ill. August 1, 1923.

## G.O.C.'S OMAHA SESSION

Fellow workers:

At the meeting of the G.O.C., recently held in Omaha, the situation with which the A.W.I.U. has to deal was thoroughly canvassed and its every aspect considered with a view to increasing organization efficiency for what remains of what has so far been our most effective season. The principle that governed in this meeting is that nothing is so perfect that it will not admit of improvement. There was recognized that we can only command from the future what we prepare to exact. Our accomplishments in the past lead up to and determine what we shall accomplish in time yet to come.

Along with the intensified organizing effort, which will be continued,and is a necessary and important part of the drive, the Committee has decided that there shall be no letup in pushing the sale of Bail and Bond stamps. The G.O.C. urges that side by side with the recruiting of new membership a concentrated effort be made to realize the balance of 110's quota in the liquidating of this debt of the general organization

Having seriously and carefully considered the hostility which the I.w.W. and its members are encountering in California and elsewhere, the G.O.C. is of the opinion that it would be a fatal mistake to neglect the sale of defense stamps, or even to slow up in that regard. The defense stamps are selling well and the workers should be urged to buy them up to the limit of their resources. There will be many victimized members to defend and many in prisons who will need finance and whose dependents will require relief. It is unnecessary to point out that the amount available for defense and relief will depend upon the workers, for there is no other source to which the General Defense Committee may appeal with any degree of confidence.

If the General Defense Committee did no more than throw the protection of public opinion around our victimized members it is worthy of all the support that we can afford to give it. But it is doing much more than that and every member should rally behind any proposition that will enable it to carry on the work it has been doing. Boost the defense stamps. This fund may mean something to you, for an I.W.W. never knows when the jail will open to receive him. Men are in and are going to prison for us. That's their bit in the class war. To defend them as far as we can and to relieve them as much as possible is our bit and yours.

Another matter of interest to the A.W.I.U. membership and the American working class taken up by the G.O.C. is a proposal to extend the scope of the organizing effort to include new territory. It authorized 110 headquarters to place another travelling delegate in the northwestern section, and also to place a travelling delegate in Canada if members suitable for this work can be found. This must certainly be regarded as a move in the right direction and there is no question whatever that men fully qualified to function on these jobs are available.

The importance and significance of California in its attitude toward the I.W.W. was thoroly discussed. The G.O.C., fully cognizent that any attempt to deal thoroly with the California situation will require such stamina as is possessed by delegates and members who make the drive in the small grain belt successful, decided to use the best efforts of the organization to get as many of these delegates and members as possible to make the drive to organize the California agricultural workers this fall and winter. California is the key to success. With the surrender of California the barriers to organization will disappear everywhere. This is what we must understand and this is what we must set ourselves to accomplish.

(over)

There is no doubt that by the time a plan of campaign for the Golden State has been fully worked out there will be men, and to spare, with which to undertake it.

Other matters dealing with the details of organizing work in the Dakotas were taken up by the G.O.C. These things were of a minor character and had to do only with field work. They were things with which the members and delegates are now already acquainted.

The progress which we have noted is still being increased and the season will mark a record in the annals of A.W.I.U.No.110. Everybody's shoulder is to the wheel. They are pushing harder and faster, and the A.W.I.U. is going farther every day. This is our year.

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## --- M E E T I N G S ---

I.U.110 Business Meeting Fargo, N.D. July 29, 1923 - Sixty members in good standing present.

Report of Committee on getting permit to speak on streets.
M & S. That report of committee be accepted. Carried.

M & S. That we remain in town 48 hours and that if we are not arrested notify the police that we have been here over the limit. Carr.unan.

M & S. That Minneapolis, Sioux City and Omaha be notified of the hostilities of railroad bulls and other bad points in Fargo. Carried.

---

Sioux City, Ia. July 29, 1923.- Special Meeting.

M & S. That the G.O.C. live up to the spirit of the convention and instruct all delegates when lining up new members to place bond stamp in card. Carried.

M & S. That we recognize no card without a bond stamp in it. Carried.

M & S. That we concur with the program of general strike as outlined by the G.OC. Carried.

---

Forrest River, N.D. July 28,1923. Fifteen members present.

M & S. That work thru harvest fields be carried on the 10 hr. basis. carried.

M & S. That this body go on record as being in favor of a three day intermittent strike for the release of all class war prisoners.Carr.un.

M & S. That no member go out for less than $4.00 per day of 10 hours, to raise the wages on the job. Carried.

---

Special Meeting, Groton,S.D. July 23,1923. 23 Members present.

M & S. That fellow workers go out for $4.00 and $4.50 a day and after one day strike for $5.00. Carried.

M & S. That delegates make new members stamp up to first of year.Carr.

M & S. That all members after one week's work put in at least one bond stamp. Carried.

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THERE WILL BE A CONFERENCE OF LLO MEMBERS AT STOCKTON, CALIF. SEPT. 1st. All members who are interested in organizing the agricultural workers in Calif. should be there. Bring your ideas and help work out a practical plan to organize the workers in the orchards and ranches of Calif.

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## IMPORTANT

It is important that I.U.230 get in touch with Patrick J.Mc Geehan whose trial on a charge of C.S.is set for September 24th at Santa Ana, Calif. He is about 5 ft.4in.in height, weight about 140 lbs ,dark hair, eyes and complexion, slightly bald. This man must be located before the date of trial and anyone knowing his address please notify I.U.230 main office, General Defense or California Defense office.

# JOB NEWS

## NEBRASKA

MINDEN, 7-25. Threshing is well under way here. Not many men, most of them have gone north. Wages $4.00 for 10 hours. (AG 716)

BENKELMAN, 7-24. Harvest starting here. $3.50 to $4.50 a day. Men scarce. ( AG 162)

CULBERTSON, 7-27. Harvest half done. Wages $3.50 to $4.50 (AG162)

## IOWA

JULY 25th. Iowa crop nearly all cut. The farmer did nearly all the work himself. Corn crop fine. Be prepared for a drive in that. (AG 138)

CLEAR LAKE, 7-28. Wages for harvesting $4.00 and board. Harvest nearly done. Haying $3.50 and board. ( # 419516)

## SOUTH DAKOTA

CONDE, 7-24. Wages here are $5.00 per day. Best chance I have seen in years for the worker. Quite a few men here but all lined up. (AG 917)

MELLETTE, 7-24. Wages $4.00. Men are plentiful. Harvest half done. Threshing will start here next week. Expect to start at $5.00. (AG 150)

MITCHELL, 7-25. Farmers offering $3.50 and $4.00 per day here. Very few going out. Delegates are badly needed in this district. (AG150)

CRESBARD, 7-24. Wages $4.00. Men are scarce. ( AG 570)

## MINNESOTA

WILMAR, 7-25. From Pipestone to Wilmar on Soo City line of the Big G - A tremendous oats crop. Harvest now on in full blast. Will be shock-threshing and stacking next week. Now F.W.'s handling oats is nice congenial work and I firmly believe there are a large number of hands in these fields that would be glad to have some one organize them. Wages are ranging from $3.50 to$4.00 per day. Stationary delegate will be found here in Wilmar who will serve you with what you may need. ( AG 131)

CLARA CITY, 7-25. Harvest is in full play here. Wages range from $4.00 to $5.00. (AG 615)

WOODLAKE, 7-30. Wages here and at Hanley Falls are $5.00 for 10 hours. Threshing will start next week. ( AG 189)

## NORTH DAKOTA

ENDERLIN, 7-24. Wages here for shocking are $4.00 to begin and prospects are good for more. The bunch from the south have just begun to arrive. ( AG 307)

CASSELTON, 7-27. Harvest just started here. Wages $3.50 per day. The wicks are shipping in here from Minneapolis for $3.00 a head. Not many members here yet.( AG 611)

NEW ROCKFORD, 7-27. Cutting will start on the 29th. A few farmers are cutting already. Wages $3.50 and $4.00. Crops fairly good. No members here at present. ( AG 611)

## MONTANA

BOZEMAN, 7-17. Harvest will be on about the 1st of August and wages will depend on how the workers are organized. Not many men here at present. ( AG 112)

DILLON, 7-23. Wages for haying are $3.00 low. Stackers $5.00 & $6.00. Men scarce and sentiment good. ( AG 419)

## COLORADO

WRAY, 7-27. Harvest starting. Wages $3.50 to $5.00.

STERLING, 7-28. Harvest just starting here. Wages $3.50 to $4.00 Men scarce. ( AG 162)

## WASHINGTON

WINONA, 7-23. Wages for shocking here are $4.00 per day. (AG 406)

STARBUCK, 7-23. Harvest is on and no men in town. Come on you 110 members, we can set the wages and hours. Sentiment is good. (AG109)

POMEROY, 7-23. Haying is on full blast. Going wages are $3.00 per day but card men are getting $4.00. Harvest just starting at $5.00.(AG593)

PASCO, 7-25. Harvest just starting. Not many taking on work here. Wages $4.00, box drivers $5.00, spike pitchers $5.00 loading. There is not very much harvest to do here as the country is pretty much sand and sage brush. (AG 591)

WALLA WALLA, 7-25. Harvest well on now. Wages, box drivers $3.50, loading $5.00, sack sewers $6.00, sack jigs $5.00, hoe downs $4-$6.00 wheat haulers $4.00, sacks $3.50, headerpunchers $8.00, header-tending $4.00, water bucks $4.50. Carry your home on most of these jobs, but the farmers cant get men unless they furnish beds. Lots of members here (AG591)

## CALIFORNIA

NILES, 7-24. Apricot picking is on here at 40¢ an hour. ( AG 4)

TULARE, 7-26. At Delano they are paying 40¢ per hour in the melons, $1.40 per hundred for making grape boxes, $6.00 per day in the warehouses for trucking and piling sacks. Not many members here and not much chance to go to work. ( AG 290)

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The following motion in regard to the General Strike was passed by the G.O.C. at their meeting at Omaha, July 26th and 27th.

"That each G.O.C. man in his respective district call as many meetings as he considers necessary and that these meetings should invite discussion to create some feasible job organization as follows:

That each threshing crew have at least one delegate on the job.

That each member give his name and name of farmer to stationary delegate or G.O.C. member or to any member who may be assigned to that task, and should no member be in that vicinity the delegate or member should send the names in to the nearest stationary delegate, also the conditions on the job. The stationary will send this information into the G.O.C. member

Should the G.O.C. in corresponding with each other find that the conditions are suitable for a strike, necessary steps will be taken in calling same.

This means, however, that it is the duty of each member to go on the job regardless of what conditions there be, for conditions can only be changed on the job and not in the jungles.

In the event that the strike will be called meetings will be held in important centers and the necessary committees elected and other arrangements to carry out this strike made.

However, we must not assume that this is only a preparation for the strike but is essential in bringing about a scientific form of job organization that is so badly needed. The change must come. Let us lay the foundation and perhaps with hard work and cooperation of the membership the A.W.I.U.110 will come into its own and become the factor in the American labor movement that it should be. (Carried)

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Delegates can obtain supplies from W.L. Gillispie, stationary delegate I.U.230, Box 451, Casper, Wyo.

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With the rush season coming on it is important that members and delegates take care of their mail. All letters should have a return address and all mail should be called for at station where this office has been requested to send it. When leaving a town be sure to have your mail forwarded. The post office holds mail for ten days only. Attention to mail by members and delegates will save time and money to both members and headquarters.

NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS.

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

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It is reported that some delegates are issuing receipts to members when they pay 50¢ for a duplicate card. This is absolute-wrong. The Duplicate Card Receipts were issued to cover these cases, and if a member applying for a duplicate wishes a receipt, he should take out a D.C.R. These cost $3.50 and will be redeemed by any 110 delegate for $3.00 in dues or assessment stamps. Do not issue receipts for the regular 50¢ application for duplicate as this allows many to pass as members who are not entitled to. Any such receipts should be taken up on sight.

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The referendum ballot of the spring convention and to elect a G.E.B. member for A.W.I.U.110 is now in the field. All members should vote. Delegates who have not already received ballots should secure same at once. They can be had at all I.U. branches or from the main office.

The following members have accepted the nomination for G.E.B. member. The other nominees either declined or were not heard from:

R. Jones W.F. Lowe Sam Forbes

Ballots cast in the field should be sent to the main office of A.W.I.U.110 enclosed in a separate envelope marked BALLOTT COMMITTEE. The ballot will be counted August 15th.

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Credentials AG 115 issued to Frank Hansen and AG 1514 issued to George Wiggins have been lost. Take up the original and send in as duplicate credentials have been issued for these members.

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Any members who did business with George B. Williams, Delegate AG 156, on July 9th and 10th please communicate with this office as the report has been lost.

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In Bulletin #27 credentials #70 issued to Charles Kolar were advertised as lost. This should have been #71.

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On August 1st all 1922 delegates whose accounts are not square become delinquent. However, as many of them are paying their account off we have decided not to issue the delinquent list until August 20th.

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By order of the last convention and by vote of the G.O.C. an expense of 50¢ will be allowed to delegates of I.U.110 on all 110 initiations beginning June 1st. That is, in addition to the regular commission of 50¢ allowed on all cash initiations an additional 50¢ expense will be allowed the delegate on all initiations in 110. Initiations of members of other Industrial Unions by 110 delegates will only carry the regular commission of 50¢. Enter the extra 50¢ expense on the expense side of the report sheet as "Expense Account Initiations".

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Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Al. Frane | 515 N.16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Wm. Morreau | 110 Front St., | Fargo, ND. |
| Ted Fraser | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| John Deady | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 316 | Modesto, Calif. |
| G. Wilson | Box 842 | Marysville, Calif. |
| Bob Hall | 220½ N. Bernard St. | Spokane, Wash. |

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec.Trea.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.30

Chicago, Ill. August 8, 1923

## FOR A PERMANENT MEMBERSHIP

Fellow workers:

Figures do not lie. They speak with an authority that cannot be questioned or contradicted successfully. We can say, not as a matter of fact but as a means of encouraging the delegates and members and spurring them to greater efforts, that the drive of the A.W.I.U.#110 grows greater in volume and results year after year. We might say that, but the figures prove it. They show exactly and precisely what the delegates and members accomplish - nothing more and nothing less.

When July 1922 is compared with July 1923 we find that in that month last year the initiations amounted to $4,544 (a gain over the same month the previous year); while last month the initiations totalled $7486. This is a gain of worthwhile proportions - over 60 per cent. The dues were: July 1922, $4,238, July 1923, $6300 - and increase of fifty per cent.

These figures do more than show an encouraging progress. They present a problem as well, and a problem which it becomes more and more imperative that we solve - how to hold the new membership in the A.W.I.U.

We have remarked that every year shows greater results, and this is proved by the record. Now, to what is this due. Manifestly there is some factor responsible for the continually increasing success of the drive. What is that factor? The old membership - these men who have stuck to and with the A.W.I.U. year after year. But this membership was at one time composed of new members. They were the men who saw the need and value of organization and who appreciated it to such an extent that when they had the funds they paid their dues up in advance and kept themselves in good standing. But, and here is the really important thing, by keeping themselves in good standing they maintained the A.W.I.U.#110 so that it was in being and ready to function at all times. These are the men and this is the policy that enabled the organization to carry on the drives every season and to spread the doctrines of industrial unionism among the most oppressed and worst exploited of all working class elements - the migratory workers. These men did more than just keep up their own membership standing. They have brought thousands of others into the union. They are not any special persons at all- they are those who stick and strive. Some of them are coming in this year, others came in last year, and every year since the organization first appeared as a factor among the harvest workers. If all who had taken out cards had been of this type, not only would harvest labor be more securely placed but the workers in other industries would be now in possession of strong industrial unions.

The drive is now on in the Dakotas, and there are few workers who cannot afford to pay several months'dues in advance. The fact of the matter is that there is no wage worker who can afford not to do so no matter how hard up he may be or imagine himself to be. The will to do it will find the way to do it. The poorest of all workers is that man or woman too poor to afford membership in a union. Lack of organization is not a sign of pocket poverty so much as it is a sign of mental and moral poverty.

Even in this respect - permanent membership - there is a great deal of satisfaction in knowing that of the membership lined up last year there are twice as many in good standing now as in any previous year. To this is due, in great measure anyhow, the success which has marked this year's drive; because the old membership adds the experiences of one year to those of other years as well as provides the forces with which to work. The weakness of one season is

remedied some other season. Only continuous standing membership is qualified to relate the happenings and events in one season with those of other years, and out of them develop programs and policies equal to different occasions and opportunities. A permanent membership not only makes a larger and stronger union but makes a better union also, where the union is run by the members as in the A.W.I.U.#110.

For the past few weeks fine reports have been coming in from Montana, Idaho and Washington. These are mostly received from members recruited last year and the year before. The steady member is always on the job, building up the union for the protection of others as well as for his own protection. This should be in the mind of every delegate and active member. We are not building for today or this year only. We are building for next year as well as for this season.

If all the membershwere to drop out at the end of every season we would have nothing with which to approach the next year's harvest. Yet we know that the more we have the greater the success we can achieve. Therefore, we not only should seek membership but permanent membership. Men cannot now refuse upon the plea that dues for some months ahead are beyond their means. Organization is so great a need for the workers that they cannot afford to be without it. If they expect to have a union they must realize that they are the union, and that it is up to them to keep the union by staying with it.

"PAY DUES AHEAD AS FAR AS POSSIBLE" should be the slogan. The membership is the union. A permanent membership means a union that is always strong, always ready, and always effective. Pay your dues ahead.

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## N O T I C E

THERE WILL BE A CONFERENCE OF 110 MEMBERS AT STOCKTON, CALIF. SEPTEMBER 1st. All members who are interested in organizing the agriculturalworkers in Calif. should be there. Bring your ideas and help work out a practical plan to organize the workers in the orchards and ranches of California. If you cant be there send your ideas to Sam Oberman, Box 754, Stockton, Calif.

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The following members have accepted the nomination for G.E.B. member. The other nominees either declined or were not heard from:

Reginald Jones W.F.Lowe Sam Forbes

Ballots cast in the field should be sent to the main office of A.W.I.U.110 enclosed in a separate envelope marked BALLOTT COMMITTEE. The ballot will be counted August 15th. Nominees should keep in touch with the office.

---

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It is important that I.U.230 get in touch with Patrick J.Mc Geehan whose trial on a charge of C.S. is set for Sept. 24th at Santa Ana, California. He is about 5 ft. 4 in. in height, weight about 140 lbs., dark hair, eyes and complexion, slightly bald. This man should be located before the date of trial and anyone knowing his address please notify I.U.230 main office, General Defense or California Defense office.

# J O B  N E W S

## SOUTH DAKOTA

CONDE, 8-4. Shocking about done. Threshing starts Monday, Aug.6. Wages $5.00. ( AG 20)

MELLETTE, 7-30. Wages $4.00. Men are plentiful. Harvest about over. Threshing will start here this week. Expect to start at $5. (AG150)

MITCHELL, 7-29. Farmers offering $3.50 and $4.00 per day here. Very few going out. Delegates are badly need inthis district.(AG15C)

GROTON, 8-2. Wages $4.50 to $5.00 for threshing. The same at Redfield.

ASHTON, 8-2. Paying 50 to 60¢ an hour for threshing. Men plentiful. Crops good. ( AG 6)

## NORTH DAKOTA

MUNICH, 8-3. Wages for shocking $3.50 and $4.00 . ( AG 709)

AMBROSE, 8-1. The crops around here are looking good but it will be about a week yet till harvesting will start. Not many slaves here yet. ( AG 415)

MINOT, 8-4. Rye threshing is on in this vicinity. Wages are $4.00 & $4.50 per day. Wheat harvest will start on the 7th. Wages offered are $3.50 & $4.00. A determined effort on the part of the Federal Free Employment Bureau is exercised to get unorganized men in this district. Crops are fair.North and northwest of Minot there is a bumper crop. Few members here as yet. Indications are that the wages on the wheat line out of Kenmare will be $5.00 per day.(AG611)

LEEDS-RUGBY, 8-3. Wages $3.50-$4.00. Half cutting done. Very few going out at any price. ( AG 749) Cutting will be general here this week. Crops are short and harvest and threshing will not last so long around here. ( AG 256)

ENDERLIN , 7-31. Harvest is just about started around here and wages are $3.50 and $4.00 per day. Not many men. All members(AG611)

DICKINSON, 7-29. Harvest is just about to start in full blast here. Wages $4.00 and $5.00. Some fellow workers have gone out for $4.50. No 110 delegate here. Sentiment is good and fine chance for activity. ( LU 0333)

GRAND FORKS, 8-3. Harvest started. Men needed. $3.50 -$4.00 for shocking. Get on job and raise pay and shorten hours.

DEVIL'S LAKE , 8-3. Harvest well under way. Wages $3.50-$4.00 for shocking. Raise wages on job. No men. Our slogan"out of jungles on the job, raise wages, shorten hours, and demand the release of fellow workers". ( AG 3)

ELAXTON, 8-4. Rye harvesting is on. Will start cutting wheat about the 6th. $4.00 a day offered. ( AG 5)

VALLEY CITY, 7-31. Cutting here. Wages $3.50 -$4.00 offered. Harvest will start at Carrington in a few days. Men scarce. ( AG 7)

EDGELY, 7-31. Crops good here. Farmers offering $3.50-$4.00 a day. (AG 141)

KENMARE, 8-2. Harvest just starting. Wages $4.00 a day. (AG 5)

HANKINSON, 8-1. Wages around here are $4.00 but John is trying to get shockers for $3.00 and finds it cannot be done. (AG 67)

FORREST RIVER, 8-1 Wages for shocking $4.50-$5.00 high. (AG 59)

LARIMORE, 7-30. Wages here run from $4 to 4.50. Cutting has just started and not many men going out. ( AG 703)

## NEBRASKA

BENKELMAN, 8-2. Harvest is about over here and threshing will start in a few days. Wages are $4.00 per day and not many men here. They are not taking anybody out at present. ( AG 830)

## MINNESOTA

BELLINGHAM, 8-2. Wages for shocking $3.50-$4.00. Organized men are getting the four. ( AG 1709)

CLARA CITY, 7-30. Shocking and threshing $4.50 and will be $5 in a few days. ( AG 1076.

MONTEVIDIO, 7-30. Threshing is well under way. Wages $4.-4.50 (AG1076)

HANLEY FALLS, 8-2. Wages around here $5.00. Shocking about finis (AG 410)

WILLMAR, 8-1. Wages all around western Minn. are from $3.00 to $5.00 for threshing. ( AG 1717)

MARSHALL, 8-4. Wages here are $4.00 per day. The farmers are long winded and very few men here. The fellow workers dont stop off here as it is a low priced country. ( AG 172)

## MONTANA

BOZEMAN, 7-17. Harvest will be on about the 1st of August and wages will depend on how the workers are organized. Not many men here at present. ( AG 112)

DILLON , 7-27. Lots of hay jobs around here. Wages $3.00 and up. Sentiment good, delegates and active members scarce. ( AG 412)

## COLORADO

YUMA, 8-6. Wages for harvesting are $3.50-4.00 a day. Threshing will start in a few days. ( AG 1514)

STERLING, 8-4. Wages here $3.00-3.50. Not many around. (AG 86)

CLIFTON , 8-1. Crop fine here this year. Wages 30¢ and up with board. Always a chance of raising the ante. Very few men here now. With a few fellow workers organization work will be better when they get to work, all broke now. ( AG 831)

## WASHINGTON

STARBUCK, 7-28. Harvest is on and no men in town. Come on you IW members, we can set the wages and hours. Sentiment good. (AG 109)

POMEROY, 7-30. Haying is on full blast. Going wages $3.00 per day but card men are getting $4.00. Harvest on at $5.00. ( AG 593)

PASCO, 7-30. Harvest just starting. Not many taking on work here. Wages $4., box drivers $5.00, spike pitchers $5. loading. There is not very much harvest to do here as the country is pretty much sand and sage brush. ( AG 591)

WALLA WALLA , 7-29. Harvest well on now. Wages: box drivers $3.50, loading $5.00, sack sewers $6.00, sack jigs $5.00, hoe downs $4-6.0 wheat haulers $4., sacks $3.50, headerpunchers $8., header tending $4., water bucks $4.50. Carry your home on most of these jobs, bu the farmers cant get men unless they furnish beds. Lots of members (AG 591)

PALOUSE, 8-1. Pullman, Uniontown, Colton, shocking $4.00 and up. No men here, 10 hrs. Oakdale, shocking $4.00 and up. Tekoa wages for shocking $4.00-4.50 and up, 10 hours. Rosalia $4.& up. Few men Palouse- $5.00 for shocking. Few men here. Threshing starts in this section about the 8th of August. Wages will be about $6.00 & up. Members badly need in Washington. ( AG 19)

## CALIFORNIA

FRESNO, 8-1. The packing houses are starting up here this week. The first peaches are coming in now. The grapes will be on about the middle of next month. Wages in the packing houses are 40¢ per hour 10 hours a day. Eat in a Jap restaurant, meals from 25¢ up, beds is the cheapest. Men are plentiful but they are all on the move. (AG 460)

TULARE, 7-30. At Delano they are paying 40¢ per hour in the melon $1.40 per hundred for making grape boxes, $6.00 per day in the war houses for trucking and piling sacks. Not many members here and no much chance to go to work. ( AG 290)

# M E E T I N G S

Bisbee, N.D. Aug.5, 1923 - Twenty members present.

M & S. That we go on record as favoring a five day strike to release class war prisoners. Carried.

M & S. That we hold out for 10 hour day or less. Carried.

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N

New Rockford, N.D. July 29, 1923. - Special meeting with 25 members present, two members of other I.U.

M & S. That F.W. Tom Keegan's , T.R.652, supplies be taken up by traveling delegate. Carried.

M & S. That we push the Bond and Defense stamps. Carried.

M & S. That Tom Keegan, T.R.652 be advertised in Bulletins of 110, 310, 510 and Worker. Carried.

M & S. That G.O.C. men, traveling or stationary delegates take up supplies of any delegate over $25.00 delinquent. Carried.

M & S. That this meeting go on record for an extensive drive thru Washington and California. Carried.

M & S. That we hold out for a wage of $4.00 for harvesting. Carried

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Fargo, N.D. July 31, 1923 - Special I.U.110 meeting; 43 members present.

M & S. That we go up to the jail in a body in the morning. Amend. That we have a roll call of all card members and names of all who want to go up to the jail tonight. Amend. carried.

M & S. That we elect a committee of three to act as spokesman.Carried. Jack Dalton, Max Lutz, Harold Reed elected on committee.

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Omaha Branch July 27, 1923. -Special meeting; 30 members in good standing present.

G.O.C. members Murphy, Mann, Dawson, and Hanson report on strike situation.

M & S. That report of the G.O.C. on strike situation be accepted as progress. Carried.

M & S. That the Omaha branch go on record for a 3 day strike in the harvest fields this summer for the release of all the class war prisoners. Carried.

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Leeds, N.D. July 24,, 1923. General membership meeting; 29 members in good standing present.

M & S. That the delegates and active members be given the full support of the rank and file. Carried.

M & S. That the minutes of this meeting go to Bulletin and Solidarity immediately. Carried.

M & S. That H.G. notify all members thru Bulletin and press of meeting of August 12th at Kenmare, N.D.

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Leeds, N.D. July 27, 1923. Special meeting with 21 members in good standing present.
M & S. That this body go on record favoring a strike to demand the release of all class war prisoners. Carried 100 per cent.

M & S. That Kenmare,N.D. be the meeting place for all 110 members concerning a strike for the release of all class war prisoners. Carr.

M &S. That we all meet at Kenmare August 12th. Carried.

The General Defense Committee is forced to make a special appeal for funds. The need is pressing and there is no time for delay. Urgent demands upon the defense fund have badly drained our resources. Fellow worker Fineberg cleared up a number of outstanding bills before leaving the Defense office - attorneys fees, payment on a loan, etc. The new Defense secretary is therefore assuming office with a depleted treasury.

Sevenmen have recently been released from Leavenworth. Five of these are held for deportation at Ellis Island. A lawyer has been hired to fight this attempt to deport them. A writ of habeas corpus has been obtained and the matter is to be carried to the courts.

The Defense will have ample funds shortly but the immediate need is great. We Can't fail the men who depend upon us. What are you going to do?

General Defense Committee.

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NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

On August 1st all 1922 delegates whose accounts are not square become delinquent. However, as many of them are paying their accounts off we have decided not to issue the delinquent list until Aug.20th.

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Fellow worker Al Walters of 574 Maple St.Milwaukee please write to Wm J.Carey care of County Jail, Carthage, Mo.

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Credentials AG 207 issued to R.Jones have been lost. Take up and send in original credentials as duplicate has been issued.

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Frank Gibson, former secretary at Minneapolis,and S.J.Cole please write in to the main office, also J.A. Parker.

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Delegates can obtain supplies from W.L.Gillispie, stationary delegate I.U.230, Box 451, Casper, Wyo.

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I.U. 330 has opened a new hall at 236 Van Ness Ave. San Francisco. Delegates passing thru here can get supplies, also papers, pamphlets and other literature.

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BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

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|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Al Frane | 515 N.16th St.Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| Ted Fraser | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| John Deady | General Delivery- | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 316 | Modesto, Calif. |
| G. Wilson | Box 842 | Marysville, Calif. |
| Bob Hall | 220½ N.Bernard St. | Spokane, Wash. |

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treasurer

A.W.I.U. No.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

# B U L L E T I N No. 31.

Chicago, Ill. August 15, 1923

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## "PAY YOUR DUES FOR THE YEAR DURING HARVEST"

Fellow workers:

Now, when the delegates of A.W.I.U.No.110 are busily engaged in their harvest of new members, is as good a time as any to remind them that in order to retain its full strength the year round 110 must have dues-paying members every month in the year.

The thousands of new members lined up in this drive will make the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union the strongest union in the I.W.W. if they can only be made to see the necessity of being union men all the time, not for two or three months during the grain harvest in the middle west. Even tho they do transfer into other unions 110's gain will be large, as a strong organization in other industries will react to the welfare of 110 next year. The best way to insure this is for all delegates to impress on new members the advisability of paying their dues ahead - at least to the end of the year.

The practice of lining up a man and then allowing him to parade around the harvest territory with only one or two stamps in his book is one which has lost 110 many members in the past and one which has cost many dollars, spent unnecessarily in lining up the same members each year. Now is the time to discontinue the practice "lining up every year". All delegates should make it a point to see that every new member has the advisability of paying dues ahead brought home to him. A few dollars now will make little difference to the average man, but when the harvest is over and the wintry breezes of winter descend on the men who have harvested the grain of the country, even a four-bit piece looks like a wagon wheel. (The writer speaks from experience.)

Undoubtedly one of the reasons most responsible for new members dropping out of the organization is the fact that a card with only one or two stamps in it does not look very good in December or January, particularly when the stamps are for July or August. To offset this annual loss of members and revenue we should institute an intensive campaign to get the new members to pay their dues sufficiently far ahead to allow them to go thru the winter without worry over this matter. Then when the grip of Jack Frost loosens next spring they can proceed down the country with the same card and help the delegates instead of merely adding to their task.

Let's get started on this problem right now. "Make hay while the sun shines" is a good motto. We can alter it slightly and say: "Pay your dues for the year during harvest". Let's try it and see if the results are not worthwhile. All together! Dont let winter catch us with our dues unpaid.

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## N O T I C E

THERE WILL BE A CONFERENCE OF 110 MEMBERS AT STOCKTON, CALIF. SEPTEMBER 1st.

All members who are interested in organizing the agricultural workers in Calif. should be there. Bring your ideas and help work out a practical plan to organize the workers in the orchards and ranches of California. If you cant be there send your ideas to Sam Oberman, Box 754, Stockton, Calif.

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BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS. KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

-- MEETINGS --

Leeds, N.D. August 5, 1923. Special meeting with 53 members present.
M & S. That we adopt Resolution No.1 and chagge date of strike meetings from August 12th to August 19th. Carried.

M & S. Thatwe do not concur with Resolution No.2. Carried.

Resolution No.1.

Owing to the conditions in the harvest fields of North Dakota, viz., poor crop and very little work which compels the majority of our members to tramp over the state looking for employment,

Therefore be it Resolved that we , the members of I.U.110 assemblied here at Leeds, N.D., go on record as to agitation for the F.W.'s of 110 to do all in their power to get job control wherever it is possible by going out on the job and trying to better our conditions and raise the wages, and not to exceed 10 hrs. for the day's work, and

Be it Further Resolved that if we are assured that we have enough members of 110 on the job that we ask all members of 110 to arrange to hold special meetings at all points where theremmay be a suitable place, as Leeds, Rockford, Oakes, Minot, Kenmare, Plentywoor, etc. on Sunday August 19th, and if we have enough economic power to pulla three day strike and demand of all farmers and thresher men that they get in touch with their governor and all other representatives to have them do all in their pcwer to bring about the release of all our fellow workers now incarcerated thruout the country for nothing more than exercising their rights as guaranteed them by the Constitution, and

Be it Further Resolved that if the members of 110 should find it beneficial to call a strike that all men working in any district shall deem it their duty to answer to the call or be branded as a scab and have his name appear in all periodicals of the I.W.W. and card taken up. (Card 198212)

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Egeland, N.D. August 12. Educational meeting- 23 members present

M & S. That this body go on record as being in favor, wherever possible, of transfering all organization activities on the job and that we keep up continual agitation for shorter hours, better wages, release of class war prisoners and everything for the betterment of the organization as a whole. Carried.

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Kenmare, N.D. August 5, 1923- 75 members in good standing present

M & S. That we concur with recommendation of G.O.C. in regard to general strike. Carried.

Plan of Organization- Job Action.

That a meeting be held in each town of district and elect a township delegate to represent members working out of each township. District delegate to be financed by members working in his jurisdiction pro rato.

Function of Township Delegate

That he keep records of all men working out of his township.
That he get the telephone number or nearest telephone no. with name and address of the farmers for whommen have gone out for and keep record of same. This also applies to men without cards. He should also keep literature on hand so as to keep all supplied and in constant contact with the organization as a whole.

Function of Members.

That all non-card men be allowed to go out to work for two(2) days and then must take out membership card.
That they hold meetings every night after coming from work to take up grievances,if any, and discuss the general welfare of the organization. There must be one delegate on each job.

Instructions.

No.1. To record all members and non-members separately.
No.2 To see that each job is represented by one or more on Sunday in his township each week.

No.3. To keep informed of all grievances and take proper action on same.

No.3a. That if he sees that grievances can be rectified by local action of one job strike he enforce same, but if it requires the whole district to act he notify other township delegates and G.O.C. member of situation.

No.3b. It it is futile and cant receive sufficient backing delegate notify members on said job that nothing can be accomplished.

No.4 That he give statement to other township delegates on exact conditions in regard to hours, wages, etc. and in return keep his own township members acquainted with the other township conditions.

No.5 That he keep all members supplied with all items of literature.

M & S. That we adopt certain plan of action that has been read regarding the welfare of the organization. Carried.

M & S. That the plan be published in the Bulletin. Amend. That it also be brought up at the fall convention. Motion & amend. carried.

M & S. That we concur with the action of the Sioux City business meeting in regard to the Bail & Bond stamp. Carried.

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Bainville, Mont. August 4, 1923 - 46 members present. General membership meeting.

M & S. That floor be thrown open to discuss wages in eastern Mont.

M & S. That we do not work over ten hours per day. Carried.

M & S. That we demand $5.00 per day and after two days we leave the job if demands are not granted. Amend. That we carry the wage question to the point of production. Carried.

M & S. That wide publicity be given the Calif. boycott in the grain belt. Carried.

M & S. That we do not concur with the Delegate Conference held at Seattle, July 2nd in regard to holding of the B & B money and that we further demand that the G.E.B. take action against any I.U. which attempts to withhold any of the B & B money. Carried.

M & S. That this body goes on record in favor of placing a voluntary 50¢ stamp in the field, proceeds to go toward making Solidarity a daily paper. Carried.

M & S. That a compulsory assessment stamp of $1.00 be placed in the field two times a year, proceeds to go for organization purposes. Carr.

M & S. That we go on record as being in favor of a general strike of I.U.110 not later than August 25, 1923, not to last longer than 10 day for the release of all class war prisoners. Carried.

M & S. That we concur with the Gen.Def. Comm. in placing F.W.Chaplain on the Defense Committee. Carried.

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Grand Forks, N.D. August 13, 1923.

M & S. That we boycott the Riverside pool hall and employment office, Riverside Cafe, stoe and museum.

M & S. That boycott go in effect at once.

Addresses as follows: Economy Grocery Store, Riverside Cafe, Riverside Pool Hall, Brunswick Hotel.

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Fargo, N.D. August 5, 1923. 39 members in good standing present.

M & S. That we push the bond stamp as much as possible. Carried.

Minneapolis Branch A.W.I.U.110, August 5, 1923. 18 members p in good standing present.

M & S. That this body go on record instructing G.E.B.Clark to prefer charges against Alec.Stewart for absconding with organization money. Carried.

M & S. That we file the minutes of 510 meeting of July 30!23.Carried.

M & S. Thatwe elect Joe Stewart, Burkhart, Frank Gable for auditing committee by acclamation. Carried.

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Minot, N.D. August 6, 1923. Special meeting I.U.110- 25 members in good standing present.

M & S. That after the 25th of August all members be stamped up until the 1st of January 1924 and have at least one Bond stamp in their card. Carried.

M & S. That all members of I.U.110 go out on the job so as to safeguard action on a 5 day strike if necessary. Carried.

M & S. That we concur with I.U.110 meeting at Fargo in regard to a 5 day strike. Carried.

M & S. That this body go on record favoring an extensive drive thru Washington and California. Carried.

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Bisbee, N.D. August 9, 1923.- 22 members in good standing.

M & S. That we place a boycott on City Cafe,City Meat Market and both pool halls. Carried.

M & S. That a committee of three be appointed to interview the manager of Columbia hotel to find out if he trades with City Meat Market and to inform him we will not patronize him unless he stops. trading with them. Carried.

M & S. That committee notify City Cafe employees of boycott. Carried.

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Larimore,N.D. August 11, 1923. 15 members in good standing present

M & S. That this body go on record as being in favor of a three day intermittent strike for the release of all class war prisoners.Carried.

M & S. That this body go on record as being in favor of a general strike thruout the whole state for a 10 hour day and minimum wage of $5.00. Carried.

M & S. That membership put all their energy with delegate's energy to push the Bail & Bond. Carried.

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Plentywood, Mont. August 9, 1923. Special 110 business meeting. Seventy members in good standing present, 10 visitors.

M & S. That we take up resolution of card #839653 seriatum. Carried.

M & S. That we do not concur with first part of resolution in regard to raising dues from 50¢ to 75¢ universally. Carried.

M & S. That we concur with rest of the resolutions pertaining to questionaires for all delegates and prospective officials as to their qualifications to fill the position. Carried.

M & S. That we concur with plan of action passed at Kenmare, N.D. August 5th covering that system. Carried.

M & S. That we concur with Sioux City branch action in regard to B & B stamp, July 29th, and also with Minot meeting on August 5th on stamping up cards for members to end of year. Carried.

(over)

M & S. That we sanction the appointment of Ralph Chaplin as publicity man for Defense. Carried unanimously.

Resolution to the 1923 Convention of the I.W.W.

Resolved that the I.W.W. shall draw up a questionaire that shall govern the actions and movement of all officials and prospective officials, and
Be it Further Resolved that these questions shall include dicipline, ability, knowledge of the organization, civility and cleanliness of mind and body, and
Be it Further Resolved that the G.O.C. and traveling delegates shall examine all delegates and prospective officials before issuing credentials, and
Be it Further Resolved that this resolution be published in all I.W.W. papers for discussion. (H.P.Thoms, #839853)

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M & S. That we give our widest publicity on California products and see that there is no sale or patronage of same until the unconditional release of all class war prisoners from that state's bastiles and persecutions cease. Carried.

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Sherwood, N.D. August 13, 1923.- 16 members present.

M & S. That we find ways and means at general convention for combating the one and two stamp men.

M & S. That we have nothing but a card with 5 in recognized. Carried.

M & S. That we take vote on general strike by raising of hands. Carr. Vote: 15 for, 1 opposed.

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Outlook, Mont. August 9, 1923. 11 members in good standing .

M & S. That meeting go on record as in favor of Kenmare resolution of August 5th. Carried.

M & S. That we go on record to set the wages at not less than $5.00 per day for Outlook. Carried.

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Powers Lake, N.D. August 12, 1923. Special Joint Meeting- Twenty-three members present.

M & S. That floor be thrown open for discussion of strike in harvest fields. Carried.

M & S. That a strike committee of three be chosen from this body. Carr.

M & S. That we set wages at $4.00 low for 10 hours. Carried.

M & S. That we go on record as being opposed to piece work in the harvest fields. Carried.

M & S. That 110 delegates try to supply this district with literature. Carried.

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Grafton, N.D. August 12, 1923- 23 members in good standing.

M & S. That this body is in favor of a five(5) day strike and date of same be left to the G.O.C. Carried.

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Oakes, N.D. August 6, 1923. Special meeting called to discuss wages and means of keeping lines of communication open between jobs & slave market at all points where men are hired for cutting & threshing.- 35 members in good standing present.

M & S. That when we hire to farmer we get his name & phone number and turn it over to some F.W. near who will turn it over to sta. del. or member of the G.O.C.; also, when coming back to town we first look up stationary delegate and give complete report of job conditions, and if there is no stationary delegate there, hold meeting and appoint one. Carried unanimously.

M & S.

M & S. That we call the attention of the G.O.C. to the "spirit of the Okla.City convention" pertaining to the B & B and to instruct all delegates accordingly. Carried.

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Leeds, N.D. August 12, 1923- 21 members in good standing.

M & S. That we go on record for a strike for the release of all class war prisoners for a period of three days, one hundred per cent.

M &&S. That we go on record that all members of I.U.110 have a bond stamp in their book by September 1st or be considered in bad standing. Carried 100 %.

M & S. That we ask all fellow workers to go on the job and better the conditions there. Carried.

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JOB NEWS

SOUTH DAKOTA

ANDOVER, 8-7. Wages is 45 & 50¢ an hour. Machine going to start the 8th or 9th. Plenty of men. ( AG 1090)

SUMMIT, 8-6. Threshing just starting here. $4.00 a day offered. Plenty of men here. ( AG 131)

NORTH DAKOTA

ANETA, 8-12. Threshing will start today. Wages 45¢ per hour to start. The crop is no good. 15 days will be a good run this year. (AG742)

CRAFTON, 8-12. Threshing has begun around here. Wages $4-$5. a day. Fairly well organization. Hours what you make them on the job.(AG1581)

FAIRMONT, 8-12. Threshing crews going out of here at $4.00 for 10 hours. Most all organized men so far. ( AG 131)

HILLSBORO, 8-11. Threshing is just starting here. Wages $4.00-4.50. Men are scarce. Not many stopping off here. Get busy you 110 cats, a good place to get on the point of production and organize.(AG 925)

KENMARE, 8-9. Plenty men at this point. Harvest is already started and very little hiring . Wages for threshing will be $5.00. Men mostly solid and plenty delegates. ( AG 211)

Leeds, 19. Wages around Leeds are $3.50 for shocking but are only hiring very few; around Devil's Lake paying $3.00 for shocking and expect to pay $4 for threshing. Rugby $3.50 shocking and $4.00 for threshing; Larimore $3 shocking and $3.50-4 for threshing. ( AG 3)

WEST HOPE, 8-9. Harvest is about a week off yet. A few have gone out for $4.00 & $4.50. Think we can make it $4.50 when we get started. ( AG 258)

WHEELOCK, 8-8. The crops around here are poor but there is lots of straw and harvest will start next week. The wages will be $4.00 for shocking but they will have to be careful that they get their money as the farmers are all broke. ( AG 1042)

BISBEE, 8-7. Cutting around here has started. John has taken out a few men. Going out for $3.50, $4.00 and $4.50. (#816347)

HANKINSON, 8-7. Men hiring out here. $4.00 for 10 hour day. Will be about 15 days threshing. ( AG 141)

DEVIL'S LAKE , 8-13. Haying & shocking around here just starting. Wages $2.50-$4.00. ( AG 815)

CHURCH'S FERRY, 8-13. Shocking just about over here. Wages $3.00-3.50 per day. ( AG 815)

ENDERLIN, 8-12. Threshing just started here. $4.00 a day but we will have to make the ten hours. Not many members. ( AG 612)

MINNESOTA

GRANITE FALLS, 8-9. Wages for threshing $4.50-5.00.

MONTEVIDEO, 8-9. Wages for threshing $4.00. ( AG 1076)

MONTANA

GREAT FALLS, 8-11. Crops in this vicinity are excellent. Wages average $4.00 and prospects for a boost look good. Delegates are doing good business. ( RR 821)

MEDICINE LAKE, 8-9. Harvest just starting. Wages $5.00 10 hours. It is 10 days later at Scobey and Plentywood. ( AG 554)

BILLINGS, 8-8. Threshing has started here . Wages $3.00-3.50 per day and lots of tthe hoosiers bit hat boys to do it. ( AG 830)

ANTELOPE, 8-7. Crops fair here and wheat cutting just starting. Wages for shocking $4.00 low and can raise this only thru organization on the field. More organization means more wages and better conditions. ( AG 1037)

COLORADO

YUMA , 8-6. Wages for harvesting are $3.50@4.00 a day. Threshing will start in a few days. ( AG 1514)

CLIFTON, 8-7. Crop fine here this year. Wages 30¢ and up with board. Always a chance of raising the ante. Very few men here now. With a few fellow workers organization work will be better when they get to work, all broke now. ( AG 831)

WASHINGTON

PALOUSE, 8-1. Pullman, Uniontown, Colton- Shocking $4.00 and up. No men here. 10 hrs. Oakdale- shocking $4.00 and up. Tekoa- wages for shocking $4.00-4.50 and up, 10 hours. Rosalia- $4.00 & up. Few men. Palouse - $5.00 for shocking. Few men here. Threshing starts in this section about the 8th of August. Wages will be about $6.00 & up. Members badly needed in Washington. ( AG 19)

EDMORE , 8-9. Harvest will start full blast in 4 or 5 days. Going wages going pretty low here. Was unable to find many members. Box drivers $3.50, loaders $4.00, hoedown $4, sack sewers $5, spike pitchers $4. Sentiment for organization good. ( AG 591)

HARRINGTON, 8-9. A few machines started now. Rest of them will start in a few days. The farmers are planning to start with $4.00 low, but that is too low. Sentiment for the O.BU. good. (AG 591)

STARBUCK, 8-6. Harvest in full blast and no men in town. Wages $4.00 and up. ( AG 109)

WASHTUCNA , 8-5. Wages for barge skinners $4.50, spikers $5.00, stackers $5.50. Some are paying $6.00 for stackers, $5.00 for skinners and sowers are getting $6.00 with a jigger. ( AG 77)

CALIFORNIA

DINUBA, 8-10. They have started picking grapes here. Will be in full blast in about a week. Some fellow workers here and allthe dings in Cal. Wages 40-50¢ for picking, 40¢ in the packing sheds. Quite a few gyppoes. Latter it will be mostly all piece work in the field, 3 & 3½¢ per tray. ( AG 452)

FRESNO, 8-1. Thepacking houses are starting up here this week. The first peaches are coming in now. The grapes will be on about the middle of next month. Wages in the packing houses are 40¢ per hour, 10 hours a day. Eat in a Jap restaurant, meals from 25¢ up, beds 50¢ is the cheapest. Men are plentiful but they are all on the move.(AG 460)

TULARE, 8-4. At Delano they are paying 40¢ per hour in the melons, $1.40 per hundred for making grape boxes, $6.00 per day in the warehouses for trucking and piling sacks. Not many members here and not much chance to go to work. ( AG 290).

NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

Fellow worker Chas.E.Carey of Milwaukee, please write to Wm Carey of County Jail, Carthage, Mo. IMPORTANT.

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Take up credentials AG 350 issued to Daniel Baumann, X 40764 on July 6th. He has never reported to I.U.110 and owes I.U. 230 $78.00 cash.

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All members who did business with AG 576 between August 2nd and 6th please send a record of same to the main office as this report has been lost.

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Lose credentials: AG 135- S.E.Ward, AG 112-Chas.Johnson, AG 1508 - Leo Kelley, AG 1515-Mike Webster, AG 979-Jack Williams. Duplicate credentials have been issued to these delegates. Take up original credentials and send in to main office.

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Card number X 48936 belong to Any Doran was taken away from him by hi-jacks between Mason City and St.Paul, Minn. Be on the look out for it.

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On August 1st all 1922 delegates whose accounts are not square become delinquent. However, as many of them are paying their account off we have decided to issue the delinquent list August 20th, 1923.

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With the rush season coming on it is important that members and delegates take care of their mail. All letters should have a return address and all mail should be called for at station where this office has been requested to send it. When leaving a town be sure to have your mail forwarded. The post office holds mail for ten days only. Attention to mail by members and delegates will save time and money to both members and hdqts.

The vote of the referendum is being counted today. Report will be out tomorrow, however all new by-laws and amendments carried. Sam Forbes is G.E.B.member. The convention will be held at Fargo.

It is important that I.U. 230 get in touch with Patrick J. Mc Geehan whose trial on a charge of C.S. is set for September 24th at Santa Ana, Calif. He is about 5 ft. 4 in. in height, weight about 140 lbs., dark hair, eyes and complexion, slightly bald. This man should be located before the date of trial and anyone knowing his address please notify I.U. 230 main office, General Defense or California Defense office.

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Write the branches or stationary delegates for supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Al Frane | 615 N.16th At.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St., | Fargo, N.D. |
| Ted Fraser | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| John Deady | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 316 | Modesto, Calif. |
| G.Wilson | Box 842 | Marysville, Calif. |
| Bob Hall | 220½ N.Bernard St. | Spokane, Wash. |

With best wishes, we remain

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U. No.110.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

REPORT OF BALLOT COMMITTEE, A.W.I.U.REFERENDUM-SPRING 1923.

Following is a tabulation of votes received by August 15,'23.

For G.E.B.Member

| Candidate | Omaha | Sioux City | Field | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| S. Forbes | 39 | 13 | 441 | 493 |
| W.F.Lowe | 11 | 6 | 154 | 171 |
| R.Jones | 8 | 8 | 106 | 122 |

| By-laws | Yes | No. | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No.1 | 46 | 14 | 25 | 4 | 338 | 92 | 409 | 110 |
| No.2 | 57 | | 28 | 1 | 400 | 18 | 485 | 19 |
| No.3 | 52 | 7 | 24 | 3 | 387 | 31 | 463 | 41 |
| No.4 | 55 | 2 | 29 | | 406 | 13 | 490 | 15 |
| Amend.By-law 12 | 27 | 30 | 15 | 14 | 382 | 345 | 424 | 389 |

NOTE: The Minneapolis and Fargo Branches did not have their ballots tabulated and same was included in the field vote.

For Convention City

| City | Votes | City | Votes | City | Votes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fargo | 282 | Omaha | 125 | Sioux City | 56 |
| Minneapolis | 135 | Kansas City,Mo. | 1 | Okla.City | 3 |
| Tulsa | 1 | Chicago | 39 | Duluth | 1 |
| Jamestown,N.D. | 2 | Detroit | 2 | New Rockford | 27 |
| Bismark,N.D. | 1 | Portland | 4 | Sacramento | 10 |
| Valley City | 1 | Yakima | 1 | Wichita,Kans. | 1 |
| Bingham City,Utah | 1 | Denver | 1 | Salt Lake City | 1 |
| Stockton,Cal. | 30 | Los Angeles | 1 | Fresno,Cal. | 5 |
| Toledo,Ohio | 1 | Oakes,N.D. | 1 | Minot | 10 |
| Seattle | 13 | Spokane | 15 | Aberdeen,S.D. | 1 |
| | | Carrington | 1 | | |

Total Ballots Cast 849.

Spud Reilly ,# 331460

James Fitzpatrick,#198435 Marion Simovic, # 449557

I.U. No.110.

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NOTE: Supplies can be secured by mail from the G.O.C. at the following addresses: J.A.Lee, Box 295,Plentywood,Mont. Fred Mann, Box 98, Bisbee, N.D.

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Meeting held at Kenmare, N.D. August 12, 1923- 32 members in good standing present.

M & S. That we get on job this week and hold meetings August 19th in nearest towns to cooperate with meeting held in Leeds, August 5. Carried.

M & S. That this body go on record as being in favor of all footloose 110 members going to California after harvest. Carried.

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Albert Hanson, Chairman G.O.C. Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas. A.W.I.U. No.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.32

Chicago, Ill. August 22, 1933.

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## ORGANIZE THE NORTH DAKOTA JOBS

Fellow workers:

Two factors are now entering into and impressing themselves upon the drive in North Dakota - (1) a poor crop; and (2) an influx of harvest laborers. This latter is provided for in two ways- by means of the $5.00 shipments and a deluge of auto tramps. To the people of the harvest communities the men coming in shipments or by autos do not differ materially from those who come by way of the freight trains. They are welcomed as an addition to the labor supply but looked upon with the same suspicion and regarded with the same hostility as the box-car tourists.

To the organized harvest workers these newcomers, however, present a new harvest problem with which we have not previously had to reckon. These men are unorganized, and are usually ready to accept such terms as the general run of the farmers will offer. Moreover, the auto tramps can and do go out into the country to rustle jobs. We must prepare ourselves to forestall them. Advantage is on our side because of our control of the bulk of the harvest-labor supply. They cannot furnish help enough to harvest even the short crop of this season. We alone can do that. It is now up to us to beat them to the jobs and to be on hand when they arrive. We will thus be in position to make them join the union and stand with us or keep going. The time for real job action has arrived in Dakota. If we organize our forces to deal with this new development we shall be able to make the farmer and the auto tramp both come to us. This means the commencement of a program which will take our men out of the jungles and onto the jobs, not merely to get the jobs but to organize them. Here is a test of our resourcefulness and spirit,and an opportunity to prove that we have both in ample measure. We can demonstrate that A.W.I.U.110 is able to program the harvest and put its program thru. Get on the jobs and show the power or organization.

The Bail and Bond stamps are going well but there is still a large amount to be raised to meet the 110 quota. Every member should be up on his toes to see that this amount is not only subscribed but oversubscribed. This is a debt of honor in the highest and best meaning of that term. Let us liquidate it as rapidly as possible.

The situation in North Dakota, owing principally to the poor crop, is more than compensated by the fine reports coming in from as far west as Washington where the A.W.I.U. has taken a fresh hold and is making rapid headway. Besides the news from the west, we have again invaded Canada with unexpected results. It was the boast of Canadian capitalism that the Dominion was immune to the I.W.W., but the reports now coming to the main office from north of the boundary line clearly prove that the Canadian spokesmen for the bosses had reckoned without their host. Canada is building up new membership. We are gaining all over the continent. Let them blow while we work. They will have their boasts disproved and we will have our organization proved.

Every member in Dakota should make it a point to get on the job. This should be done in an organized manner. Being on the job means being in control - when men, even a minority, are organized and will work together. We cant make the crops grow, but we can make the A.W.I.U. grow. Now is the time to be at it.

Get on the jobs and let the auto tramps camp in the jungles. The delegates will get them there. All together! Let us organize Dakota 100 per cent. We can if we will. We have only a new condition to meet. Let us stir ourselves to meet it. To organize the jobs, get on them.

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS.

** M E E T I N G S **

Enderlin, N.D. August 15, 1923- Special business meeting.

M & S. That we hold out for $4.50 per day and raise it on the job if possible. Carried.

M & S. That we encourage all members to carry literature with them wherever they go and to strive more to educate the unorganized workers. Carried.

M & S. That this body encourage the holding of meetings both on and off the jobs. Carried.

M & S. That this body take an active part in supporting the program laid down by the G.O.C. pertaining to the general strike. Carried.

M & S. That we push the Bail & Bond stamp. Carried.

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Bozeman, Mont. August 14, 1923.- Joint business meeting with 14 members present.

M & S. That we concur with resolution calling for a general strike and that date be set by the G.O.C. of I.U.110. Carried.

M & S. That we have hand bills printed calling for a 10 hour day at $5.00 with improved living conditions with threshing outfits. Carr.

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Leeds, N.D. August 19, 1923- Special I.U.110 meeting with 18 members in good standing present.

Reading of minutes of meeting held at Enderlin, N.D. Aug.15th.
M & S. That minutes be laid over to new business. Carried.

M & S. That Resolution No.1 of meeting at Leeds Aug. 5th be laid over to new business. Carried.

New Business

M & S. That we accept minutes of Enderlin, August 15th meeting as progress. Carried.

M & S. That we accept Resolution No.1, Leeds, August 5th. Carr.unan.

Resolution No.1, adopted at Leeds, N.D. August 19 & carried.

Owing to the crop conditions in the eastern parts of North Dakota which is forcing all our fellow workers to go into the north and western part of the state of North Dakota and into the northern and eastern part of Montana, which will make it impossible to consider a strike at this time in the eastern part of No. Dakota- (1) because we haven't enough fellow workers on the job to help bring about the results we are after and (2) knowing that we have no economic power in the eastern part of the state of No. Dakota

Therefore be it resolved that we go on record to support the strike if any other portion of A.W.I.U.110 in any part of the agricultural fields see fit to call a strike, and

Be it further resolved that we, the members assembled at Leeds, N.D. 8-19-23 hold ourselves in readiness to answer the strike call if the F.W.'s in other portions of the agricultural fields deem it advisable to call a strike and that we pledge ourselves to stay away and also induce others to stay off the job for the duration of the strike, and that our main reason for striking shall be a protest against the unjust treatment of our F.W.'s incarcerated in jail throut the country for upholding the rights guaranteed them under the Constitution and Declaration of Independence, and that we demand the release of all class war prisoners in the U.S.A.

(By card #198212.)

## ** M E E T I N G S **

Ritzville, Wash. August 15, 1923.- General membership meeting.

M & S. That we concur with action taken by 110 meeting in regard to strike. Carried unan.

M & S. That we request all members present to take action wherever they are at in regard to a strike. Carried unan.

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Ritzville, Wash. August 15, 1923- Special A.W.I.U.meeting.

M & S. That this body go on record as concurring with the motion pertaining to the strike (in Bulletin No.30) of the meeting at Leeds, N.D. July 27, 1923. Carried unan.

M & S. That this body go on record as being ready to cooperate with all other Industrial Unions in support of a strike call that calls for the release of political and class war prisoners. Carried.

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## JOB NEWS

### NORTH DAKOTA

ALAMO, 8-11. Harvest will be in full swing here in a few days. Wages for shocking $4.00 per day. Conditions to be made on the job. Some few unorganized auto tramps getting here. Crops are good on Wildrose branch. Plenty of men. ( AG 345)

BERTHOLD, 8-14. Harvest just starting. Taking men out here for $3.00 & $4.00. Few paying 20¢ an acre for shocking. Not many men here. Will be in full swing in about a week. Threshing not started yet. ( AG 761)

SHERWOOD, 8-11. Not much doing here as shocking has not started yet but prospects are fairly good for later. ( AG 749)

FLAXTON, 8-14. Things are dead around here. Starting to cut some but no one going out as the farmers seem to be doing their own work. Wicks are as bad or worse off than the workers. Crops fair. Lots of wicks leaving country also workers. From Flaxton west in Montana the crops are good, extra good in Montana. Lots of fellow workers going to Canada. ( AG 79)

KENMARE, 8-15. There are lots of men on all the branches west of Minot and the farmers are not hireing many men for snocking. There are plenty of fellow workers on all the branches to do the threshing west of Minot. (AG 67)

HANAFORD, 8-15. Threshing has started and men are scarce. There are only two ten hour rigs out of this town. Let's get busy and bring the rest down to ten hours too. ( AG 833)

LARIMORE & VICINITY, 8-15. Threshing started. Offering 40-45¢ per hour. Men scarce. Good chance to raise wages and shorten hours.

Devil's Lake. Threshing under way. About two weeks' work. Offering 40¢ per hour. Very few wobblies in this section. A good place for job action.

Leeds. Threshing started about 10 days ago with good weather. Paying 40-45¢ per hour. Good chance to organize on the job.

Rugby. Threshing started. Paying $4.50-$5.00 per day. Men scarce. Get on the job so we will have power to support the gen. strike.(AG3)

CROSBY, 8-16. The harvest here is on the bum, Rust & hail & scissors have got us all on the bum. They are going out for $3.00-3.50 a day. Threshing will be no good. ( AG 108)

MAX, 8-16. The crops here are poor and very little hireing done. The slaves are going in all directions but find it hard to get on the job. Threshing will start here next week but dont know what the wages will be. I am getting $4.00 for a few days shocking.(AG172)

## NORTH DAKOTA

WALHALLA, 8-16. Threshing has just started. Wages are from $5.00-5.50 and I'm out on 100 per cent rig. Men are very scarce. (AG 703)

DEVIL'S LAKE, 8-15. Threshing just about to start in full blast. Wages $4.00-4.50, some $5.00. A bunch of auto tramps going out for 11 to 12 hours and John is anxious to hire them thr the employment office here.

Church's Ferry. Conditions the same as above. Ten hours for $4.00 to start. Can be improved with some job action. ( AG 98)

KRAMER , 8-16. Threshing will start the 20th. Men scarce. No delegate. Wages 50¢ an hour.

Bisbee. Threshing just starting. Wages 45-50¢ per hour. Not delegates, lots of wicks. We need active members and delegates here.( AG 61)

SHERWOOD, 8-18. Wages $3.00-3.50 for shocking and $4.00 for threshing. ( AG 410)

JAMESTOWN, 8-17. Very few members here. Farmers offer 40¢ an hr.(AG8)

## MONTANA

SCOBEY, 8-13. Bumper crop. 17 to 26 bushels per acre. Wages $5.00 per day. 20 men in town today. Cutting starting all over. Farmers figure $6.00 per day for threshing. Ought to get more with a little organization. Men scarce. No 110 delegates here. ( RR 96)

PLENTYWOOD, 8-15. There is a good crop here but all kinds of men. The panic is on but there is a chance to go to work in a few days. ( AG 34)

SCOBEY, 8-14. The harvest is on here. Wages $4.00-5.00. Farmers come as far as 50 miles west and north to hire their men. Not many men on the job at present but threshing will start in about 10 days and then they will need lots of men. ( AG 850)

## MINNESOTA

WHEATON, 8-13. Threshing well started here. Wages $4.00 a day. Will last ten days or more. ( AG 158)

PIPESTONE, 8-15. Wages here are $4.00 for stakcing and threshing. Threshing will last about 10 days. ( AG 627)

## COLORADO

CLIFTON, 8-7. Crop fine here this year. Wages 30¢ and up with board. Always a chance of raising the ante. Very few men here now. With a few fellow workers organization work will be better when they get to work, all brok now. ( AG 831)

## CALIFORNIA

DINUBA, 8-10. They have started picking grapes here. Will be in full blast in about a week. Some fellow workers here and all the dings in Cal. Wages 40-45¢ for picking, 40¢ in the packing sheds. Quite a few gypoes. Later it will be mostly all piece work in the field., 3-3½¢ per tray. ( AG 452)

FRESNO, 8-17. Grape, peach and fig picking on in full blast. Mostly piece work in the fields. 40¢ per hour in the packing houses - 10 hour day. ( AG 460)

## WASHINGTON

EDMORE, 8-18. Harvest on in full blast. Going wages going pretty low here. Was unable to find many members. Box drivers $3.50, loaders $4.00, hoedown $4., sack sewers $5, spike pitchers $4. Sentiment for organization good. ( AG 591)

HARRINGTON, 8-12. A few machines started now. Rest of them will start in a few days. The farmers are planning to start with $4.00 low, but that is too low. Sentiment for the O.B.U. good. (AG 591)

WASHTUCNA , 8-5. Wages for barge skinners $4.50, spikers $5.00, stackers $5.50. Some are paying $6.00 for stackers, $5.00 for

skinners and sowers are getting $6.00 with a jigger. ( AG 77)

PENDLETON-UMATILLA-THE DALLES There are several men in this district who want to stamp up and line up and are looking for delegates but none can be found. Country around Condon, Ore. could keep 4 or 5 delegates busy. Sentiment if fair but they seem to think that as the farmer is a hard worker we should put in about 15 hours day of labor time at the rate of $3.50-$4.00 for his especial benefit.

CANADA

SWIFT CURRENT,SASK.8-16. Harvest in the wheatfields will not be general till about the 25thor 30th of August. Wages offered at present by the farmers are $4.00. Labor is plentiful now but expect will be scarce when harvest gets general. Sentiment for organization is good with all I have talked to so far, but will not be able to line up very many for a month yet as money will not begin to change hands till then. Delegates are very scarce at present and would like to see some fellow workers follow up the harvest from Dakota into here as the field for organization is immense and sentiment is good. So, get into this field 110 before you start migrating back to the land of criminal vandalism. You can make between 200 to 300 berries in this field as the crop averages up tbethe 1915 yield and this was the banner year for yields for the farmers. Let's try to make this the banner yield for 110 and the bust up of the Criminal Syndicalism law.
(AG1075)

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FREE POLITICAL PRISONERS BY CHRISTMAS!

We must get out publicity on a bigger scale than ever before. We must organize and coordinate all the forces in America that favor amnesty. Defense pamphlets, leaflets, letters and articles must be circulated in large numbers to reach all classes of people. Meetings all over the country, some of them at least as large as the Borah meetings, must be arranged for and advertised. All possible pressure must be brought to bear upon the administration in Washington between now and Christmas.
Let's put our shoulders to the wheel and get the federal cases out of the way so we can concentrate upon the state cases and wipe the slate clean. Let's get all of our imprisoned members on the street so we can buckle down to the work of organizing and educating the millions of workers in America and the World. LET'S MAKE THIS THE LAST DRIVE THAT WILL BE NECESSARY TO SECURE THE RELEASE OF THE MEN IN LEAVENWORTH. Funds are needed as never before. Send all contributions direct to the General Defense committee, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

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N O T I C E

There is plenty of literature and supplies on hand at all branches and with stationary delegates. Write to nearest branch when in need of same.

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Credentials AG 1514 belonging to Geo.Wiggins have been lost. Take up original credentials and send in.

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There are 2 letters at the Sioux City hall for Thos.Patrick Donlon from the bonus board. Write A.Vernon.

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The delinquent delegate list of 1922 will be out August 25th.

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Delegates should send in their reports weekly whether they are able to remit in full or not. Several applications for duplicate are being held up as the report of initiation has not been sent in.

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All 110 members are urged to attend the 110 conference at Stockton, Calif.Sept.1st, or to write Sam Oberman, Box 754,Stockton on same.

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List of branches and stationary delegates:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.Vernon | 1219-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Al Frane | 515 N.16thSt.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St., | Fargo, N.D. |
| Ted Fraser | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| John Deady | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif |
| S.H. Straw | Box 316 | Modesto, Calif. |
| G. Wilson | Box 842 | Marysville, Calif. |
| Bob Hall | 220½ N. Bernard St. | Spokane, Wash. |

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Albert Hanson, Chairman  Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas. I.U.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

"IN ORGANIZATION IS STRENGTH"

n Injury
o One, Is
n Injury To All

Labor Is
Entitled To
All It Produces

# AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 110, I. W. W.

**1001 WEST MADISON STREET**

**CHICAGO, ILL.**

Chicago, August 27, 1923.

To All Branch Secretaries,
Stationary and Traveling Delegates -

Fellow workers:

It is important to use care from now on in issuing supplies to job delegates. On account of the adverse conditions in Dakota many delegates find themselves with a considerable amount of cash on hand (in the hole) before they realize their financial standing.

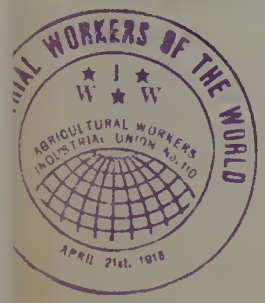
Before issuing supplies it is best to see the delegate's receipts for reports to the main office, also, to check over the supplies and see that he is remitting at least in part on his reports and that he is reporting regularly for all business done.

Please follow these instructions closely from now on and if you find a delegate whom you consider too far behind either in reporting for business done or in remitting to the main office take up his supplies and credentials. Forward the credentials to the main office.

The forwarding of credentials to the main office is also very important. When a delegate turns in or has his supplies taken up they should be sent in to the main office at once.

Trusting you will observe the above directions carefully, and with best wishes, we remain

Yours for the I.W.W.




still hold fast and [illegible] conditions are taken into [illegible]. The gain in membership, when the conditions are taken [illegible] will be surprising. The headway being made in other sections and in Canada will offset to a great extent the disappointment in North Dakota. The strike is impossible, but growth is not. The strike depended upon the crop, the membership depends upon hard intelligent effort. To keep in mind that organizations must be built up before they can be used is good philosophy and good tactics. This is what the A.W.I.U. is committed to, and progress must result in spite of setbacks here and there, and now and again.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.33

Chicago, Ill August 29, 1923

## WE LEARN FROM EXPERIENCE

Fellow workers:

Until North Dakota, with an exceptionally poor crop, was reached, the sum of A.W.I.U. experiences this summer justified the expectation that a strike in the harvest fields would be practicable and effective. Now, it is realized that nothing can be accomplished, and there is great likelihood that the response to a strike declaration would be negligible and powerless.

With a much less-than-average crop the need, and therefore the demand, for harvest laborers is away below that of other years. As a consequence a labor supply which would ordinarily be entirely inadequate to the state's harvest needs becomes, because of the crop shortage, disproportionately excessive. There are not jobs to go around, where it had been anticipated that great difficulty would be experienced to provide workers. Instead of the farmers seeking men, the workers are now, except in a few sections, seeking the farmers. The condition in North Dakota is directly contrary to what the farmers, the business interests, and the A.W.I.U. had expected and hoped for. The outlook of the earlier indications has been changed. We are facing a condition which compels a change in our original plan. We have no option whatever in the matter. Conditions have always dictated our policies, and the strength of our organization lies in the fact that it recognizes the economic as the determining factor at all times.

There is nothing that we should attempt to excuse or for which we ought to offer apology. The situation in the North Dakota harvest explains itself, and in doing so explains the action of A.W.I.U. in not proceeding with its strike program. A man may without any difficulty float down over Niagara Falls but he would find it impossible to swim up over the falls. The industrial current in Dakota makes a strike this season just as impossible and as senseless as an attempt to swim against the falling torrent in Niagara. Strikes, unless they can make an impression and awaken interest, had better not be undertaken. The A.W.I.U., were it to persist in its strike intention, would find itself up against a solid wall of closed minds. To strike under the present conditions in North Dakota would be for the A.W.I.U. to commit industrial hara-kiri. It would be a magnificent gesture; but that is all it would be - a gesture. Nothing would be gained, all would be risked and nearly all would be lost, not only for this season but for the future. The way of commonsense is drab but, altho it lacks color and flourishes, it is the way to success. "I bet like a sport and slept in the gutter" is not a motto for serious organizations like the I.W.W. industrial unions. Whenever there appeared an opportunity to put things over the A.W.I.U. has always had the men, the will and the spirit to try. Carefulness is not cowardice, nor is recklessness bravery. To attempt the impossible is to advertise folly.

Our delegates and members are working as energetically as ever and winning recruits under unexpected reverses. The ranks still hold fast and steady and move forward, tho at a slowed up pace. The gain in membership, when the conditions are taken into account, will be surprising. The headway being made in other sections and in Canada will offset to a great extent the disappointment in North Dakota. The strike is impossible, but growth is not. The strike depended upon the crop, the membership depends upon hard intelligent effort. To keep in mind that organizations must be built up before they can be used is good philosophy and good tactics. This is what the A.W.I.U. is committed to, and progress must result in spite of setbacks here and there, and now and again.

To meet similar conditions in the future we shall have this experience to guide us. To keep on as the active members and delegates are now doing shows the right understanding and temper. To have lost heart because our plans were found impossible would have been to show weakness and to display the white feather. No one is responsible for the situation that exists, but it is the part of wiscom to be guided by what it teaches. To sustain the organizing effort, to agitate and to educate the harvest workers is to prove that our boys are equal to their task. And to have decided not to call a strike is to show that the A.W.I.U. is a practical organization which will undertake only such enterprises as it has at least a fighting chance to put thru successfully. It is wisdom not to shatter an organization upon the rocks of a hopeless endeavor. The harvest strike waits upon more favorable circumstances. It is delayed but not forever.

Agitate, organize, educate! Upon these the future waits.

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*** M E E T I N G S ***

Spokane, Wash. August 19, 1923.- Special meeting A.W.I.U., 24 members in good standing present.

Reading of two telegrams sent by Bob Hall to Tom Wallace

M & S. That we concur with this action. Carried.

M & S. That floor be open for discussion of Colfax Jail Cases. Carr.

M & S. That this body go to Colfax. Carried.

M & S. That we set Wed. August 22nd as day to go to Colfax. Carried

M & S. That traveling delegate notify all he can by wire, and committee be elected to notify members of this action. Carried.

M & S. That we hold an open air meeting in Colfax Thursday Aug.23rd. Car
M
M & S. That we notify all industrial unions of this action and ask their cooperation. Carried.

M & S. That a committee of 5 be elected to notify the members of the drive on Colfax. Carried. Committee: Hurley, O'Neil, Mc Gaffee, Stewart, Ecker.

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Spokane, Wash. August 19, 1923- Special A.W.I.U. meeting,

M & S. That every F.W. going to Colfax carry literature. Carried.

M & S. That committee be furnished funds to cover expenses of car. while functioning. Carried.

M & S. That traveling delegate should not go to Colfax. Carried.

M & S. That this body ask the cooperation of all ind. unions. Carried.

M & S. That we take up a collection here and the committee going thru the field do the same to defray the expenses of those going to Colfax.

M & S. That 110 hold a conference in Spokane, Sept.16th, 1923, this to be printed in all publications. Carried.
Collection taken up $9.26

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Spokane, Wash. August 24, 1923- A.W.I.U.110 meeting, 27 members in good standing present.

M & S. That floor be thrown open for discussion on Colfax issue. Carr.

M & S. That a strike be declared in Whitman County right now for the release of all class war prisoners. Carried 100 %.

M & S. That strike bills be gotten out immediately. Carried.

M & S. That we call on all other I.U.'s for cooperation in this strike. Carried.

M & S. That strike bills be distributed over different railroads in the agricultural belt of the state of Washington. Carried.

M & S. That we elect strike committee. Carried.

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Colfax, Wash. is the county seat of Whitman County. Delegates have been arrested and organization activities interfered with there in the last few weeks.

These strikers ask the support of all other workers in this strike. If you cannot support them with your economic power, send funds to Tom Wallace, or direct to T.Dickson, treasurer Strike Committee, 220½ N. Bernard St. Mark all remittances for this purpose: Whitman County Strike Committee. 220½ N.Bernard St.Spokane.

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Wilson Creek, Wash. August 17, 1923 - Special business meeting, 10 members present.

M & S. That this meeting be recorded as in favor of a general strike immediately. Carried unanimously.

M & S. That no fellow worker go out hereafter in this district without the employer furnishing beds, the hours to be limited to 10, the wages $5.00 low, no work to be done before breakfast, no overtime to be allowed. Carried.

---

Plentywood, Mont. August 19, 1923- Special I.U.110 strike meeting, 35 members in good standing present.

M & S. That the floor be thrown open for discussion on the general strike proposition. Carried.

Strike Resolution

Whereas, the existing conditions this year in the harvest fields make it impossible for the membership of I.U.110 to exercise their economic power to cooperate with other I.U.'s in a general strike for the release of all class war prisoners who stood by the I.W.W. principles, and who are the victims of the system which controls the destiny of the working class, namely, the "master class", but we pledge ourselves to continue to agitate and do all in our power for their release -

Therefore be it resolved, that we the members assembled in meeting at Plentywood, Mont., August 19, 1923 are opposed to the general strike for the above reason this year in the harvest field, and

Be it further resolved, that we instruct our officials to draw up explanatory letter to membership of other I.U.'s stating the peculiar conditions confronting the membership of the A.W.I.U. this year and why the above action was taken on same.

M & S. That we concur with the resolution and send same to I.U.110 Hdqts for publication, and one copy be given to the G.O.C. representing this district. Carried unan.

M & S. That we concur with the action taken in Rugby meeting August 8, 1923 in regard to the B & B stamps and extend the time to Sept. 15, 1923. Carried.

M & S. That we go on record to charge members applying for D.C.R. $5.00, which includes one bond and one defense stamp. Carried.

M & S. In case a hall in Fargo cant be secured for the I.U.110 mass convention that we recommend to the G.O.C. of 110,who will automatically pick the place, that it be held in Kenmare, N.D. Carr.

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Carrington, N.D. August 21, 1923.- Special I.U.110 meeting, 20 members in good standing present, one I.U. 120 member.

M & S. That a committee of one be elected to function as a job

steward, to keep track of job locations, names and addresses of all the fellow workers, they to be notified the date of the A.W.I.U.110 strike for the release of all class war prisoners. Carr.

M & S. That we keep job steward here in town until the strike situation is settled. Carried.

M & S. That an educational meeting be held here next Sunday. Carried.

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Fargo, N.D. August 26, 1923.- Regular I.U.110 business meeting. Twenty members in good standing present.

M & S. That this body go on record asking the Sec'y of the Defense Committee to discharge Ralph Chaplin and to keep all other members who have accepted individual commutation of sentence from all official positions on the Defense Committee. Carried.

M & S. That we do no business with the Union Cafe in Fargo and notify fellow workers to that effect. Carried.

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Stanley, N.D. August 19, 1923.- I.U.110 business meeting.

M & S. That we go on record as being opposed to the strike in the harvest this season. Carried.

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Kenmare, N.D. August 19, 1923.- Special 110 meeting, 41 members in good standing present.

M & S. That floor be thrown open for discussion on strike situation.

M & S. That we recommend that all fellow workers on the job set the date for general strike and that we concur with them. Carr.unan.

M & S. That in this town we do not work on any Sunday but that we come to town and hold business meetings on each Sunday at 2 P.M. Carried.

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Bozeman, Mont. August 21, 1923.- Joint branch meeting.

M & S. That we do not concur with F.W.Boulton's report in regard to newsstand. Carried.

M & S. That we concur with action taken by 110 business meeting at Plentywood, Mont. regarding F.W. Chaplin's appointment as Publicity Agent for Defense. Carried.

M & S. That we concur with resolutions calling a general strike for release of all class war prisoners. Carried.

M & S. That we concur with action of meeting at Egeland, N.D. in regard to transfering all organization activities to the job and keeping up continual agitation for shorter hours, better wages, release of class war prisoners and the betterment of the organization as a whole. Carried.

M & S. That all card members give their utmost support and cooperation to job delegate. Carried.

M & S. That notice of change of stationary delegate be published in the Industrial Worker and Solidarity. Carried.

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Bozeman, Mont. August 26, 1923- Joint membership meeting.

M & S. That bills calling for a general strike may not be distributed until date for a general strike be set. Carried.

M & S. That agitation be carried on by every member on the job to be prepared for the general strike and keep in touch with stationary delegate. Carried.

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Fargo, N.D. August 19, 1923.-Regular business meeting I.U.110 20 members in good standing present.

M & S. That this body go on record as demanding the G.E.B. does not

hire any of the men who accepted commutation from Leavenworth and that they discharge any of them who are in any positions at present. Carried.

M & S. That we demand that the G.F.B. instruct editors of papers to keep all jungle propaganda out of the papers, such as articles descriptive of mon getting run out of jungles and begging on the streets, etc. Carried.

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## J O B  N E W S

### NORTH DAKOTA

MOHALL, 8-23. Threshing will start here Monday the 26th, Wages are $5.00 or 50¢ an hour. There are not many men here, plenty of hoosiers. ( AG 40)

GARRISON , 8-25. Harvesting just about done. Threshing will start the 27th or 28th. Wages will be $5.00, 10 hours. Will last about from 15 to 20 days. ( AG 1727)

MAX, 8-25. Threshing has just started here. Farmers are offering 40¢ an hour. Only a few members around here and many of the other kind. ( AG 1043)

FARGO, 8-28. The spuds are good this year, from 150 to 225 bu. per acre. ( AG 713)

CAVALIER, 8-25. We are getting $5.00 on some machines here, most are $4.00 and $4.50. There is going to be a good spud crop this year in Hoople, Cavalier and Wallhala, N.D. Prices will range from 10¢ up. No men to pick. The spuds will start in two weeks.(AG 130)

CALVIN, 8-23. Threshing just started at 45¢ per hour. ( AG 407)

RAY, 8-23. $4.00 for shocking. Threshing hasn't started yet on wheat, a little rye threshing. ( AG 1099)

VALLEY CITY, 8-23. Wages are 40-45¢ per hour. Most machines are working 10 hours. Men are scarce and work is plentiful. It may be $5.00 by the middle of next week. ( AG 929)

HARVEY , 8-25. Threshing just started at 35¢-40¢ per hour.(AG 378)

Threshing is on in full blast north of Devil's Lake. Will last from 10 to 15 days. Wages on most rigs are 40¢ per hour. Lots of wicks and very few organized men on these jobs. Chance to go to work along this line. Egeland just starting. Wages on most rigs 50¢ per hour. 15 to 25 days run. Crop around here is fair for this year. Rocklake and north of here some shocking left. Will start threshing in a week or 10 days, depends on weather. Lots of rain at present and John is slow in taking men our. Plenty of wicks and boys from Iowa to work here, but will have to get on the job to get them. Rig owners are mostly talking 11 hours but this disease can be cured by Dr.wobbly with a little organization at the point of production. Lots of the boys going across the line to visit the king. Cando farmers are hiring for 40¢ per hour. Not many wobs on job at present as the auto tramps are quite numerous. Church's Ferry and north to Bisbee, wages in most places 40¢ per hour. Not many wobs on job here.(AG1725)

### MONTANA

HAVRE, 8-25. Wages here are $3.50 for haying and harvest. Good crop. (AG 941)

PLENTYWOOD, 8023. Threshing just starting. A few fellow workers went out last night for $5.00. This year it will be a hard battle to get the 10 hours as they seem to have boycotted all the card men, but as threshing is just starting it looks more favorable to the men to get on the job and accomplish better results. ( AG 1521)

FLAXVILLE, 8-20 Wages here are $5.00 for shocking. There will be about six weeks work here. Sentiment is good. ( AG 400)

MEDICINE LAKE , 8-25. Threshing has just started here at $5.00 per day. They are trying to pull the 12 hour racket. ( AG 554)

SCOBEY, 8-19. Farmers are taking out a few men at from $4.00-$5.00 per day shocking. There are too many men here for shocking but threshing will start next week. ( AG 406)

NEVADA

FALLON , 8-22. There is quite a lot of haying going on around here. Will last all fall. ( AG 456)

COLORADO

GLENWOOD SPRINGS, 8-21. Fruit picking will begin here at Grand Junction on Mondy August 27, ( AG 1569)

MINNESOTA

MARSHALL, 8-24. Stack threshing will start here about the 25th. Wages will be from $4-4.50. The shocks are about finished now.(AG627)

CALIFORNIA

DINUBA, 8-10. They have started picking grapes here. Will be in full blast in about a week. Some fellow workers here and all the dings in Calif. Wages 40-45¢ for picking, 40¢ in the packing sheds. Quite a few gypoes. Later it will be mostly all piece work in the field, 3-3½¢ per tray. ( AG 452)

FRESNO, 8-17. Grape, peach and fig picking on in full blast. Mostly piece work in the fields. 40¢ per hour in the packing houses. 10 hour day. ( AG 460)

WASHINGTON

EDMORE, 8-18. Harvest on in full blast. Going wages going pretty low here. Was unable to find many members. Box drivers $3.50, loaders $4., hoedown $4, sack sewers $5,spike pitchers $4. Sentiment for organization good. ( AG 591)

HARRINGTON, 8-18. A few machines started now. Rest of them will start in a few days. The farmers are planning to start with $4.low, but that is too low. Sentiment for O.B.U. good ( AG 591)

REARDAN, 8-25. Harvest on in full blast. Sentiment good. Ten hours work in field. Beds furnished if demanded. Wages: derrick drivers $3.50, hoedowns $4.50 to $6., box drivers $4.to $5, wheathandlers $4.50, loaders $5.50 to $7. A few inactive members here but what we need is action. The wobblies have them all on the go. ( AG 591)

CANADA
SASKATCHEWAN

COLGATE, 8-20. As soon as threshing starts up here we can do good business in this country, that is, if we can get delegates across . There are some fellow workers up here now. The grain crop is very good all over Canada. Threshers are talking of $6.00 and $7.00 per day around here. ( AG 1204)

MOOSE JAW, 8-23. Wheat harvest will be in full swing the 28th or 30th of Aug. in this district. Wages offered at present are $4.00; if hired thru the slave market $3.50 . Men going out now are mostly all broke and making a few dollars so that can boost it when harvest gets general. No men in town at present. If none come here help will be scarce. The bulls are driving all labor away as they are giving a lot of the workers ten days- these were taken out of the jungles where they went to try to circumven the high cost of living in this berg and also to get a better quality of food for themselves, as what these beaneries put out makes me think they are in cahoot with the undertaker. Bring your card with you and wear your button.
( AG 1075)

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BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS.

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIF. CONCERNS.

The first "Amnesty by Christmas" pamphlet of the General Defense Committss is on the press. It is called "PUBLIC OPINION -WHERE DOES IT STAND ON THE QUESTION OF AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS".

This pamphlet is conceded to be the most important publication of recent date on this subject. It is absolutely unanswerable because it presents the arguments for the unconditional release of political prisoners from the viewpoint of the very men who helped send them to Leavenworth - the editors of the big capitalist papers and magazines. It is bound to impress or convince the most bitter opponent of amnesty.

Many fellow workers and others in different parts of the country have seen occasional editorials in favor of amnesty, but few realize how wide-spread, powerful and insistent this demand really is. Friend and foe alike will be surprised at the cumulative force these editorials have when grouped together and presented as an amnesty document. It will have a tremendous influence upon state as well as Federal I.W.W. cases.

PUBLIC OPINION is the first of a series of pamphlets to be used in the present campaign. There should be distributed in huge numbers. Big meetings are being arranged in all parts of the country as a part of the spectacular and intensive Christmas drive for Amnesty.

It has been decided to distribute PUBLIC OPINION free of charge. But money is badly needed to cover cost of publication and the expenses of the present campaign. Fellow workers, dig down in your pockets - and dig down deep. Let's get the Federal prisoners out by Xmas and then concentrate ALL our energies and resources upon the Calif. and other cases.

Ed Anderson, Sec'y Gen. Def. Comm.

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## N O T I C E

The duplicate card of Bert Crane, X 76359, has been found and sent in to the main office.

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Card 818742, belonging to Henry C.Miller, was stolen at New Rockford, N.D. the 19th of August. Members will please be on the watch for same.

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The delinquent delegate list for 1922 is now out. All members should write in for a copy.

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The following duplicates are on hand at Williston, N.D. James Mc Guire, X 3550, Jas. Gallagher, X 76215, Frank Huges, X61395 and John Mc Carthy, X 39363 and can be had by writing to George Brehm, 18 S. Main St., Williston, N.D.

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All delegates who received supplies from Chas. Kolar, AG 71 in Minot are asked to send in amount of same as the original bills were lost.

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A traveling delegate is working in the Canadian harvest. Any delegat not in touch with him can obtain supplies, etc. from Jack Stewart, Box 761, Cranbrook, B.C.

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Delegates should send in their reports weekly whether they are able to remit in full or not. Several applications for duplicate are being held up as the report of initiation has not been sent in.

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All 110 members are urged to attend the 110 conference at Stockton, Calif. Sept.1st, or, if unable to attend, to send their suggestions to Sam Oberman, Box 754, Stockton, Calif.

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There is plenty of literature and supplies on hand at all branches & with all stationary delegates. Write to the nearest one when in need.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.Vernon | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Al Frane | 515 N.16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| H.L. Silva | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| John Deady | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 316 | Modesto, Calif. |
| G.Wilson | Box 642 | Marysville, Calif. |
| Bob Hall | 220½ N.Bernard | Spokane, Wash. |
| Tim Reagon | Box 639 | Bozeman, Mont. |

Albert Hanson, Chairman  Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.

A.W.I.U. No.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 110 OF THE I. W. W.

BULLETIN NO. 34.

Chicago, Ill. September 5, 192

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## WHERE OPPORTUNITY BECKONS

The capacity of an organization to adapt itself to changed conditions determines its ability to survive, and to thrive.

Unless the A.W.I.U. and its membership can meet the situation confronting it in the poor crop sections of North Dakota with the understanding courage that relates this territory to other territories we shall have proven ourselves unequal to the task before us. The setback in North Dakota is only local and temporary. Ordinarily, this is one of our most fertile organization sections, and will be again. There need be no organization famine because of the crop failure there this year, if we do not choose to regard ourselves as being restricted to that territory at this time. We must enlarge our perspective and see the whole continent as our jurisdiction, in and all over which we have agricultural labor to organize. In bringing home to us the folly of depending solely upon the grain harvest, and expending practically all of our effort in the middle west, the crop shortage in Dakota will serve us well if it teaches us to relate section to section, crop to crop, and urges us to make a sustained effort at organization of the agricultural labor the year around.

From this viewpoint we will see that the condition in North Dakota is offset and balanced by better-than-usual crops to the west and north of the stricken section. In Montana and Washington the crops are good, and the harvest is plentiful. Good strategy and sound organization business sense suggests these as good points toward which some of our capable delegates and active members could be profitably directed.

In Canada there is a good crop and a strong sentiment for the organization. There are at present two traveling delegates in the Dominion harvest country and as many more as are necessary will be provided. Canada is now offering the A.W.I.U. the greatest opportunity since 1915. As an organization we should avail ourselves of it. The way to do so is for delegates and members to make their way across the line.

Those delegates and others who have the Pacific Coast in mind for the winter are advised that there is a good harvest in the Wenatchee Valley. The apples and other crops are above average, according to accounts reaching the main office. There, again, is a field that promises good results to active delegates.

We must rise to the conception that the only bounds to our activities are the two oceans and the Gulf of Mexico; that wherever men work in field, garden, orchard, threshing rig or packing shed, there is an opening for us, and a need and a demand for the A.W.I.U. When our members see from the viewpoint and in this manner, we shall move forward to really successful achievement.

If we discover that we cannot move in this way, then it is up to us to find out what prevents it. And then it is imperatively our duty to remedy the defect. The thing for us to see now is that Dakota alone is unpromising. Every other harvest section has a good crop. Are we to be a real agricultural workers' union, or just a union for the central states? That is what we have to decide. Let us decide it wisely, and decide it now. Move some of our men where their efforts will bring results. In this way we shall redeem the promise of the early season and prove that we are an international and not a sectional organization. Montana, Washington and Canada invite us. Let us accept their invitation and be on our way. All forces move along the line of least resistance. That is a law of physics. It is also an organization law.

## MEETINGS

Lansford, N. D. Sept. 1, 1923. 11 Members of 110 in good standing, and two visitors present.

M & S That we go on record to censor the action of the G.O.C pertaining to general strike(amendment) and that members of G.O.C. be called on the floor of Convention to find out the reason of the action they took in regard to general strike in the harvest fields, and that all members of 110 take immediate action. Carried unan.

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Colgan, N. D. August 26, 1923. 9 Members in good standing.

M & S That we give the first two days pay on the threshing machine to go direct to the boys in jail.

Amend. That this motion be held over to some near future date, so that we can get in touch with the different members and Delegates in the vicinity. Carried.

M & S That we hold a mass meeting at Ambrose on Sunday, Sept. 9th, at 2:00 P. M. Carried.

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Moose Jaw, Sask., Canada, August 28, 1923. Special business meeting, A. W. I. U. 21 Members in good standing.

M & S That we concur with resolution of No. 1 of meeting held at Leeds, N. D., Aug. 5.

Amendment And if we find we have economic control at any time, to take action on strike. Carried Unan.

M & S That we impress on all members they imperative necessity of buying the Bail and Bond Stamps, to the best of their financial ability. Carried Unan.

M & S That we endeavor to make boycott of all California products very effective in this country. Carried Unan.

M & S That all members of the A.W.I.U. #110 in Canada who are in a position to do so to attent the 1sll convention to be held in Fargo, N. D., and those not being in a position to attend to send in their resolutions to resolution committee to be read on the floor of the convention. Full name and card no. to be attached. Carried.

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Flaxton, N. D., August 29, 1923. A. W. I. U. #110 meeting, 25 members present in good standing.

M & S That the following resolution be brought up at A.W.I.U. Convention 110:

### Resolution

Whereas we go on record at this meeting of finding ways and means of protecting our organization as members of our organization are going into Canada and leaving their cards behind them. Whereas this organization being universal. Whereas members doing so are checking the progress of our organization, and delegates carrying credentials on the Canadian side in their efforts to function for the organization, receive very little support from the Rank and File, as ninety per cent do not carry their cards on the other side. This being the practice since about 1916, is forming a general habit, and is making a joke and plaything of our organization which is showing a weakening of our members crossing the line.

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Sherwood, N. D. Aug. 28, 1923. Meeting A.W.I.U. #110, 42 members present in good standing. 18 members other I. U's.

M & S That wages be made $4.00 for shocking, and $5.00 for threshing. Carried.

M & S To go on the job and work one half day and walk off the job. Carried.

M & S To go over the line with the red card. Carried.

M & S That all 110 Delegates take supplies with them. Carried

Fellow workers, the farmers held a meeting here and set a scale for shocking $3.00, and for threshing $4.00. We have now broken their scale, and are setting a scale of our own. We have brought th price from $3.00 to $4.00 and from $4.00 to $5.00. We are having a hard fight, to hold it, but we have nothing to lose.

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Bisbee, N. D. August 29, 1923. Meeting A.W.I. U. #110, 20 members present.

M & S That Boycott be kept on Home Cafe and City Cafe, City Meat Market and Pool Hall. Carried.

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Stockton, Cal. Aug, 26, 1923. General Membership meeting A.W. I. U. #110, 15 members present, in good standing.

M & S That the G.E.B. stand instructed to issue a referendum ballot for Gen. Sec'y. Treas. of the I.W.W. immediately. Carried.

M & S That we ask for action on this motion from other I.U's. Carried.

M & S That this body demand the recall of Ralph Chaplin from the Gen. Def. Carried.

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## J O B  N E W S

### NORTH DAKOTA

CALVIN, 8-27. Threshing has started here. Wages from 40 to 50 cent per, mostly $4.50 or $5.00 for 11 hours. (A G 84)

DEVIL'S LAKE, 9-1. Threshing is pretty well done around here. Wage are $4.00 to $5.00. Plenty of Wicks here. (A G 555)

VALLEY CITY, 8-26. Most of the jobs hereabout are 40¢ and $4.00 for 11 hours. (A G 1080)

WESTHOPE, N. D. 8-26. Threshing has just started at 40¢ and 45¢ an hour. Very few being hired at all. Mostly Auto tramps. Very few card men around here. (A G 749)

WILD ROSE, N. D. 8-27. Threshing is beginning here now, and the fight is on for conditions. Some of the farmers are trying to get men at 40¢ per hour, but quite a few are going out at 50¢ per 10 hou day. I think they will absorb all the men; (Card 493876)

STANLEY, N. D. 8-29. Threshing has started here. Wages per hr. 4 (A G 1076)

ALAMO, N. D. 8-28. Threshing will be in full blast in a few days. Wages offered is 50¢ per hour. Unorganized men working 12 to 14 hours. Wobblies are trying to get $6.00 for 10 hours. Not many mer (A G 345)

BISBEE, N. D. 8-29. Threshing half over, men scarce. 50 and 60¢ per hours. 10 hours a day. (A G 83)

DEVIL'S LAKE, 9-1. Threshing about over in Eastern part of N. D. Men all heading West and North. Potato crop good in Eastern part of Dakota and Northern part of Minn. (A G 3)

AMBROSE, 9-1. Threshing is in full swing around here, and quite a f rigs hiring for Canada; Wages $5.00 and make your own hours, as auto tramps are numerous here as elsewhere. In regard to a general strik in the fields it doesn't look very good, as most of the cats here hav been on a general strike all fall for conditions. ( A G 410)

CORINTH, 8-31. Threshing on full blast, good crops, not much demand for help, $5.00 per day. Some rigs working 12 hrs., mostly unorganized or new members. Threshing runs from 20 to 30 days. (A G 1099)

BISBEE, 8-31. From Bisbee East to Adams on the Soo, threshing nicel started from 10 to 20 days left. Wages from 40 to 50¢ per hour. Wh the slave makes them, at present. Nearly all 11-12 hr. rigs. Wobs going out from all the twons on this line. Nearly all rigs shorthan so there is a chance to go to work almost any time. Raining here more or less the last 10 days. North on the Dakota Branch to Munich and north of there, threshing is nicely started. Wages, hours and conditions same as above. Not many men at present. A few Auto tram and wicks, who are badly in need of education.

## J O B-N E W S

### CANADA

REGINA, SASK. 8-27. On all branches out of Regina, wages are about the same, $4.00 per day for shocking. On some jobs hours are from six in the morning till seven at night, altho majority is ten hours from barn to barn. Fellow Workers on all these jobs, [illegible] on the most of them you will find a large number of men who have recently arrived from England. I have lately heard a few Fellow Workers arguing with these men with the results that invariably the Fellow Worker would lose his head and call them hoosiers, big yaps and all kinds of queer names. This is something, Fellow Workers, that must be stopped. To approach these individuals and to engage in an accrimonious discussio of a personal nature will never get us anywhere. If this does not create a spirit of rebellion in the individual, and do more harm than the combined forces of Capitalism, then I don't know what does. It also puts out the creative work that has been done by the Delegates or members previous to the time you appeared on the scene. (A G 1075)

MOOSE JAW, SASK. 8-28. Few men hired at $5.00 a day. Men are mostl asking higher wages, only those who are broke go out at the above wage. (A G 1075)

MOOSE JAW, SASK. 8-28. There is a good crop in the provinces of Alberta and Sask. this year, a few of the fellow workers went out for $6,00 per day in Estavan yesterday, but the average daily wage is about 4½ to $5.00. Estavan crops fair, with heavy straw. Wages for shocking, $4.00 to $4.50. Threshing, 50¢ per hour, some $5.00 and $6.00 per day.

[illegible]EYBURN- Threshing starting at 50¢ per hour, and 60¢ for spike pitchers. Moose Jaw's crop a little later. Shocking $4.00 to $5.00 per day. Some of the Johns working the slaves 12 hrs. All fellow workerscoming this way should arrange to have a little literature with them also, and should have their cards at all times. (A G 1075)

### MONTANA

MEDICINE LAKE, 8-25. Threshing machines paying $5.00 per day, 12 hr. day. Card men and none members on these jobs and no action. (A G 1037)

PLENTYWOOD, 8-29. Threshing started, $5.00 for 10 hrs. Not many men in town. ( A G 5)

SCOBEY, 8-28. Taking out a few men at $5.00 per day. Plenty of men here at present, about 25 days threshing will clean up this part. (A G 406)

BELGRADE 8-31. Threshing is going on here. Wages range from $3.50 to $4.00, or 35¢ and 40¢ per hr. Not many delegates in this section. This is a good field for Organization work. Plenty of uneducated workers to start on. (A G 1023)

BOZEMAN, 8-31. The wheat harvest well under way in this valley. Wages are from $3.50 up. Some men are trying to hire slaves for $3.00, or 30¢ per hour. They never mention beds, as you are not supposed to sleep. Work as long as you can, 14 and 15 hours per day. Sentiment toward the I.W.W. good. More delegates needed on the job. (A G 1023)

### CALIFORNIA

VISALIA, 8-26. Peach picking $2.50 a day and board. Picking prunes at 10¢ to 12¢ a big box. Some are paying $4.00 a ton. $2.50 a day on the dry yards. No members at this place. I would like to say to all the Fellow Workers that are coming to Calif. when riding on

the trains, ask the fellow along side of you if he has a card, and if not, why not? I have made these trains and seen as high as 40 men on a freight and not a card of any kind. (A G 290).

DINUBA, 8-26. Grape pickers, 40¢ to 50¢ per hr. Picking by the tray, 2½¢ to 3¢. Plenty of men here, ay amount of Mexican labor, hard for a white man to get work at present, but will be lots of work when the rush is on, that will be about the 1st. of Sept. (A G

MERCED, 8-28. Things are quiet here. The grapes are starting around Dinuba, but the migratory workers have little chance. Mex is in the field, and the C. of C. has told the packing houses they have to hire home talent. Good stuff. Some of these fruit tramps will wake up yet. (A G 254)

NEVADA

FALLON, 8-22. There is quite a lot of haying going on around here. Will last all fall. (A G 456)

COLORADO

GLENWOOD Springs, 8-21. Fruit picking will begin here at Grand Junction, on Monday, August 27th. (A G 1569).

WASHINGTON

WENATCHEE, 8-31. Early apples will begin next week, but will not be general until about the 20th of Sept. Old John is paying 45¢ an hour now for picking peaches, and apples. (A G 950)

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIF. CONCERNS

The delinquent delegate list for 1922 is out now. All members should write in for a copy.

NOTICES

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THERE WILL BE A CONFERENCE OF 110 MEMBERS AT STOCKTON, CALIF, OCTOBER 6, 1923.

ALL 110 MEMBERS IN CAL? SHOULD BE THERE, TO HELP PLAN THE CAMPAIGN TO ORGANIZE THE AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN THE ORCHARDS, VINEYARDS AND RANCHES OF THE STATE. IF YOU CANNOT BE THERE AND HAVE ANY PLANS TO BRING BEFORE THE CONFERENCE, SEND THEM TO:

S. H. STRAW, BOX 754,
STOCKTON, CAL.

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Any member who has bought a Duplicate Card Receipt and has not received a duplicate card, please write to the main office. Give all details possible in regard to card number, date of initiation, months paid, etc.

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Anyone having information of George Wilson, Travelling delegate in California, please communicate with Tom Connors, 226 Russ Bldg., San Francisco, or with the main office. IMPORTANT.

Jim Taylor, write to your mother, Mrs. Anna Taylor, at Plentywood, Mont., in care of Box 895.

Card belonging to Ben A. Cobb, X91625, has been stolen. Take up original card and send to main office.

Wm. Edwards and James Shields. Write to Wm. J. Carey, C/o County Jail, Carthage, Mo.

# RALLY TO THE DEFENSE!

## Unconditional release of Fellow Workers almost in sight.

Life in the open, restricted as it is, contains more liberties than life behind walls and bars. We must do all in our power to get our fellow workers out of prison and to keep others from getting in.

Thirty one of our fellow workers are still in Leavenworth, eight four are doing the lock-step in the State penitentiaries of California -- seventy in San Quentin and thirteen in Folsam. In addition, to these, there are others -- some of the bravest and the best, at Walla Walla, Boise, McAlister, Carthage and the Preston Reform School. Each of these cases is a problem in human liberty, and a responsibility for the Defense and the organization. They must all of them be looked after and the full support of the organization thrown behind them. We must show the boys in prison that we are willing to do as much for them as they would have done for us if the conditions were reversed.

It is very necessary to get our fellow workers back into the fight for the emancipation of labor. It is even more necessary to get the entire defense situation cleared up so that we may concentrate all of our energies and resources upon the gigantic task of educating and organizing the working millions of America.

The federal cases in Leavenworth are in such a condition now that one strong united drive on all fronts will secure their release and leave us free to give the state cases the entire support of defense organizations. Members of the G.E.B., the Secretaries of Industrial Unions, editors, and the General Secretary-Treasurer (all of whom were considered the "principals" in the I.W.W. case) and given twenty year sentences)have been at liberty for some time. The number of men in Leavenworth has been reduced to less than one fifth of the original number sentenced. Those that remain are mostly card members against whom the case is particularly weak.

The statement of Senator Pepper to the effect that the Sacramento group were not guilty of "overt acts" is of inestimable value to the defense. The administration at Washington is very hard pressed to give any reasons at all as to why the Sacramento men are kept in prison.

These are facts, facts that should reach the entire American public. The present drive for "Amnesty by Christmas" is attempting to carry the fight for amnesty to the sources of power. It will be the most effective campaign ever waged for the release of political prisoners. But funds are needed, and badly needed, to enable us to reach the goal. The defense situation is more favorable than ever before. It would be worse than foolish to slacken our activities at this time. On the contrary, we must renew our efforts and our determination to get our fellow workers out of prison SOON. IT CAN BE DONE. But we must ALL put our shoulders to the wheel and heave to with all power.

Send for new defense pamphlet "PUBLIC OPINION, WHERE DOES IT STAND ON THE SUBJECT OF AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS?" Help to distribute cards and leaflets, arrange defense meetings, buy defense stamps, contribute as generously as you can to the General Defense Committee's campaign. Get busy at once. Do YOUR s are and urge all Fellow Workers to do THEIRS. Send all funds and requests for pamphlets to

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,
Edward Anderson, Secy.
1001 W. Madison St.,
Chicago, Illinois.

There is plenty of literature and supplies on hand at all branches & with all stationery delegates. Write to the nearest one when in need.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219 4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Al Frane | 515 N. 16th St. (Box 107) | Omaha, Neb. |
| Wm. Morreau | 110 Front St., | Fargo, N. D. |
| H. L. Silva | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| John Deady | Gen. Del., | Fresno, Cal. |
| S. H. Straw, | Box 316 | Modesto, Cal. |
| Bob Hall | 2802 W. Bernard St. | Spokane, Wash. |
| Tim Reagan, | Box 669, | Bozeman, Mont. |

Albert Hanson, Chairman. Tom Wallace, Secy. Texas.
A.W.I.U. #110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.35

Chicago, Ill. September 12, 1923.

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## WHAT CAN WE DO?

Fellow workers:

The General Defense Committee at its last meeting decided to begin paying off a certain percentage, about thirty-five or forty per cent, of the bonds which were recognized by the committee appointed by the last General Convention. The funds now available are deemed sufficient to justify this course, and the nature of the debt is such that delay should be avoided.

The membership may justly congratulate itself that it has risen to its responsibility. A.W.I.U.#110 has raised a large part of its quota of this Bail and Bond fund; but notwithstanding the large amount already raised by our I.U. there still remains a considerable sum to be subscribed. The members can be relied upon to see that the balance of our obligation on the Bail and Bond is forthcoming so that the General Defense Committee can maintain uninterrupted payment until the entire debt is liquidated.

As the summer wanes into fall the need of a winter's stake becomes more apparent to the migratory workers, of whom in the main our membership consists. In the Wenatchee Valley there is a splendid apple crop which will soon demand a great number of pickers. This harvest will run up to the beginning of winter, and there is no place in the United States where greater need or greater opportunity exists for organization. Now is the time to head for that country.

In western Colorado, also, men who have no objection to fruit picking will run into fruit bearing territory where an unusually heavy crop is ready. Peach picking is now on in full swing around Grand Junction. Organization will enable the men in the orchard to command better-than-usual pay and conditions.

We must realize that unless we visit and work in the fruit sections we will not be able to influence the conditions that now obtain there. To recognize that organization is necessary is far from sufficient; we must give that recognition substance. Until we have a strong, virile organization we shall be at the mercy of conditions, and untoward circumstances -like the Dakota crop failure- will set our plans awry. To build up the organization to the point where it can successfully meet such happenings is going to involve a whole lot of hard work and many disappointments. This and these, the real union man and woman will meet with fortitude and determination, winning from each experience such knowledge as will assist them to meet the next. Only in organization can they pool their experiences and only by organization can they take advantage of them. An organization will never fail unless the men in it fail. To blame a union is to seek falsely to excuse our own weaknesses.

Where there is work to do there must be men to do it, and where there are working men there should be working class organization Never before have men, and women too, been so ready to listen to the I.W.W. doctrine. The time is here, the field is ripe and the harvest is heavy. There is no cause for pessimism, but there is a chance for real organization work. Are we ready? If not, let us make ready. The mountain will not come to Mahomet. The workers will not come to us. We must go to them. Let us do it.

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The fall convention of A.W.I.U.#110 will be held at Fargo, N.D. October 8th. This will be a mass convention. All members who are interested in the organization should make it a point to attend. Any one having any resolutions or suggestions for the convention should send them in to the main office.

## ** MEETINGS **

Wenatchee, Wash. Sept.2, 1923.- Thirteen members present.

M & S. That the members in this locality do all in their power to eliminate piece work and to shorten the work day as much as possible in the apples. Carried.

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BISBEE, N.D. Sept 6, 1923.- Fifteen members in good standing present.

M & S. That boycott on City Cafe be lifted. Carried unan.
Boycott still on: Home Cafe, City Pool Room, City Meat Market, also Chocolate Shop.

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SWIFT CURRENT, Sask. Can. Sept.2.- Eleven members in good standing.

M & S. That we refuse to recognize any member coming across without card. Carried.

M & S. That every fellow worker send in job news to field bulletin and Worker. Carried.

M & S. That we keep up agitation for a 10 hour day or less. Carried.

M & S. That California made goods, also movies manufactured in Cal be boycotted thru the Dominion. Carried.

M & S. That we go on record as favoring intermittent strikes for the release of class war prisoners. Carried.

M & S. That we get on job and organize the unorganized. Carried.

M & S. That all members, working in the agricultural industry, of other I.U.- transfer to 110 at once. Carried.

M & S. That we push Bail and Bond stamp as much as possible. Carried.

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SPOKANE, Wash. Sept.4, 1923.- Special I.U.110 meeting. 28 members present.
M & S. That we concur with action of Centralia in regard to general strike. Carried.

M & S. That traveling delegate, Bob Hall, act as stationary delegate in Spokane during general strike. Carried.

M & S. That a committee of five be elected to the general strike committee for this district and to inform the Palouse and other districts of our action. Carried.

M & S. That F.W.'s Murphy, Reohon, S.Ker, Harney and Jones be elected by acclamation for strike committee. Carried.

M & S. That we wire Chairman of G.O.C. for $100 as organization expenses during strike. Carried.

M & S. That we put one list in field to finance strike committee.
Opposed.
M & S. That strike committee keep in touch with delegate Hall daily.
Carried.
M & S. That we recommend to all branches of A.W.I.U.110 to cooperate in this general strike. Carried.

M & S. That these minutes be published complete in 110 bulletin and Worker. Carried.

M & S. That if 120 votes to hold general membership meeting tonight all members at this meeting attend in a body. Carried.

M & S. That F.W.Hall act as treasurer of all strike funds. Carried

M & S. That this body issue credentials to strike committee empowering them to represent A.W.I.U.110 of the Spokane district. Carried.

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JOB NEWS

NORTH DAKOTA

WESTHOPE, 9-2. On the Rugby branch they are paying 50¢ an hour. There is a big crop in Canada this year. There is about 10 days' work left here in this country. ( AG 1091)

HANNAH , 9-4. Threshing is about 2 weeks or less to run in this district. They are paying $5.00 for 11 hours.
At Wales and Langdon $5.00 to $6.00 for as long as they can work you. (AG 145)

COLGAN, 9-4. Wages $5.00 for 10 hours, mostly belt time.(AG 307)

ANITA, 9-6. Threshing here almost over. Wages are 45¢. (AG 742)

CROSBY, 9-4. For threshing, in this locality, wages are $5.00. Some working 10 hours, others 11 and 12. There are a few 10 hour rigs running out of here. It is up to the fellow workers to get on the job and make the hours and conditions. Lots of auto tramps here to contend with. ( AG 172)

ROSS, 9-1. Threshing started on Aug.27th. Farmers are offering the "going wage", which is $4.00 to $5.00 per day. Hours are from 10 to 12. Progress is fair. There are a few fellow workers in this locality, lots of auto tramps in town and they are of the real scissor type. ( AG 888)

WILLISTON, 9-3. Wages around here are $4.00 to $5.00. Not many men here, but there doesn't seem to be many farmers trying to find them. It is the same all over North Dakota. ( AG 141)

POWERS LAKE, 9-3. Threshing wages $5.00. Everybody organized with the exception of a few auto tramps.

WILDROSE, 9-3. Wages are the same.-$5.00 for ten and in a few cases 11 hours. (AG 1078)

HOOPLE, 9-6. Threshing almost done here. Potato picking will start in a few days. Farmers are offering 5¢ a bushel. The town is flooded with a bunch that sure prove Darwin's theory. All Minn. stump ranchers. If you talk organization to them they go deaf and dumb.(AG 44)

FARGO, 9-6. They are paying for threshing 40 to 45¢ per hour. Long winded on both sides of the line, 40¢ in Canada per hour, 45¢ on the American side. Around thevicinity of Calvin 50¢ per hour. Threshing will last about a week or 10 days yet. ( AG 145)

MONTANA

FLAXVILLE, 9-3. Threshing is on in full swing and will last for about three weeks. The rigs out here are working 10, 11 and 12 hours. Wages are $5.00. ( AG 400)

FLAXVILLE, 9-1. Cutting is nearly over and most all threshing rigs started. Wages are $5.00 per day shocking. Most of the threshing, as many hours as they can put in, at 50¢ per. Poor conditions, a pretty pauperized country. (AG 95)

GREAT FALLS, 9-2. Harvest is on full swing in this district. Wages $4.00 and up, with good prospects for more. Demand for men good,but sorry to state that there are few I10 card men and delegates here so far, and splendid opportunities await them. Quit quarreling in the jungles in Big Dick and come over here and help us out, as you are needed badly. Can work four ways out of here, but the best crops are around Conrad and along the Shelby branch where threshing is on in full swing. ( RR 821)

COLORADO

GLENWOOD SPRINGS , 8-21. Fruit picking will begin here at Grand Junction on Monday, August 27th. ( AG 1589)

HOTCHKISS , 9-8. Peach picking is over at Palisade. The wages were 40¢ an hour. Board yourself. It is just starting at Paonia. Wages 40¢ an hour. Farmers trying to hire men. Very few card men and all work mostly done by auto tramps. Peaches last a few days only. Early apples will start next week and will last a few days only; will be mostly piece work. Price not known yet. The only workers out here

holding out for more pay seem to be Mexicans. All the auto tramps want is a job as the tin Lizzie keeps them on the labor market all the time the same as booze keeps the drunkard. In all these towns the business men believe in One Big Union as they still charge 50¢ for 2 slices of salty bacon, 2 slices of bread and two eggs. They farmers say they are all broke in this country. ( #707803)

NEVADA

FALLON, 8-22. There is quite a lot of haying going on around here. Will last all fall. ( AG 456 )

ILLINOIS

MATTOON , 9-9. There is a demand for men to cut broom corn around here for a radius of about 30 miles, north, east and west. Season will probably last four or five weeks yet. They are paying 50¢ per hour and board. Some are working piece work, but men can get hour work if they want to work that way. Some live wires coming here could boost wages as there is a large crop this year.(#730156)

CALIFORNIA

VISALIA, 8-26. Peach picking $2.50 a day and board. Picking prunes at 10¢ to 12¢ a big box. Some are paying $4.00 a ton. $2.50 a day on the dry yards. No members at this place. ( AG 290)

DINUBA , 8-26. Grape pickers 40 to 50¢ per hour. Picking by the tray 2½ to 3¢. Plenty of men here, any amount of Mexican labor, hard for a white men to get work at present, but will be lots of work when the rush is on, that will be about the 1st of Sept. (AG 29)

MERCED, 8-28. Things are quiet here. The grapes are starting around Dinuba, but the migratory workers have little chance. Mex is in the field and the C.of C. has told the packing houses they have to hire home talent. Good stuff. Some of these fruit tramps will wake up yet. (AG 254)

MARYSVILLE, 9-1. There is plenty of dry yard work at $3.00 per day and board or cutting grapes at $2.50 a ton or 5¢ a box. Some of these ranches can be made good by a little action. ( AG 492)

WASHINGTON

WENATCHEE , 8-31. Early apples will begin next week, but will not be general until about the 20th of Sept. Old John is paying 45½ an hour now for picking peaches and apples. ( AG 950)

LA MONT, 9-6. Pitchers and barge men $5.00 high, sack sewers $6.00. Harvest and threshing good for 30 days more. Men scarce. ( AG 819)

CANADA

REGINA, SASK. Threshing will not be general till about the 10th of Sept. in this district. Threshers are now hiring men at $6.00 for bundle teamsters, $7.00 for spike pitchers, Gas engineers and steam men are asking $15 per day, the same with the separator tenders. Men are not going out as these threshers have Judge Gary's conception of what constitutes a day's work, viz: 12 hours. There will be a long run of threshing in Canada this year. In most of the districts it will be 24 to 30 days and in other districts will be as high as 50 days. Delegates were arrested in Moose Jaw the other day, questioned and then given all supplies back and let out. If you are looking for new fields try this part of the world. Sentiment was never better and most of the boys will be able to pick up between 200 to 300 berries Delegates are badly needed as they are very scarce. You will be able to make a pretty fair stake if you dont hit here before Sept.15. Let's put 110 on the map in these parts as organization is an unknown factor. The hours can be shortened and living conditions raised, and the seed for future operations be firmly established for other I.U.'s. ( AG 1075)

MOOSE JAW, 9-3. Fellow workers going out for $6.00, 10 hours for bundle wagons and field pitchers, spike pitchers $6.50-$7.00, engineers $12.00, separators $15.00. Scarcity of men. ( AG 143)

ST.BOSWELLS,SASK. 9-3. Threshing on here. Wages $6.00 for skinners, $7.00 for spike pitchers. ( AG 1005)

## CANADA

SWIFT CURRENT, SASK. 9-4. Threshing has started here. $6.00 a day for teamsters, $7.00 for spike pitchers, $15.00 for engineers and separator men. Same at Gull Lake. ( AG 1075)

CABRI, SASK. 9-2. Harvest will beffnished in a few days, crops good here. Wages for stooking $4.00 a day, for threshing $5.-5.50. Some rigs will start in a couple of days. Expect 15 to 20 days run. ( AG 799)

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## N O T I C E

According to By-law 30 of A.W.I.U.#110, each delegate must send in a complet report of his financial and supply account thirty days prior to the convention, as under By-law 30 a full financial and supply account statement of all parts of the organization must be read on the floor of each convention.

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There is plenty of literature and supplies on hand at all branches and with stationary delegates. All members who need supplies should write to the nearest stationary delegate or branch. Any delegate in Canada who is not in touch with the traveling delegate can obtain supplies, etc. by writing to Jack Stewart, Box 761, Cranbrook, B.C.

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Take up supplies and credentials of R.H.Deloney, AG 1578, as he is not reporting for business done. He is supposed to be around Spokane.

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Wm Hyman has been elected stationary delegate at Wenatchee, Wash. All members and delegates making this district should get in touch with him.

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Take up credentials of Jess Ed Gibson, delegate AG 658. This delegate has done quite a lot of business and is not reporting for it.

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Card #112471, belonging to Jim Brown, has been lost. Members will please watch for original and send to main office.

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Peter Olson, who was in the 16th Co, 20 Engineers in France, write to A.O. Varner, Leeds, N.D. IMPORTANT.

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Card #156967, Chas. E.Bley, was found in Great Falls, Mont. Write Wm Seppla, Box 1413. Great Falls.

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Any member who bought a duplicate card receipt and has not received a duplicate card, please write to the main office. Give all details possible in regard to card number, date of initiation, months paid, etc.

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BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS.
Keep away from moving pictures produced by California Concerns.

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The delinquent delegate list for 1922 is out now. All members should write in for a copy.

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Write the nearest Branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.Vernon | 1819-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Al Frane | 315 N.16th St. (Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| R.L.Silva | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| John Deady | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H.Straw | Box 616 | Modesto, Calif; |
| Bob Hall | 330½ N.Bernard St. | Spokane, Wash. |
| Tim Reagon | Box 656 | Bozeman, Mont. |
| Wm Hyman | General Delivery | Wenatchee, Wash |

Albert Hanson, Chairman, Tom Wallace, Secty-Treas. I.W.W. 110

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 110 OF THE I.W.W.

Chicago, Ill. September 19, 1923.

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# B U L L E T I N NO. 36.

## Some Problems and Suggestions

The delegates and members are to be congratulated upon the continued success of the Bail and Bond stamp sale. The liquidation of this debt is being tackled in a manner that proves the determination of the organization and its members to repay those who came to the front so generously in the hour of need.

Besides the repayment of the bond and bail debt there are other organization problems worthy of the attention of the members.

One of these, and a really important one, is that of getting the agricultural workers to stamp up for as many months ahead as possible, and anyway up to the end of the year. Now the time is opportune in which the membership of the A. W. I. U. #110 can be placed upon a new and higher permanent basis.

As organized workers, there is a phase of employment to which it becomes our duty to apply ourselves - where to go, and take our organization along with us.

The bulk of the grain harvest work in Dakota is now practically completed for this year, but there is a fair crop of potatoes in that state and northwestern Minnesota. Organization is a great need for the potato picker this year as indeed it has always been. There is a probability that hundred of members may be brought into the union from among these workers. Besides the potato region is on the way back for those who intend to winter in Chicago and the east; and for those who propose to go into the woods in Northern Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin. In this connection, it is well to emphasize that in the other industries, into which we go out of the harvest, there is the same great need for organization, and I.W.W. industrial unions to build up. Lumber Workers I. U. #120 will be able to use the enthusiasm and ability of our members to its advantage.

In Idaho, around St. Anthony, Idaho Falls, Blackfoot, and Pocatello, there is a good crop. Delegates are especially needed in this district. The sentiment for organization is good, and the membership is new, with few delegates. This is on the road to California, and members who intend to be in on the California drive would do well to take it in on their way West.

The rice harvest will soon start in the Sacremento valley. There are many other working opportunities also, which means, in the language of the I. W. W., many other opportunities for organizing work. On ranches, in orchards and vin yards are workers, both men and woman, who need the A.W.I.U. #110, and whose lot will be miserable and insecure until they get it. Every job provides a chance to organize, and industry is a collection of jobs.

In Canada, threshing is well under way, with the biggest crop and the highest wages in years. This is so, notwithstanding the large numbers of men shipped from eastern Canada and direct to the harvest fields from Great Britain. Here is a chance for plenty of jobs, good wages, and a fine opportunity for organizing activity.

We must, if the organization will best serve its members, begin to arrange the direction of our own people from places where work is scarce to those sections where it is plentiful. It is the proper function of the union to control the labor supply so that the minimum of resistance will be met. By so doing, our achievements will be greater than is possible if we enter situations without preparation and in haphazard manner.

We shall make greater headway and score more substantial gains often by avoiding difficulties than by overcoming them. There will be less waste of energy. Our experiences must be turned to account and should by assisting us in deciding what to avoid, as well as what to meet and how to meet it.

When our control over agricultural labor reaches the point where from its source of origin to its employment on the farm, we are able to influence it, then A.W.I.U. will have come into its own, and its members will reap the fruit of years of struggle and sacrifice. Some means by which this may be attempted would be a worthy subject for consideration by the convention.

The organization has never been in better shape and its growth will, from present prospects, be steadier thruout 1923 than in any preceding year. The future is ours, but the more intelligent our efforts, the sooner will that future be with us. It is up to us.

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The fall Convention of A.W.I.U. #110 will be held at Fargo, N.D. October 8th. This will be a mass Convention. All members who are interested in the organization should make it a point to attend. Any one having any resolutions or suggestions for the convention should send them in to the main office.

## MEETINGS

Fargo, N. D. Reg. Bus. Meeting, A.W.I.U.#110, Sept. 9, 1923. 23 Members in good standing.

M&S That collection be taken up for the relief of strikers in Whitman County, Wash., and to help carry on the strike. Carried.

M&S That Sec'y. be instructed to send the collection to T. Dickson, Treas. of the Strike Committee, at Spokane, Wash. Carried.

M&S That if a hall cannot be obtained in Fargo, that we recommend G. O. C. to have the convention held in Minneapolis. Carried.

M&S That fellow worker with car go thru spud country in Red River Valley and send in his findings, also to notify Delegates to communicate with this branch any information which they receive regarding the spud picking in the locality which they are located in. Carried.

M&S That we take up collection to cover expenses of gas and oil for car and to cover the expense of meals of fellow worker driving car. Carried.

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Wenatchee, Wash. Sept. 12, 1923. Special A.W.I.U.#110 Meeting. 23 members in good standing present.

M&S That the reports of committee from Wilson Creek be accepted as progress. Carried.

M&S That the floor be thrown open for discussion on I.U.#110 strike situation. Carried.

M&S That we do not go to work in any industry while the strike is on. Carried Unan.

M&S That we put out four (4) sets of pickets having a delegate with each set if possible. Amend: That these pickets be voluntary. Carried.

M&S That job news sent in from Northwest be published in the bulletins four issues, or until otherwise notified. Carried.

M&S That 110 send out plenty of literature consisting mostly of constitutions and by-laws, to the stationary and travelling delegates in Northwest district. Carried.

Wilson Creek, Wash. Special A.W.I.U.#110 Meeting. Sept.8, 1923. Eleven 110 members present, 4 visitors.

M&S That the floor be thrown open for discussion, on the strike situation. Carried.

M&S That we deem it advisable to call a strike in the harvest fields here at this present time. Carried.

M&S That we concur with the resolutions of the special A.W.I.U. meeting of Carrington, N.D. 8/21/23 with regards to charging members applying for D. C. R. five dollars, which includes Bond and Defense stamps. Carried.

Wilson Creek, Wash. 9/13/23. Special A.W.I.U.#110 Meeting, 12 members in good standing, present.

M&S That regular order of business be abbreviated so as to arrive at purpose of meeting, viz. to determine what action should be taken in regards to transferring strike back to job. Carried.

M&S That we concur with action taken by A.W.I.U. #110 of Spokane, in regards to calling strike back to job in this district. Carried.

M&S That we notify Wenatchee of our action and action of Spokane. Carried.

M&S That strike committee hold meeting immediately after this meeting to settle their business. Carried.

M&S That any money left over after settlement of strike comm. be turned over to Whitman County strike Comm., and receipt for same be requested. Carried.

## JOB NEWS

### NORTH DAKOTA.

ALAMO, 9/12/23. Threshing just starting here, wages 50¢ an hour, $5.00 for 10 hours. Come on you 110 members, we can set the wages and sentiment is good. (X9555)

WESTHOPE, 9/13/23 Most machines paying 50¢ per hour, some 10 hour machines belt-time and some 11-12 hour machines. Some of the wicks are leaving the country. Had a big frost last nite. There are 10 to 15 days work here yet. (A G 258)

COLGAN, 9/9/23. The wages here are $5.00 driving team, and $6.00 for spiking. (A G 664)

KENMARE, 9/10/23 They are offering $4.00 a day, and working 11 and 12 hours around here, and up the wheat line 45¢ and 50¢ for 12 hours. Very poor crops. (A G 36)

CROSBY, 9/9/23. The jobs are very poor this year. Most rigs working from 11 to 12 hours for $5.00. Too much competition for the boys. (A G 108)

VALLEY CITY, 9/10/23 Some potato picking around Fargo at 5 and 6¢ per bu., but soon the farmers will be in after us and we can get more Some auto tramps going home. (A G 166)

WALHALLA, 9/14/23 They are picking a few spuds here, paying 4 and 5¢ per bu. and board themselves. A lot of farmer boys and a few wicks. Don't know what they will pay when they start in, will start next week sometime. From 60 to 150 bu. per acre. (A G 150)

FARGO, 9/15/23: Farmer John says he will pay 5¢ for spuds selling under 50¢ per bu., and 7 and 8¢ if the prices goes over 50¢. (A G 713)

HOOPLE, 9/6/23 Threshing almost done here. Potato picking will start in a few days. Farmers are offering 5¢ a bushel. The town is flooded with a bunch that sure prove Darwin's theory. All Minn. stump ranchers. If you talk organization to them they go deaf and dumb. (A G 44)

FARGO, 9/6 They are paying for threshing 40 to 45¢ per hour. Long winded on both sides of the line, 40¢ in Canada per hour, 45¢ on the American side. Around the vicinity of Calvin, 50¢ per hour. Threshing will last about a week or 10 days yet. (A G 145)

### MONTANA

BILLINGS, 9/9/23. Delegates coming west should stop in this town as there is a good chance for organization work in 110, as there are new faces coming in every day. (A G 1043)

BILLINGS, 9/13/23. Threshing going on here. Wages $3.00 - $3.50 for 10 hour day. Farmers find it hard to get men for that price. Sugar beets will be on here in about 10 or 15 days. The sugar beet company wants the experienced men that they had last year, so if you are experienced you can now go and put your name on the books

and they will call you when they want you for the big sum of 35¢ per hour. (A G 1043)

TOWNSEND, 9/9/23. Threshing is in full blast here and a few men are going out at $3.50 and $4.00 for 10 hours. This place is about 50 miles west of the Gallatin Valley and a few rigs are starting up there. Wages are the same but conditions are rotten there. The farmers there like to hire you by the hour and you put in 12 to 16 hours and maybe get paid for 10 or 11. They are a poor class of farmers, and their education has been neglected in regards to I.W.W. tactics. (A G 867)

COLUMBUS, 9/9/23. Threshing well under way, men very scarce and no organization whatever. Am the only card man in town. (A G 965)

FLAXVILLE, 9/3 Threshing is on in full swing and will last for about three weeks. The rigs out here are working 10, 11 and 12 hours. Wages are $5.00. (A G 400)

Great Falls, 9/2. Harvest is on full swing in this district. Wages $4.00 and up, with good prospects for more. Demand for men good, but sorry to state that there are few 110 card men and delegates here so far, and splendid opportunities await them. Quit quarreling in the jungles in Big Dick and come over here and help us out, as you are needed badly. Can work four ways out of here, but the best crops are around Conrad and along the Shelby branch where threshing is on in full swing. (RR 821)

## COLORADO

GLENWOOD SPRINGS, 8/21 Fruit picking will begin here at Grand Junction on Monday, August 27th. (A G 1569)

HOTCHKISS, 9/3 Peach picking just starting at Paonia. Wages 40¢ an hour. Farmers trying to hire men. Very few card men and all work mostly done by auto tramps. Peaches last a few days only. Early apples will start next week and will last a few days only; will be mostly piece work. Price not known yet. X707803.

GLENWOOD SPRINGS, 9/15 Spud picking will be on here the 20th to 25th of Sept. They are paying $6.00 a day and board, or 7¢ a 100# and board. Would like to see more 110 men out in this part of the country. (A G 1569)

## IOWA

POMEROY, 9/17. The farmers here are talking of 8¢ per bu. for corn picking. The crop here is fine. Start about Oct. 10 or 15th. (A G 627

## NEVADA

FALLON, 9/1 There is quite a lot of haying going on around here. Will last all fall. (A G 456)

## ILLINOIS

HATTON, 9-9 There is a demand for men to cut broom corn around here for a radius of about 30 miles, north, east and west. Season will probably last four or five weeks yet. They are paying 50¢ per hour and board. Some are working piece work, but men can get hour work if they want to work that way. Some live wires coming here could boost wages as there is a large crop this year. (#730156)

## IDAHO

ASHTON, 9/15/23. $3.50 for shocking and threshing, lots of scissors and American Legion, working for $3.00. Men scarce, and most of ranchers ready to join the working class as they are all owned by the banker. (A G 419)

## CALIFORNIA

VISALIA, 8-26 Peach picking $2.50 a day and board. Picking prunes at 10¢ tl 12¢ a big box. Some are paying $4.00 a ton. $2.50 a day on the dry yards. No members at this place. (A G 290)

DINUBA, 8-26 Grape pickers 40 to 50¢ per hour. Picking by the tray at 2½ to 3¢. Plenty of men here, any amount of Mexican labor, hard for a white man to get work at pre sent, but will be lots of work when the rush is on, that will be about the 1st of Sept. (A G 29)

MERCED 8-28 Things are quiet here. The grapes are starting around Dinuba, but the migratory workers have little chance. Mex is in the field and the C. of C. has told the packing houses they will have to hire home talent. Good stuff. Some of these fruit tramps will wake up yet. (A G 254)

MARYSVILLE, 9-1. There is plenty of dry yard work at $3.00 per day and board or cutting grapes at $2.50 a ton or 5¢ a box. Some of these ranches can be made good by a little action. (A G 492)

## WASHINGTON

WENATCHEE, 8-31 Early apples will begin next week, but will not be general until about the 20th of Sept. Old John is paying 45½¢ an hour now for picking peaches and apples. (A G 950)

LA MONT 9-6 Pitchers and barge men $5.00 high, sack sewers at $6.00 Harvest and threshing good for 30 days more. Men scarce. (A G 819)

## CANADA

SWIFT CURRENT, SASK. 9-4 Threshing has started here. $6.00 a day for teamsters, $7.00 for spike pitchers, $15.00 for engineers and separator men. Same at Gull Lake. (A G 1075)

COBRI, SASK. 9-2 Harvest will be finished in a few days. Crops good here. Wages for stooking $4.00 a day, for threshing $5.00 to $5.50. Some rigs will start in a couple of days. Expect 15 to 20 days run. (A G 799)

REGINA, SASK Threshing will not be general till about the 10th of Sept. In this district. Threshers are now hiring men at $6.00 for bundle teamsters, $7.00 for spike pitchers, Gas engineers and steam men are asking $15.00 per day, the same with the separator tenders. There will be a long run of threshing in Canada this year. In most of the districts it will be 24 to 30 days, and in other districts will be as high as 50 days. (A G 1075)

MOOSE JAW, 9-3 Fellow Workers going out for $6.00, 10 hours for bundle wagons and field pitchers, spike pitchers $6.50 to $7.00, engineers $12.00, separators $15.00. Scarcity of men. (A G 143)

ST. BOSWELLS, SASK, 9-3 Threshing on here. Wages $6.00 for skinners, $7.00 for spike pitchers. (A G 1605)

MOOSE JAW, 9/15/23 Wages on job around here are $6.00 and $7.00 per day, some 10, some 11, some 12 hour jobs with and without blankets. It is better for one who comes here to find out before going out about sleeping quarters. (A G 1204)

MOOSE JAW, 9/10/23 Threshing started here. Not many men in town. Wages offered, $6.00 to $7.00 for Spike pitchers. Big crop and sentiment for the I.W.W. is good. More delegates needed. (A G 797)

ASSINIBOIA, SASK.9/9/23 Threshing has started here, expect two weeks run yet. Wages are $6.00 for 12 hours and men are scarce. Very few members here. A good place for delegates, as there are a lot of men from the East and sentiment is good. (B75042)

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## N O T I C E S

The fellow workers at Moose Jaw have placed a boycott on the American Hotel. Members making this town please note.

According to By-law 30 of A.W.I.U.#110, each delegate must send in a complete report of his financial and supply account thirty days prior to the convention, as under by-law 30, a full financial and supply account statement of all parts of the organization must be read on the floor of each convention.

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Card X150419 - Jack Davis, has been lost. If found, please send in to main office.

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The fall convention of A.W.I.U.#110 will be held at Fargo, N.D. October 8th. This will be a mass convention. All members who are interested in the organization should make it a point to attend. Any one having any resolutions or suggestions for the convention should send them in to the main office.

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Card X142015 issued to L. Maxey - has been stolen. Take up original on sight.

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There is plenty of literature and supplies on hand at all branche and with stationary delegates. All members who need supplies should write to the nearest stationary delegate or branch. Any delegate in Canada who is not in touch with the travelling delegate can obtain supplies, etc., by writing to Jack Stewart, Box 761, Cranbrook, B.C.

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Take up supplies and credentials of R. H. Deloney, A G 1578, as he is not reporting for business done. He is suppose to be around Spokane.

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Take up credentials of Jess Ed Gibson, Delegate A G 658. This delegate has done quite a lot of business and is not reporting for it.

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Any member who bought a duplicate card receipt and has not received a duplicate card, please write to the main office. Give all details possible in regard to card number, date of initiation, months paid, etc.

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BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

Kepp away from moving pictures produced by Californis concerns.

GENERAL DEFENSE NOTICE

Between now and Christmas the agitation for the release of the boys in Leavenworth must be more intense and wide-spread than ever before. Everything points to a release before the end of the year, but we must take no chances. We have been fooled before by fair words and false promises. We must not be over-confident or relax our activities for a moment.

This is the best opportunity we have ever had to clean the federal cases off the boards and leave the field clear for a concentrated drive to dispose of the state cases.

The General Defense Committee have prepared an enormous quantity of pamphlets, protest cards, amnesty stamps, etc. This will be sent free to individual fellow workers and branches. Please get in touch with General Defense office at once for samples of literature and instructions as to the best means of using same. The success of the amnesty by Christmas campaign will depend upon the cooperation of as many persons as possible.

The expenses of the amnesty campaign are heavy. In addition to this however, is the cost of the new defense material being prepared for the Cal. C. S. cases. The Gen. Def. Comm. appeals to you to help circulate the literature prepared and to contribute funds to help cover the cost of the big campaign.

Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon, | 1819 4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Al Frane | 515 N. 16th St. (Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Wm. Morreau | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| R. L. Silva | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| John Deady | Gen. Del. | Fresno, Cal. |
| S. H. Straw | Box 316 | Modesto, Cal. |
| Bob Hall | 220½ N. Bernard St. | Spokane, Wash. |
| Wm. Hyman | 118 N. Mission St. | Wenatchee, Wash. |

Albert Hanson, Chairman. Tom Wallace, Sec'y. Treas.I.U.110

MINUTES OF LLO CONFERENCE HELD AT STOCKTON CALIFORNIA SEPT.16,192[illegible]

Conference called to order at 3 P.M. by G.O.C. member AG 8.
G.A. Kenney, card # 794518 elected chairman Pro Tem.
John Deady " 722531 " Rec.Sec'y " "
Glen Jennings " 237108 " Conductor

Conductor reports ten members of I.U.110 in good standing present, also one without card and seven visitors.

M & S. That conductor's report be accepted and member without card be seated without voice or vote. Carried.

M & S. That John Black, #17862 be elected permanent chairman. Carr.

M & S. That report of G.O.C. member be accepted as read. Carried.

M & S. That we elect a ways and means committee. Carried.

Nominations for Ways and Means Committee; G.A.Kenney #794518, J.Hemphill #807066, F.W.Kellogg #842452,James Moore #298743 and E.G.Romeo,AG 104.

M & S. That the five nominees be elected by acclamation. Carried.

M & S.That we accept the report of stationary delegate at Fresno.Carr.

M & S. That letter from Caesar Tabib,#13582, be laid over to new business. Carried.

M & S. That we concur with resolution from San Quentin. Carried.
Resolution from Sam Quentin which, adopted about June 1st and signed by thirty-five members under sentence for Criminal Syndicalism, reads as follows:

Resolved: That throughout the state we as members have upheld the principles of the I.W.W., namely, the right to organize, the right of free speech, free press and peaceful assemblage. To accept the parole we renounce the principles we have been upholding in the state of California's courts.
Be it further resolved that we the undersigned members of the I.W.W. will not accept parole from San Quentin.
(Signed by thirty-five members)

M & S. That we concur with resolution No.3. Carried.

Resolution #3: Whereas the fellow workers now in Leavenworth do not want the present publicity man (Ralph Chaplin) to function as publicity agent of the I.W.W. and
Whereas, the fellow workers now in Leavenworth cannot hold a meeting with success of having it published in the I.W.W. press, and
Whereas, the fellow workers now in Leavenworth are writing letters at every opportunity to many of the active members thruout the country demanding that Ralph Chaplin be discharged
Therefore be it Resolved that this body in conference assembled demand of the G.E.B., the secretary and chairman of I.U.110 to take action at once effecting the discharge of Ralph Chaplin and his removal from the payroll of the I.W.W., same to include all who accepted Harding's commutation as well as all who may accept individual clemency in the future. (John Black,# X 17862)

M & S. That we adjourn one hour for supper. Carried.

EVENING SESSION

Called to order by Chairman Black at 7:15 P.M. Ten members present.

NEW BUSINESS

M & S. That this body go on record as taking the name of Ralph Chaplin off the payroll of the I.W.W. Carried.

M & S. That we go on record to have the three stars, Education, Organization and Emancipation restored back to the official organ of the I.W.W. The Industrial Solidarity. Carried.

M & S. That F.W.Ed Delaney be given the floor under special privilege on the California Defense. Carried.

Session adjourned at 10:15 P.M.

Second Day Session -September 17, 1923.

Called to order by Chairman Black at 8:30 A.M. Ten members present.

M & S. That this body take a recess until the Ways & Means Committee is ready to report. Carried.

Ways and Means Committee reports at 9:30 A.M.

#1
M & S. That we put three staticnary delegates in the rice fields, one at Gerber, one at Chico and one at Willows. Carried.
#2
M & S. That we transfer stationary delegate from Fresno to Gerber and replace stationary delegate at Fresno. Carried.
#3
M & S. That five hundred dollars be sent immediately to secretary o California Defense to be place at the disposal of the G.O.C. of the A.W.I.U.110 of California to be used to finance the Calif.drive.Carr
#4
M & S. That this body instruct 110 G.O.C. to get in touch with Tom Wallace right away in regard to the five hundred dollars. Carrie
#5
M & S. That we instruct the G.O.C. to investigate the rice country immediately. Carried.
#6
M & S. That we instruct the G.O.C. to pay two dollars and fifty cent per day for rent of hall for conference. Carried.

Adjourned at 12:00 noon

Afternoon Session Second Day-September 17,1923.

Called to order by Chairman Black at 1:00 P.M. Ten members present.

M & S. That we discharge Ways and Means Committee. Carried.

M & S. That we concur with F.W.Tabib3s letter from Leavenworth in regard to removal of Chaplin. Carried unanimously.

M & S. That this body go on record to agitate for a strike in the Calif. drive for the release of all class war prisoners. Carried.

M & S.That floor be thrown open for discussion on employment sharks. Carried.

M & S. That discussion be closed. Carried.

M & S. That this body go on record to push the pamphlet "Vermin".Car

M & S. That the contents of the leaflet "Vermin" be printed in Solidarity and Worker for the period of the drive. Carried.

M & S. That this body instruct the G.O.C. to get out a pamphlet dealing with the jungle parasite in the Calif. drive . Carried.

M & S. That we ask all footloose wobblies to proceed to California and help make the California drive successful. Carried.

Good and Welfare.

Several members gave some very good talks along organization lines under this heading.

M & S. That we adjourn. Carried. Adjourned at 6:30 P.M. Sept.17,'23

John Black, Card # X 17862 Chairman,
John Deady, Card #722531 Rec.Sec'y.

A.W.I.U.110 conference was in session two days.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.37

Chicago, Ill. September 26, 1923.

## STEPS ON THE WAY TO CALIFORNIA

Fellow workers:

In California the Criminal Syndicalist law persecution in conjunction with the sweeping injunction that makes membership in the I.W.W. a crime to be punished at the discretion of a judge has brought about a situation with which labor must set itself to deal and to correct. If this injunction is permitted to prevail every fundamental right of men, as workers and as citizens, is abrogated. Trial by jury as the safeguard of individual liberty will have gone by the board, unless this usurpation by a court is successfully challenged. Judges will be prosecutors with the power to decide cases, and an autocracy, as reactionary and dangerous as any which past history records, will be established. Moreover, not only is the freedom of citizenship imperilled, but the right of the workers to organize is destroyed. Labor must rise to meet this emergency which the capitalist interests, thru the courts, have precipitated.

There is now being held in Stockton, Calif. a conference of A.W.I.U.#110 members to consider plans for the organization of the agricultural workers of the state in defiance of the C.S.law and the injunction - to assert and to uphold, regardless of consequences, the right of the workers to organize as experience dictates. If it is necessary, the workers will make jail building the greatest industry in California, if the interests persevere in their tyrannical course.

Wherever the injunction has entered to trouble labor unions they are interested in observing how the I.W.W. will meet the injunction issue in California. The I.W.W. is recognized as a militant organization which is ready to sacrifice personal convenience and comfort to maintain labor's rights. Even among the A.F. of L. membership, men and women are looking to us for the pointing of the way in which the labor injunction is to be relegated to the ash can of history. Organization, extensive and militant organization, is the answer to the injunction. The I W.W. can and must supply it. In the industries of California and the other states, when organized, is the answer to the capitalist courts. There is the real power before which injunction judges are helpless and injunctions will not avail. The forces that will recruit and organize the workers are now already moving in California, and reinforcements are on the way. These are moving from job to job, and from harvest section to harvest section, with California as their destination.

In the state of Washington, as well as in the surrounding states, A.W.I.U.110 delegates and members will find greater opportunities for work and organizing than have ever before been offered. The propaganda by the I.W.W. in the past years has created a sentiment out of which nuclei by various industrial unions have been established in this territory. With energy intelligently expended, the prevailing sentiment can easily be crystallized into effective organization in the states of Washington and Idaho, and lines of communication with the California drive will be opened up. This means a great deal.

In the Yakima and Wenatchee Valleys there is a travelling and a stationary delegate. There is also a travelling delegate in the Palouse country. The stationary delegate at Wenatchee is located in the heart of the apple district, a point of strategic importance.

There is likewise a very heavy potato crop in this section, and this relates itself to the poorer yields in other parts. The market for spuds is firm, and the farmers are anxious to take advantage of it, which is also true of the eastern Idaho country.

(over)

These points, with their promising prospects, are on the road to California, and with the drive which will soon be started there in mind, the forces and the means with which it may be carried on can both be added to from the harvest workers in the Idaho and the Washington district.

In the Sacramento Valley the rice harvest will commence an organizing effort by the A.W.I.U.110 unequalled in the history of Calif. All that the organization has and can realize will go into and behind this campaign. When it closes, the agricultural workers of California should be so thoroly organized that the C.S. law and injunctions will have passed forever from working class experience. We can do this job if we will. If we dont do it, it will not be done. When we do it, as we will, the hosts of American labor will understand that the I.W.W. is the organization they need, and our union will then come into its own.

On to California, where the battle for working class rights is being waged! With its winning the future of labor is relieved from the shadows that only divisions cast. On to working class unity, as the first step toward labor deliverance! "Where there's a will there's a way." We have the will, and we shall find the way. All together for the California drive!

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*** M E E T I N G S ***

SWIFT CURRENT, SASK. Sept.22 - General membership meeting.
Twelve members in good standing.

M & S. That the fellow workers who get arrested in the Dominion of Canada ask for remand of trial so as to get in touch with the Gen.Def., so as to be able to get able advice. Carried.

M & S. That the Gen.Def. open an office in Vancouver B.C. and publish same in all I.W.W. publications. Amendment: That the Chairman of the G.O.C. of I.U.120 notify the G.O.C. member in B.C. to make necessary arrangements to get legal defense for any member who may get in jail for organization purposes. Carried.

M & S. That we take up collection and proceeds go to Calif. Defense and Gen.Def. Carried. Collection $35.00.

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SPOKANE, Wash. Sept.12- Special A.W.I.U. meeting.
Twenty-nine members in good standing.

M & S. That Hall's report be accepted subject to auditing comm. Carr.

M & S. That report of Strike Committee be accepted. Carried.

M & S. That floor be thrown open for discussion on telegram from Jack Lambert. Carried.

M & S. That we concur with telegram from Jack Lambert from Seattle in regard to transfer of strike back to job. Carried.

M & S. That strike in Whitman County be continued. Carried.

M & S. That Gen.Strike Comm. of A.W.I.U.110 be discharged. Carried

M & S. That a committee of three be elected to audit Strike Committee's books. Carried.

M & S. That we instruct Bob Hall to wire all points interested in this action. Carried.

M & S. That we rescind our action of Sept. 4th in regard to stationary delegate in Spokane. Carried.

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MOOSE JAW, SASK. Sept.22 - Special I.U.110 meeting.re: arrest of L. Barlow.
Eight members in good standing.

M & S. That someone be appointed to see lawyer about getting delegate L. Barlow's supplies. Carried.

(over)

M & S. That stationary delegate be appointed to interview the attorney and that he try to have the supplies released from the police officials. Carried.

M & S. That we elect a committee of three to write up the reasons for taking up F.W. Barlow's supplies. Carried.

M & S. That F.W. L.Barlow's name be published in the Worker, Solidarity and 110 Bulletin as being unfit to act as a delegate for the I.W.W. Amendment: That his name only be published in Bulletin with reasons for such action. Carried.

Report of Committee

The reasons for taking up F.W.L.Barlow's, card #X47936, delegate AG 143, supplies are as follows:

This fellow worker has been seen by all members present in an intoxicated condition. He also has been representing himself as being financial secretary-treasurer and voluntary stationary delegate of Moose Jaw when he is not acting in any other capacity than field delegate.

These reasons we find sufficient to take up his supplies.

M & S. That report of committee be accepted. Carried.

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## J O B  N E W S

### NORTH DAKOTA

WESTHOPE, 9-20. Threshing rigs are starting to pull in tho. some of them have 10 days left. Mostly home guards on them. ( AG 258)

HOOPLE, 9-20. Spud picking has started here. Wages 5 to 6¢ per bushel. So far the chances of going to work are pretty slim.(AG914)

HONEYFORD 9-19. Johnstown and Forest River on the No.Pac.R.R. Potato picking has started. Extra good crop. Farmers are offering 5¢ a bushel. Potatoes average 100 to 150 bushel to the acre.

GRAFTON, 9-19. Will start picking potatoes Sept.20th. Good crop. Average from 100 to 150 bushel to the acre. Farmers offering 5¢ a busnel. Men scarce. A good place for a few live-wire wobblies to settle down and get acquainted with the wicks when they start to work. Men scarce here. ( AG 6)

HOOPLE, 9-20. Spud picking on. Offering 5 and 6¢ a bushel. Spuds fair, 80 to 100 bushel to the acre. Lots of unorganized here.

CRYSTAL , 9-20. Spud picking on. Spuds average 80 to 100 bushel to the acre. Offering 5 and 6¢ a bu. Men scarce.

CAVALIER, 9-20. Will start digging spuds about the 24th of Sept. Expect potatoes to average 100 to 150 bu.per acre. Offering 5 and 6¢ per bushel.

WALHALLA, 9-20. Will start potato picking on Sept.24th. Good crop. Men scarce. Offering 5 and 6¢ per bushel. ( AG 3)

### SASKATCHEWAN

BETHUNE, 9-19. Threshing in full swing. Will last 35 days. Wages $6.00 per day. Hours range from 10 to 14. Short hours for organized, long for wicks. ( AG 797)

SWIFT CURRENT, 9-20. Threshing now on. Wages $6.00 and $7.00 per day. Hours 10 to 11. Board fair, furnish your own bed. Lost of men needed, rigs short-handed. (#796012)

STEWARD VALLEY , 9-19. Threshing in full swing. All farmers want to work 11 and 12 hours. Six fellow workers went out and struck for 10 hours and made good. Two days later the farmer decided to work short handed and increased the hours from 10 to 11, and four fellow workers quit and two stayed. As you see there is not very good solidarity on this side now. Members not educated yet. Fellow workers, let's put our shoulder to the wheel and show the farmer of Canada what was shown over in the states. ( AG 798)

## SASKATCHEWAN

REGINA, 9-17. Threshing will not be general till about the 10th of Sept. in this district. Threshers are now hiring men at $6.00 for bundle teamsters, $7.00 for spike pitchers, gas engineers and steam men are asking $15.00 per day, the same with the separator tenders. There will be a long run of threshing in Canada this year. In most of the districts it will be 24 to 30 days, and in other districts it will be as high as 50 days. ( AG 1075)

MOOSE JAW, 9-17. On all branches out of here wages are $6.00, $7.00 for spikers. Mostly ten hours. ( AG 594)

SWIFT CURRENT , 9-22. 20 to 25 days threshing left in this district. Average wage is $6.00, a few are hiring for $7.00. Lots of members here but a great scarcity of delegates. Hours are what you make them. If you are satisfied to work 12 and 14 John is quite willing to let you. ( AG 1075)

COROBERT, 9-17. Farmers are running wild for men here. $7.00 low for teaming, $8.00 to 8.50 for spiking. ( AG 594)

MORRIS, 9-20. Twenty to 30 days threshing here yet. A few members, but no delegates here. Wages average $6.00, mostly 10 hours. Labor is scarce. ( AG 797)

LEADER, 9-20. Lots of wicks here. Most all of them are imbued with the spirit of "me first", you next. They like to work 14 hrs. Say the farmers would go bankrupt if they did not . Delegates and members badly needed in this district. ( AG 1004)

## MINNESOTA

HALSTAD, 9-20. Potato picking not at climax yet. Will pay 5-6¢ per bushel. Sugar beets $8.00 per acre and board yourself. (X1306)

## MONTANA

BILLINGS, 9-13. Threshing going on here. Wages $3.00-3.50 for 10 hour day. Farmers find it hard to get men for that price. Sugar beets will be on here in about 10 or 15 days. The sugar beet company wants the experienced men that they had last year, so if you are experienced you can now go and put your name on the books and they will call you when they want you for the big sum of 35¢ per hr. (AG 1043)

TOWNSEND, 9-9. Threshing is in full blast here and a few men are going out at $3.50 and $4.00 for 10 hours. This place is about 50 miles west of the Gallatin Valley and a few rigs are starting up there. Wages are the same but conditions are rotten there. The farmers there like to hire you by the hour and you put in 12 to 16 hours and maybe get paid for 10 or 11. They are a poor class of farmers and their education has been neglected in regard to I.W.W. tactics. ( AG 867)

SCOBEY, 9-16. Threshing is just about done close around here, but they have about 10 days left 25 to 50 miles west, and lots of it left in Canada. ( AG 850)

## COLORADO

DENVER, 9-23. Men are going out threshing and cutting feed for $3.00 per day or $45 to $50 per month. Men are scarce but no sign of action. ( AG 628)

GLENWOOD SPRINGS, 8-21. Fruit picking will begin here at Grand Junction on Monday, August 27th. ( AG 1569)

HOTCHKISS, 9-3. Peach picking just starting at Paonia. Wages 40¢ an hour. Farmers trying to hire men. Very few card men and all work mostly done by auto tramps. Peaches last a few days only. Early apples will start next week and will last a few days only; will be mostly piece work. Price not known yet. ( X707803)

GLENWOOD SPRINGS, 9-15. Spud picking will be on here the 20th to 25th of Sept. They are paying $6.00 a day and board, or 7¢ a 100 lb. and board. Would like to see more 110 men out in this part of the country. ( AG 1569)

## IOWA

POMEROY, 9-17. The farmers here are talking of 8¢ per bu. for corn picking. The crop here is fine. Start about Oct 10 or 15th. ( AG827)

## NEVADA

FALLON, 9-1. There is quite a lot of haying going on around here. Will last all fall. ( AG 458)

## ILLINOIS

MATTOON, 9-9. There is a demand for men to cut broom corn around here for a radius of about 30 miles, north, east and west. Season will probably last four or five weeks yet. They are paying 50¢ per hour and board. Some are working piece work, but men can get hour work if they want to work that way. Some live wires coming here could boost wages as there is a large crop this year. ( # 730156)

## IDAHO

ASHTON, 9-15. $3.50 for shocking and threshing; lots of scissors and American Legion working for $3.00. Men scarce, and most of the ranchers ready to join the working class as they are all owned by the banker. ( AG 419)

## WASHINGTON

WENATCHEE, 9-21. Apple picking begins active this week here. No set scale offered, 5 and 6¢ a box has been offered but with few takers. 40 and 50¢ an hour is the day scale of wages offered. Blankets are unpopular here now - the direct cause of the I.W.W. influence and education. Sentiment towards organization is getting better.( AG135)

WENATCHEE, 9-19. Pickers, both men and women, are behing hired for the apple picking here, tho picking will not be general till the 1st of Oct. Big crop, and as prices are holding up well this year most of the crop will be marketed. Many new members, but what is needed is some oldtimers who know how to get the cooperation of these new members, as this is a much better year than ordinarily to organize these apple pickers. ( AG 950)

BURLINGTON, 9-18. Threshing is about over here; wages $4.00 to $5.00, four or five days left, but quite a little hay and straw baling left yet, same wages. ( AG 1591)

LAMONT, 9-6. Pitchers and barge men $5. high, sack sewers at $6.00. Harvest and threshing good for 30 days more. Men scarce. (AG 819)

## CALIFORNIA

DINUBA, 8-26. Grape pickers 40 to 50¢ per hour. Picking by the tray at 2½ to 3¢ Plenty of men here, any amount of Mexican labor. Hard for a white man to get work at present, but there will be lots of work when the rush is on, and that will be about the 1st of Sept. (AG 29)

MARYSVILLE , 9-1. There is plenty of dry yard work at $3.00 per day and board, or cutting grapes at $2.50 a ton or 5¢ a box. Some of these ranches can be made good by a little action. ( AG 492)

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## N O T I C E

According to By-law 30 of A.W.I.U.110, each delegate must send in a complete report of his financial and supply account thirty days prior to the convention, as under By-law 30 a full financial and supply account statement of all parts of the organization must be read on the floor of each convention.

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The fall convention of A.W.I.U.110 will be held at Fargo, N.D. October 8th. This will be a mass convention. All members who are interested in the organization should make it a point to attend. Any one having any resolutions or suggestions for the convention should send them in to the main office.

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The following delegates, whose names appear on the 110 delinquent lists have settled their accounts and have been issued clearances.
1922: Geo.Wilson, G301; Ed O'Brien, G 263; Ben Freeman G 369.
1921: A. Mc Kenzie A 2260.

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Card X 149896, James Gallagher, has been found and sent in. Write the main office for same.

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Any member who bought a duplicate card receipt and has not received a duplicate card, please write to the main office. Give all details possible in regard to card number, date of initiation, months paid,etc.

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS
Keep away from moving pictures produced by California concerns.

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Fellow Workers:

The General Defense Committee is being called upon to face greater responsibilities than ever before in its history. The campaign of publicity cannot be relaxed for a moment if we hope to stir up active sentiment enough to insure the success of the Amnesty by Christmas drive. Literature and printed matter MUST be circulated where it will do the most good. This costs money.

Even more important than this, however, is our work in behalf of the state cases. We owe it to our fellow workers in state prisons to do all in our power to see that their interests are protected. I.W.W. members are either in prison or being held for trial in the following states: California, Idaho, Oklahoma, Oregon, Kansas, Missouri and West Virginia. Lawyer bills are accumulating and we are trying to meet these bills promptly. This costs money also.

Then there are the sick fellow workers to be taken care of. Mulroney and Weyh are down with tuberculosis, both fighting gamely for their lives in western sanitariums. These men deserve all the attention we can give them. And the wives and children of imprisoned fellow workers must not be neglected.

All of these items amount to a considerable sum in th e course of a month, and they are bills that cannot be postponed without causing uneasiness and distress.

The General Defense Committee is striving with might and main to raise sufficient funds to carry on its work. The chances of securing favorable results in the Leavenworth cases were never better than at present. If we can succeed in getting these out of the way by Christmas we will be in a position to concentrate all of our energies and resources on the state cases. This in itself would be a great help to the defense and organization generally.

It takes money to pay for lawyers, printers, postage stamps and office help in stuffing and addressing envelopes. We cannot do business without these things, and the bigger the campaign the more it costs. We have got to have financial support from the membership and SOON. This is the critical stage of all defense activities and without the sinews of war the work of this office will be immeasurably handicapped.

Fellow workers, we appeal to you to take up collections, buy DEFENSE stamps and work as you have never worked before for your imprisoned fellow workers. This is the most important communication you have received for months — ACT NOW!

Yours for the boys in prison,

Edw. E. Andersen.
Secy. General Defense

---

Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.Vernon | 1219-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Al Frane | 515 N.16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| R.L.Silva | 601 W.Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Chas. Kellogg | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| S.H. Straw | Box 316 | Modesto, Calif. |
| Bob Hall | 220½ N.Bernard St. | Spokane, Wash. |
| Wm Hyman | 118 N. Mission St. | Wenatchee, Wash. |
| Jack Stewart | Box 761 | Cranbrook, B.C. |

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Albert Hanson, Chairman  Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U.No.110

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.38

Chicago, Ill. October 3,1923

**********

## AN IMPORTANT CONVENTION QUESTION

Fellow Workers:

What is the most important question before the I.W.W. TODAY?

While keeping in mind that the organization and education of the workers in all industries and everywhere are of equal importance to the I.W.W., nevertheless, the establishment of the right to organize stands out preeminently as a predicate of organization. Without the open acknowledgment of this right the I.W.W., if it would continue to exist and to function, would be driven underground. The whole history of the organization is the story of a struggle to maintain an open and above board existence, for which it has paid a price that few organizations have been rich enough in the spirit of sacrifice to pay. The exactions of the capitalist masters of American industry have been heavy, but the I.W.W. is still above ground, where it intends to remain. It is now generally accepted that the organization is a labor union and not a political or criminal conspiracy. The fight for this recognition has been long, bitter, painful and bloody, but it has been worth every sentence served, every broken body and every life forfeited. And, now, with the memory of what has been accomplished and how it has been achieved it is of the very highest importance that the struggle for an open existence in California be pushed through to a successful conclusion.

So believed the Stockton Conference of the A.W.I.U.#110 when it arranged plans for a vigorous campaign of organization. The members in Stockton only voiced the opinion and gave expression to a determination shared by every member of every industrial union in the I.W.W., and it is not exaggerating to state that the entire resisting power of the organization will be directed toward vindicating its right to openly carry on its activities in California in spite of the prejudiced interpretations of judges who misconstrue the law. The capitalist interests everywhere and always have failed to establish responsibility for law violations upon the I.W.W. and its membership. They have, therefore, decided that, as the I.W.W. will not outrage the law, the law must outrage the I.W.W. Initiative lay with them and resistance lies with us. The organization is compelled to do battle for its own self-preservation. With us it is a war of self-defense. We have no option but to carry on the struggle to the bitter end, go underground or give up. Neither of the two latter alternatives are acceptable to or worthy of the organization. We shall, therefore, go on to the end, and that end will be in keeping with the highest traditions of the I.W.W.

Jails may be filled, as often before; our militants may fall victims of hate-driven mobs; and halls may be raided and furniture, literature and supplies may be destroyed, as has frequently happened in the past. All these things may happen, but every occurence of this nature will only set us the more determinedly to continue until our right to organize is admitted. Before we have finished, the fight of the I.W.W. in California will be made the fight of all American labor, and the labor hosts of other countries will assist us, as circumstances demand, in all the ways opportunity may offer.

The California drive among the agricultural workers begins with the rice harvest in the northern part of the Sacramento Valley. Then, without letup, it will be continued thru potatoes, grapes, beans, citrus products and upon every farm, ranch, vineyard and orchard that employs wage labor. This must not be a haphazard, catch-when-and-as-you-can affair, but a thoroly organized campaign by adequate and determined forces equipped, as stated last week, with everything the A.W.I.U. "has and can realize".

The Fifteenth convention of the A.W.I.U.#110 convenes in Fargo, N.D. on October 8th. Among the questions that will come be-

John Berton X212334 ☐ [illegible]

Daniel Miller X233795 ☐ John Bosko[illegible]

Joseph Ziegler X242585 ☐ Gilbert Miller X3006[illegible]

Eric Gustke X238681 ☐ Tony Truppo X212257

..... ☐ ..... ☐

Name ..... Card No. .....

Last dues paid for month of ..... 194.....

To Del. No..... Date..... 194.....

Vouched for by Del. .....

Date of voting ..... 1942.

NOTE: All voted ballots must be returned to the Main Office, 2422 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Illinois, on or before February 12, 1942, in order to be tabulated.

GEORGE SMITH,
G. O. C. Chairman

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
I W W
GENERAL
ADMINISTRATION

W. H. WESTMAN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

618

A-75

fore it, relatively, the most important is the situation in California. To this situation and what it demands every other question must be related.

The injunction, substituted as a more effective instrument or as an auxilliary to the Criminal Syndicalist law, is being used against the A.F.of L. unions as well as against the I.W.W., so that, in any undertaking which promises to meet this issue successfully, we are not presumptuous in expecting that some support will be forthcoming from such sources. The fight is a common one and organization differences, which do not influence the courts to discriminate, should not, and are not likely, to influence the workers.

This, the A.W.I.U. convention should take into account and, as the I.W.W. is intended to unite all labor, plans in connection with the California campaign against the C.S. law and the injunction should be based upon calculations to enlist the whole power of united labor.in a fight to a finish.

With the hope that the convention will deal wisely and fully with all the matters before it and that out of its councils will issue a comprehensive and effective plan for California, we are sure that labor eagerly awaits its decisions. What it decides should carry the organization and the I.W.W. forward.

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## *** M E E T I N G S ***

WILSON CREEK, Wash. Sept.26,1923- General membership meeting Seventeen members in good standing and four without cards but vouched for present.

M & S. That men without card be seated. Carried.

M & S. That the Strike Committee report will be accepted subject to the Auditing Committee. Carried.

Statement of Accounts of the Wilson Creek Strike Committee.

| Cash Received | | Cash Expended | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Collection 9-9-23 | 9.25 | Room Rent | 4.75 |
| " 9-11-23 | 4.16 | Strike Literature | 7.50 |
| " on list No.1 | 7.00 | Expenses of Comm.men | 5.28 |
| No.2 | 3.20 | Tele.Stat.Stps.,Etc. | 1.55 |
| No.3 | 3.00 | Groceries, Meats,Etc. | 23.22 |
| No.4 | 5.50 | | |
| No.5 | 1.25 | | |
| No.6 | 2.80 | | |
| No.8 | 5.14 | | |
| No.9 | 1.00 | | |
| Total | 42.30 | | 42.30 |

M & S. That the meeting adjourn. Carried.

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YAKIMA, Wash. Sept.23,1923- Special Business Meeting. Thirty-one members in good standing.

M & S. That the minutes of the Spokane Conference be read. Carr.

M & S. That the minutes of the Spokane Conference be accepted as progress. Carried.

M & S. That we set a wage scale of $4.00 and board in the Yakima Valley. Carried.

M & S. That we carry on an intermittent strike until we get our demands. Carried.

M & S. That any member eligible to carry credentials take them out after this meeting. Carried.

M & S. That we hold regular business meetings every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 P.M. Carried.

## NEVADA

FALLON, 9-1. There is quite a lot of haying going on around here. Will last all fall. ( AG 456)

## ILLINOIS

MATTOON, 9-9. There is a demand for men to cut broom corn around here for a radius of about 30 miles, north, east and west. Season will probably last four or five weeks yet. They are paying 50¢ per hour and board. Some are working piece work, but men can get hour work if they want to work that way. Some live wires coming here could boost wages as there is a large crop this year. (#730156)

## WASHINGTON

WENATCHEE, 9-25. Good crop of apples to be picked. Plenty of men here - wobblies, wicks and auto tramps from every state. Wages 40¢ per hour or 6¢ per box. ( AG 1076)

The apples around Wenatchee will be on in full blast next week. The workers must go thru the free Employment Office. Are offering 35 to 50¢ per hour and 4½ to 6¢ per box. ( AG 76)

BURLINGTON, 9-18. Threshing is about over here. Wages $4.00 to 5.00 four or five days left, but quite a little hay and straw baling left yet, same wages. ( AG 1591)

LAMONT, 9-6. Pitchers and barge men $5.00 high, sack sewers at $6.00. Harvest and threshing good for thirty days more. Men scarce. ( AG 819)

## CALIFORNIA

DINUBA, 8-26. Grape pickers 40 to 50¢ per hour. Picking by the tray at 2½ to 3¢. Plenty of men here, any amount of Mexican labor. Hard for a white man to get work at present, but there will be lots of work when the rush is on and that will be about the 1st of Sept.(AG29)

MARYSVILLE, 9-1. There is plenty of dry yard work at $3.00 per day and board, or cutting grapes at $2.50 a ton or 5¢ a box. Some of these ranches can be made good by a little action. ( AG 492)

WILLOWS, 9-24. Rice harvest is just starting here, about 9000 acres. Wages $3 to 4.00 for shocking and driving binder, $6.00 for jigging and sewing sacks, same for bucking sacks. There are also almonds, olives and oranges to pick in this district. Men are scarce here now, so the prospects for work and wages are as good as possible in this open shop state. ( AG 844))

COLUSA, 9-28. Acreage of rice not so big as usual, but better crop than ordinarily. Grain speculators are making an effort to get this crop on the foreign market as soon as possible. Wages are at least 50¢ a day higher than at the start last year. This is the year to put 110 on the map in Calif. The conference in Stockton arranged a workable program to organize the rice fields, but more, and then more delegates and active members are needed. ( AG 8)

## OREGON.

September 30. The employment sharks are offering $75.00 per month for ranch teamsters, $75.00 for milkers for 20 cows and $70.00 for ranch hands. This is for eastern Oregon - from the Dalles east.(AG227)

## SASKATCHEWAN
## CANADA

MOOSE JAW 9-29. Hiring steady skinners. $6.00, mostly 10 hours,altho some scissors work 11 and 12 hours

DAVIDSON, 9-28 Plenty of work here at $6.00 for skinners, Some good runs to be had here.

SASKTOON Plenty of hiring here. Wages $6.00 to 6.50 for skinners. Some long runs here - 20 to 30 days. A good place to make a big stake for over the hump. Some 10 hours, mostly 11 and 12. Need some good class conscious wobs at this point.

ROSE LAWN. A good place for a wob. Plenty of hiring. Men scarce. Wages $7.00 to 7.50, mostly 10 hours.

# J O B  N E W S

## NORTH DAKOTA

WALHALLA, 9-25 They are not taking out any men here. Sixty new potato pickers have been shipped in here. They do all the work. They pick and sack the spuds, the home-guards do the rest. What few do go out are getting 6¢. ( AG 50)

FORREST RIVER, 9-26. Farmers offering 5¢ per bu. for spud picking. Not many members here, mostly Minn. wicks. Some farmers say they will not dig unless they get better price for spuds. ( AG 95)

## MONTANA

CONRAD, 9-24. Threshing just starting around Valier. Very few fellow workers here at present. Out of this town they are paying $4.00-5.00 a day, but threshing is pretty well towards the finish. (AG 178)

BILLINGS, 9-13. Threshing going on here. Wages $4.00-3.50 for 10 hour day. Farmers find it hard to get men for that price. Sugar beets will be on here in about 10 or 15 days. The sugar beet company wants the experienced men that they had last year, so if you are experienced you can now go and put your name on the books and they will call you when they want you for the big sum of 35¢ per hr.(AG104

TOWNSEND, 9-9. Threshing is in full blast here and a few men are going out at $3.50 and $4.00 for 10 hours. This place is about 50 miles west of the Gallatin Valley and a few rigs are starting up there. Wages are the same but conditions are rotten there. The farmers there like to hire you by the hour and you put in 12 to 16 hours and maybe get paid for 10 or 11. They are a poor class of farmers and their education has been neglected in regard to I.W.W. tactics. ( AG 867)

SCOBEY, 9-16. Threshing is just about done close around here, but they have about 10 days left 25 to 50 miles west, and lots of it left in Canada. ( AG 850)

## COLORADO

DENVER, 9-23 Men are going out threshing and cutting feed for $3.00 per day or $45 to $50 per month. Men are scarce but no sign of action. (AG 628)

GLENWOOD SPRINGS, 9-15. Spud picking will be on here about the 20th to 25th of Sept. They are paying $6.00 a day and board, or 7¢ a 100 lb. and board. Would like to see more IIO men out in this part of the country. ( AG 1569)

WINDSOR, 9-30. Great Western Sugar Co. paying 40¢ per hour, 8 hour shift, good grub and lodging for $8.50 per week. Wages for outside work similar. Shipping from Denver, fare advanced. ( AG 628)

BYERS? 9-27. Some threshing going on here and at Wiggins - beans and wheat. Wages $3.50 and up. Not much demand for help. ( AG 1556)

## MINNESOTA

HALSTAD, 9-20 Potato picking not at climax yet. Will pay 5-6¢ per bushel. Sugar beets $8.00 per acre and board yourself. (AG1306)

## IOWA

POMEROY, 9-17. The farmers here are talking of 8¢ per bu. for corn picking. The crop here is fine. Starts about Oct. 10 or 15th.( AG 627)

SIOUX CITY, 9-25 Corn picking in this territory will start about October 15th. Fair crop and it is standing up well. ( AG 26)

## IDAHO

LAMONT, 9-28. Wages around here are $3.50 low. Threshing will last about 20 days. Spud picking just starting . Men scarce. (Some job stall you off that they have not gotten paid or else they are broke. (AG 419)

WENATCHEE, Wash. Sept.23,1923- Special Meeting.A.W.I.U.
Thirty members in good standing.

M & S. That men without cards be seated with voice and no vote. Carr.

M & S. That communication from Wilson Creek be accepted as progress. Carr.

M & S. That we nominate and elect a traveling delegate to take Bob Hall's place in the northwest district. Carried unan.

M & S. That fellow workers try to do away with piece work system in the apples. Carried.

Fellow worker E. Antijuntti elected traveling delegate.

---

HOOPLE, N.D.Sept.24,1923- A.W.I.U.110 Business Meeting.
Eighteen members in good standing.

M & S. That we concur with resolution boycotting all California products passed at Swift Current, Sask. Carried.

M & S. That we do not lift boycott on City Cafe. Carried.

M & S. That no gambling be allowed in the jungles. Carried.

M & S. That we request an itemized account of money advanced to officials. Carried.

M & S. Whereas By-law #24 has not been lived up to by our officials, Be it Resolved that By-law #24 be strictly enforced hereafter, and Be it Further Resolved that we demand the resignation of any official not living up to By-law #24.

M & S. That we concur with above resolution. Carried.

M & S. That we support any action taken in behalf of the class war prisoners. Carried.

M & S. That the delegates pay more attention to trains. Carried.

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HOOPLE, N.D.Sept.26,1923- Special Business Meeting
Seventeen 110 members in good standing
Three visitors.

M & S. That this body concur with the resolution drawn up by F.W.Swanson and that it be presented to the convention. Carried.
M & S. That we abolish the 50¢ expense money on the initiations and that we put it to a referendum of the membership. Carried.
M & S. That we abolish rule 36 thru a referendum. Carried.

Resolution

Whereas, the A.W.I.U.110 in the past has been nothing more or less than a propaganda organization, and
Whereas, we are lining up the same men over again every year,and
Whereas, it is about time that we functioned as a labor organization
Therfore be it Resolved that no person lining up in 110 after January 1, 1924 be allowed to take out a new card, but must take cut a duplicate card and pay up the back dues.

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IMPORTANT

The fall convention of A.W.I.U.110 will be held in Fargo,N.D. October 8th.

Ralph Chaplin, recently released from Leavenworth, will speak in Fargo on Sat. Oct.6th and in Minneapolis Sunday Oct.7th. The 110 smoker will be held in Fargo on Saturday, October 6th.

Send your resolutions and proposed amendments to the bylaws and constitution either to the main office of 110 or to 110 Front St. Fargo, N.D. All proposed amendments should clearly state the section, article and paragraph to be amended. New amendments should be so stated.

BIGGAR, 9-28. Organization needed here badly. Wages $5.00 to 6.00 12 to 13 hours. Only good faithful service slaves with a big roll of blankets need apply. ( AG 796)

REGINA, 9-27. Threshers are now hiring men at $6.00 for bundle teamsters, $7.00 for spike pitchers, gas engineers and steam men are asking $15.00 per day, the same with the separator tenders. There will be a long run of threshing in Canada this year. In most of the districts it will be 24 to 30 days, and in other districts it will be as high as 50 days. ( AG 1075)

SWIFT CURRENT, 9-22. Twenty to 25 days threshing left inthis district. Average wages is $6.00, a few are hiring for $7.00. Lots of members here but a great scarcity of delegates. Hours are what you make them. If you are satisfied to work 12 and 14 John is quite willing to let you. ( AG 1075)

COROBERT, 9-17. Farmers are running wild for men here. $7.00 low for teaming, $8.00 to 8.50 for spiking. ( AG 594)

MORRIS, 9-20. Twenty to 30 days threshinghere yet. A few members, but no delegates here. Wages average $6.00, mostly 10 hours. Labor is scarce. ( AG 797)

BETHUNE, 9-19. Threshing in full swing. Will last 35 days. Wages $6.00 per day. Hours range from 10 to 14. Short hours for organized, long for wicks. ( AG 797)

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## N O T I C E

Section 4 of the A.W.I.U.110 bylaws provides that candidates for the office of Secretary-Treasurer and G.O.C. shall be nominated on the floor of the convention or by members in the field. If you are not going to be at the convention, send in your nominees to the main office. If possible, send a written acceptance with the nomination. Names of all nominees will be printed in the Bulletin for 30 days after the convention to give all a chance to accept or decline.

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The 1924 due stamps are now in the field and can be obtained from any branch, traveling or stationary delegate or main office.

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Dick Logan, AG 1506, please send your address to the main office.

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IMPORTANT.

Card #838337 - issued to H.J.Hudd- has been stolen. Take up original on sight.

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The following delegates whose names appear on delinquent list of I.U.110 have settled their accounts and have received clearances:

G.W. Ballon A 989 -1921 B.S. Newman G 1804 - 1922

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Any member who bought a duplicate card receipt and has not received a duplicate card, please write to the main office. Give all details possible in regard to card number, date of initiation, months paid, etc.

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A complete outline of the campaign plan of the General Defense Committee and a report of its manifold activities will appear in the General Office Bulletin. Watch for it.

We are now more hopeful of early and unconditional release than ever before. We want the boys out by Christmas. This is the best chance we ever had. What are YOU going to do.

General Defense Committee.

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Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1219-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Al Frane | 515 N.16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| H.L. Silva | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Chas. Kellogg | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| E. Antijuntti | 223 N.Bernard St. | Spokane, Wash. |
| Wm Hyman | 118 N. Mission St. | Wenatchee, Wash. |
| Jack Stewart | Box 761 | Cranbrook, B.C. |
| J.C. Ure | Box 665 | Willows, Cal. |
| John Deady | General Delivery | Gerber, Cal. |

Albert Hanson, Chairman

Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas. I.U.110

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.39

Chicago, Ill. October 10, 1923

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## CONVENTION NEWS

(By Wire)

Fargo, N.D. Oct.10, 1923 - "Convention finished temporary session and adjourned until Saturday morning or until thirty-six men in jail are released. About two hundred fifty members here for convention; mostly old members, but many new ones also here."

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## HANDS ACROSS THE SEA

Attending the A.F.of L. convention at Portland,Oregon, as a fraternal delegate from British Trade Union Congress was R.M. Walker, General Secretary-Treasurer of the National Union of Agricultural Workers. In the A.F.of L., after forty-three years, there was not one representative of the agricultural workers of America to extend fraternal greetings to this man whose organization embraces 100,000 farm workers in Great Britain.

If he should inquire about farm labor organization in America not one of all the delegates in the convention will inform him of the existence of the A.W.I.U.110, or tell him about its heroic struggles and sacrifices in an endeavor to bring organization to the wage workers in American agriculture. Is it not time for the A.W.I.U. to make the acquaintace of the organized agricultural labor in Britain and other European countries? The International Land Workers Federation is comprised of 3,000,000 organized agricultural workers in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, France, Italy and Great Britain. Yet none of the organizations in the several European countries is basically as international in conception as is the A.W.I.U. No harm could be done, and much good might result if contact with some, and preferably with all, of these organizations was established.

Just now, when an intensive campaign to organize the agricultural workers of California is being undertaken, and, moreover, is being undertaken under the greatest difficulties and in the face of a barbarous persecution, it might not be amiss to keep the agricultural workers of Europe posted upon happenings in connection with this drive. Outside of the A.W.I.U.110 of the I.W.W. there is no evidence of interest in, or of effort to achieve organization for the farm workers of the United States. This, of course, is a condition with which the farm labor organizations of Europe are not acquainted. They should be, and it is our business to see that they are.

That the task of the A.W.I.U. is different and more difficult than that with which the National Union of Agricultural Workers in Great Britain had to face is not very hard to appreciate. The extent of the territory we must cover is much greater and the element to be organized is of a more migratory character. In Britain it took about fifty years to bring the farm workers' union to its present strength of 100,000 members. Upon its building there was expended much energy and sacrifice. It includes every worker in agriculture. Last spring there was a strike in which 20,000 workers took part. The union spent about $300,000 in this fight. The maximum week is 48 hours in winter and 50 hours in summer. This is an accomplishment that should appeal to the American farm worker - eight hours per day in winter and less than nine hours per day in summer. This is in striking contrast to farm hours in America - and unionism made the change. There is a maximum wage of 25 shillings ($6.50) per week. Nominally this is small to an American, but actually it represents a higher real wage than the average farm laborer in this country obtains.

The great thing is for us to recognize that agricultural labor in Europe has been organized and that it can be organized here also. Only by and thru their organization have the farm workers of Great Britain been enabled to lift themselves from a degraded condi-

tion to a state where education has been substituted for illiteracy and where they can look their employers squarely in the eye with that consciousness of power that comes of solidarity. Instead of their former abjectness they now live lives comparable to that of the workers in other organized callings. While there is much yet to be desired they have gone far in the way of accomplishment. What they have done, we also can do. As they did it we must do it- by organization.

Our convention is the highest expression in the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union #110, and it were worth its while to arrange for contacts that will enable us to profit by the experiences of the workers abroad, and the acquaintance once established should be mutually advantageous.

There need be no "entangling alliances", such as our capitalists dread, for the interest of the European farm laborers is identical with that of the American agricultural workers. If the industrial autocrats of California and other states persist in their tyrannical persecutions there can be little doubt that the struggle of the A.W.I.U. would enlist the sympathy and command the support of the farm labor organizations of Britain and other countries.

We shall get only what we establish title to, and it is about time that we made some effort to acquaint our fellow workers in the old world about what we are doing and trying to do in the United States. We should also be interested in what they are doing. There is no excuse for isolation in these days of cable and radio, steamship, newspapers, and all the modern means of communication. It is time the A.W.I.U. was getting acquainted and establishing relations with its kin across the waters.

What do you think about it, fellow worker?

---

## *** M E E T I N G S ***

FRESNO, Calif. Oct.1, 1923 - Extract of minutes; 8 members pres.

M & S. That F.W.Webber write an article to the Worker, Sol. and Bulletins calling on all foot-loose fellow workers to come down here for big drive to fight the C.S. law and injunction and that we ask the co-operation of all. Amendment: That we send extracts of these minutes instead. Carried.

M & S. That we demand that the three stars be put back on Solidarity. Carried

M & S. That we recommend to conference to get out leaflets with the pictures and records of the various stoolpigeons on it. Carried.

---

YAKIMA, Wash. Sept.30,1923 - Regular Business meeting A.W.I.U. 16 members and 4 visitors present.

M & S. That the minutes of previous meeting be accepted as progress. Carried.

M & S. That we send communication to the travelling delegate at Spokane to see if he can divert the flow of fellow workers from Dakota into Yakima Valley to give us cooperation. Carried.

M & S. That we send the minutes of the meeting to travelling delegate at Spokane and to the stationary delegate at Wenatchee. Carried.

M & S. That we elect a resolution committee of three to draw up resolution to be sent to the convention at Fargo. Carried.

M & S. That we concur with resolutions and they be sent to the convention. Carried.

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CHICO, Calif. Oct.3, 1923 - Special Meeting, 9 members present.

M & S. That we boycott the Vista Rooming House, also almond knocking job. Carried.

Suggestion: That all members in the rice fields of Cal. inquire into make of sacks being used and to boycott all Cal. prison made sacks. As we all know there are thousands of sacks used in this state, let us find out who are using the sacks made by our fellow workers in San Quentin.

# J O B  N E W S

## NORTH DAKOTA

WALHALLA, 10-1. They are not taking out many men. A few have been going out for 6¢ and board. ( AG150)

## MONTANA

GREAT FALLS, 10-1. We are out working twenty-seven miles from here. In places where the grass hoppers have not eaten up the crop or they have not been hailed out, there is a great crop, the best in years. It is mostly headed stuff in this country and there is still a great deal to be cut. The farmers are coming to the hall to get men. There is more work in this vicinity than in any place I have been in this summer - 110, 120 and 310. (AG 46)

WHITEFISH, Oct.2. The farmers are starting to ask for spud pickers around here, but the wages are very small, and I do not look to see any fellow workers go out for the money offered, which is 30¢ an hour and board. This is the highest wage offered here now for that class of work, There are not many days at that, possibly four or five at the most. Threshing is about over with $4.00 the highest wage offered. Not much chance to go to work. (A.R.G.)

JUDITH GAP, Oct. 5. They are paying $4.00-4.50 for 10 hours here. There is 20 to 25 days of threshing still left here. (AG145)

LIVINGSTON, Oct.1. Help scarce here with harvest and threshing going on full blast. Wages are $3.00-4.00 in harvest and $3.00-4.50 in threshing. Threshing will last 20 to 30 days. Sentiment for organization is poor. ( AG 983)

## COLORADO

Denver, 9-23 Men are going out threshing and cutting feed at $3.00 per day or $45 to $50 per month. Men are scarce but no sign of action. ( AG 628)

GLENWOOD SPRINGS, 10-1. Spud picking now on. They are paying $6.00 a day and board, or 7¢ a 100 lb. and board. Would like to see more 110 men out in this part of the country. ( AG 1569)

WINDSOR, 9-30 Great Western Sugar Co. paying 40¢ per hour, 8 hr. shift, good grub and lodging for $8.50 per week. Wages for outside work similar. Shipping from Denver, fare advanced. ( AG 628)

BYERS, 9-27. Some threshing going on here and at Wiggins - beans and wheat. Wages $2.50 and up. Not much demand for help. ( AG 1556)

## IOWA

POMEROY, 9-17. The farmers here are talking of 8¢ per bushel for corn picking. The crop here is fine. Starts about Oct.10 or 15th. (AG 627)

SIOUX CITY, 9-25 Corn picking in this territory will start about October 15th. Fair crop and it is standing up well. ( AG 26)

## IDAHO

LAMONT, 9-28. Spud picking just starting . Men scarce. (AG 419)

RIGBY, 10-4 The slaves here in the sugar are all unorganized, working 12 hours a day for 35¢ an hour. The girls are working for $2.00 a day in the beet factory. No delegate here at present. One could do good work here. (X78093)

## NEVADA

FALLON, 9-1 There is quite a lot of haying going on around here. Will last all fall. ( AG 456)

## ILLINOIS

MATTOON, 9-9 There is a demand for men to cut broom corn around here for a radius of about 30 miles, north, east and west. Season will probably last four or five weeks yet. They are paying 50¢ per hour and board. Some are working piece work, but men can get hour work if they want to work that way. Some live wires coming here could boost wages as there is a large crop this year.(#730156)

## WASHINGTON

WENATCHEE, 9-29. Good crop of apples to be picked. Will be on in full blast next week. Are offering 35 to 50¢ an hour and 4½ to 6¢ per box. ( AG 76)

PALISADES , 10-1. Apple picking is $3.30 per day, but is being mostly gypoed at 5¢ per box., packers getting 8¢ per box. (AG 135)

NOLSON, Oct.3. Threshing will last 30 days here. $4.00 and board low, men scarce. Farmers snare men as soon as they arrive in town. Need men badly. They furnish beds.

OMAK, 10-3. The apple harvest on in full blast. 40¢ an hour, board the best way you can. "Speed artists" are offered 4½¢ per box. Wicks numerous. ( AG 630)

## CALIFORNIA

DINUBA, 8-26 Grape pickers 40 to 50¢ per hour. Picking by the tray at 2½ to 3¢. Plenty of men here, any amount of Mexican labor. Hard for a white man to get work at present, but there will be lots of work when the rush is on and that will be about the 1st of Sept.(AG29)

MARYSVILLE, 9-1. There is plenty of dry yard work at $3.00 per day and board, or cutting grapes at $2.50 a ton or 5¢ a box. Some of these ranches dan be made good by a little action. ( AG 492)

WILLOWS, 10-3. Rice harvest is just starting here, about 9000 acres. A few are going out; nine hours. Wages $3.50 to 4.00 for shocking and driving binder, $6.00 for jigging and sewing sacks, same for bucking sacks. There are also almonds, olives and oranges to pick in this district. Men are scarce here now, so the prospects for work and wages are as good as possible in this open shop state.(AG745)

COLUSA, 10-2. This town is in the center of the rice belt. Wages are from $3.00 up and board; $4.00 for drawing a binder, $3.00 per day for shocking, $3.50 for working on a threshing machine. Men are plentiful. ( AG 460)

Acreage of rice not so big as usual, but better crop than ordinarily. Grain speculators are making an effort to get this crop on the foreign market as soon as possible. Wages are at least 50¢ a day higher than at the start last year. This is the year to put 110 on the map in Calif. The conference at Stockton arranged a workable program to organize the rice fields, but more, and then more delegates and active members are needed. ( AG 8)

## OREGON

September 30. The employment sharks are offering $75.00 per month for ranch teamsters, $75.00 for milkers for 20 cows and $70.00 for ranch hands. This is for eastern Oregone from the Dalles east.(AG22)

## SASKATCHEWAN
## CANADA

MOOSE JAW, 9-29. Hiring steady skinners $6.00, mostly 10 hours, altho some scissors work 11 and 12 hours.

DAVIDSON, 9-28 Plenty of work here at $6.00 for skinners. Some good runs to be had here.

SASKTOON Plenty of hiring here. Wages $6.00 to 6.50 for skinners. Some long runs here.- 20 to 30 days. A good place to make a big stake for over the hump. Some 10 hours, mostly 11 and 12. Need some good class conscious wobs at this point.

ROSE LAWN A good place for a wob. Plenty of hiring. Men scarce. Wages $7.00 to 7.50, mostly 10 hours.

BIGGAR, 9-28 Organization needed here badly. Wages $5.00 to 6.00 12 to 13 hours. Only good faithful service slaves with a big roll of blankets need apply. ( AG 796)

BETHUNE, 9-19. Threshing in full swing. Will last 35 days. Wages $6.00 per day. Hours range from 10 to 14. Short hours for organized, long for wicks. ( AG 797)

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

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Fellow workers:

There is no doubt but members in the field realize the importance of the work carried on by the General Defense Committee. These fellow workers are in a position to know what defense means, and also to realize what their work would be like without it. The important thing to keep in mind is that legal defense for members active in organizing and educating the slaves of this country is only a PART of the activities of this office.

We have relief work to do for the families of class-war prisoners. We have sick members to look after, like fellow workers Mulrooney and Weyh who have been in prison and are now down in sanitariums fighting for their lives with tuberculosis. Then we have the state cases - all of which use up more or less of our funds and energies. The half million stickers for the California boycott are now off the press. By this time members in different parts of the country are familiar with them. Every one, everywhere, has heard of the Amnesty by Christmas drive; and this is the thing upon which we have been concentrating, in order to have the slate wiped clean, for a real concerted effort to free the victims of the employing interests elsewhere.

The reason we have concentrated upon the federal cases is because the present opportunity is the best one we have ever had to get results. It would have been worse than foolish to ignore the present demand for unconditional release as expressed by public opinion everywhere. We are putting up the best fight we can on several fronts at once and concentrating where there is the greatest advantage. We want these fellow workers out here with us where they will be in a position to help with the work of the I.W.W. We need them!

The Amnesty campaign is just about in shape now to finance itself. As the campaign develops it will be in better shape than ever. Our great trouble at present is having lawyer bills eat up the lion's share of the funds. This has been the case of late, and it cripples our work in all directions. We should at least get enough funds from organization sources to cover these expenses. This would leave us free to use amnesty funds for amnesty purposes The lawyer bill for Fellow worker James Rowan's writ of habeas corpus ad testificandum alone costs $1500.00, half of which will have to be paid this week. This is just an example. Other bills are equally high. In the aggregate they amount to a considerable sum.

Fellow workers, we need all the financial help we can get. With your help now we can go ahead with our work with the positive assurance that victory is in sight. Take this matter to heart. Think it over seriously and do the VERY BEST you can.

Yours for the I.W.W.
Edw.E.Anderson,
Sec'y, General Defense Committee.

## ALBERTA

October 5 There is an excellent crop in Alberta and a great shortage of harvest hands, but the wages are not as good as in Saskatchewan. They are paying $5.00 here, while the wages in Sask. are $6.00 up to $7.00. The hours are the same all over, which range from 12 to 14. Most all of the crews work from 4:30 in the morning until 8:00 at night. The reason the wages are lower in Alberta is because the Government Employment Service has full charge in furnishing men. But from the looks of things they have fallen down wonderfully. Thousands of men have been leaving the country for the states on account of the long hours and poor conditions, and John's crop up here will only get about half threshed this year. They are not thru shocking up here yet. ( AG 1207)

LETHERIDGE , 10-4 There is about 35 to 40 days run of threshing on the south branch out of here. Wages are six and seven dollars on most of the rigs, altho a few are trying to get men for $5.00. We need more delegates here. Sentiment for organization good. No men here at present. ( AG 1075)

MEDICINE HAT, 10-1. Work is about 60 per cent done in the harvest fields. Wages from $5.00 to 6.00 for bundle skinners.(AG167

VULCAN, 10-2. Crops are good here. Wages $6.00. Men scarce at present. A few fellow workers went out this morning at above wages, ten hours. Sentiment for organization good; delegates scarce. (AG 792)

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## N O T I C E

The date of the I.U.110 conference at Stockton, Calif. has been changed from October 16th to November 4th, 1923. All 110 members in California should be there to help plan the campaign to organize the agricultural workers in the orchards, vineyards and ranches of the state. If you cannot be there but have any plans to bring before the conference send them to S.H. Straw, Stockton, Cal.

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Section 4 of the A.W.I.U. 110 by-laws provides that candidates for the office of Secretary-Treasurer and G.E.C. shall be nominated on the floor of the convention or by members in the field. If you are not going to be at the convention, send in your nominees to the main office. If possible, send a written acceptance with the nomination. Names of all nominees will be printed in the Bulletin for 30 days after the convention to give all a chance to accept or decli

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Card X 98736, belonging to C.H.Cossey, has been found and can be secured by writing to the main office.

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Any member who bought a duplicate card receipt and has not received a duplicate card, please write to the main office. Give all details possible in regard to card number, date of initiation, months paid, etc.

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The 1924 due stamps are now in the field and can be obtained from any branch, traveling or stationary delegate or main office.

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Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, e

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|---|---|---|
| A.Vernon | 1222-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Chas.Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Al Frane | 515 N.16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| H.L. Silva | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Chas.Kellogg | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| E.Antijuntti | 223 N.Bernard St. | Spokane, Wash. |
| Wm Hyman | 118 N. Mission St. | Wenatchee, Wash |
| Jack Stewart | Box 761 | Cranbrook, B.C. |
| J.C. Ure | Box 665 | Willows, Calif. |
| John Deady | Box 42 | Colusa, Calif. |
| Wm R.Hughes | Box 185 | Woodland, Calif. |

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman  Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U.No.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No. 40

Chicago, Ill. October 17, 1923.

## CALIFORNIA DRIVE FOR FREEDOM

Fellow workers:

The organization drive of the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union in California is ordinarily to be regarded only as the carrying out of a legitimate function; the doing of a thing that to neglect doing would be to mark the organization as unworthy and untrue to labor. That such is not the character of the A.W.I.U. has been proven upon hundreds of occasions. Whatever else its enemies may charge against it, none of them will dare to claim that it has ever been delinquent where there was a labor duty to be performed.

But the organizing campaign in California at this time is more than the fulfillment of its particular duty to the agricultural workers of that state. It is the acceptance of a challenge from the forces that have set themselves to deny to labor those rights upon which every essential of freedom and democracy is founded - free assemblage, free speech, free press, and freedom to join organizations that do not contravene the law.

The Criminal Syndicalist law in California, and the injunction which penalizes the I.W.W. membership with from one to fourteen years imprisonment, is a deliberate and calculated attempt to exclude labor from those constitutional protections devised to safeguard the citizenship of the United States. It strikes directly at all labor organization, while selecting the I.W.W. as the union which appears to be most easily victimized at this time. The aid and comfort given these judicial usurpers by A.F. of L. officials, like Andy Feruseth, leads the judges, and the interests for which they are functioning, to believe that the craft union membership will not resent the denial of their legal rights to the I.W.W. But, unfortunately for their calculations, the courts in other states are already using laws, presumably only aimed at the I.W.W., to attack, embarrass and destroy A.F.of L and independent unions. And two injunctions in Illinois, one against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the other against the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in effect paralysed these unions as economic agencies in particular situations.

The rank and file of labor cannot afford and is not disposed to be swayed by the prejudices that blind the A.F. of L. officialdom to the significance of these judicial moves against labor. Nor will the bulk of American citizenship stand idle and indifferent when it is understood that the courts are being used to set up a dictatorship upon the ruins of democracy.

There is a great deal more than the denial of the right to organize into the I.W.W. involved in the California situation. An attempt is being made there to Prussianize the United States. Other elements than the I.W.W. are involved and it must be our purpose to arouse them to the danger that threatens them as well as us. The I.W.W. is deemed to be, thanks to their lying propaganda, a very unpopular organization which the misinformed and unsuspecting will lend assistance to suppress. Our campaign must include a detail of publicity calculated to bring home with stirring force to the workers of the United States and the world, the reality of what is proposed by the interests who control the governmental machinery in California. The I.W.W. has always proven equal to such emergencies, altho perhaps never before has anything so farreaching in distractive intention and possibilities confronted the organization.

We must not only grapple with the California autocrats ourselves, but it should be our immediate aim to begin the enlistment of support from other unions in a contest that will try the A.W.I.U. and the I.W.W. to the last ounce of energy.

(over)

The injunction menace must be fought to a finish and the Criminal Syndicalist law reduced to a dead letter. It is hopeless to attempt to combat the judiciary in the courts. As well go to law with the Devil before the Supreme Court of Hades. The courts that issue injunctions to destroy labor unions must be fought in the industries. Organization is the answer to the injunction. Even courts will be impressed by the economic action of organized workers. If they must have victims we shall supply them in such measure that the country and world will perforce take notice, but one scalp will neverhang on the judicial belt - labor unionism.

Circumstances have forced the I.W.W. into the van of the most momentous labor battle in the whole history of American unionism. It is ours to lead labor, if we are worthy, to the greatest victory of all time. Let us go into this campaign fully conscious of its importance and aware of its involvement of others than we. We can win alone, but to enlist the support of other endangered bodies will add to our prestige and our strength and shorten the struggle. This fight is the fight of all fairminded, freedom loving people, who will rally to the support of our organization if we will make them understand that upon the outcome the entire future of American labor hangs. Our intelligence, our spirit and our resourcefulness are on trial. Let us show the world that we are equal to this occasion.

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## J O B  N E W S

### NORTH DAKOTA

WALHALLA, 10-1. They are not taking out many men. A few have been going out for 6¢ and board. ( AG 150)

### MONTANA

GREAT FALLS, 10-1. We are out working 27 miles from here. In places where the grass hoppers have not eaten up the crop or where they have not been hailed out, there is a great crop, the best in years. It is mostly headed stuff in this country and there is still a great deal to be cut. The farmers are coming to the hall to get men. There is more work in this vicinity than in any place I have been in this summer - 110, 120 and 310. ( AG 46)

JUDITH GAP, 10-10. They are paying $4.00-4.50 for 10 hours here. Five to ten days of threshing still left. ( AG 145)

LIVINGSTON , 10-10. Help scarce. Wages are $3.00-4.50 in threshing. Threshing will last 10 to 15 days. Sentiment for organization poor. (AG 983)

COFFEE CREEK, 10-11. There is quite a bit of threshing left here. Wages $5.00 to 6.00 per day, 10 hours. Men scarce. ( AG 93)

### COLORADO

EATON, 10-10. Spud picking has started here in full blast. Wages 7 & 8¢ a sack, board yourself, or $7.-$8.00 an acre. Spuds run about 180 to 200 bushels to an acre. Beet hauling $3.50 and $4.00 a day & board. Not many men, no wobs.

GREELEY, 10-12. Few men here. Wages 6½ and 7¢ a sack, or $6.50-7.50 an acre. Board yourself. Spuds run 175 to 190 bushel to an acre. ( AG

GLENWOOD SPRINGS, 10-1. Spud picking now on. They are paying $6.00 a day and board, or 7¢ a 100 lb and board. Would like to see more 110 men out in this part of the country. (AG 1569)

WINDSOR, 9-30 Great Western Sugar Co. paying 40¢ per hour, 8 hr. shift, good grub and lodging for $8.50 per week. Wages for outside work similar. Shipping from Denver, fare advanced. ( AG 628)

BYERS, 9-27. Some threshing going on here and at Wiggins - beans and wheat. Wages $2.50 and up. Not much demand for help. (AG 1556)

### NEVADA

FALLON, 10-7. There is quite a lot of haying going on around here. Will last all fall. ( AG 456)

IOWA

FORTTDODGE, 10-12. Corn picking just starting, 7 & 8¢ a bu. Crop good. (V.C.)

ROMEROY, 10-5. The farmers are talking of 8¢ per bu. for corn picking. The crop here is fine. Starts about Oct. 10 or 15. (AG 627)

SIOUX CITY , 10-15. Corn picking. Not many men in town. Farmers commencing to take men out. Wages paid 6 and 7¢ a bu. (AG 25)

IDAHO

LAMONT, 10-5 Spud picking just starting. Men scarce. ( AG 419)

RIGBY, 10-4. The slaves here in the sugar are all unorganized, working 12 hours a day for 35¢ an hour. The girls are working for $2.00 a day in the beet factory. No delegates here at present. One could do good work here. ( X 78093)

IDAHO FALLS, 10-10. Spud picking in full blast, 7 & 8¢ a sack. $5.00 and board hauling spuds out of field. Beet topping just starting.

WASHINGTON

WENATCHEE, 10-12. Apple picking not general yet. The apples are ripe but haven't the color. Auto tramps are plentiful. Are offering 35 to 50¢ an hour and 4½ to 6¢ per box. ( AG 950)

YAKIMA, 10-8. Apple picking on. Paying 40¢ an hour and from 5-6¢ a box. ( AG 305)

PALISADES, 10-10 Apple picking is $3.30 per day, but is being mostly gypoed at 5¢ per box, packers getting 8¢ per box. ( AG 135)

MOLSON, 10-3 Threshing will last 30 days here. $4.00 and board low, men scarce. Farmers snare men as soon as they arrive in town. Need men badly. They furnish beds.

OMAK, 10-3. The apple harvest is on in full blast. 40¢ an hour, board the best way you can. "Speed artists" are offered 4½¢-per box. Wicks numerous. ( AG 630)

CALIFORNIA

COLUSA, 10-2. This town is in the center of the rice belt. Wages are from $3.00 up and board; $4.00 for drawing a binder, $3.00 per day for shocking, $3.50 for working on a threshing machine. Men are plentiful. ( AG 460)

WILLOWS, 10-13. Rice threshing on now - object is delegate on each job. Hours what workers make them. Dew prohibits long days, 9 to 10 hours mostly. Around here better organization work could hardly be expected. Master up a tree. No actual scale set by C.C. (AG 8)

OREGON

OCTOBER 10. The employment sharks are offering $75.00 per month for ranch teamsters, $75.00 for milkers for 20 cows and $70.00 for ranch hands. This is for eastern Oregon, from the Dalles east. ( AG 22)

SASKATCHEWAN
CANADA

OUTLOOK, 10-4. A few fellow workers here. Wages $5.00-5.50 for skinners, spikers $6.00-6.50.

MARQUIS, 10-4. Five to 15 days work here yet. Few wicks carrying their home on their back and working 12 to 14 hours per day. $5.00 for skinners, $6.00-6.50 for spikers. Gas men and steam are getting $15.00 per day.

MOOSE JAW, 10-3. Some wicks going out for $5.00 per day while the organized are getting $6.00, working less hours. Spikers getting $6.00-6.50 for 10 hours.

REGINA, 10, 2. Wages from $5.00-6.00 for skinners, $6.00-6.50 for spikers. Gas and steam men are getting $15 to $16 per day. ( AG 594)

ROSETOWN, 10-14. Conditions on rigs poor. Short handed, long winded. Wages $5.00-6.00 for 12 hours. Twenty to 30 days threshing left. (AG 1672)

SASKATCHEWAN

SASKTOON, 10-10. Wages $6.00 to 6.50, some 10 hour outfits but mostly 11 and 12. Plenty of threshing to be done here yet. (AG 796)

ALBERTA

LETHBRIDGE, 10-6. Lots of work around here. Wages for bundle teamsters $6.00, engineers $10.00-15.00 per day. Calgary is very good. Wages about the same. The town is a little hostile. The boys are holding out for blankets and getting them too. ( AG 1678)

ROCKYFORD, 10-12. Most of the farmers here are working 10 hours a day and $6.00. Quite a few unorganized men around here. (AG-J.L.P)

VULCAN, 10-10 Threshing in full swing and about fifty day run. Some will be going till next year. Wheat going 60 bushel. Wages $6.-7.00 12 hours. (AG 797)

Manton, 10-10. Threshing in full swing and lots of work; hours 11 and 12. Wages $6.00. Lots of fellow workers up this branch line and we are making a big drive on these towns from Lethbridge to Calgary. Farmers supply blankets this year. This is the first time they have. So this is a good start. Now let's make it a tenhour day. (AG 797)

VULCAN , 10-9. Hurrah for the 110 cats. They are sure going strong around this part of the country and if they keep up the good work for another month this part of Canada will be well on the map. This being a 12 hour country and no blankets furnished by the farmers or threshing outfits they are having very poor success at getting a crew. Some of them are running short from 2 to 4 teams and the reason for not having a crew is that the workers will not go out to work over ten hours and have the farmers furnish them with a bed. There are some machines out of here that have full wobblie crews and we expect some action in a few days.

And one thing is very noticeable - there is very good co-operation between I.U. 110 and I.U. 120; and if we are going to build up our different industrial unions we must at all times remember that we all belong to the I.W.W. and thereby create an organization with power enough to release our fellow workers who are now rotting in the bastiles of the United States. Remember that "an injury to one is an injury to all". (L.U.O.727)

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IMPORTANT

The A.W.I.U.110 conference will be held at Marysville, Calif. November 4, 1923 instead of at Stockton as previously advertised. All 110 members in California should be there to help plan the campaign for organizing the agricultural workers in the orchards, vineyards and ranches of the state. If you cannot be there but have any plans to bring before the conference send them to S.H. Straw, Stockton, Calif.

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CONVENTION NEWS
(By wire)

Fargo, Oct.14 - "The thirty-five members arrested for selling papers were released yesterday and the convention went into permanent session. The important questions before the convention are better form and tactics of organization; California propaganda and organization; and the release of politicals by Christmas."

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Section 4 of the A.W.I.U.110 by-laws provides that candidates for the office of Secretary-Treasurer and G.O.C. shall be nominated on the floor of the convention or by members in the field. If you are not going to be at the convention, send in your nominees to the main office. If possible, send a written acceptance with the nomination. Names of all nominees will be printed in the Bulletin for 30 days after the convention to give all a chance to accept or decline.

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

Publicity and Funds for the General Defense.

Fellow workers:

It is sometimes said that the General Defense Committee takes up too much of our time and energy, and that the Industrial Union Bulletin should be used for organization news only. It seems, however, that until we are much stronger, all means must be used in the hopes that soon there will be no one who will not be acquanted with what the working class has to contend with when they try to organize.

Space will not allow us to go into details, Be it enough to ssy that there is something that everyone who reads this can do. We ask tnat you get in touch with the secretary of the General Defense Committee. Pamphlets and literature telling what we are up against will be sent to every one postpaid.

The cases of the class war prisoners in the U.S. are causing protests from all over the world. We have a pamphlet - "Public Opinion which should be in the hands of all; also postcards, etc., and a folder explaining the formation of what is called "The Amnesty League". The pledge of the league is that all its members are willing to work to the best of their ability for the unconditional release of class war prisoners. Their slogan is "Free Political Prisoners by Xmas."

This, with the new cases requiring legal defense, the effort to care for those who are dependent on the prisoners, jail comforts, etc. are some of our problems. We are compelled to work with hesitation on acccunt of lack of funds. Publicity, routing of speakers, paying lawyers and relief work goes on haltingly. Some of our present force work night and day and cannot do all that might be done. All can do something. Send money. If you cannot, why write for the pamphlet, etc. and help in the publicity work.

A branch office of the Gen.Def. Committee has been opened in New York City. Fellow worker Philip Taft has agreed to aid us in that district. He writes that he is getting well started and is getting splendid cooperation. The office address is, 70-5th Ave.Room 411.

A telegram received here, dated Oct .15, states that the cases of all those who were held at Joplin, Mo. were continued indefinitely. The prisoners released and the bond released.

General Defense Committee.

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NOTICE

Frank Maxey, desires to get in touch with L. Maxey,X142015. Write the main office for address.

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John Smith, AG 379, had his supplies and credentials taken between Shelby and Cutbank, Mont. Members will please take same up.

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J.M. Mc Ghee, X5616, AG 762, had his supplies, credentials and card stolen. Members will please be on the watch for them.

---

Robt.Pilcher, 815600, G 121-1922 has squared up his account and received a clearance.

---

Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.Vernon | 1222-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Chas.Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Al Frane | (Box 107) 515 N.16th St. | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St. | Fargo, N.D. |
| H.L.Silva | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Chas. Kellogg | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| E.Antijuntti | 223 N.Bernard St. | Spokane, Wash. |
| Wm Hyman | 118 N. Mission St. | Wenatchee, Wash. |
| Jack Stewart | Box 761 | Cranbrook, B.C. |
| J.C. Ure | Box 665 | Willows, Calif. |
| John Deady | Box 42 | Colusa, Calif. |
| Wm R. Hughes | Box 185 | Woodland, Calif. |

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Albert Hanson, Chairman G.O.C. Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U.No.110

# Minutes of the Fifteenth Convention

of the

## Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 110 of the I.W.W.

**Held at Fargo, N. D. October 8 - 18, 1923**

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union, No. 450, I. W. W.



its prime concern is that the workers shall practice their
producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that,
when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend pro-
duction to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold
their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction
and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will
protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister
schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a con-
stitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons
who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

The second decision contradicts the belief that the migratory workers, like the Bourbons, can "learn nothing and forget nothing".

In this instance it is not the proposal offered so much as the idea relinquished that shows the capacity of the migratory workers to adapt themselves to circumstances. There is a sincere desire among the western members to spread the organization over the basic

# Minutes of the 15th Convention of the A. W. I. U. No. 110 of the I. W. W.

Fargo N. D. Oct. 8-18, 1923.

Called to order by G.O.C. Chairman Albert Hanson at 2 P. M., Oct. 8, 1923.

Nom. for Temporary Chairman; Sullivan, Bennett, Fisher, Greer, Donnelly, Rommell, Westman.

All declined except Greer.

M. & S. That Greer be elected by acclamation. Carried:

**Report of conductors**

99 members of 110 in good standing.

One 330, one 510, and one member of 110 without card.

M. & S. That the conductor's report be accepted and members belonging to other I. U.s be seated in back of hall; member without card be seated with voice and vote. Carried.

Nom. for temporary Rec. Secy; Lowe, Sail, Dold, D. Moore, Edwards, McCoy, and Sullivan. All declined except Sail and Sullivan; Sail 13, Sullivan 66. Sullivan elected.

Nom. for temporary conductors; Rommell, Murray, Fisher, Sullivan, Sail, Boyd, Dimond, Donnelly and J. Sullivan; all declined except Rommell, Murray, Boyd, Donnelly and J. Sullivan; Rommell received 34 votes, Murray 45, Boyd 46, Donnelly 35, and J. Sullivan 24. Donnelly, Boyd and Murray elected.

**Report of Wallace and Mann on Jail Committee.**

M. & S. That their report be accepted. Carried.

M. & S. That we postpone convention until 2 P.M. October 9th.—8 for 60 against.—Motion Lost.

Tom Wallace reports on delinquent list.

M. & S. That secretary's report of the delinquent list be accepted and the supply accounts of Delegates of the years 1917, 1918 and 1919 shall not be published or read off at future conventions. —39 for 8 against.—Motion Carried.

Nom. for Rules Committee; Hayes, Sail, Edwards, Johnson, Donnelly, Goldic, Rommell, Smith and Fisher.

M. & S. Taht nominations be closed.—Carried.

All declined except Hayes, Sail, Edwards, Smith and Fisher. Fisher received 80 votes, Smith 33, Sail 46, Hayes 28, and Edwards 18.—Smith, Sail and Fisher elected.

M. & S. That convention be postponed until 2 P.M. October 9th. 24 for 45 against.—Motion lost.

M. & S. That the minutes be accepted as read. —Carried.

M. & S. That we adjourn untill 10 A.M. Oct 9th. —Carried.

Adjourned at 5 P.M.

**MORNING SESSION 2nd day October 9th. 1923.**

**(Temporary Session)**

Called to order at 10 A.M. by temporary chairman; Fellow Worker Greer.

Conductors report 81 members present in good standing; one member of 310.

M. & S. That we accept the report of the conductors.—Carried.

**Report of rules committee**

Rule I. That the hours of the convention shall be from 9 A. M. to 12, and from 1:30 to 5:30 P. M. —Carried.

M. & S. (Bennett & Reagan) That we concur with rule I.—Carried.

Rule 2. To have the floor a member must be recognized by the chair.

M. & S. (Reagan & Simovic): That we concur with rule 2.—Carried.

Rule 3. No member shall have the floor twice on the same question until all others members present who desire to speak have done so.

M. & S. (Simovic & Reagan); That we concur with rule 3.—Carried.

Rule 4. In discussing a question all members shall be limited to 15 minutes.

M. & S. (Edwards & Bennett) That we concur with rule 4.—Carried.

Rule 5. No discussion shall be closed until all members have spoken who desire to do so.

M. & S. (Reagan & Miller) That we concur with rule 5.—Carried.

Rule 6. The maker of the motion shall have the opening talk and make the closing argument if he desires.

M. & S. (Edwards & Bates) That we concur with rule 6—Carried.

Rule 7. All votes shall be taken by the raising of hands.

M. & S. (Simovic & Reagan) That we concur with rule 7.—Carried.

Rule 8. All discussion shall be out of order when

producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that, when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend production to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a constitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

The second decision contradicts the belief that the migratory workers, like the Bourbons, can "learn nothing and forget nothing".

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there is no motion before the house; unless a motion has been carried to throw the floor open for discussion.

M. & S. (Simovic & Reagan) That we concur with rule 8.—Carried.

Rule 9. A point of order is always in order when asked through the chair; when it does not interfere with the speaker.

M. & S. (Goldie & Sullivan) That we concur with rule 9.—Carried.

Rule 10. When a motion has been made and seconded; the chair must either rule it out or put it to the floor.

M. & S. (Bennett & Simovic) That we concur with rule 10.—Carried.

Rule 11. When making nominations members shall hold up their hands until recognized by the chair; they shall then rise; make their nominations and be seated.

M. & S. (Reagan & Simovic) That we concur with rule 11.—Carried.

Rule 12. The minutes of the day shall be read and corrected ten minutes before adjourning each day.

M. & S. (McCoy & Miller) That we concur with rule 12.—Carried.

Rule 13. Members of the other I. U.'s shall be seated on a separate bench.

M. & S. (McCoy & Bennett) That we concur with rule 13.—Carried.

Rule 14. A resolution committee; grievance committee and ways and means committee shall be elected.

M. & S. (Simovic & Reagan) That we concur with rule 14.—Carried.

Rule 15. No member shall act on more than one committee.

M. & S. (Edwards & Reagan) That we concur with rule 15.—Carried.

Rule 16. (McCoy & Miller) Rule 16 be stricken from the minutes but to be enforced by conductors and members. Yes 28. No 17.—Carried.

M. & S. (Boyd & Smith) That we accept the report of the rules committee.

Amend. (Bush & Slater). That rules committee be permanent; but members of committee be allowed to function on other committees.—Carried.

M. & S. (Bennett & Sail) That a copy of these minutes be posted in hall. Yes, 43; No, none. Carried.

M. & S. That the minutes of the last convention be read under temporary session. Yes, 28; No, 3. Carried.

M. & S. (Fisher & Brush) That the minutes of the last convention be accepted as read. Yes, 45; No, 1. Carried.

M. & S. That the jail committee's report be accepted; and this convention adjourn until fellow workers are out of the county jail. Yes 60. No 1.—Carried.

M. & S. (Fisher & Reagan). That we accept the minutes as read. Yes 30. No 7.—Carried.

M. & S. (Simovic & Edwards). That we adjourn —Carried.

Adjourned at 12 noon.

## AFTERNOON SESSION, October 13th. 1923.

Convention called to order by temporary chairman Greer at 1.30 P.M.

Conductors report 89 members of I. U. 110 in good standing and three members of other I. U's present.

M. & S. (Hanley & Fisher). That the report of the conductors be accepted.—Carried.

Reading of minutes of temporary sessions of October 8 and 9th.

M. & S. (Fisher & Brush). That the minutes be accepted as read.—Carried.

Nominations for permanent chairman.

All declined except Joe Fisher.

M. & S. (Murray & Brush). That Fisher be elected by acclamation.—Carried.

Nominations for Permanent Recording Secretary.

Lowe (dec), Murphy (dec), Kilpatrick (dec), Sullivan (dec), Hanley (dec), Murray (dec), Jordan (dec), Doyle (dec), Rommell (dec), Sail, (acc).

M. & S. (Murphy & Karnstrom). That Sail be elected by acclamation.—Carried.

Hurlbert, Masters and Cheesebrew elected conductors.

Doyle and Burkhart elected on Rules committee to replace Sail and Fisher.

Jordan, Hanley, Lowe, Doyle and Burkhart elected on Resolution Committee.

Edwards, Kolar, Ostrom, Ralston and Hartline elected on Ways and Means committee.

Peterson, O'Neil, Murphy, Bennett and Kearns elected on By-law Committee.

Sullivan, Conway, Gilbert, Murray and Miller elected on Grievance committee.

### Report of Ballot committee, Spring, 1923.

M. & S. (Bennett & Hurlbert). That the report of the committee be accepted.—Carried.

M. & S. (Jordan & Miller). That the reading of the supply and cash account of the 1923 delegates be dispensed with and the Secretary-Treasurer bring in a report as to how many delegates are in the hole and how many are clear.—Carried.

### Financial report of Secretary-Treasurer

M. & S. (Hanley & Brush). That only the summary of receipts and expenditures be read as all members present have a copy of printed report.—Carried.

# FINANCIAL STATEMENT

of the

## AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' I. U. No. 110

### RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiations I. U. 110 | $ 30,434.00 |
| Dues | 38,897.50 |
| Initiations, other unions | 5,110.00 |
| Dues, other unions | 9,672.50 |
| Organization assessments | 2,388.50 |
| General Defense assessments | 9,583.00 |
| Bond obligation | 10,614.00 |
| Educational stamps | 861.50 |
| Personal deposits | 668.22 |
| Card cases | 644.00 |
| Buttons, pins, etc | 659.25 |
| Literature | 2,065.57 |
| Duplicate card receipts | 1,358.00 |
| Duplicate cards | 729.50 |
| Monies paid on acc't., Br. Sec'ys, Dels., G. O. C. | 36,814.43 |
| Papers and magazines | 5,792.85 |
| Donations—General Defense | 238.17 |
| Jail fund | 83.58 |
| Subs | 136.30 |
| Account supplies | 150.00 |
| Use of Mimeograph | 160.95 |
| Joint Account receipts | 300.52 |
| **Donations:** | |
| Centralia Defense | 32.96 |
| Portland strike | 2.00 |
| California Defense | 37.50 |
| Work People's College | 21.45 |
| San Pedro strike | 1.00 |
| Spanish paper | 1.00 |
| I. U. 230 | 1.00 |
| Guthrie strike | 1.00 |
| Return postage | .57 |
| **Funds on Deposit:** | |
| Chicago hall | 500.00 |
| California C. S. | 1,000.00 |
| G. O. C. Emergency Defense | 1,000.00 |
| Work People's College | 1,000.00 |
| Minneapolis Br. Propaganda Fund | 450.00 |
| **Donations, I. U. 110:** | |
| Educational Bureau | 2.00 |
| Literature | 2.25 |
| North Dakota Defense | 22.50 |
| I. U. 110 | 6.25 |
| Strike | 2.00 |
| I. U. 110 relief | 69.05 |
| Collection, Oxford, Neb. | 12.00 |
| **Other I. U. Assessments:** | |
| I. U. 310 | 23.00 |
| I. U. 440 | 7.00 |
| I. U. 510 | 3.00 |
| I. U. 520 | 164.00 |
| **Refunds:** | |
| Lights, telegrams | 8.03 |
| Deportation fund | 1,500.00 |
| Mileage | 8.57 |
| Wages, Delegate's Gen. Convention | 28.00 |
| Mileage, Delegate's Gen. Convention | 117.28 |
| General Defense Committee | 71.48 |
| Water, Convention Hall | 1.62 |
| I. U. 110 relief | 30.75 |
| Commission, L. W. Smith | .50 |
| Phonograph records | 2.00 |
| Gen. Hdqts., Balance due on all accts. | 172.44 |
| Errors on checks | .55 |
| Sale of California Defense tickets | 40.00 |
| Mimeograph paper | 78.25 |
| Spring Drive fund, redeposited | 10,000.00 |
| Mimeograph ink | 2.25 |
| Educational Bureau, correspondence course | 5.00 |
| Interest on Meter deposit | 1.19 |
| Sale of fixtures | 26.00 |
| I. U. 110 Convention Smoker tickets | 193.50 |
| **Total** | **$174,011.28** |

### EXPENDITURES

| | |
|---|---|
| **General Headquarters:** | |
| Per capita | $ 11,669.25 |
| Account supplies | 5,944.55 |
| Educational stamps | 861.50 |
| Bond stamps | 10,460.00 |
| Personal deposits withdrawn | 553.44 |
| Commission, initiations and literature | 7,875.71 |
| Expenses, account initiations, I. U. 110 | 4,349.00 |
| Wages, Branch Sec'ys, Dels, G. O. C. | 18,172.08 |
| Mileage | 3,091.87 |
| Allowance on reports to other I. U. | 6,832.25 |
| Allowance on reports from other I. U. | 6,194.50 |
| Monies held on account, Br. Sec'ys, Dels, G. O. C. | 46,495.61 |
| Papers, magazines | 6,846.49 |
| General Defense | 9,948.17 |
| Main Office salaries | 8,236.21 |
| Rent, light and heat | 4,487.71 |
| Subs | 124.15 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 1,807.27 |
| Postage, express, wires | 2,616.67 |
| Joint Account Expenditures | 379.30 |
| Craft cards received as initiations | 46.00 |
| Account distribution of D. C. R.'s | 1,358.00 |
| Jail fund | 45.80 |
| Spring Drive fund | 10,000.00 |
| **Donated by A. W. I. U. Convention:** | |
| Industrial Worker (monthly) | 200.00 |
| Portland strike | 1,507.93 |
| Hetch Hetchy strike | 500.00 |
| General Defense, publicity | 1,500.00 |

producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that, when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend production to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a constitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

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| | |
|---|---|
| **Loans:** | |
| I. U. 230 | 1,500.00 |
| I. U. 510 | 2,500.00 |
| I. U. 520 | 500.00 |
| **Funds on Deposit Account Donation:** | |
| Chicago hall | 500.00 |
| California C. S. | 1,000.00 |
| 1923 G. O. C. Emergency fund | 1,000.00 |
| Work People's College | 1,000.00 |
| **Withdrawals on Funds:** | |
| Chicago hall | 500.00 |
| California C. S. | 1,000 00 |
| Work People's College | 750.00 |
| G. O. C. Defense fund | 1,088 35 |
| Minneapolis Br. Propaganda fund | 250.00 |
| A. W. I. U. Convention expenses | 2,174 29 |
| Credits voted by convention | 364.55 |
| Expenses, delegates to Gen. Convention | 789.28 |
| Equity Printing Co. | 1,107.60 |
| Auditing Committee | 528.48 |
| Literature | 314.18 |
| Card cases | 874.50 |
| Writing leaflets, etc. | 172.50 |
| Expenses, account Defense | 1,203.06 |
| **Account Donations** | |
| Centralia Defense | 32.96 |
| Portland strike | 2.00 |
| California Defense | 37.50 |
| Work People's College | 21.45 |
| San Pedro strike | 1.00 |
| Spanish paper (Solidaridad) | 1.00 |
| Guthrie strike | 1.00 |
| I. U. 230 | 1.00 |
| **Other I. U. Assessments:** | |
| I. U. 310 | 23.00 |
| I. U. 440 | 7.00 |
| I. U. 510 | 3.00 |
| I. U. 520 | 163.00 |
| Duplicate reports | 48.10 |
| Translating Spanish leaflet | 5.00 |
| Sale of California Defense tickets | 40.00 |
| Ford auto | 467.48 |
| Advance, California Defense | 100.00 |
| Storage | 2.00 |
| Sub-Weather Crop report | 1.00 |
| Advance, General Defense, Acct. bonds | 250.00 |
| Educational Bureau, Corres, course | 5.00 |
| I. U. 110, relief | 607.11 |
| Ballot Committee, wages | 12.00 |
| Printing Smoker tickets | 26.10 |
| **Total** | **$193,087.95** |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash on hand Oct. 1, 1922 | $ 23,947.64 |
| Total Receipts for fiscal year | $174,011.28 |
| **Grand Total** | **$197,958.92** |
| Total Expenditure for fiscal year | $193,087.95 |
| Cash on hand Sept. 30, 1923 | $ 4,870.97 |

## RECEIPTS

**Initiations I. U. 110**

| 1922 | | |
|---|---|---|
| Oct. | 2258 | $ 4516.00 |
| Nov. | 468 | 936.00 |
| Dec. | 147 | 294.00 |
| Jan. '23 | 94 | 188.00 |
| Feb. | 55 | 110.00 |
| March | 55 | 110.00 |
| April | 88 | 176.00 |
| May | 171 | 342.00 |
| June | 577 | 1,154.00 |
| July | 3743 | 7,486.00 |
| Aug. | 5015 | 10,030.00 |
| Sept. | 2546 | 5,092.00 |
| | | $ 30,434.00 |

**Dues**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 7,518.50 |
| Nov. | 1,797.00 |
| Dec. | 947.00 |
| Jan. 1923 | 969.50 |
| Feb. | 720.00 |
| Mar. | 1,021.00 |
| April | 969.50 |
| May | 1,508.00 |
| June | 1,819.50 |
| July | 6,300.00 |
| Aug. | 9,004.00 |
| Sept. | 6,323.50 |
| | $ 38,897.50 |

**Initiations, other I. U.'s**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 808.00 |
| Nov. | 316.00 |
| Dec. | 202.00 |
| Jan. 1923 | 184.00 |
| Feb. | 110.00 |
| Mar. | 132.00 |
| April | 318.00 |
| May | 348.00 |
| June | 522.00 |
| July | 704.00 |
| Aug. | 748.00 |
| Sept. | 718.00 |
| | $ 5,110.00 |

**Org. Assessments**

| 1922 | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 567.50 |
| Nov. | 139.50 |
| Dec. | 49.50 |
| Jan. 1923 | 61.00 |
| Feb. | 44.00 |
| March | 27.00 |
| April | 76.00 |
| May | 86.50 |
| June | 210.00 |
| July | 429.50 |
| Aug. | 340.00 |
| Sept. | 358.00 |
| | $ 2,388.50 |

**Gen. Def. Assessments**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 3,143.00 |
| Nov. | 478.00 |
| Dec. | 245.00 |
| Jan. 1923 | 200.50 |
| Feb. | 131.50 |
| Mar. | 195.50 |
| April | 242.00 |
| May | 296.00 |
| June | 426.50 |
| July | 1,193.50 |
| Aug. | 1,450.00 |
| Sept. | 1,581.50 |
| | $ 9,583.00 |

**Bond Obligation**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 130.00 |
| Nov. | 15.00 |
| Dec. | 7.00 |
| Jan. 1923 | 1.00 |
| Feb. | |
| Mar. | |
| April | |
| May | 1.00 |
| June | 278.00 |
| July | 2,440.00 |
| Aug. | 3,742.00 |
| Sept. | 4,000.00 |
| | $ 10,614.00 |

**Educational Stamps**

| | |
|---|---|
| May | $ 35.00 |
| June | 67.50 |
| July | 204.50 |
| Aug. | 250.50 |
| Sept. | 304.00 |
| | $ 861.50 |

**Dues, other I. U.'s**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922.... | $ 1,152.00 |
| Nov. ..... | 544.50 |
| Dec. ..... | 332.50 |
| Jan. 1923.... | 462.50 |
| Feb. ..... | 268.00 |
| Mar. ..... | 389.50 |
| April ..... | 591.00 |
| May ..... | 666.50 |
| June ..... | 952.00 |
| July ..... | 1,397.00 |
| Aug. ..... | 1,432.00 |
| Sept. ..... | 1,485.00 |
| | $ 9,672.50 |

**Personal Deposits**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922.... | $ 180.00 |
| Nov. ..... | 25.00 |
| Dec. ..... | 39.02 |
| Jan. 1923.... | 25.00 |
| Feb. ..... | 20.00 |
| Mar. ..... | 60.00 |
| April ..... | 153.50 |
| May ..... | 55.70 |
| June ..... | 50.00 |
| July ..... | |
| Aug. ..... | 60.00 |
| | $ 668.22 |

**Duplicate Card Receipts**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922.... | $ 336.00 |
| Nov. ..... | 31.50 |
| Dec. ..... | |
| Jan. 1923.... | 17.50 |
| June ..... | 14.00 |
| July ..... | 276.50 |
| Aug. ..... | 444.50 |
| Sept. ..... | 238.00 |
| | $ 1,358.00 |

**Donations, General Defense**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922.... | $ 110.00 |
| Nov. ..... | 27.50 |
| Dec. ..... | 19.02 |
| Jan. 1923.... | 5.00 |
| Feb. ..... | 19.50 |
| Mar. ..... | |
| April ..... | 2.00 |
| May ..... | 17.15 |
| June ..... | 3.00 |
| July ..... | 21.00 |
| Aug. ..... | 13.50 |
| Sept. ..... | .50 |
| | $ 238.17 |

**Card Cases**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922.... | $ 40.50 |
| Nov. ..... | 4.50 |
| Dec. ..... | 10.50 |
| Jan. 1923.... | 4.00 |
| Feb. ..... | 8.00 |
| Mar. ..... | 7.50 |
| April ..... | 34.00 |
| May ..... | 13.50 |
| June ..... | 34.50 |
| July ..... | 112.00 |
| Aug. ..... | 170.00 |
| Sept. ..... | 205.00 |
| | $ 644.00 |

**Duplicate Cards**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922.... | $ 96.00 |
| Nov. ..... | 31.50 |
| Dec. ..... | 29.00 |
| Jan. 1923.... | 30.50 |
| Feb. ..... | 19.50 |
| Mar. ..... | 25.00 |
| April ..... | 29.50 |
| May ..... | 26.00 |
| June ..... | 48.00 |
| July ..... | 140.50 |
| Aug. ..... | 160.00 |
| Sept. ..... | 94.00 |
| | $ 729.50 |

**Subs**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922.... | $ 23.50 |
| Nov. ..... | 4.50 |
| Dec. ..... | 6.00 |
| Jan. 1923.... | 4.25 |
| Feb. ..... | 5.50 |
| Mar. ..... | 13.50 |
| April ..... | 7.10 |
| May ..... | 7.00 |
| June ..... | 8.00 |
| July ..... | 18.25 |
| Aug. ..... | 23.60 |
| Sept. ..... | 15.10 |
| | $ 136.30 |

**Joint Account Receipts**

| | |
|---|---|
| Dec. 1922.... | $ 94.73 |
| Jan. 1923.... | 40.78 |
| Feb. ..... | 38.20 |
| Mar. ..... | 21.70 |
| April ..... | 3.25 |
| May ..... | 7.22 |
| June ..... | 39.62 |
| July ..... | 12.40 |
| Aug. ..... | 28.00 |
| Sept. ..... | 14.62 |
| | $ 300.52 |

**Buttons, Pins, etc.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922.... | $ 129.75 |
| Nov. ..... | 16.00 |
| Dec. ..... | 12.50 |
| Jan. 1923.... | 9.00 |
| Feb. ..... | 4.25 |
| Mar. ..... | 11.50 |
| April ..... | 9.50 |
| May ..... | 27.75 |
| June ..... | 43.25 |
| July ..... | 87.25 |
| Aug. ..... | 145.50 |
| Sept. ..... | 163.00 |
| | $ 659.25 |

**Monies Paid on Account, Br. Sec'ys, Dels, G. O. C.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922.... | $ 2,362.06 |
| Nov. ..... | 6,876.43 |
| Dec. ..... | 1,378.36 |
| Jan. 1923.... | 1,220.30 |
| Feb. ..... | 1,070.54 |
| Mar. ..... | 1,926.35 |
| April ..... | 1,699.48 |
| May ..... | 4,408.73 |
| June ..... | 2,726.15 |
| July ..... | 6,001.60 |
| Aug. ..... | 3,238.95 |
| Sept. ..... | 3,905.48 |
| | $ 36,814.43 |

**Other I. U. Assessments**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. '22 310 | $ 15.00 |
| Nov. ..... | 1.00 |
| Dec. ..... | 1.00 |
| Aug. '23..... | 5.00 |
| Sept. ..... | 1.00 |
| Aug. 440..... | 4.00 |
| Sept. ..... | 3.00 |
| Sept. 510..... | 3.00 |
| June 520..... | 10.50 |
| July ..... | 33.00 |
| Aug. ..... | 37.50 |
| Sept. ..... | 83.00 |
| | $ 197.00 |

**Miscellaneous Donations**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922: | |
| Cent. Def..... | 13.50 |
| Portl'd str... | 2.00 |
| Dec.: | |
| Cal. Defense | 1.00 |
| April: | |
| W. P. C..... | 21.45 |
| May, Cal. Def | .50 |
| June, Cal. Def. | 4.50 |
| July. Cal. Def. | 2.00 |
| San Pedro str. | 1.00 |
| Spanish paper | .75 |
| I. U. 230..... | 1.00 |
| Aug. Cal. Def. | 1.00 |
| Guthrie strike | 1.00 |
| Sept. Cal. Def. | 28.50 |
| Centralia Def. | 19.46 |
| Spanish paper | .25 |
| | $ 97.91 |

**Literature**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922.... | $ 286.71 |
| Nov. ..... | 88.70 |
| Dec. ..... | 43.14 |
| Jan. 1923.... | 47.64 |
| Feb. ..... | 24.85 |
| Mar. ..... | 46.45 |
| April ..... | 37.28 |
| May ..... | 80.47 |
| June ..... | 133.08 |
| July ..... | 369.17 |
| Aug. ..... | 540.13 |
| Sept. ..... | 367.95 |
| | $ 2,065.57 |

**Papers, Magazines**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922.... | $ 563.36 |
| Nov. ..... | 269.50 |
| Dec. ..... | 195.79 |
| Jan. 1923.... | 168.04 |
| Feb. ..... | 180.65 |
| Mar. ..... | 280.20 |
| April ..... | 339.06 |
| May ..... | 531.99 |
| June ..... | 571.50 |
| July ..... | 866.48 |
| Aug. ..... | 860.21 |
| Sept. ..... | 966.07 |
| | $ 5,792.85 |

producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that, when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend production to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a constitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

The second decision contradicts the belief that the migratory workers, like the Bourbons, can "learn nothing and forget nothing".

In this instance it is not the proposal offered so much as the idea relinquished that shows the capacity of the migratory workers to adapt themselves to circumstances. There is a sincere desire among the western members to spread the organization over the basic

**Donations, Jail Fund**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922....$ | 39.15 |
| Nov. ..... | 13.54 |
| Dec. ..... | .50 |
| Jan. 1923.... | |
| Feb. ..... | |
| Mar. ..... | |
| April ..... | |
| May ..... | |
| June ..... | 14.29 |
| July ..... | 14.80 |
| Aug. ..... | 1.30 |
| Sept. ..... | |
| $ | 83.58 |

**Account Supplies**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. 1922....$ | 1.00 |
| Dec. ..... | 2.00 |
| Jan. 1923.... | |
| Feb. ..... | 26.00 |
| Mar. ..... | 13.00 |
| April ..... | 4.00 |
| May ..... | |
| June ..... | |
| July ..... | 25.50 |
| Aug. ..... | 77.00 |
| Sept. ..... | 1.50 |
| $ | 150.00 |

**Return Postage**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. 1922....$ | .10 |
| Jan. 1923.... | .20 |
| Feb. ..... | .05 |
| April ..... | .22 |
| $ | .57 |

**Use of Mimeograph**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. 1922....$ | 15.00 |
| Dec. ..... | 1.00 |
| Jan. 1923.... | 10.25 |
| Feb. ..... | 2.25 |
| Mar. ..... | 14.00 |
| April ..... | 16.00 |
| May ..... | 9.75 |
| June ..... | 27.75 |
| July ..... | 20.25 |
| Aug. ..... | 19.95 |
| Sept. ..... | 24.75 |
| $ | 160.95 |

**Funds on Deposit**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. 1922: | |
| Chicago hall $ | 500.00 |
| Calif. C. S... | 1,000.00 |
| 1923 G.O.C. Emer. Def. | 1,000.00 |
| Jan.: M'pls. Br. Prop. ..... | 50.00 |
| W. P. C..... | 1,000.00 |
| July M'pls. Br. Prop.. | 300.00 |
| Aug. M'pls. Br. Prop.. | 100.00 |
| $ | 3,950.00 |

**Miscellaneous**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. Phonograph records .....$ | 1.00 |
| Interest on Meter deposit..... | .90 |
| Nov. Phonograph records ..... | 1.00 |
| Dec. Gen. Hdqts. due on all accts..... | 172.44 |
| Errors on checks ..... | .55 |
| Feb. Cal. Def. tickets..... | 40.00 |
| Apr. Mimeograph paper ..... | 1.25 |
| Spring Drive fund, redeposited..... | 5,000.00 |
| May, Mimeograph ink ..... | 2.25 |
| Mimeograph paper ..... | 25.00 |
| Educ. B. Corres. course..... | 5.00 |
| Spring Drive fund, redeposited..... | 5,000.00 |
| June, Mimeograph paper..... | 25.00 |
| Interest on Meter Dep. ..... | .29 |
| Sale of fixtures, Conv. hall..... | 6.00 |
| Aug. 110 Convention Smoker..... | 18.25 |
| Sale of typewriter ..... | 20.00 |
| Sept. 110 Convention Smoker..... | 175.25 |
| Mimeograph paper..... | 27.00 |
| $ | 10,521.18 |

**Refunds**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. Deportation fund ..... | 1,500.00 |
| Mileage ..... | 8.57 |
| Del. Gen. Conv. Wages..... | 28.0 |
| Del. Gen. Conv. Mileage ..... | 117.28 |
| Mr. Gen. Def. Comm. ..... | 71.48 |
| June, On Water Conv. Hall ..... | 1.62 |
| July, I. U. 110 relief..... | 11.00 |
| Aug. I. U. 110 relief..... | 11.25 |
| Tele., lights ..... | 3.55 |
| Sept. I. U. 110 relief..... | 8.50 |
| Light, Soo City ..... | 4.48 |
| L. W. Smith, comm. ..... | .50 |
| $ | 1,766.23 |

**Miscellaneous Donations to I. U. 110**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 110 Educational Bureau.....$ | 2.00 |
| Literature ..... | 1.00 |
| Nov. N. D. Defense ..... | 22.50 |
| Dec. Literature ..... | 1.25 |
| Mar. Organization ..... | 3.50 |
| Apr. I. U. 110..... | .50 |
| May Strike..... | 1.00 |
| July 110 relief ..... | 7.30 |
| Collection, Oxford, Neb..... | 12.00 |
| Aug. 110 Relief ..... | 49.25 |
| I. U. 110 ..... | .25 |
| Sept. ..... | 12.50 |
| 110 strike ..... | 1.00 |
| I. U. 110 ..... | 2.00 |
| $ | 116.05 |

**Total Receipts from Oct., 1922, to Sept., 1923, inclusive.....$174,011.28**

## EXPENDITURES

**From October 1, 1922, to Sept. 30, 1923.**

**Per Capita**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922....$ | 2,255.55 |
| Nov. ..... | 539.10 |
| Dec. ..... | 284.10 |
| Feb. for Jan. 1923.... | 290.85 |
| Feb.-Mar..... | 522.30 |
| April ..... | |
| May-Apr. .... | 290.85 |
| June, May-June | 998.25 |
| July ..... | 1,830.00 |
| Aug. ..... | 2,701.20 |
| Sept. ..... | 1,897.05 |
| $ | 11,669.25 |

**Mileage**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922....$ | 242.38 |
| Nov. ..... | 126.96 |
| Dec. ..... | 67.97 |
| Jan. 1923.... | 193.88 |
| Feb. ..... | 12.52 |
| Mar. ..... | 110.55 |
| April ..... | 125.96 |
| May ..... | 475.47 |
| June ..... | 295.09 |
| July ..... | 618.64 |
| Aug. ..... | 427.57 |
| Sept. ..... | 393.88 |
| $ | 3,091.87 |

**Personal Deposits Withdrawn**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 90.00 |
| Nov. | 188.37 |
| Dec. | 59.02 |
| Jan. 1923 | 20.00 |
| Feb. | |
| Mar. | 25.00 |
| April | 60.00 |
| May | 38.00 |
| June | 23.05 |
| July | |
| Aug. | 60.00 |
| | $ 563.44 |

**Other I. U.'s Allowance on Reports to**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 880.75 |
| Nov. | 394.30 |
| Dec. | 245.85 |
| Jan. 1923 | 301.35 |
| Feb. | 178.00 |
| Mar. | |
| April | 312.05 |
| May | 350.20 |
| June | 473.45 |
| July | 680.80 |
| Aug. | 975.10 |
| Sept. | 2,040.40 |
| | $ 6,832.25 |

**General Defense**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 1,092.03 |
| Nov. | 2,785.79 |
| Dec. | 296.70 |
| Jan. 1923 | 1,201.69 |
| Feb. | 396.31 |
| Mar. | 166.15 |
| April | 99.46 |
| May | 168.00 |
| June | 273.03 |
| July | 1,698.10 |
| Aug. | 348.62 |
| Sept. | 1,422.29 |
| | $ 9,948.17 |

**Stationery and Fixtures**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 47.60 |
| Nov. | 91.87 |
| Dec. | 105.10 |
| Jan. 1923 | 169.73 |
| Feb. | 99.32 |
| Mar. | 68.46 |
| April | 101.85 |
| May | 185.24 |
| June | 180.89 |
| July | 276.49 |
| Aug. | 251.90 |
| Sept. | 228.82 |
| | $ 1,807.27 |

**Commissions on Initiations and Literature**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 1,169.27 |
| Nov. | 204.77 |
| Dec. | 73.46 |
| Jan. 1923 | 69.50 |
| Feb. | 77.06 |
| Mar. | 109.72 |
| April | 101.82 |
| May | 199.89 |
| June | 361.44 |
| July | 1,783.93 |
| Aug. | 2,297.89 |
| Sept. | 1,426.96 |
| | $ 7,875.71 |

**Allowances on Reports From Other I. U.'s**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 435.00 |
| Nov. | 563.00 |
| Dec. | 290.10 |
| Jan. 1923 | 293.30 |
| Feb. | 232.60 |
| Mar. | 325.60 |
| April | 288.35 |
| May | 411.65 |
| June | 333.25 |
| July | 630.05 |
| Aug. | 1,711.80 |
| Sept. | 679.80 |
| | $ 6,194.50 |

**Main Office Salaries**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 855.35 |
| Nov. | 784.00 |
| Dec. | 720.16 |
| Jan. 1923 | 477.99 |
| Feb. | 406.33 |
| Mar. | 507.00 |
| April | 406.51 |
| May | 436.51 |
| June | 575.40 |
| July | 818.96 |
| Aug. | 1,044.00 |
| Sept. | 1,204.00 |
| | $ 8,236.21 |

**Postage, Express, Wires**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 206.17 |
| Nov. | 188.05 |
| Dec. | 109.18 |
| Jan. 1923 | 69.09 |
| Feb. | 106.87 |
| Mar. | 131.89 |
| April | 162.10 |
| May | 138.91 |
| June | 267.92 |
| July | 444.24 |
| Aug. | 447.87 |
| Sept. | 344.38 |
| | $ 2,616.67 |

**Wages, Br. Sec., G.O.C. and Traveling Delegates**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 1,739.00 |
| Nov. | 1,363.50 |
| Dec. | 855.50 |
| Jan. 1923 | 852.00 |
| Feb. | 759.47 |
| Mar. | 1,106.00 |
| April | 1,253.15 |
| May | 1,631.50 |
| June | 1,711.50 |
| July | 2,725.26 |
| Aug. | 2,208.45 |
| Sept. | 1,966.75 |
| | $ 18,172.08 |

**Monies Held on Acct., Br. Sec., G. O. C., Dels.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 5,596.16 |
| Nov. | 5,437.64 |
| Dec. | 697.52 |
| Jan. 1923 | 1,796.87 |
| Feb. | 1,318.93 |
| Mar. | 2,448.33 |
| April | 2,133.62 |
| May | 4,347.37 |
| June | 3,848.46 |
| July | 7,214.66 |
| Aug. | 6,188.22 |
| Sept. | 5,467.83 |
| | $ 46,495.61 |

**Rent, Light, Heat**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 295.97 |
| Nov. | 315.79 |
| Dec. | 323.83 |
| Jan. 1923 | 347.61 |
| Feb. | 331.98 |
| Mar. | 328.44 |
| April | 318.86 |
| May | 293.94 |
| June | 511.43 |
| July | 436.04 |
| Aug. | 336.39 |
| Sept. | 647.43 |
| | $ 4,487.71 |

**Joint Acct. Expenditures**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 34.50 |
| Nov. | 32.40 |
| Dec. | 65.50 |
| Jan. 1923 | 29.75 |
| Feb. | 28.60 |
| Mar. | 3.50 |
| April | 29.75 |
| May | 25.00 |
| June | 49.35 |
| July | 10.25 |
| Aug. | 32.00 |
| Sept. | 38.70 |
| | $ 379.30 |

**Papers, Magazines**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 7.39 |
| Nov. | 538.20 |
| Dec. | 344.53 |
| Jan. 1923 | 288.71 |
| Feb. | 182.48 |
| Mar. | 303.35 |
| April | 327.50 |
| May | 485.00 |
| June | 580.04 |
| July | 916.97 |
| Aug. | 719.04 |
| Sept. | 2,153.28 |
| | $ 6,846.49 |

**Subs**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ |
| Nov. | 20.00 |
| Dec. | 4.00 |
| Jan. 1923 | 5.00 |
| Feb. | 5.50 |
| Mar. | 4.00 |
| April | 15.00 |
| May | 7.10 |
| June | 6.00 |
| July | 8.00 |
| Aug. | 18.25 |
| Sept. | 31.30 |
| | $ 124.15 |

**Craft Cards Received as Initiations**

| | |
|---|---|
| Oct. 1922 | $ 12.00 |
| Nov. | 2.00 |
| Dec. | |
| Jan. 1923 | |
| Feb. | |
| Mar. | |
| April | 8.00 |
| May | 6.00 |
| June | 8.00 |
| July | 6.00 |
| Aug. | 2.00 |
| Sept. | 2.00 |
| | $ 46.00 |

**Funds on Deposit Acct. Donation**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. 1922 | |
| Chicago hall | $ 500.00 |
| Calif. C. S. | 1,000.00 |
| G. O. C. Em. Defense | 1,000.00 |
| Jan 1923 | |
| W. P. C. | 1,000.00 |
| | $ 3,500.00 |

its prime concern is that the workers shall preserve their producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that, when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend production to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a constitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

The second decision contradicts the belief that the migratory workers, like the Bourbons, can "learn nothing and forget nothing".

In this instance it is not the proposal offered so much as the idea relinquished that shows the capacity of the migratory workers to adapt themselves to circumstances. There is a sincere desire among the western members to spread the organization over the basic

| Acct. Distribution of D. C. R.'s | | Jail Fund | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct. 1922.... | $ 336.00 | Oct. 1922.... | $ 1.00 |
| Nov. ..... | 31.50 | Nov. ..... | 1.00 |
| Dec. ..... | | Dec. ..... | 5.00 |
| Jan. 1923.... | 17.50 | Jan. 1923.... | |
| Feb. ..... | | Feb. ..... | |
| Mar. ..... | | Mar. ..... | |
| April ..... | | April ..... | |
| May ..... | | May ..... | |
| June ..... | 14.00 | June ..... | 28.80 |
| July ..... | 276.50 | July ..... | |
| Aug. ..... | 444.50 | Aug. ..... | 10.00 |
| Sept. ..... | 238.00 | Sept. ..... | |
| | $ 1,358.00 | | $ 45.80 |

**Credits Voted by Convention**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. 1922, John Downs, relief | $ 50.00 |
| E. J. Burkhart, wages | 30.00 |
| Joe Murphy, wages | 35.00 |
| Wm. Block, wages | 10.00 |
| P. Taft, legal exp | 14.55 |
| May, 1923 | 225.00 |
| | $ 364.55 |

**Withdrawal on Funds**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. Chicago Hall | 65.00 |
| Dec. | 85.00 |
| Jan. | 95.00 |
| Feb. | 85.00 |
| April | 85.00 |
| May | 85.00 |
| Nov., Cal. C. S. Fund | 225.72 |
| Dec. | 400.00 |
| Jan. | 374.28 |
| Jan. Work People's College | 250.00 |
| April | 250.00 |
| July | 250.00 |
| May, G. O. C. Defense Fund | 175.00 |
| June | 646.75 |
| July | 201.60 |
| August | 65.00 |
| Jan. Minneapolis Br. Prop. | 30.00 |
| March | 20.00 |
| September | 200.00 |
| | $ 3,588.35 |

**A. W. I. U. Convention Expenses**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. 1922, Wages, Delegates, Publicity Committee, etc. | $ 896.00 |
| Mileage, Delegates | 326.61 |
| Telegrams | 27.79 |
| Hall rent | 94.00 |
| Typewriter rent | 2.00 |
| Dec., Return Mileage, Delegates | 75.99 |
| May, rent hall | 125.00 |
| Fixtures | 23.40 |
| Janitor | 10.50 |
| Water Dep. | 3.00 |
| Exp. Members Atten. | 387.00 |
| Wages, Chr. Rec. Sec. Conductors | 100.00 |
| Legal service | 20.00 |
| Postage, wires | 8.00 |
| Sept. hall rent | 75.00 |
| | $ 2,174.29 |

**Exp. Delegates to General Convention**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. 1922, Wages | $ 392.00 |
| Mileage | 102.62 |
| Dec. Wages | 280.00 |
| Returned, Mileage | 14.66 |
| | $ 789.28 |

**Equity Printing Co.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. 1922, Ballots | $ 37.71 |
| Dec. Spanish leaflet | 18 11 |
| 110 Convention minutes | 231.96 |
| Feb. By-laws | 41.17 |
| March, Delinquent list | 45.54 |
| April | 100.23 |
| May | 77.70 |
| June | 294.60 |
| July | 38.32 |
| Aug. | 142.59 |
| Sept. | 79.67 |
| | $ 1,107.60 |

**Auditing Committee**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. 1922, Mileage | $ 37.89 |
| Dec. Wages | 252.00 |
| Mileage | 14.66 |
| Jan. 1923, Wages | 218.00 |
| Returned, Mileage | 5.93 |
| | $ 528.48 |

**Donated by A. W. I. U. Convention**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. 1922, Industrial Worker, monthly donation | $ 25.00 |
| Portland strike | 500.00 |
| Hetch Hetchy strike | 500.00 |
| General Defense, publicity | 1,500.00 |
| Dec. Portland strike | 405.28 |
| Jan. Portland strike | 602.65 |
| Industrial Worker | 25.00 |
| Feb. Industrial Worker | 25.00 |
| Mar. Industrial Worker | 25.00 |
| April, Industrial Worker | 25.00 |
| May Ind. Worker | 25.00 |
| July | 25.00 |
| Sept. | 25.00 |
| | $ 3,707.93 |

**Literature**

| | |
|---|---|
| October, 1922 | $ 122.50 |
| January, 1923 | 1.50 |
| April | 36.65 |
| May | 10 00 |
| Aug. | 27.22 |
| Sept. | 116.31 |
| | $ 314.18 |

**Loans**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. 1922, I. U. 230 | $ 500.00 |
| I. U. 510 | 2,500.00 |
| Feb. 1923, I. U. 230 | 500.00 |
| May 520 | 500.00 |
| 230 | 500.00 |
| | $ 4,500.00 |

**Educational Stamps**

| | |
|---|---|
| June (May) | $ 35.00 |
| July (June-July) | 272.00 |
| Aug. (Sept.) | 250.50 |
| Sept. | 304.00 |
| | $ 861.50 |

**Bond Stamps**

| | |
|---|---|
| July (June) | $ 278.00 |
| Aug. (July) | 2,440.00 |
| Sept. (Aug.) | 3,742.00 |
| (Sept.) | 4,000.00 |
| | $ 10,460.00 |

**Exp. Acc't Inits.**

| | |
|---|---|
| June | $ 105.00 |
| July | 1,407.50 |
| Aug. | 1,828.00 |
| Sept. | 1,008.50 |
| | $ 4,349.00 |

**Card Cases**

| | |
|---|---|
| April | 137.00 |
| May | $ 12.50 |
| June | 100.00 |
| July | 100.00 |
| Aug. | 250.00 |
| Sept. | 275.00 |
| | $ 874.50 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Gen. Hdqts., acc't supp. | |
| Feb. General Hdqts., balance due on all accounts | 293.66 |
| Mar. General Hdqts., supp. | 512.13 |
| Sept. | 5,138.76 |
| | $ 5,944.55 |

**Writing Leaflets, etc.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Feb. | $ 5.00 |
| Mar. | 12.00 |
| April | 30.00 |
| May | 20.00 |
| June | 31.00 |
| July | 58.50 |
| Aug. | 8.00 |
| Sept. | 8.00 |
| | $ 172.50 |

**Exp. Acc't Defense**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. | $ 610.00 |
| Dec. | 65.00 |
| April | 75.56 |
| June | 110.00 |
| July | 272.50 |
| Aug. | 70.00 |
| | $ 1,203.06 |

**Acc't Misc. Donations**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. Centralia | $ 13.50 |
| Portland | 2.00 |
| Apr. W. P. College | 21.45 |
| Cal. Def. | 1.00 |
| June Cal. Def. | .50 |
| July Cal. Def. | 2.00 |
| San Pedro | 1.00 |
| I. U. 230 | 1.00 |
| Solidaridad | .75 |
| Sept. Cal. Def. | 34.00 |
| Centralia | 19.46 |
| Guthrie strike | 1.00 |
| Solidaridad | .25 |
| | $ 97.91 |

**Other I. U. Assess.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. '22 310 | $ 1.00 |
| Dec. | 1.00 |
| Jan. | 15.00 |
| July, 520 | 42.50 |
| Sept. 310 | 6.00 |
| 440 | 7.00 |
| 510 | 3.00 |
| 520 | 120.50 |
| | $ 196.00 |

**Miscellaneous**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nov. '22 Duplicate reports | $ 5.50 |
| Spring Drive Fund | 10,000.00 |
| Dec. Duplicate reports | 9.00 |
| Translating Spanish leaflet | 5.00 |
| Feb. California Defense tickets | 40.00 |
| March, Duplicate reports | 12.60 |
| April, Ford auto | 467.48 |
| May, Adv. Cal. Def. | 100.00 |
| Storage | 2.00 |
| June, Sub-Weather and Crop report | 1.00 |
| Adv. G. D. Acc't Bonds | 250.00 |
| Educational Bureau, Corres. course | 5.00 |
| July, 110 relief | 321.67 |
| Aug. 110 relief | 170.44 |
| Ballot Comm. Wages | 12.00 |
| Ptg. Smoker tickets | 26.10 |
| Sept. 110 relief | 115.00 |
| Duplicate reports | 21.00 |
| | $ 11,563.79 |

**Total Expenditures from Oct., 1922, to Sept., 1923 inclusive** **$193,087.95**

producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that, when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend production to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a constitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

The second decision contradicts the belief that the migratory workers, like the Bourbons, can "learn nothing and forget nothing".

In this instance it is not the proposal offered so much as the idea relinquished that shows the capacity of the migratory workers to adapt themselves to circumstances. There is a sincere desire among the western members to spread the organization over the basic

## CASH SUMMARY

**From October 1, 1922, to September 30, 1923.**

| | Receipts | Expenditures | Cash Cr. | Cash Def. | Total Deficit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| October, 1922 | $ 14,371.78 | $ 5,512.92 | $ 8,858.86 | | |
| November | 6,645.27 | 27,294.51 | | $ 20,649.24 | |
| December | 2,040.08 | 4,755.28 | | 2,715.20 | |
| January, 1923 | 2,376.15 | 6,428.52 | | 4,052.37 | |
| February | 935.51 | 3,509.37 | | 2,573.86 | |
| March | 1,659.23 | 4,076.61 | | 2,417.38 | |
| April | 6,674.21 | 3,916.97 | 2,757.24 | | |
| May | 8,123.71 | 6,522.43 | 1,601.28 | | |
| June | 4,261.59 | 7,189.24 | | 2,927.65 | |
| July | 15,395.41 | 10,614.39 | 4,781.02 | | |
| August | 18,532.00 | 10,765.96 | 7,766.04 | | |
| September | 15,816.78 | 25,322.19 | | 9,505.41 | |
| | $ 96,831.72 | $115,908.39 | $ 25,764.44 | $ 44,841.11 | $ 19,076.67 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash on hand Oct. 1, 1922 | $ 23,947.64 |
| Total Cash Receipts for fiscal year | $ 96,831.72 |
| **Grand Total** | **$120,779.36** |
| Total Cash Expenditures for fiscal year | $115,908.39 |
| Cash on hand Sept. 30, 1923 | $ 4,870.97 |

## OMAHA BR., I. U. 110, OF THE I. W. W.

**Summary of business done from October 1, 1922, to September 30, 1923.**

### RECEIPTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Initiations | | $ 358.00 |
| Dues | $ 968.00 | |
| Dues on D. C. R.'s | 87.00 | 1,055.00 |
| Initiations, other unions | | 206.00 |
| Dues, other unions | | 644.00 |
| Organization stamps | | 121.00 |
| Defense stamps | | 248.50 |
| Bond stamps | | 301.00 |
| Educational stamps | | 17.00 |
| Card cases | | 35.50 |
| Buttons | | 17.25 |
| Literature | | 72.95 |
| D. C. R.'s | | 101.50 |
| Duplicate cards | 50.00 | |
| Dup. cards, D. C. R.'s | 14.50 | 64.50 |
| Papers | | 269.65 |
| Subs | | 15.00 |
| I. U. 520 ass'mts | | 5.00 |
| Smoker tickets | | 1.00 |
| Donations, Portland strike | | 2.00 |
| Interest on Meter Deposit | | .90 |
| Total | | $3,535.75 |

### EXPENDITURES

| | |
|---|---|
| Wages, Secretary | $1,472.00 |
| Wages, Janitor | 209.25 |
| Wages, Auditing Committee | 12.00 |
| Commission on literature | 1.60 |
| Rent, light, heat, etc. | 1,589.46 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 127.74 |
| Postage, express and wires | 163.10 |
| Painting hall | 130.00 |
| Acc't. distribution of D. C. R.'s | 101.50 |
| Craft cards rec. as initiations | 4.00 |
| Total | $3,810.65 |
| Deficit | $ 274.90 |

### COST OF MATERIALS

| | |
|---|---|
| Due books, I. U. 110 (179 @20c) | $ 35.80 |
| Dues books, other I. U.'s (103 @ 20c) | 20.60 |
| Due books, Dup. cards (129 @ 20c) | 25.80 |
| Per capita on dues | 316.50 |
| Other unions, inits (@50%) | 103.00 |
| Other unions, dues (@50%) | 322.00 |
| Defense stamps | 248.50 |
| Bond stamps | 301.00 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Educational stamps | 17.00 |
| Card cases | 35.50 |
| Buttons (@60%) | 10.35 |
| Literature (@60%) | 43.77 |
| Papers | 161.79 |
| Subs | 15.00 |
| I. U. 520 Ass'mts | 5.00 |
| Smoker tickets | 1.00 |
| Donations, Portland strike | 2.00 |
| Interest on Meter Deposit | .90 |
| Total | $1,665.51 |
| Actual Deficit | $1,940.41 |

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| Total Receipts | $3,535.75 |
| Cash on hand October 1, 1922 | 140.80 |
| Adv. by Main Office | 1,150.00 |
| Total | $4,826.55 |
| Total Expenditures | $3,810.65 |
| Money advanced* | 53.02 |
| Remitted to Main Office | 850.00 |
| Total | $4,713.67 |
| Cash on hand Sept. 30, 1923 | $ 112.88 |

* Money advanced, distributed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Exp. Acc't, other unions | $ 2.40 |
| Exp. Acc't, General Defense | .62 |
| Adv., Thos. P. McCoy | 50.00 |
| Total | $ 53.02 |

## CHICAGO BR., I. U. 110, OF THE I. W. W.

**Summary of business done from June 1, 1923, to September 30, 1923.**

### RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiations, I. U. 110 | $ 774.00 |
| Dues | 934.50 |
| Initiations, other unions | 200.00 |
| Dues, other unions | 708.50 |
| Organization stamps | 476.50 |
| Bond stamps | 562.00 |
| Defense stamps | 175.50 |
| Educational stamps | 12.50 |
| Card cases | 65.50 |
| Buttons | 77.25 |
| Literature | 391.06 |
| Duplicate cards | 28.00 |
| Papers | 906.91 |
| Subs | 9.50 |
| Jail relief | 44.99 |
| Donations, California Defense | 8.00 |
| " Centralia Defense | 2.50 |
| " San Pedro strike | 1.00 |
| " Guthrie strike | 1.00 |
| " Spanish paper | 2.00 |
| " To I. U. 110 relief | 50.25 |
| " To I. U. 110 | 3.25 |
| Account supplies | .50 |
| I. U. No. 310 Conv. Assmts | 6.00 |
| I. U. No. 440 Steel Assmts | 7.00 |
| Total | $5,448.21 |

### EXPENDITURES

| | |
|---|---|
| Wages, Secretary | $ 500.00 |
| Wages, Janitor | 160.25 |
| Commission on papers and lit | 425.60 |
| Rent, light, heat, etc | 360.00 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 77.64 |
| Postage, express, wires | 10.89 |
| Total | $1,534.38 |
| Credit Balance | $3,913.83 |

### COST OF MATERIALS

| | |
|---|---|
| Due books, I. U. 110 (387 @20c) | $ 77.40 |
| Due books, other unions (100 @20c) | 20.00 |
| Due books, Dup. cards (28 @20c) | 11.20 |
| Per capita on dues | 280.35 |
| Inits, other unions (@50%) | 100.00 |
| Dues, other unions (@50%) | 354.25 |
| Bond stamps | 562.00 |
| Defense stamps | 175.00 |
| Educational stamps | 12.50 |
| Card cases | 65.50 |
| Buttons (@60%) | 46.35 |
| Literature (@60%) | 234.63 |
| Papers (@60%) | 544.14 |
| Subs | 9.50 |
| Jail relief | 44.99 |
| Donations received | 68.00 |
| I. U. No. 310 Conv. Assmts | 6.00 |
| I. U. No. 440 | 7.00 |
| Total | $2,618.81 |
| Actual Credit Balance | $1,295.02 |

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| Total Receipts | $5,448.21 |
| Cash on hand Oct. 1, 1922 | |
| Adv. by Main Office | 410.00 |
| Total | $5,858.21 |
| Total Expenditures | $1,534.38 |
| Remitted to Main Office | $4,323.83 |
| Total | $5,858.21 |
| Cash on hand Sept. 30, 1923 | |

[illegible] prime concern is that the workers shall [illegible] producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that, when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend production to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a constitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

The second decision contradicts the belief that the migratory workers, like the Bourbons, can "learn nothing and forget nothing".

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## SIOUX CITY BR., I. U. 110, I. W. W.

**Summary of business done from October 1, 1922, to September 30, 1923.**

### RECEIPTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Initiations I. U. 110 | | $ 500.00 |
| Dues | $ 985.00 | |
| Dues on D. C. R.'s | 57.00 | 1,042.00 |
| Initiations, other unions | | 174.00 |
| Dues, otber unions | | 456.50 |
| Organization stamps | | 53.00 |
| Bond stamps | | 204.00 |
| Defense stamps | | 207.00 |
| Educational stamps | | 26.00 |
| Card cases | | 28.00 |
| Buttons | | 14.50 |
| Literature | | 49.60 |
| Papers | | 324.01 |
| Duplicate cards | 42.50 | |
| Dup. cards, D. C. R.'s | 9.50 | 52.00 |
| Dup. card receipts (D. C. R.'s | | 66.50 |
| Interest on Meter deposit | | .29 |
| Refund on lights, etc | | 8.03 |
| Convention Smoker tickets | | 1.25 |
| I. U. No. 310 Conv. Assmts | | 6.00 |
| I. U. No. 520 R. R. Assmts | | 21.00 |
| Subs | | 2.50 |
| Total | | $3,236.18 |

### EXPENDITURES

| | |
|---|---|
| Wages, Secretary | $1,433.00 |
| Wages, Janitor | 54.00 |
| Wages, Auditing Committees | 78.50 |
| Commission on papers and lit. | 47.13 |
| Rent, light, heat, etc. | 833.77 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 160.40 |
| Postage, express, wires | 101.14 |
| Craft cards rec. as inits | 2.00 |
| Acc't distribution of D. C. R.'s | 66.50 |
| Total | $2,776.44 |
| Credit Balance | $ 459.74 |

### COST OF MATERIALS

| | |
|---|---|
| Due books, I. U. 110 (250 @20c) | $ 50.00 |
| Due books, other I. U.'s (87 @20c) | 17.40 |
| Due books, Dup. cards (104 @20c) | 20.80 |
| Per capita on dues | 312.60 |
| Other unions, inits (@50%) | 87.00 |
| Other unions dues (@50%) | 228.25 |
| Defense stamps | 207.00 |
| Bond stamps | 204.00 |
| Educational stamps | 26.00 |
| Card cases | 28.00 |
| Buttons (@60%) | 8.70 |
| Literature (@60%) | 29.76 |
| Papers (@60%) | 194.40 |
| Interest on Meter deposit | .29 |
| Convention Smoker tickets | 1.25 |
| I. U. No. 310 Conv. Assmts | 6.00 |
| I. U. No. 520 R. R. Assmts | 21.00 |
| Subs | 2.50 |
| Total | $1,444.95 |
| Actual Deficit | $ 985.21 |

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| Total Receipts | $3,236.18 |
| Cash on hand October 1, 1922 | 26.68 |
| Adv. by Main Office | 874.90 |
| Total | $4,137.76 |
| Total Expenditures | $2,776.44 |
| Money advanced* | 3.04 |
| Remitted to Main Office | 1,000.00 |
| From Job Del. a\|c J. H. Snyder Cr. | 1.00 |
| Credit voted J. H. Snyder by Convention | 143.94 |
| Total | $3,924.42 |
| Sept. 30, Cash on hand** | $ 213.34 |

* Money advanced distributed as follows:
Exp. acc't, other unions $ 3.04

** Cash on hand distributed as follows:
Owed by J. R. Burns $ 79.92
A Vernon, Cash on hand Sept. 30, 1923 133.42
$ 213.34

## MINNEAPOLIS BR., I. U. 110, I. W. W.

**Statement of business done from October 1, 1922, to September 30, 1923.**

### RECEIPTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Initiations, I. U. 110 | | $1,096.00 |
| Dues | 2,594.50 | |
| Dues on D. C. R.'s | 12.00 | 2,606.50 |
| Initiations, other unions | | 778.00 |
| Dues, other unions | | 1,801.00 |
| Organization stamps | | 62.50 |
| Bond stamps | | 396.00 |
| Defense stamps | | 766.50 |
| Educational stamps | | 32.00 |
| Card cases | | 74.50 |
| Buttons | | 81.50 |
| Literature | | 752.33 |
| Papers | | 1,804.91 |
| Duplicate cards | 50.00 | |
| Dup. Cards D. C. R.'s | 2.00 | 52.00 |
| Dup. card receipts (D. C. R.'s) | | 14.00 |
| Smoker tickets | | 8.75 |
| Subs | | 11.50 |
| I. U. No. 310 Conv. Assmts | | 3.00 |
| I. U. No. 520 R. R. Assmts | | 21.00 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Phonograph records | 1.00 |
| Donations, Organization | 4.80 |
| " Work People's Coll. | 21.45 |
| " General strike | 1.00 |
| " Jail fund | .75 |
| Total | $10,390.99 |

### EXPENDITURES

| | |
|---|---|
| Wages, Secretary | $1,484.00 |
| Wages, Janitor | 126.60 |
| Wages, Auditing committee | 62.00 |
| Wages, Ballot committee | 12.00 |
| Wages, Distributing literature | 14.00 |
| Wages, etc., on new hall | 237.05 |
| Commission on papers and lit. | 756.08 |
| Rent, light, heat, etc. | 1,108.67 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 218.56 |
| Postage, express, wires | 175.52 |
| Craft cards received as inits. | 6.00 |
| Expenses acc't Defense | .56 |
| Acc't distrib. D. C. R.'s | 14.00 |
| Total | $4,215.04 |
| Credit Balance | $6,175.95 |

### COST OF MATERIALS

| | |
|---|---|
| Due books, I. U. 110 (548 @20c) | $ 109.60 |
| Due books, other unions (389 @20c) | 77.80 |
| Due books, Dup. cards | 20.80 |
| Per Capita dues | 781.95 |
| Inits, other unions (@50%) | 389.00 |
| Dues, other unions (@50%) | 900.50 |
| Bond stamps | 396.00 |
| Defense stamps | 766.50 |
| Educational stamps | 32.00 |
| Card cases | 74.50 |
| Buttons (@60%) | 48.90 |
| Literature (@60%) | 451.40 |
| Papers (@60%) | 1,082.94 |
| Smoker tickets | 8.75 |
| Subs | 11.50 |
| I. U. No. 310 Conv. Assmts. | 3.00 |
| I. U. No. 520 R. R. Assmts. | 21.00 |
| Phonograph records | 1.00 |
| Donations received | 28.00 |
| Total | $5,205.14 |
| Actual Credit Balance | $ 970.81 |

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| Total Receipts | $10,390.99 |
| Advanced by Main Office | 170.00 |
| Total | $10,560.99 |
| Total Expenditures | $4,215.04 |
| Credit Bal., Oct. 1, 1922 | 8.84 |
| Money advanced* | 44.44 |
| Remitted to Main Office | 6,003.75 |
| Total | $10,272.07 |
| Cash on hand September 30, 1923** | $ 288.92 |

* Money advanced, distributed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Exp. acc't other unions | $ 23.18 |
| Exp. acc't General Defense | 1.26 |
| Joe Roe, acc't pers. deposit | 20.00 |
| Total | $ 44.44 |

** Cash on hand distributed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Owed by John E. Carlson | $ 124.81 |
| Owed by Sam Murphy | 43.91 |
| Chas. Gray, Cash on hand | 120.20 |
| Total | $ 288.92 |

## FARGO BR., I. U. 110, OF THE I. W. W.

**Summary of business done from April 3, 1923, to September 30, 1923.**

### RECEIPTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Initiations, I. U. 110 | | $ 796.00 |
| Dues | $1,199.50 | |
| Dues on D. C. R.'s | 45.00 | 1,244.50 |
| Initiations, other unions | | 94.00 |
| Dues, other unions | | 195.00 |
| Organization stamps | | 21.00 |
| Bond stamps | | 720.00 |
| Defense stamps | | 213.00 |
| Educational stamps | | 29.00 |
| I. U. No. 520 R. R. Assmts. | | 20.50 |
| Card cases | | 75.50 |
| Buttons | | 35.00 |
| Literature | | 83.33 |
| Dup. card receipts (D. C. R.'s) | | 52.50 |
| Duplicate cards | 22.00 | |
| Dup. cards, D. C. R.'s | 7.50 | 29.50 |
| Papers | | 282.41 |
| Smoker tickets | | 3.50 |
| Total | | $3,894.74 |

### EXPENDITURES

| | |
|---|---|
| Wages, Secretary | 5 692.00 |
| Wages, Janitor | 26.50 |
| Wages, Auditing committee | 9.00 |
| Commission on papers and lit. | 54.50 |
| Rent, light, heat, etc. | 440.10 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 43.10 |
| Postage, express and wires | 152.67 |
| Rent, Convention hall | 75.00 |
| Adv. Chair Rent Conv. hall | 15.00 |
| Acc't distribution of D. C. R.'s | 52.50 |
| Total | $1,560.37 |
| Credit Balance | $2,334.37 |

producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that, when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend production to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a constitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

The second decision contradicts the belief that the migratory workers, like the Bourbons, can "learn nothing and forget nothing".

In this instance it is not the proposal offered so much as the idea relinquished that shows the capacity of the migratory workers to adapt themselves to circumstances. There is a sincere desire among the western members to spread the organization over the basic

**COST OF MATERIALS**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Due books, I. U. 110 (398 @20c) | $ 79.60 | |
| Due books, other unions (47 @20c) | 9.40 | |
| Due books, on Dup. cards (59 @20c) | 11.80 | |
| Per capita on dues | 373.35 | |
| Bond stamps | 720.00 | |
| Defense stamps | 213.00 | |
| Educational stamps | 29.00 | |
| I. U. No. 520 R. R. Assmts | 20.50 | |
| Card cases | 75.50 | |
| Buttons (@60%) | 21.00 | |
| Literature (@60%) | 49.99 | |
| Papers (@60%) | 169.44 | |
| Smoker tickets | 3.50 | |
| Total | | $1,776.08 |
| Actual Credit Balance | | $ 558.29 |

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total Receipts | $3,894.74 | |
| Adv. by Main Office* | 402.88 | |
| Total | | $ 4,297.62 |
| Total Expenditures | $1,470.37 | |
| Money advanced (Rent, etc., Conv. hall) | 90.00 | |
| Remitted to Main Office | 2,550.00 | |
| Total | | $4,110.37 |
| Cash on hand September 30, 1923 | | $ 187.25 |

* Advanced by Main Office, distributed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Rent, Oct. to April, inclusive | $ 245.00 |
| Adv. Morreau by O'Brien G. O. C. | 85.00 |
| Def. April Reports J. O'Brien | 72.88 |
| Total | $ 402.88 |

M. & S. (Karnstrom & Brush), That the financial report of Secretary-Treasurer be accepted, subject to the Auditing committee.

Amend. (Doyle & Smith), That the Auditing committee be instructed to publish in printed form the financial report of the Secretary-Treasurer for his term of office. Amend. carried.

**Report of members of the G. O. C.**

Albert Hanson, Chairman G. O. C., reports for Timothy Reagan, stationary delegate, Bozeman, Mont.

M. & S. (Kolar & Hartline). That the report be accepted subject to the Auditing committee.—Carried.

**Report of Albert Hanson, Chairman G. O. C.**

M. & S. (Hanley & Boyd). That the report be held in abeyance until the other members of the G. O. C. have reported.—Carried.

**Report of G. O. C. member Fred Mann**

M. & S. (Sullivan & Hanley) That the financial report of Fred Mann be accepted subject to the Auditing committee and his verbal report be held in abeyance for further information.—Carried.

**Report of G. O. C. member Joe Murphy**

M. & S. (Kolar & Karnstrom). That Joe Murphy's report take the same course as the others.—Carried.

**Report of G. O. C. member J. A. Lee**

M. & S. (Bennett & Brush). That this report take the same course as the others.—Carried.

At 5.20 minutes of the days session were read.

M. & S. (Jordan & Reagan). That the minutes be accepted subject to correction by the chairman and recording secretary. Carried.

**MORNING SESSION, October 14th, 1923.**

Called to order at 9 A. M. by Chairman Fisher. 64 members in good standing present.

Albert Hanson reports for Sam Oberman, member G. O. C.

M. & S. (Hanley-Hartline) That the report be accepted subject to the auditing committee.—Carried.

Albert Hanson reports for Wm. Dawson, member G. O. C.

M. & S. (Hartline-Burkhart) That the report be accepted subject to the auditing committee.—Carried.

Albert Hanson reports for John O'Brien, member G. O. C.

M. & S. (Murphy-Cheesebrew) That the report be accepted subject to the auditing committee.—Carried.

**Report of Rules Committee**

Rule 18. All members must take seats and no one be allowed to stand in rear of hall.

M. & S. (Murphy-Gilbert) That we concur with rule 18.—Carried.

Rule 19. That the branch hall at 110 Front St. be closed at 7 P. M. and used for committee meetings.

M. & S. (Greer-Hartline) That we concur with rule 19.—Carried.

**Report of Resolution Committee**

RC. 1. (Spokane Conference 110. Wm. Hurley) As it is now Industrial Unions do business for other I. U.s on a 50-50 basis.

Be it resolved. That instead of the 50-50 basis of doing business Industrial Unions exchange supplies or their value for all organization work done. Committee does not concur.

M. & S. (Kolar-Sullivan) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

RC.2 (Spokane Conference 110. C. J. O'Donnell).

Whereas, There are fellow workers who went to jails and prisons for organization principles, coming out in bad condition both physically and financially, something should be done for them. Referred by Spokane Conference to 110 convention to be taken up at the General Convention of the I. W. W. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Bennett-Brush) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

RC. 3. (Sioux City Branch. Louis Freeman, 819004).

Resolved, That this meeting go on record as instructing the I. U. 110 delegates to the general convention to bring before that body a motion instructing the G. E. B. to issue a card that will give more service, as the last cards seem to give very poor service. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Hartline-Bennett) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

RC. 4 (Spokane Conference 110. Wm. Hurley).

Resolved, That duplicate cards sent out from the main office of I. U. 110 shall have full credit for assessment stamps placed in them. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (O'Neil-Peterson) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

RC.5. (J. C. Boulton).

A resolution providing for an identification page to be placed in due books. Committee does not concur.

M. & S. (Brush-Hartline) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Report of resolution committee accepted as progress.

**Report of By-Laws Committee**

1A. (Reginald Jones 346943).

Whereas, The officials are at present receiving four dollars a day, which commands a higher standard of living than the average member of 110, the raising of the monthly dues to one dollar would leave an opening for pending officials to call for five dollars, thus raising them to a much higher standard of living than the members of 110,

Therefore, Be it resolved, That should the monthly dues be raised to one dollar the present four dollar per day rate for officials of 110 remain the same, not to be raised. Committee does not concur.

M. & S. (Kolar-Ostrom) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

2A. (X80068 and 392536).

Resolved, That by-law 19 be amended to read:

Branch secretaries shall be elected by members in the branch. Secretary treasurer to be notified immediately of all elections. Branch secretaries shall be removed only by vote of members of the branch. Committee does not concur.

M. &S. (Rankin-Masters) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

3A. (Wm. Edwards, X1306).

Resolved, That resolution 2 of the by-laws of 110 be stricken out as one using action for organization may be compelled to disobey this resolution. Committee does not concur.

M. & S. (Brush-Reagan) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

4A. (Spokane Conference 110. E. Antijuntti).

Resolved, That by-law 36 be stricken from the by-laws of 110 as it prohibits the progress of the I. W. W. as a whole as it denies the teachings of one of our greatest principles, namely, that an injury to one is an injury to all. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Hanley-Peterson) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Report of by-law committee reported as progress.

**Report of Committee on Ways and Means**

1. Communication from Sioux City branch in regard to keeping hall open. Committee does not concur.

M. & S. (Greer-Brush) That we do not concur with committee.

Amend. (Sullivan-Boyd) That we send the communication back to the ways and means committee for re-drafting.—Carried.

Report of ways and means committee accepted as progress.

**Report of Grievance Committee**

1. Committee recommends that Howard Griffin's name be kept off delinquent list and that he be allowed a year's grace to pay this account.

M. & S. (Murphy-O'Neil) That we concur with committee.

Amend. (Brush-Smith) That all members incarcerated for thirty days or more for organization activities be allowed same time.—Carried.

Report of grievance committee accepted as progress.

**Report of Jail Committee**

M. & S. (Kolar-Miller) That the report be accepted and balance of cash be turned over to the two fellow workers held in the county jail.—Carried.

Adjourned at 12 noon.

## AFTERNOON SESSION, October 14, 1923.

Called to order at 1:30 P. M. by Chairman Fisher.

80 members of 110 present in good standing.

**Report of G. O. C. member John O'Brien.**

M. & S. (Bennett-Edwards) That the report take the same course as the others.—Carried.

M. & S. (Burkhart- Ohrm) That the chairman, recording secretary and conductors receive four dollars per day.—Carried.

M. & S. (Sullivan-Lightner) That the floor be thrown open for questioning the members of the G. O. C.—Carried.

M. & S. (Kolar-Hurlbert) That the discussion be closed.—Carried.

M. & S. (Brush-Masters) That the reports of the G. O. C. members be accepted as read.

[illegible] producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that, when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend production to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a constitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

The second decision contradicts the belief that the migratory workers, like the Bourbons, can "learn nothing and forget nothing".

In this instance it is not the proposal offered so much as the idea relinquished that shows the capacity of the migratory workers to adapt themselves to circumstances. There is a sincere desire among the western members to spread the organization over the basic

Amend. (Hanley-Klein) That the reports be accepted subject to the auditing committee.

Hanley wishes to embody in the amendment with the consent of seconder that G. O. C. members Hanson, Mann, Dawson, Lee, Oberman and Murphy be given a vote of confidence.

Chair rules the embodiment out of order.

Hanley appeals from the decision of the chair.

The chair is sustained. Yes, 46; No, 25.

Amendment carried.

**Report of the Secretary Treasurer on Number of 1923 Delegates Who Have Cash on Hand.**

M. & S. (Sullivan-Brush) That the report be accepted subject to the auditing committee.—Carried.

**Unfinished Business**

M. & S. (Kolar-Ostrom) That the communication from I. U. 440 laid over from the spring convention be tabled.—Carried.

M. & S. (Rankin-Klein) That the motion pertaining to the election of branch secretaries laid over from the spring convention be filed.—Carried.

M. & S. (Cheesebrew-Sullivan) That the motion regarding the Omaha hall laid over from the spring convention be tabled until the report of the ways and means committee.—Carried.

**New Business**

M. & S. (Rankin-Brush) That John Murphy, AG-586 and Frank Schild, AG-587, be given a clearance on account of having been in jail all summer.—Carried.

M. & S. (Sullivan-Bates) That the account of John Ashley, G-332, be cleared.—Carried.

M. & S. (O'Neil-Lightner) That any member given six months in jail or prison for organization activities be given a clearance.

Amend. (Karnstrom-Hartline) That any delegate who has now been incarcerated for 90 days be given a clearance.

M. & S. (Sullivan-Ostrom) That both motion and amendment be tabled.—Carried. Yes, 53; No, 13.

Adjourned at 4:25 P. M. to give committees a chance to work.

## MORNING SESSION, October 15th, 1923.

Called to order at 9 A. M. by Chairman Fisher.

63 members of I. U. 110 present in good standing. Two Visitors.

**Report of Resolutions Committee**

RC 6. (Spokane Conference 110. Andrew Jacobson).

In the late strike which was called for the release of the class war prisoners, the G. O. C. of I. U. 110 came out with reasons such as poor crops and a surplus of men in the harvest fields, etc., as the excuse for not calling a strike to show their solidarity.

Be it resolved, That when such circumstances arise, the A. W. I. U. 110 go on strike at least one day, no matter how poor the crops may be, etc., when other I. U.s ask their support in a strike. Committee concurs after adding, "And that we concentrate our efforts on the attainment of power on the job in order to make the strike effective."

M. & S. (O'Neil-Bates) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

RC 7. (Yakima, Wash.)

Resolved, That the next G. O. C. be instructed to get out propaganda pertaining to the agricultural fields of the Pacific northwest and also to the horticultural districts. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Murphy-Bennett) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

RC 8. (839653).

RC 9. (R. Jones, 346493).

RC 10. (F. Peterson, X13397).

RC 11. (Harold Moore).

All four above resolutions which pertain to the press and education were referred to the delegates to the general convention.

RC 12. (Spokane Conference 110. John Murphy, X54310).

As the A. W. I. U. 110 convention is held in the fall when the fruit season is on in full blast.

Be it resolved, That the next A. W. I. U. 110 convention be held in Spokane in 1924.

RC 13. (Yakima, Wash, No. 3).

Resolved, That the holding of the A. W. I. U. 110 convention in the five central states be eliminated and the place of holding the convention be left to the membership.

Resolution committee does not concur with RC 12 and 13 but offers as a substitute, "That the place of holding the A. W. I. U. 110 convention shall be decided by a referendum vote of the membership."

M. & S. (Bennett-Edwards) That we concur with the committee.—Carried.

RC 14. (Walter Parker, 807386).

RC 15. (Harry Ralston, 828211).

RC 16. (Ed. Dupell, 405453).

Resolutions committe substitutes RC 17 for RC 14, 15 and 16, all of which pertain to the commission on initiations.

RC 17. That I. U. 110 abolish the 50 cents commission on cash initiations and the 50 cents expense allowed on each initiation but allow expense of postage and money order.

M. & S. (Greer-Kolar) That we concur with committee.

M. & S. (Rankin-Hartline) That this resolution be tabled until the spring convention.—Lost

Motion carried.

RC 18. (Amendment to by-law 30 by committee)

The secretary treasurer must advertise and have credentials and supplies taken up from any job delegate who goes $20.00 cash behind on his report. This is to be enforced without exception.

M. & S. (Boyd-Hartline) That we concur with RC 18.—Carried.

Report of resolutions committee accepted as progress.

**Report of By-Laws Committee**

5A. (Wm. Countiss, 705881).

Committe reports that it took no action on this as it is purely ethical.

M. & S. (Jordan-Bates) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

6A. (R. W. Schaffer, X79223).

Resolved, That no one shall hold a paid position at a convention for two consecutive times. Committee does not concur.

M. & S. (Karnstrom-Epstein) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

7A. (Yakima, Wash., No. 2).

Resolved, That by-law 36 be stricken out.

Committee reports this as already acted on.

Report of by-laws committee accepted as progress.

**Report of Ways and Means Committee**

1. Communication from Tom Connors, secretary California Defense.

2. (Spokane Conference 110. Wm. Hurley).

Resolved, That the A. W. I. U. 110 donate the sum of $2,500.00 to the California Defense, same to go on the next ballot. Committee offers the following sugestions:

Whereas, We find the A. W. I. U. 110 in a financial condition which prevents us from making a donation at this time, therefore,

Be it resolved, That we, the members of the ways and means committee of I. U. 110 convention assembled in Fargo, urge all members who find it possible to go to California and carry on organization work there as in our opinion it is the best way to advance the cause of our fellow workers in jail there and build up the A. W. I. U. and the organization as a whole. And be it further,

Resolved, That in the case of those members not in a position to go to California, we urge them to help our fellow workers there by helping to spread the boycott on California products and give the California situation all the publicity possible and raise funds for the California Defense, and Relief in every way possible. And as California offers a big field for the activities of A. W. I. U. 110, that we centralize our activities there this winter and that a copy of this resolution be printed in all I. W. W. publications.

M. & S. (Burkhart-Bates) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

3. Communcation from E. E.Andersen, secretary General Defense. Committee recommends that owing to the fact that the General Defense is short of funds especially for the Amnesty Drive, be it

Resolved, That we urge all members to buy all the defense stamps possible and that all 110 delegates be instructed to push the sale of the defense stamps. And be it further

Resolved, That we ask all members to co-operate with branch secretaries of 110 to devise ways and means such as tag days, entertainments, etc., to raise funds for the Defense and that a copy of this resolution be published in all I. W. W. publications and the 110 bulletins between now and Christmas and that branch secretaries of 110 be mailed a copy of this resolution.

M. & S. (O'Neil-Sullivan) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

4. Communication from R. Mysl.

Committee does not concur.

M. & S. (Murphy-Klein) That we do not concur with committee.—Lost, Yes, 13; No, 35.

Adjourned at 12 noon.

## AFTERNOON SESSION, October 15, 1923

Called to order at 1:30 P. M. by Chairman Fisher.

64 members present in good standing. Two visitors.

**Report of Ways and Means Committee**

5. (G. O. C.)

Whereas, The two dollar a day rate of pay for members of the G. O. C. before taking their final districts, as provided by the 13th convention of the A. W. I. U. 110, has proved highly unsatisfactory,

Therefore, Be it resolved, That we go on record as doing away with the $2.00 a day pay for G. O. C. members. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Bennett-Peterson) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Report of ways and means committee accepted as progress.

**Report of Grievance Committee**

1. Report of committee on communication from LeRoy Crossman. We find that by-law 24 was violated this year in some fifty instances, and we find that by merely reprimanding our officials, we do not and have not gotten the desired results. Therefore we recommend to the by-laws committee

1st. That by-law 24 be changed to read one year instead of six months.

2nd. That we add to by-law 24, "Any official, branch secretary, traveling or stationary delegate found guilty of violating by-law 24, shall be immediately taken off pay and his supplies and credentials taken up. The secretary treasurer and chairman of the G. O. C. of 110 to be held respoonsible for the enforcement of this by-law.

M. & S. (Brush-Epstein) That we concur with the committee and suggestions be turned over to the by-laws committee.—Carried.

2. Communication from W. Francik, referred to the convention by Minneapolis branch A. W. I. U. 110. Committee reports this as settled by resignation of Ralph Chaplin as publicity man of General Defense Committee.

M. & S. (Karnstrom-Ostrom) That we concur with committee.

Amend. (Jordan-Rankin) That we concur with committee and the minutes of the General Defense Committee meeting of Oct. 13th be laid over to new business.

Amend. to Amend. (Hanley-Schaffer) That the report of the committee and the minutes of the General Defense Committee meeting of Oct. 13th be laid over to new business.

its prime concern is that the workers shall preserve [illegible] producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that, when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend production to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a constitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

The second decision contradicts the belief that the migratory workers, like the Bourbons, can "learn nothing and forget nothing".

In this instance it is not the proposal offered so much as the idea relinquished that shows the capacity of the migratory workers to adapt themselves to circumstances. There is a sincere desire among the western members to spread the organization over the basic

Amend. to Amend.—Lost. Yes, 2; No, 37.

Amendment lost. Yes, 13; No, 39.

Motion carried. Yes, 39; No, 4.

Report of grievance commitee accepted as progress.

M. & S. (Hartline-Schaffer) That we elect a publicity committee of three.—Carried.

M. & S. (Sullivan-Karnstrom) That the publicity committee go on pay.—Lost.

M. & S. (Bennett-Schaffer) That the G. O. C. act as a publicity committee.—Carried.

**Albert Hanson, chairman of the G. O. C., reports for the stationary and traveling delegates.**

Joe O'Neil, traveling delegate, Kansas and Colo.

M. & S. (Hartline-Brush) That the report be accepted subject to the auditing committee.—Carried.

H. Bennett, traveling delegate Kansas and South Dakota.

M. & S. (Sullivan-Bates) That the report be accepted subject to the auditing committee. Carried.

Geo. B. Williams, traveling delegate, Arkansas.

M. & S. (Rankin-Hartline) That the report be accepted and that Geo. B. Williams and Harold Fiske be given a clearance on their 1923 accounts. —Carried.

Chas. Kolar, stationary delegate, Kansas City and Minot.

M. & S. (Murphy-Bates) That the report be accepted subject to the auditing committee.—Carried.

Ed. Anderson, traveling delegate, Kansas.

M. & S. (Edwards-Reagan) That the report be accepted subject to the auditing committee.—Carried.

R. Pruitt, traveling delegate, Canada.

M. & S. (Reagan-Peterson) That the report be accepted subject to the auditing committee. Carried.

Wm. Powers, stationary delegate Enderlin, N. D.

M. & S. (Sullivan-Ralston) That the report be accepted subject to the auditing committee.—Carried.

Reports of H. Johnson, stationary delegate, Fresno; Leo Norman, traveling delegate, Michigan; Jas. Collins, traveling delegate, Kansas; J. C. Boulton, stationary delegate, Bozeman, Mont.; Jack Martin, stationary delegate, Wichita; John Farley, stationary delegate, Minot; Geo. Wilson, traveling delegate, California and Tom McCoy, stationary delegate, Minot, were all accepted subject to the auditing committee.

Sam Oberman, member of the G. O. C.

M. & S. (Kolar-Edwards) That the report be accepted and that Oberman be given a clearance. —Carried.

**Report of the Resolutions Committee**

RC 19. (Tom Doyle, 185400).

Whereas, New members generally have opinions about the I. W. W. which they have formed from the propaganda of the capitalistic press, and

Whereas, One of the most erroneous of these opinions is that the I. W. W. believes in violence and the destruction of property, and

Whereas, The A. W. I. U. 110 of the I. W. W. does not endorse or believe in violence or the destruction of property, but is emphatically opposed to these anti-social and wrongful methods, therefore,

Be it resolved, That each new member be obligated to pledge himself against violence and the destruction of property, and the following pledge be printed on all applications for membership:

"Are you opposed to violence and the destruction of property?" Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Murphy-Bates) That we concur with committee and that this resolution stand as instructions to the delegates to the general convention.—Carried.

**New Business**

M. & S. (Jordan-Kolar) That we accept the minutes of the General Defense Committee meeting of Oct. 13th and the resignation of Ralph Chaplin.—Carried.

Fellow Worker Cheesebrew resigns as conductor.

M. & S. (Sullivan-Brush) That his resignation be accepted.—Carried.

Fellow Worker O'Harra elected as conductor.

Minutes of day's session read and accepted.

Adjourned at 5:30 P. M.

## MORNING SESSION, October 16, 1923

Called to order at 9 A. M. by Chairman Fisher. 35 members present in good standing.

**Report of Resolutions Committee**

RC 20. (H. Rankin, 396764).

Resolved, That no member of A. W. I. U. 110 have credentials issued to him until he has obtained a clearance on all former accounts. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Sullivan-Hartline) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

RC 21. (X53220 and X42190)

A suggestion to the convention to provide a death benefit. Committee does not concur.

M. & S. (Murphy-Hartline) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

RC 22. (J. C. Boulton).

A chart to outline the purpose of the I. W. W. Committee does not concur.

M. & S. (O'Neil-Ohrm) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

RC 23. (X13397)

Resolved, That the phrase "as provided for in constitution under officers' salaries" be stricken from Art. 8, Sec. 2, paragraph H, of the general constitution. Committee refers to delegates to general convention.

M. & S. (Brush-Rankin) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

**Report of By-Laws Committee**

12A. (Substitute for by-law 24, by committee.)

The secretary treasurer, G. O. C., branch secretaries, stationary and traveling delegates shall under no circumstances issue supplies to a delegate of I. U. 110 before checking his remittances and supplies. And should a delegate have more than

$20.00 cash on hand his supplies and credenitals shall be taken up immediatcly. And under no circumstances shall any official issue credcntials to members who are members in good standing less than one year.

The official who violates the one year clause herein mentioned shall be held personally responsible. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Hartline-Brush) That we concur with committee.

Amend. (Sullivan-Edwards) That any official violating the onc year clause of by-law 24 be taken off pay immcdiately. The secretary treasurer shall be held responsible for the enforcement of same.

Amendment carried. Yes, 40; No, 2.

13A. (Spokane Conference 110. Wm. Hurley.)

Resolved, That no new delegate who has not carried supplies before be given supplies amounting to more than $80.00, and notice be posted in the 110 bulletin when said delegate is $25.00 in the hole and his supplies and credentials taken up. Amended at Spokane conferencc to read "no job delegate be given, etc." Committee does not concur.

M. & S. (Hanley-Klein) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

14A. (By-laws committee).

Amendment to Art. 11, by-laws, general constitution. That the commission on initiations shall be no more than 50 cents. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Karnstrom-Gilbert) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

By-law 1. Committee recommends that by-law 1 b: changed to read 5 instead of 7 members of the G. O. C.

M. & S. (Sullivan-Hanley) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Committee reports by-laws 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 as O. K.

M. & S. (Sullivan-Edwards) That we concur with Committee.—Carried.

Report of by-laws committee accepted as progress.

M. & S. (Hartline-Bates) That the resignaion of O'Neil and Murphy from the by-laws committee be acccptcd.—Carried.

Schwartz and Karnstrom elected on by-laws committee.

**Report of Ways and Means Committee**

6. (W. D. Conway, 735134).

Resolved, That this body go on record as inaugurating a district form of organization and abolish voluntary delegates and install a stationary delegate to function in each district. Committee docs not concur.

M.& S. (Cheesebrew-Miller) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

7. (By Fred Mann, 251734).

Resolvcd, That the Sioux City hall be closed on Nov. 1st and a stationary delegate substituted. However, should the members in Sioux City find ways to finance a hall they may secure one. That the secretary treasurer be instructed to see if arrangements can be madc to run the Omaha hall on a pro rata basis among the following I. U.s: 330, 310, 460 and 110. Should this arrangement fail the Sioux City proposal to apply to Omaha. That the Minncapolis hall bc kept open. That thc Chicago hall bc kept open. That the secretary treasurer and G. O. C. have the power of closing same in case the hall should not be self supporting. That all branches be notified that if the hall is to be kept open they must find means of supporting same.

Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Hanlcy-Ohrm) That we concur with committee.

Amend. (Murphy-Bennett) That all halls except Fargo bc given until the first of the ycar to see if they can get on a paying basis. Chair rules amendmcnt in order. Rankin appcals from the decision of the chair. The chair is sustained.

Amendment lost. Yes, 17; No, 42.

Motion carricd. Yes, 36; No, 23.

8. (Fred Mann 251734.)

Whereas, The present income of the general organization is inadequate to meet the necessary financial needs, and,

Whereas, A more efficient financial system is necessary, and,

Whereas, The varfous industrial unions are confronted with many different problems, therefore,

Be it resolved, That the delegates to the general convention be instructed to work and vote for the installation of a budget system for the general organization, and be it further

Resolved, That all assessments and other present methods of raising finance (except dues) be replaced by one organization stamp and that members in their respective I. U.s be considered in bad standing unless they secure this stamp every year. The respective I. U.s to determine the manner in which this stamp be paid. The revenue from this stamp to be divided between the industrial unions, General Defense, press and educational bureau, and general headquarters. General headquarters to operate the small industrial unions and other initial work. Committee concurs.

M.& S. (Bennett-Reagan) That we concur with committee.

Adjourned at 12 noon.

## AFTERNOON SESSION, October 16, 1923

Called to order at 1:30 by Chairman Fisher.

67 members of 110 present in good standing. One visitor.

Hurlbert resigns as conductor.

M. & S. (Sullivan-Reagan) That his resignation be accepted.—Carried.

Boyd elected conductor.

Chair rules motion left from the morning session in order.

Murphy appeals from the decision of the chair.

The chair is sustained. Yes, 40; No, 13.

Amend. (Miller-Rankin) That as the per capita tax is not sufficient to run the organization, that we

Its prime concern is that the workers shall preserve their [illegible] producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that, when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend production to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a constitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

The second decision contradicts the belief that the migratory workers, like the Bourbons, can "learn nothing and forget nothing".

In this instance it is not the proposal offered so much as the idea relinquished that shows the capacity of the migratory workers to adapt themselves to circumstances. There is a sincere desire among the western members to spread the organization over the basic

go on record in favor of one dollar dues and do away with assessments.

Chair rules amendment out of order.

Miller appeals from the decision of the chair.

The chair is sustained. Yes, 57; No, 15.

Motion carried. Yes, 40; No, 27.

Murphy, Rogers, Epstein, Rankin, Owens, Hartine, Schaeffer, Klein, K. Miller, Kearns, O'Neil, Long, Brush and Bates to be recorded as opposed.

Ways and means committee report accepted as progress.

M. & S. (Miller-Reagan) That we accept the resignation of Hartline from the ways and means committee.—Carried.

Hurlbert elected on ways and means committee.

M. & S. (Reagan-Miller) That the resignation of Masters as conductor be accepted.—Carried.

Brush elected as conductor.

At 5:20 minutes of the day's session read and accepted.

Adjourned at 5:30 P. M.

## MORNING SESSION, October 17, 1923

Called to order at 9 A. M. by Chairman Fisher.

49 members present in good standing.

**Rules Committee Has No Report**

Chair rules that report will be accepted and the committee stand discharged.

**Report of the Resolutions Committee**

RC 24. (Hanley Falls).

Resolved, That the educational bureau set a period of months this winter for educational meetings. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Edwards-Karnstrom) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

RC 25. (Hanley Falls).

Resolved, That all cards issued in the future have a sticker placed in the back of the cards with primary instructions to new members. Committee concurs and recommends that instructions be printed in new cards to save expense.

M. & S. (Bates-Rogers) That we concur with committeee.—Carried.

RC 26. (Hanley Falls).

Resolved, That the G. O. C. members give an itemized account of all expenditures up to the time of the convention while functioning on the G. O. C. Same to be read on the floor of the convention and sent to the field. Committee does not concur.

M. & S. (Edwards-Ohrm) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

RC 27. (William Klein).

Resolved, That this body go on record for a 25 cent convention stamp, and be it further

Resolved, That this body go on record for a 25 cent hall stamp, this to read for the maintenance of halls.

Committee does not concur.

M. & S. (Murphy-Edwards) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

RC 28. (Spokane Conference 1110. Wm. Hurley).

RC 29. (E. Ostrom, 824029).

RC 30. (Spokane Conference 110. Wm. Hurley).

RC 31. (By resolutions committee).

RC 31 offered as substitute by resolutions committee for RC 28, 29 and 30, which deal with the form of convention and means of obtaining better representation.

RC 31. Whereas, The mass convention has proved to be unwieldly and unrepresentative, and

Whereas, I. U. 110 must sooner or later meet this deficiency with a more workable form of convention, therefore,

Be it resolved, That the incoming G. O. C. be instructed to work out a plan for future A. W. I. U. conventions and present same to the next No. 110 convention, and that these resolutions be turned over to them.

M. & S. (Rogers-Karnstrom) That we concur with the committee. Yes, 37; No, 10. Motion carried. Edwards recorded as voting No.

RC-32. The resolution committee concurs.

M. & S. (Rogers-O'Neil) That we concur with the committee.

Chair rules that this resolution be held in abeyance until by-laws committee reports on by-law No. 13.

Doyle appeals from the decision of the chair. Yes, 25; No, 10. Chair sustained.

RC 33. (Geo. Elsasser).

RC 34. (Jack O'Dell).

RC 35. (Harold Reed).

Resolutions committe concurs with principle of questionaire and it should stand as instructions to the delegates to the general convention to take same up with educational bureau.

M. & S. (Murphy-Hanley) That we concur with the committee. Yes, 40; No, 2.—Carried.

RC 36 (Wm. Murphy).

Committee does not concur. Chair rules out as already acted upon. Rankin appeals from the decision of the chair. 41, Yes; No, 9.—Chair sustained.

RC 37. (Chas. J. O'Donnell. Spokane Conference No. 15).

"I would suggest a drive to be known as a 4 in 1 drive consisting of I. U.s No. 110, 120, 310 and 520. This drive should start in the spring during the wheat harvest in Oklahoma, taking the route of the usual 110 drive. Lining up harvest hands, railroad workers and construction workers as it heads northwest into Washington, Oregon, Idaho and California. Nothing could stop it. Thereby taking in the lumber, railroad and construction industries." Committee concurs and refers to the incoming G. O. C.

M. & S. (Brush-Cheesebrew) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

RC 38. (Frank Schwartz, 814620).

RC 39. (Wm. Powell).

RC 40. (R. V. Jones, 346493).

RC 41. (LeRoy Crossman).

RC 42. (Wm. Hanley, 194920).

Committe refers these resolutions, 38 to 41 in-

clusive, which pertain to plans of organization, to the incoming G. O. C. Resolution 42 referred to the delegates to the general convention and to the incoming G. O. C. (Paragraph 2.)

M. & S. (Ostrom-Karnstrom) That we concur with the committee.—Carried.

RC 43. (F. Hurlbert).

Resolved, That we go on record of finding ways and means of protecting our organization as members going into Canada are leaving their cards behind them. Whereas this organization is universal and members doing so are hindering the progress of the organization. Delegates carrying credentials on the Canadian side are receiving very little support from the members in their efforts to function for the organization. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (O'Neil-Ralston) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Report of the resolutions committee accepted as progress.

**Report of the By-Laws Committee**

Res. 17. (J. Smith).

Resolved, That the G. O. C. and all stationary and traveling delegates can only issue a certain amount of supplies to delegates, not to exceed $50.00. Committee does not concur.

M. & S. (Schaffer-Miller) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Res. 18. (Hanley Falls, Minn.).

Resolved, That by-law 3 be changed to read that the term of office be one year and the 90 day clause be stricken out and that no official can hold office for two years after the expiration of his term. Chair rules this is already acted on.

Res. 19. (J. O'Neil, 195015).

Resolved, That the ballot committee issue a bulletin recording the delegates sending in ballots and giving the card number of members voting and the way they vote on resolutions and candidates for office. Committee does not concur.

M. & S. (Schaffer-Rankin) That we do not concur with committee. Chair rules that this resolution will be tabled until the by-law it affects is acted upon.

By-law 11. Committee recommends that this be changed to read 18 months good standing instead of 6.

M. & S. (Kolar-Cheesebrew) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

By-law 12. O. K.

By-law 13. Committee concurs with by-law No. 13 and interprets the G. O. C. resolution as an emergency.

G. O. C. resolution:

Resolved, That this convention interpret the present financial condition of 110, as applied to by-law No. 13, as an emergency, and that the chairman of the G. O. C. shall not be required to stay in the main office through the winter and spring months, if, in his judgment, the welfare and the finances of 110 are properly safeguarded during his absence.

M. & S. (Cheesebrew-Klein) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

By-law 14. The commitec recommends that this by-law be stricken out.

M. & S. (Hanley-Kolar) That we concur with the committee.—Lost.

M. & S. (Cheesebrew-Sullivan) That by-law No. 14 be amended to read:

Five alternate members of the G. O. C. shall be nominated and elected on the same ballot as the G. O. C.—Carried.

By-laws 15 and 16. O. K.

By-law 17. Committee recommends that by-law No. 17 be stricken out.

M. & S. (Burkhart-Ostrom) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

By-laws 18, 19, 20 and 21 O. K.

By-law 22. Committee concurs with by-law No. 22 and does not concur with resolution 20.

Res. 20. (Hanley Falls, Minn.):

That by-law No. 22 be amended to read: Branches shall tabulate all votes on ballots and ballots be numbered before sent out from headquarters, so that ballots can be tabulated by main office and ballot committee and be compared.

M. & S. (Rankin-Hartline) That we do not concur with committee.—Lost.

M. & S. (Boyd-Edwards) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

By-law 23. O. K.

By-law 24. Already acted on.

By-laws 25, 26, and 27. O. K.

By-law 28. Already acted on.

By-law 29. O. K.

By-law 30. Already acted on.

By-laws 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35. O. K.

By-law 36. Already acted on.

By-laws 37, 38, 39, 40, 41 and 42. O. K.

By-law 43. Committee reports O. K.

M. & S. (Cheesebrew-Hurlbert) That we do not concur with committee.—Lost.

M. & S. (Hanley-Brush) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

By-law 44. O. K.

Resolution No. 1 in 110 by-laws. O. K.

Resolution No. 2 in 110 by-laws. Already acted on.

Resolution No. 3. in 110 by-laws. Committee recommends that all except the first two lines be stricken out.

M. & S. (Boyd-Epstein) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Resolutions Nos. 4 and 5 in 110 by-laws. O. K.

Report of by-laws committee accepted and committee discharged.

**Report of Grievance Committee**

Re. James Barry. Committee reports that James Barry is entitled to all rights accorded all other fellow workers in jail for organization activities.

M. & S. (Hartline-Burkhart) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Report of grievance committee accepted and committee discharged.

**Report on Ways and Means Committee**

Communication from Felix Thornton on situation

[illegible] its prime concern is that the workers shall preserve their health. producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that, when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend production to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a constitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

The second decision contradicts the belief that the migratory workers, like the Bourbons, can "learn nothing and forget nothing".

In this instance it is not the proposal offered so much as the idea relinquished that shows the capacity of the migratory workers to adapt themselves to circumstances. There is a sincere desire among the western members to spread the organization over the basic

in California. Committee recommends that this be referred to the 110 conference in California on November 15th.

M. & S. (Boyd-Ohrm) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Communication from Wm. Dawson. Committee refers to G. O. C.

M. & S. (Reagan-Joyce) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Resolution No. 13 by Wm. Edwards (X1306):

Resolved, That A. W. I. U. No. 110 put card case in field of good substantial material, card case to be placed to membership at rate not to exceed one dollar ($1.00), and that all card cases now on hand be disposed of, as rapidly as possible, at the regular price of 50 cents. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Murray-Bennett) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Resolution No. 14 by W. D. Conway (735134):

Resolved, That this body go on record to combat the auto harvest hand. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Murray-Brush) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Resolution No. 15 by Frank Hurlbert (X50420):

Resolved, That the I. U. 110 convention go on record for sending out a call next spring (through the press and bulletins) for all I. W. W. members who own automobiles to take out credentials and literature to educate and line up the workers who travel from place to place in automobiles. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Brush-Bates) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Resolution No. 18 by Harry Ralston (828211):

Resolved, That we take enough literature in the fields next year to supply each and every auto tramp with same, so that he will possess the right conception as to the aims and objects of the I. W. W. and also know the necessity of organization, and

Be it further resolved, That we center our activities on the job wherever possible with the auto tramp. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Brush-Doyle) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Report of ways and means committee accepted as progress.

M. & S. (Murphy-Boyd) That we hold an extra session at 7 P. M.—Carried.

Adjourned at 5:30 P. M.

## EXTRA SESSION, October 17, 1923

Called to order by Chairman Fisher 7:30 P. M. 69 members present in good standing.

Resolution No. 17 by Wm. Hanley (194620):

Resolved, That there is no urgency, nor necessity, for a meeting of the G. O. C. immediately after their election, and what business, plans, or arranging and electing themselves can be done by mail or wire, as there has been in the past sufficient length of time to carry out same. This to stand as instructions unless emergency dictates otherwise. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Murray-Klein) That we concur with committee.

Resolution No. 18 by Chas. Kolar (258386):

Resolved, That the present G. O. C., except the member in California and the chairman, go off pay as soon as convention adjourns. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Murray-Schaffer) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Report of ways and means committee accepted and committee discharged.

M. & S. That we proceed to nomination of officials.

M. & S. (Rogers-Greer) That we elect five delegates to the general convention, the three delegates receiving the highest vote to act as auditing committee for I. U. 110.—Carried.

### NOMINATIONS

**Nominees Who Accepted as Delegates for General Convention**

James Sullivan, 52; Wm. Murphy, 48; Howard Griffin, 32; Joe Fisher, 55; W. F. Lowe, 34; Ed. Burkhart, 28; Wm. Hanley, 55; Chas. Kolar, 31.

The delegates to the general convention are: Sullivan, Fisher, Hanley, Murphy and Lowe. Sullivan, Fisher and Hanley to act as auditing committee for I. U. 110.

**Nominees for Secretary Treasurer I. U. 110**

**Accept**

Wm. Hanley.

**Decline**

Joe O'Neil, Tom Doyle, J. Murray, Wm. Murphy, J. Cheesebrew, Ed Burkhart, J. Greer, H. E. Hartline, Wm. Rogers, F. Swartz, Joe Fisher, Joe Jordan, Tim Reagan, Harry Bennett, W. F. Bates, W. F. Lowe, Chas. Kolar, A. R. Sail, Jas. (Blackie) Sullivan, Harvey Karnstrom, W. R. Boyd, Louis Kromer.

**Absent**

Forrest Edwards, Frank Thorpe, Wm. Hurley, John Black, R. Jones, R. E. Massey, Howard Griffin, C. J. O'Donnell, Roscoe Thurman, Tom McCoy, John Downs, Frank Clark,, Felix Thornton, Fred Quigley, Ted Fraser, P. J. Gorman, Louis Handler, Jas. Sullivan, Tom Connors, Dave Rommell, Wm. Burns.

**Nominees for G. E. B.**

I. U. 110 delegates to the general convention were instructed to nominate Chas. Kolar, Tom Doyle and Howard Griffin for G. E. B. members.

**Nominees for General Secretary Treasurer**

I. U. 110 delegates to the general convention were instructed to nominate Tom Doyle, Tom Connors and John I. Turner for General Secretary Treasurer.

**Nominees for G. O. C.**

**Accept**

Harvey Karnstrom, Joe O'Neil, H. Rankin.

**Decline**

Joe Jordan, H. Greer, John Evans, Wm. Klein, Tim Reagan, Jack Lightner, H. Bennett, Jas. Sullivan, F. Hurlbert, Geo. O'Neil, W. D. Conway, R. Leonard, Wm. Rogers, K. Nicoloff, J. Murray, Wm. Bridges, Eric Ostrom, Wm. Murphy, F. Schwartz,

Ed Burkhart, Ray Atkinson, Wm. Reid, W. F. Lowe, John Cheesebrew, H. Miller,, J. K. Peterson, M. Kearns.

**Absent**

Tom McCoy, John Black, Wm. Burns, Geo. Read, John Walberg, W. Severin, Tom Hayes, Wm. Hurley, M. M. McCabe,, John Farley, Chas. Riley, C. L. Johnson, Oscar Anderson, W. F. Powell, Harry Young, Jack Dalton, Chas. Swanson, Frank Thorpe, Fred Fisher, H. Moore, E. G. Romco, Wm. Ross, Ed Anderson, P. J. Gorman, Jas. Donnelly, Joe Stuart, R. S. Morgan, Bob Hall, H. Black.

**Nominees for Alternate G. O. C.**

**Accept**

J. K. Peterson, J. Murray, W. Hanley, John Cheesebrew.

**Decline**

Wm. Reid, Joe Jordan, W. Klein, Wm. Edwards, Joe Fisher, J. Brush, Wm. Murphy, F. Swartz, W. F. Bates, K. Nickoloff, T. Doyle, W. D. Conway, H. Greer, A. R. Sail.

**Absent**

B. Standy, C. R. Bates, F. Quigley, W. Bernard, Geo. Elsasser, M. Dykstra, B. Biggins, Tom McCoy, Dave Rommell, Geo. Adams, J. Downs, S. H. Whitton, Joe Murray, P. J. Gorman, Chas. Gray, Geo. Read, Ed Higgins, A. Linn, F. Hanson.

M. & S. (Miller-Hulbert) That minutes be accepted as read.—Carried.

Adjourned at 10:20 P. M.

## MORNING SESSION, October 18, 1923

Called to order at 9 A. M. by Chairman Fisher. 60 members of 110 in good standing present.

**Report of Resolutions Committee**

Resolution by Fred Mann (251734):

Whereas, In the past the general conventions have nominated candidates for office who afterwards proved to be very incapable, and

Whereas, Some of these officials were found to be enemies of the I. W. W. working in the interest of the Communist party to liquidate the I. W. W.,

Therefore, Be it resolved, That the next general convention inquire into the loyalty and qualifications of all nominees for General Secretary Treasurer and G. E, B. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Ohrm-Bates) That we concur with committee.—Carried.

Fisher resigns as chairman.

M. & S. (Brush-Schaffer) That his resignation be accepted.—Carried.

Wm. Murphy elected chairman.

M. & S. (Fisher-Murray) That we table the previous motion.—Carried.

Murphy resigns as chairman.

M. & S. (Karnstrom-Lightner) That his resignation be accepted. Carried.

Tom Doyle elected chairman.

M. & S. (Reagan-Hartline) That no member who has been lined up less than 30 days shall have a voice or vote in the 110 convention. Lost.

M. & S. (Jordan-Cheesebrew) That this body go on record as being in favor of holding a delegate convention of I. U. No. 110 in 1924. Carried. Yes, 35; No, 5.

Adjourned 12 noon.

## AFTERNOON SESSION, October 18, 1923

Called to order 1:30 p. m. by chairman Doyle. Fifty-three members of No. 110 and one visitor present.

M. & S. (Atkinson-Murphy) That this body go on record that no member be elected as delegate to a convention unless he has worked ten days in the district in which he is elected and has carried supplies ninety days in the field. Carried.

M. & S. (Brush-Long) That ruling be amended so that speaker can only have the floor once and be limited to five minutes. Carried.

**Report of Resolution Committee**

Resolution RC-45 by R. W. Schaffer (X79223): Resolved that the A. W. I. U. No. 110 establish contact or communication with the agricultural workers' unions of all countries with the view of securing such cooperation from these unions as is possible. Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Murphy-O'Neil) That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution RC-46 by Chicago branch: Already acted upon.

Resolution RC-47 by Chicago branch: Resolved that A. W. I. U. No. 110 convention at Fargo go on record to destroy all records of members delinquent in dues for eighteen months or more, except in case of sickness.

Resolution Committee amends to read: Two years, and concurs.

M. & S. (Cheesebrew-Rogers) That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution RC-48 by Resolution Committee: Resolved that this convention donate $150.00 to the California Defense and $150.00 to the General Defense.

Be it further resolved that pressing needs and the spirit of No. 110 makes it necessary that an emergency be declared and that the See'y-Treas. of No. 110 be instructed to turn the money over at once.

M. & S. (Miller-Sullivan) That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution RC-49 by K. Nicoloff (416638): Resolved that this convention of A. W .I. U. No. 110 go on record in favor that any official who has been known by the membership of A. W. I. U. No. 110 to be in an intoxicated condition during his term of office in the I. W. W. shall be ineligible for any official position and shall not be appointed for any organization work.

Committee concurs.

M. & S. (Fisher-Conway) That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution RC-50 by Chicago Branch No. 110: Resolved that to be eligible for the office of General Executive Board member one must have been a

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its prime concern is that the workers shall preserve their health. producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that, when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend production to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a constitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

The second decision contradicts the belief that the migratory workers, like the Bourbons, can "learn nothing and forget nothing".

In this instance it is not the proposal offered so much as the idea relinquished that shows the capacity of the migratory workers to adapt themselves to circumstances. There is a sincere desire among the western members to spread the organization over the basic

member of the I. W. W. for at least five (5) years, of which the last three years must have been in continuous good standing.

Committee coneurs.

M. & S. (Griffin-Karnstrom) That we coneur with committee. Carried.

Resolution RC-51 by Reginald Jones (346493): Resolved that we adopt the sliding scale of initiation from nothing to five dollars, and that we raise the monthly dues to one dollar, of which the general headquarters shall receive twenty-five cents per capita; twenty-five cents to go to General Defense; and fifty cents to I. U. No. 110, and

Be it further Resolved that we have one assessment, only a quarterly assessment of one dollar denomination to cover additional expense of organization and education, and further, that no other assessments be put in the field only in case of emergeney.

Committee substitutes: Initiation fee to be from nothing to $5.00 and dues from 50c to $1.00 per month.

M. & S. (Rankin-Hurlbert) That we concur with substitute by committee. Carried.

Report of Resolution Committee accepted and committee discharged.

M. & S. (O'Neil-Dupell) That we accept resolution by Frank Hurlbert as an amendment to by-laws No. 6 and 13. Carried.

Resolution by Frank Hulbert (X50420): All candidates for the office of See'y-Treas. of the A. W. I. U. 110 shall be members of the I. W. W. in good standing for three years and must have been in continuous good standing for eighteen months prior to their nomination, and must have been six months in A. W. I. U. No. 110 and have carried credential 90 days prior to their nomination.

M. & S. (Hanley-Nikoloff) That delegates to the General Convention be instructed to vote according to the rulings of this convention. Carried.

M. & S. (Hurlbert-Klein) That we put Ford car in storage until some future day.

Amended by (Schaffer-O'Neil) That delegates to General Convention go to Chicago with the car and car be stored there.

Amendment to amendment: (Karnstrom-Miller) That car be stored until June first.

Substitute for the whole (Kolar-Reid) That G. O. C. member Mann take car and delegates to Chicago and car be stored and left to the incoming G. O. C. Carried.

M. & S. (Reid-Long) That A. W. I. U. No. 110 go on record to work shorter hours in the corn fields. Carried.

M. & S. (Kolar-Brush) That we send a telegram to the M. T. W. convention wishing them success. Carried.

M. & S. (Kolar-Rankin) That we adjourn. Carried.

Adjourned 5:00 p. m., October 18, 1923.

TOM DOYLE,
Chairman.

A. R. SAIL,
Recording-Secretary.

A. HANSON,
Chairman, G. O. C.

TOM WALLACE,
See'y-Treas., A. W. I. U. No. 110.

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that, when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend production to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a constitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

The second decision contradicts the belief that the migratory workers, like the Bourbons, can "learn nothing and forget nothing".

In this instance it is not the proposal offered so much as the idea relinquished that shows the capacity of the migratory workers to adapt themselves to circumstances. There is a sincere desire among the western members to spread the organization over the basic

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.41

Chicago, Ill. October 24, 1923.

## THREE SENSIBLE ORGANIZATION PROPOSALS

Among the decisions reached by the Fargo A.W.I.U. convention three are worthy of particular mention: (1) the recognition that the delegate convention is more truly representative of an organization than the so-called mass convention; (2) that the workers in each industry are better qualified to determine the financial terms upon which industrial unions can be built and maintained than are others whose unfamiliarity renders them incapable of judging; and (3) the effort to emphasize the economic character of the I.W.W., its methods and means.

Taking the third of these first, it would seem to be unnecessary after 18 years, during which no overt act has been committed, counselled or condoned by the I.W.W. or any of its industrial unions, to have to recommend such a provision for adoption to the general convention. But the converts to the I.W.W. have been recruited from men brought up to believe that the righting of wrongs and the adjustment of grievances are to be sought by physical means. The enemies and persecutors of the I.W.W., schooled in criminal conspiracy and intrigue, have sought to convict I.W.W. members of crime and have done their level best to spread the belief that the I.W.W. is a criminal organization. Only the fact that the I.W.W. has been scrupulously careful to discourage crime prevented its suppression long ago by the powers that be. So sensitive has the organization been that stool-pigeons planted in its ranks have exposed themselves whenever they suggested illegal means to achieve economic ends and quickly found themselves expelled. Believing as it does - that the reliance of labor is in economic means and methods - it is easy to discover those who believe, or who pretend to believe for ulterior purposes, that other than economic means should be employed. Thus the communists, detectives and agents provocatuer are so easily spotted that the organization has little difficulty in ridding itself of them and bringing their dangerous and dastardly scheming to naught.

While the I.W.W. needs no addition to its present machinery to keep it clear of law violations, it does seem sensible to adopt the precautionary measure of discovering whetner or not those who seek admittance to its membership are opposed to violence and the destruction of property. In doing this the organization emphasizes its economic and social character. Not by violence does it propose to advance the working class interest, but by theexercise of economic power - organized control of labor power. The destruction of property is contrary to the social conscience and vision of the I.W.W. The worker, it regards solely as the creator of wealth. It is in this character that it bases his right to social consideration. The I.W.W. does not teach thatthe workers shall at any time forfeit their special character of wealth producers to become destroyers of wealth. Its prime concern is that the workers shall preserve their wealth producing character uninterruptedly, withonly the provision that, when it becomes necessary to impress society, they shall suspend production to the degree and extent necessary to do so. They will fold their arms, not swing them vengefully with the weapons of destruction and death. With the pledge demanded by the A.W.I.U., the I.W.W. will protect itself from the sincerely mistaken as well as the sinister schemers who aim to discredit and destroy it. With this as a constitutional provision the I.W.W. will screen itself from those persons who are dangerous to the cause of labor.

The second decision contradicts the belief that the migratory workers, like the Bourbons, can "learn nothing and forget nothing".

In this instance it is not the proposal offered so much as the idea relinquished that shows the capacity of the migratory workers to adapt themselves to circumstances. There is a sincere desire among the western members to spread the organization over the basic

industries and manufactures. They can be relied upon to lend every assistance to initiate organization outside of their own particular sphere. Men and finance will be supplied whenever a demand for organization manifests itself. The western migratory workers are not hidebound. Their position and environment prevent their becoming so. They are temperamentally indisposed to accept dictatorship, but are keenly sensitive to the suggestions of experience. The A.W.I.U. convention action in regard to initiation fees and dues should recommend itself favorably to the general convention. If the general experience advises changes in the proposal, let them be made. But the fundamentally sound, practical nature of this proposal should warrant its adoption, and we believe it will, even tho, as originally offered, it may be modified.

The delegate convention is more truly representative of an organization than is the "mass convention". In the latter usually only those who are in proximity to the convention place attend, and they represent only their individual views. But to a delegate convention men whose organization experience, working class knowledge, and personal qualities, such as loyalty and honesty, are known are generally elected as delegates, so that those best qualified to arrange programs and outline policies attend the conventions. The sooner this is recognized by the A.W.I.U. the better prepared we shall be to meet our problems in a business like way and carry the organization forward to success. The referendum invests the membership with the power to review convention actions and to disapprove of anything that does not recommend itself.

Organization implies order - cooperation and coordination. These demand convenient agencies. The mass convention is not a convenient agency. As well recognize that now. There are great problems to be solved by the organization and these cannot be solved in a haphazard way. To apply ourselves to them successfully we must organize ourselves so that every move will count and every word tell. By realizing our organization defects we shall move more advantageously, for we shall remedy them and thus prepare ourselves for effective action.

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## M E E T I N G S

YAKIMA, WASH. October 14, 1923 - Regular business meeting. Nine members and one visitor.

M & S. That Mike Doyle's report be accepted as progress. Carried.

M & S. That minutes of Stockton conference be laid over to new business. Carried.

M & S. That we elect Mike Doyle stationary delegate at Yakima. Carr.

M & S. That we do not concur with Res. No. 3 of the Stockton conference. Carried.

M & S. That job delegates try to get on some of the warehouse jobs. Carried.

M & S. That members do a little more agitating on the job and support his job delegate. Carried.

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WENATCHEE, WASH. October 14, 1923- A.W.I.U. meeting. Twenty-two members in good standing and two without cards present.

M & S. That communication from fellow workers at Leavenworth, Kans. be laid over to new business. Carried.

M & S. That communication from Patterson, N.J. branch of #410 be laid over to new business. Carried.

M & S. That this body go on record to have Ralph Chaplin removed from his present position and be allowed no other position in the I.W.W. Amendment: That this body go on record to have Ralph Chaplin removed from his present position. Carried.

M & S. That we take up a collection for the postage to be sent to fellow workers in Walla Walla. Carried. Collection $7.20

M & S. That traveling delegate's, Fellow worker Antijuntti, resignation be accepted. Carried.

Below are the nominees for the officials for I.U.110, who were nominated at the convention. Nominations may also be sent in from the field. The names of all nominees will be published in the Bulletin and papers for thirty days (30) so that all may have a chance to accept or decline. The next Bulletin will contain the card numbers of all nominees and a statement of their eligibility. All nominees not heard from by November 20th will be stricken from the ballot.

## NOMINEES FOR SEC'Y-TREAS.I.U.110

### ACCEPT

Wm Hanley

### DECLINE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Joe O'Neil | Ed Burkhart | Joe Fisher | W.F. Lowe | Harvey Karnstrom |
| Tom Doyle | J. Greer | Joe Jordan | Chas.Kolar | W.R. Boyd |
| J. Murray | H.F.Hartline | Tim Reagon | A.R.Sail | Louis Kromer |
| Wm Murphy | Wm Rogers | Harry Bennett | Jas. Sullivan(Blackie) | |
| J.Cheesebrew | F. Swartz | W.F. Bates | | |

### ABSENT

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Forrest Edwards | R.E. Massey | Tom Mc Coy | Fred Quigley | |
| Frank Thorpe | Howard Griffin | John Downs | Ted Fraser | Jas.Sullivan |
| Wm Hurley | C.J.O'Donnell | Frank Clark | P.J.Gorman | Tom Connors |
| John Black | Roscoe Thurman | Felix Thornton | Louis Handler | |
| R. Jones | Dave Rommell | Wm Burns | | |

## NOMINEES FOR G.O.C.

### ACCEPT

Harvey Karnstrom  Joe O'Neil  H. Rankin

### DECLINE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Joe Jordan | H. Bennett | Wm Rogers | Wm Murphy | W.F.Lowe |
| H.Greer | Jas.Sullivan | K.Nicoloff | F.Schwartz | John Cheesebrew |
| John Evans | F.Hurlbert | J.Murray | EdBurkhart | H. Miller |
| Wm Klein | Geo.O'Neil | Wm Bridges | Ray Atkinson | J.K.Peterson |
| Tim Reagon | W.D.Conway | Eric Ostrom | Wm Reid | M. Kearns |
| Jack Lightner | | R. Leonard | | |

### ABSENT

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tom Mc Coy | Tom Hayes | Oscar Anderson | Fred Fisher | Jas.Donnelly |
| John Black | Wm Hurley | W.F.Powell | H. Moore | Joe Stuart |
| Wm Burns | M.M.Mc Cabe | Harry Young | E.G. Romeo | R.S.Morgan |
| Geo.Read | John Farley | Jack Dalton | Wm Ross | Bob Hall |
| John Walberg | Chas.Riley | Chas.Swanson | Ed Anderson | H. Black |
| W. Severin | C.L.Johnson | Frank Thorpe | P.J. Gorman | |

## NOMINEES FOR ALTERNATE G.O.C.

### ACCEPT

John K.Peterson  J. Murray  W. Hanley  John Cheesebrew

### DECLINE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wm Reid | Wm Edwards | Wm Murphy | K. Nicoloff | H. Greer |
| Joe Jordan | Joe Fisher | F.Swartz | T. Doyle | A.R. Sail |
| W. Klein | J. Brush | W.F. Bates | W.D. Conway | |

### ABSENT

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| B. Standy | Geo.Elsassar | Dave Rommell | Joe Murray | Ed Higgins |
| C.R.Bates | M. Dykstra | Geo. Adams | P.J. Gorman | A. Linn. |
| F. Quigley | B.Biggins | J. Downs | Chas. Gray | F. Hanson |
| W. Bernard | Tom Mc Coy | S.H.Whitton | Geo. Read | Ed Higgins |

The I.U.110 delegates to the general convention are: Jas.Sullivan, Joe Fisher, Wm Murphy, Wm Hanley and W.F.Lowe. Jas.Sullivan, Joe Fisher and Wm Hanley will be the auditing committee. The #110 delegates were instructed to nominate Chas.Kolar, Tom Doyle and Howard Griffin for G.E.B.members; and Tom Doyle, Tom Connors and John I.Turner for General Secretary-Treasurer.

# J O B  N E W S

## MONTANA

BROADVIEW, 10-16. This is a pretty good place to hit for a short stake for over the hump. Wages for threshing $3.50 to $4.00. Will last about a month yet. ( AG 1045)

COFFEE CREEK, 10-11. There is quite a bit of threshing left here. Wages $5.00 to $6.00 per day, 10 hours. Men scarce. ( AG 93)

## MINNESOTA

MADISON, 10-19. They are paying 8¢ per bushel for corn picking here. ( AG 43) Corn picking is started full blast, 8 and 9¢ per bushel. Corn is fair. ( AG 1514)

## COLORADO

EATON, 10-10 Spud picking has started here in full blast. Wages 7 & 8¢ a sack, board yourself, or $7.00-8.00 an acre. Spuds run about 180 to 200 bushels to an acre. Beet hauling $3.50 and $4.00 a day and board. Not many men, no wobs.

GREELEY, 10-12. Few men here. Wages 6½ and 7¢ a sack, or $6.50 to 7.50 an acre. Board yourself. Spuds run 175 to 190 bushel to an acre. ( AG 150)

WINDSOR, 9-30 Great Western Sugar Co. paying 40¢ per hour, 8 hr. shift, good grub and lodging for $8.50 per week, wages for outside work similar. Shipping from Denver, fare advanced. ( AG 628)

## NEVADA

FALLON, 10-7 There is quite a lot of haying going on around here. Will last all fall. ( AG 456)

## IOWA

BUFFALO CENTER, 10-17. Corn picking just starting. Wages 9 & 10¢ and board. Around here corn not very good; has been hit by the hail and dry weather. No men here at all. A good place for wobs. A fair picking can make 50 to 60 bu. (AG 713)

MONSON, 10-19. The farmers are offering 7 & 8¢ for picking standing corn and 10¢ for down corn. Picking will be in full swing next week. (AG 627)

POMEROY, 10-5. The farmers are talking of 8¢ per bu. for corn picking. The crop here is fine. Starts about Oct.10 or 15th.(AG627)

FORT DODGE, 10-12. Corn picking just starting, 7 & 8¢ a bu.Good crop. (V.C.)

SIOUX CITY, 10-15. Corn picking. Not many men in town. Farmers commencing to take men out. Wages 6 and 7¢ a bu. ( AG 25)

## IDAHO

LAMONT, 10-5 Spud picking just starting. Men scarce. ( AG 419)

RIGBY, 10-4 The slaves here in the sugar are all unorganized, working 12 hours a day for 35¢ an hour. The girls are working for $3.00 a day in the beet factory. No delegates here at present. One could do good work here. ( AG X78093)

IDAHO FALLS, 10-18. Spud picking in full swing and beet topping has started. Paying 7¢ a sack for spuds and $1.00 a ton for beet topping and loading the wagon. ( AG 1090)

## WASHINGTON

WENATCHEE, 10-17. There is quite a little snow on the mountains and the auto tramp and his family are making their getaway. John is beginning to think he will have to pay more or else his apples will stay on the trees,and wages are going up. ( AG 950)

CASHMERE, 10-14 Apple picking is on in full swing at present with full quota of auto tramps and pappooses. Wages are about 40 to 50¢ per hour, but I think we will get some raises before long as there are quite a lot of wobblies here in the fruit. ( AG 1591)

YAKIMA, 10-8 Apple picking on. Paying 40¢ an hour and from 5-6¢ a box. ( AG 303)

PALISADES, 10-10 Apple picking is $3.30 per day, but is being mostly gypoed at 5¢ per box, packers getting 8¢ per box. ( AG 135)

MOLSON , 10-3 Threshing will last 30 days here. $4.00 and board low. Men scarce. Farmers snare men as soon as they arrive in town. Need men badly. They furnish beds.

OMAK, 10-3 The apply harvest is on in full swing. 40¢ a hour, board the best way you can. "Speed artists" are offered 4½¢ per box. Wicks numerous. ( AG 630)

CALIFORNIA

COLUSA, 10-19. Wages have gone up 50¢ a day. Driving bundle teams $3.50 per; $5.00 and $6.00 for sack sewers; $5.00 for jigging sacks; $4.50 for spike pitchers. Board included. ( AG 460)

WILLOWS, 10-13. Rice threshing on now - object is delegate on each job. Hours what workmen make them. Dew prohibits long days, 9 to 10 hours mostly. Around here better organization on work could hardly be expected. Master up a tree. No actual scale set by C.C. (AG 8)

OREGON

OCTOBER 10. The employment sharks are offering $75.00 per month for ranch teamsters, $75.00 for milkers for 20 cows and $70.00 for ranch hands. This is for eastern Oregon, from the Dalles east. ( AG 22)

SASKATCHEWAN
CANADA

REGINA, 10-2 Wages from $5.00-6.00 for skinners, $6.00 -6.50 for spikers. Gas and steam men are getting $15 to $16.00 per day.(AG 594)

ROSETOWN , 10-16 A big crop here - 40 to 70 bu. per acre. The weather is getting bad at present. Old John still insists of 12 hours pulling the searchlight stuff when it gets dark. Lots of fellow workers here but few going out on account of wages and conditions. (AG 1666)

SASKTOON, 10-10 Wages $6.00 to 6.50, some 10 hour outfits but mostly 11 and 12. Plenty of threshing to be done here yet.( AG 796)

ALBERTA

MANTON, 10-10 Threshing in full swing and lots of work; hours 11 and 12. Wages $6.00. Lots of fellow workers up this branch line and we are making a big drive on these towns from Lethbridge to Calgary. Farmers supply blankets this year. This is the first time they have. So this is a good start. Now let's make it a ten hour day. ( AG 797)

CALGARY, 10-20 Threshing here for 30 days yet. Wages seem to be holding at $6.00 and 6.50 per day. Lots of Fellow workers here. (AG 79[illegible]

CORONATION, 10-17. Some rigs here have as high as 25 days left. Wages for field pitchers and skinners $5.00 low, $6.00 high, spikers $7.00. All done at Outlook, but from Sovereign, Sask. to Coronation there is 15 to 25 days left. All this work is strictly 12 hours. Sentiment for organization good. ( #839999)

VULCAN, 10, 14. Fifteen to 25 days threshing left in this district. Wages mostly $6.00 at present. Organized machines work ten hours. Unorganized 12 to 13. Now, Fellow worker as you will be leaving Sask. you can make a few more dollars towards your Calif. organization stake in Alberta. Let's hear from you. Some job action is what is wanted, not jungle stuff. ( AG 1075)

VULCAN 10-9 Hurrah for the 110 cats. They are sure going strong around this part of the country and if they keep up the good work for another month this part of Canada will be well on the map. This being a 12 hour country and no blankets furnished by the farmers or threshing outfits they are having very poor success at getting a crew. Some of them are running short from 3 to 4 teams and the reason for not having a crew is that the workers will not go out to work over ten hours and have the farmers furnish them with a bed. There are some machines out of here that have full wobblie crews and we expect some action in a few days. ( LU 0727)

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS

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Good progress is being made in the organization of Joint Amnesty Committees all over the country for the purpose of arranging amnesty meetings. The purpose of these meetings is obvious. It is to enable all people who are in favor of amnesty to give concrete expression of their views in a public demonstration. It is thus that we hope to convince the President of the United States that his policy of keeping men in prison "for the mere expression of opinion" is and will continue to be opposed by the great mass of the people.

Just now the General Defense Committee needs your fullest support and most hearty cooperation to the end that the Federal cases will be disposed of by Christmas. We will then be able to throw the whole force of the organization behind the state cases. Fellow workers, let us make this the last great drive for the release of Federal prisoners.

General Defense Committee

IMPORTANT

The A.W.I.U.110 conference will be held at Stockton, Calif. November 15, 1923. All 110 members in Calif. should be there to help plan the campaign for organizing the agricultural workers in the orchards, vineyards and ranches of the state. If you cannot be there but have any plans to bring before the conference send them to Wm Dawson, Box 754, Stockton, Calif.

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The following resolutions by the Ways and Means Committee carried at the last convention of 110:

Whereas, we find the A.W.I.U.110 in a financial condition which prevents us from making a donation at this time
Therefore be it Reoolved that we the members of the Ways and Means Committee of I.U.110 convention assembled in Fargo, urge all members, who find it possible, to go to Calif. to carry on organization work there as in our opinion it is the best way to advance the cause of our fellow workers in jail there and to build up the A.W.I.U. and the organization as a whole, and
Be it further Resolved that in the case of those members not in a position to go to Calif. we urge them to help our fellow workers there by helping to spread the boycott on Calif. products and give the Calif. situation all the publicity possible and raise funds for the Calif. defense and relief in every way possible; and, as Calif. offers a big field for the activities of A.W.I.U.110, that we centralize our activities there this winter; and that a copy of this resolution be printed in all I.W.W. publications.

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Committee recommends that owing to the fact that the General Defense is short of funds, especially for the Amnesty drive, Be it Resolved that we urge all members to buy all the defense stamps possible and that all 110 delegates be instructed to push the sale of the defense stamps, and Be it further Resolved that we ask all members to cooperate with branch secretaries of 110 to devise ways and means, such as tag days, entertainments, etc., to raise funds for the defense.

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Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1322-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Al Frane | (Box 107) 515 N.16th St. | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Wm Morreau | 110 Front St., | Fargo, N.D. |
| H.L.Silva | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Chas.Kellogg | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| Wm Hyman | 118 N. Mission St. | Wenatchee, Wash. |
| Jack Stewart | Box 761 | Cranbrook, B.C. |
| J.C. Ure | Box 665 | Willows, Calif. |
| John Deady | Box 42 | Colusa, Calif. |

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Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman  Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U. No.110

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 110 OF THE I.W.W

B U L L E T I N # 42.

Chicago, Ill October 31, 1

## AN A. W. I. U. ORGANIZING PROBLEMN

The A. W. I. U. Convention is now over. It set itself to deal with important organization questions, and acquitted itself creditably in connection with them. The convention could only take stock of the experiences that have come to the organization, and, at the very best, it could only communicate to the membership what these experiences suggest.

In the final analysis it is the membership itself, the active delegates and members, who must act to carry the A.W. I. U. forward. The wisest decision of a convention will not avail anything, unless the membership set about the tasks of the union with intelligence, energy, spirit and determination.

The mission of the A.W.I.U. begins with the organization of the agricultural workers. Not some of them, but all of them. Not those in selected sections and occupations, but in all sections and all agricultural employments. This is the conception upon which 110 is based, and this conception must be shared by the members and carried out without restriction or reservation.

Men are inclined to avoid employments where wages are low and conditions poor. This is natural. But we must bear in mind that it is in just such places that the greatest need for organization exists, and where in all liklihood the response to organizáng appeal would be above the average. If there is any weakness in the delegate system, or in the union's method of using its delegates, it is that our active delegates and members are expected to buck such conditions solely upon their own resources, with only the moral backing of the organization. The sooner that this phase of our organizing problem is faced squarely, and without prejudice, the better it will be for the A. W. I. U. and the Agricultural workers.

Corn picking is now starting in the midwestern states. The crop is average and the wages about the level of last year. Such delegates as are now in the corn belt report encouragingly upon the sentiment for organization they have found among the pickers. But the number of delegates in this section is entirely inadequate. Conditions are not of the best, of course, but conditions do not grow better of themselves. It requires the stimulus of organization to bring about improvements.

The situation in the corn belt stands thus; Wages are not at a sufficiently high level to be attractive, and conditions are forbidding to men of spirit who determine to live at least half decently where and while they are working. Only the exceptionally idealistic member will voluntarily undertake to face a situation of this kind, where all the odds are against him. It is hardly fair to expect so much from the average members, and the A. W. I. U. membership is, and of necessity must be, average. It would seem as tho common sense would suggest to practical men the advisability of dealing with such situations in a practical manner. One thing is sure that, if these agricultural workers are neglected or slighted, the organization is not functioning as it should function. It is folly not to face the actualities of cases of this kind and make some attempt to surmount difficulties they present. These workers, whether migratory workers of our type, auto tramps or home guards, must have the message of industrial unionism carried to them, and that the A. W. I. U. must do. It must devise some way to get its message across to them. That is a problem that we must face. Let us face it.

In Washington apple picking is under way, and other work upon the rms and around the orchards is bidding for men, but in Washington the issionaries of the I. W. W. are more plentiful proportionately than in he midwest corn belt. But even there the problem of successful organ- zation work has not been solved.

No matter where we look the delegates work under a handicap against he opposition of ignorance, indifference and prejudice. Headway is eing made, but it is slow. The magnificent spirit of the I.W. W. job elegates in all the industrial unions is something splendid, of which very member may well be proud. But the tribute of admiration that we re all ready and very willing to pay is cold comfort to men whom the mployers have marked and blacklisted and who miss meals while doing the ork that is as much ours as theirs.

The delegates who have proved their worth should be encouraged and ssisted to bring to those who stand in need of it, the message of the . W. I. U.

We can dodge this issue, but as long as we do, we shall have on our ands an unsolved organization problem.

## BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

## KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS

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hristmas Is Coming, Men are in Jail.

ellow Workers:-

There is no such thing as a merry Christmas for men in jail. ll that we can do is to send our Fellow Workers, who are doing time in rison merely because they hoped to build up a Union of the Workers in ndustry, a word of cheer. It is right that we should do this since heir cause is our cause; their fight is our fight. So it is only by asting our lot with those who are bearing the brunt of battle, and mak- ing the big sacrifice which we have not yet been called upon to make, hat we can hope to achieve the great purpose for which we have set out o win.

Jails are dreary, monotonous and horrible, even under the best of ircumstances, but when a man is compelled to endure it all the year round, and then on Christmas morning, when the Orderly passes by with he great basket of good things, sent in by a friend from the out-side orld, and he does not stop at your Cell door and leave a package of ear and good wishes, a feeling is sure to creep over you, that after ll the whole world is agains you, and you are penned up in a cage like ild beast; a savage beast; a man with a Social Philosophy who fought r his ideas of Social betterment, and is Socially ostracized. It is t so much the little package that counts, but it is what that package mbolizes-"We Never Forget"- that stimulates the soul of a Political risoner.

The General Defense Committee has taken these facts into account nd so they have ordered printed a large number of Receipt Books for he purpose of raising a Christmas Fund. Send in and get one now, for he time is short.

Of course, we hope to obtain the release of all of the Political risoners by Christmas. Should we succeed in our effort, even then the oney will be needed because the men coming out of prison in the dead of inter, weakened and in poor health, will need all of the assistance that e can give them.

Fellow Workers, do your best for the Christmas fund!

Thanking you in advance for your support, I am

Yours for Amnesty by Christmas,

(Signed) Edward E. Anderson.

# J O B  N E W S

## MONTANA

BROADVIEW, 10-16 This is a pretty good place to hit for a short stake or over the hump. Wages for threshing $3.50 to $4.00. Will last about a month yet. (AG 1045)

## MINNESOTA

MADISON, 10-19. They are paying 8¢ per bushel for corn picking here. (A G 43) Corn picking is started full blast, 8 and 9¢ per bushel. Corn is fair, (A G 1514)

LUVERNE & ELLSWORTH, 10/24. Corn picking on full blast. Wages 8¢ per bu. corn from 35 to 50 bu. per acre. Good demand for men. (#705269)

MARSHALL, MINN. 10-29. Corn here is fair. Prices for husking in general 7 to 10¢. Some fields have good corn and others poor. About half done and about 50% are wobs. (X31449).

WASPER, 10-24. Corn picking just starting here. Wages are 7 and 9¢ per bu. Quite a number of corn picking machines here, (A G 158)

## COLORADO

EATON, 10-10. Spud picking has started here in full blast. Wages 7 and 8¢ a sack, board yourself, or $7.00 - $8.00 per acre. Spuds run about 180 to 200 bushels to an acre. Beet hauling $3.50 and $4.00 a day and board. Not many men, no wobs.

GREELEY, 10-12. Few men here, Wages 6½ and 7¢ a sack, of $6.50 to $7.50 an acre, Board yourself. Spuds run 175 to 190 bushels per acre. (A G 150,

WINDSORE 9-30. Great Western Sugar Co. paying 40¢ per hr. 8 hr. shift, good grub and lodging for $8.50 per week, wages for outside work similar. Shipping from Denver, fare advanced. (A G 628).

## IOWA

BUFFALO CENTER, 10-17. Corn picking just starting, Wages 9¢ and 10¢, and board. Around here corn not very good; has been hit by the hail and dry weather. No men here at all. A good place for wobs. A fair picking can make 50 to 60 bu. (A G 713)

MONSON, 10-19. The farmers are offering 7 and 8¢ for picking standing corn and 10¢ for down corn. Picking will be in full swing next week. (A G 627)

MONSON, 10-28. The farmers here are wild for men to pick down corn, paying 10¢ per bu. (A G 627)

FORT DODGE, 10-12. Corn picking just starting, 7 & 8¢ per bu. Good Crop. (V.C,)

SIOUX CITY, 10-15. Corn picking. Not many men in town. Farmers commencing to take men out, Wages 6 & 7¢ a bu. A G 25)

CLEAR LAKE, 10-25. Corn picking in this territory is in full bloom wages 7¢, crop good. Corn standing well and in good condition for husking. No organization here. (419516.)

ROCK RAPIDS, 10-28. Corn picking is in full blast. Prices range from 7¢ to 9¢ per bu. (A G 406).

## IDAHO

RIGBY, 10-4. The slaves here in the sugar are all unorganized, working for 12 hours a day for 35¢ an hour. The girls are working for $2.00 a day in the beet factory. No delegates here at present. One could do good work here. (A G 178093)

IDAHO FALLS, 10-24. SPud picking is in full blast at 8¢ per sack. Crop about half picked. It has been raining quite a bit here. Some threshing still to be done if it ever drys up. Lots of work in beets. (A G 419).

## WASHINGTON

WATCHEE, 10-24. There is quite a little snow on the mountains and the auto tramp and his family are making their getaway. The farmers are meowing for help now. The city council closed the schools for two weeks last night so the kids could pick apples.(A G 950).

CASHMERE, 10-14. Apple picking is on in full swing at present with full quota of auto tramps and pappooses. Wages are about 40 to 50¢ per hour, but I think we will get some raises before long as there are quite a lot of wobblies here in the fruit. (A G 1591).

YAKIMA, 10-8. Apple picking on. Paying 40¢ an hour and from 5-6¢ a box. (A G 305)

PALISADES, 10-10. Apple picking is $3.30 per day, but is being mostly gypoed at 5¢ per box, packers getting 8¢ per box. (A G 135)

NELSON, 10-3. Threshing will last 30 days here. $4.00 and board low. Men scarce. Farmers snare men as soon as they arrive in town. Need men badly. They furnish beds.

OMAK, 10-23. The apple harvest is on in full swing. 40¢ an hour, board the best way you can. "Speed artists" are offered 4½¢ per box, picks numerous. (A G 630).

## CALIFORNIA

WILLOWS, 10-13. Rice threshing on now - object is delegate on each job. Hours what workmen make them. Dew prohibits long days, 9 to 10 hours mostly. Around here better organization on work could hardly be expected. Master up a tree. No actual scale set by C. C. (A G 8)

MARYSVILLE, 10-25. Orange picking and packing starts middle of Nov. South, not much rice after that. (A G 8).

COLUSA, 10-22. Wages have gone up 50¢ on the day, being now from $3.50 per day up to $5.00 and $6.00. $8.00 per day for running a separator. (A G 460).

COLUSA, CAL. 10-26-23. Wages have increased here from $3.00 to $3.50 per day. Board included in the rice fields. Conditions are very bad, the State Health Commissioner was going over the rice belt for several days this week. He found workers sleeping in barns, straw stacks, and using rice sacks for bedding. The Housing & Immigration Act of the State of California calls for so many cubic feet of space for each person in all bunk houses, and that all workers be provided with a bed sheet and springs, and that/toilets be placed within so many feet from cook houses, and sleeping quarters. But in the mad race for profit all these things are forgotten. Rice is not grown because it is a good food. If the bankers in the rice belt could find out something else to grow in place of rice in which there was more profits, why they would tell the farmer to cut out rice and raise something else in which there would be more money for the banker and a lot more hard work for the farmers. All towns located in the rice belt are in need of a great moral wave to put them on the map for industrial unionism. (A G 460).

## SOUTH DAKOTA

CENTERVILLE, S. D. They are paying 8¢ a bu. for corn husking here. (A G 701)

GARRETSON, S. D. There are about 25 wobs picking corn out of here, wages 8¢ a bu., with elevator and 9¢ without. It will last about a month. (A G 850).

## CANADA

BLACKIE, ALTA., 10-13. Lots of slaves wanted at $6.00 and furnish your own bedding, good chance to line these slaves up, as they all believe in the I. W. W., for the wobs around here are working ten hours and the wicks 12. (A G 797)

Following is the list of members who have been nominated for I. U. #110 officials. Nominations may still be sent in from the field. The names of all nominees will be published in the bulletin for 30 days, so that all may have a chance to accept or decline. All nominees not heard from by Nov. 20th will be stricken from the ballot.

## NOMINEES FOR SEC'Y-TREAS? I.U.#110.

### ACCEPT

Wm. Hanley, 194920.

### DECLINED OR NOT ELIGIBLE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| H. Griffin | Ed Burkhart | W. F. Bates |
| John Black | J. Greer | W. F. Lowe |
| Joe O'Neil, | H. E. Hartline | Chas. Kolar |
| Tom Doyle | Wm. Rogers | A. R. Sail |
| J. Murray | F. Swartz | Jas.(Blackie)Sullivan |
| Wm. Murphy | Joe Fisher | Louis Handler |
| J. Cheesebrew | Joe Jordan | Harvey Karnstrom |
| C. J. O'Donnell | Tim Reagon | W. R. Boyd |
| Tom McCoy | Harry Bennett | Louis Kromer |

### NOT HEARD FROM

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Forrest Edwards, 8714. | Dave Rommell, 166208 | Ted Fraser, 15744 |
| Frank Thorpe, 713888 | John Downs, 216612 | P. J. Gorman, 259813 |
| Wm. Hurley, 247374 | Frank Clark 740783 | Jas. Sullivam, 415321 |
| R. Jones, 346943. | Felix Thornton, 196875 | Tom Connors, 412494 |
| R. E. Massey, 294844 | Wm. Burns, 805374 | |
| Roscoe Thurman, 312023. | Fred Quigley, 395631 | |

## NOMINEES FOR G. C. C.

### ACCEPT

Harvey Kanrstrom, 239037 Joe O'Neil, 195015 H. Rankin, 396724.
Chas. Kolar, 258386

### DECLINED OR NOT ELIGIBLE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| John Black, | H. Bennett, | J. Murray, | Ray Atkinson, |
| Joe Jordan, | Jas. Sullivan, | Wm. Bridges, | Wm. Reid, |
| H. Greer, | E. Hurlbert, | Eric Ostrom, | W. F. Lowe, |
| John Evans, | Geo. O'Neil, | R. Leonard, | John Cheesebrew, |
| Wm. Klein, | W. D. Conway, | Wm. Murphy, | H. Miller, |
| Tim Reagon, | Wm. Rogers, | F. Schwartz, | J. K. Peterson |
| Jack Lightner. | K. Nicoloff. | Ed Burkhart | M. Kearns. |

### NOT HEARD FROM

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chas Ross, 739200 | Geo. O'Neil, 211484 | John Farley, 188477 |
| Arthur Linn, 407217 | Fred Quigley, 395631 | Chas. Riley, 328196 |
| Tom McCoy, 412490 | Elmer Purrington, 260325 | C. L. Johnson, 237876 |
| Wm. Burns, 805374 | Tom Hayes, 414826 | Oscar Anderson, 703942 |
| Geo. Read, 737033 | Wm. Hurley, 242374 | W. F. Powell, 719519 |
| W. Severin, 253089 | M.M.McCabe, 402379 | Harry Young, 356465 |
| Jack Dalton, 719308 | Chas. Swanson, 827344 | Frank Thorpe, 713888 |
| D. Conroy, 195557 | Thos. Bogard, 322104 | Wm. Borden, 222382 |
| Fred Fisher, 190890 | H. Moore, 232987 | E. G. Romeo, 103226 |
| Ed Anderson, 839899 | P. J. Gorman, 259813 | Jas. Donnelly, 256434 |
| Joe Stuart, 257056 | R. S. Morgan, 239832 | Bob Hall, 367949 |
| W. R. Boyd, 447897 | Wm. Bradley, 407286 | Chas. Gard, 737419. |
| | Byron Standy, 710870. | |

## NOMINEES FOR ALTERNATE G.C.C.

### ACCEPT

John K. Peterson 315055 — J. Murray. 803735. — John Cheesebrew 414731.

DECLINED OR NOT ELIGIBLE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wm. Reid | Wm. Edwards | Wm. Murphy, | K. Niccloff | H. Greer |
| Joe Hordan | Joe Fisher | F. Swartz | T. Doyle | A. R. Sail |
| V. Klein | J. Brush | W. F. Bates | W. D. Conway | F. Hanson |
| | | S. H. Whitton | | |

NOT HEARD FROM

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Standy, 710870 | Geo. Disassar, 251302 | Dave Rommell 166208 |
| J. R. Bates, 226218 | M. Dykstra, 211106 | Geo. Adams, 228066 |
| F. Quigley, 395631 | B. Biggins, 231920 | J. Downs, 216612. |
| W. Bernard, 723221 | Tom McCoy, 412490 | Joe Murray, 232674 |
| P. J. Gorman, 259813 | Ed Higgins, 749662 | A. Linn, 407217 |

NOTICE

IMPORTANT

The A.W.I.U.110 Conference will be held at Stockton, Calif. November 15, 1923. All 110 members in Calif. should be there to help plan the campaign for organizing the agricultural workers in the orchards, vineyards, and ranches of the state. If you cannot be there but have any plans to bring before the conference send them to Wm. Dawson, Box 754, Stockton, Calif.

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Any members who bought christmas stamps from Chas. Kellog, stationary delegate at Fresno, please communicate with main office or with Miles M. McCabe, Gen. Del., Fresno.

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Earl Summers, Henry Lang and Geo. Kelley - lined up by H. B. Fiske at Havnes, Kan., please get in touch with the General Defense Committee or 110 main office. IMPORTANT

JOB NEWS
CANADA

CALGARY, 10-20. Threshing here for 30 days yet. Wages seem to be holding at $6.00 and $6.50 per day. Lots of Fellow Workers here. (A G 791)

CORONATION, 10-17. Some rigs here have as high as 25 days left. Wages for field pitchers and skinners $5.00 low, $6.00 high, spikers $7.00 All done at Outlook, but from Sovereign, Sask. to Coronation there is 15 to 25 days left. All this work is strictly 12 hours. Sentiment for Organization good. (#839999)

---

Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Vernon | 1222 4th St. | Sioux City, Iowa. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 Nicollet Ave | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Al Frane | Box 107, 515 N. 16th St. | Omaha, Nebr. |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible], N. D. |
| H. L. Silva, | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Miles M.McCabe | Gen. Del., | Fresno, Cal. |
| Wm. Hyman, | 118 N. Mission St., | Wenatchee, Wash. |
| Jack Stewart | Box 761 | Cranbrook, B. C. |
| J. C. Ure, | Box 665, | Willows, Calif. |
| John Deady | Box 42, | Colusa, Cal. |

---

Yours for the I. W. W.,
Albert Hanson, Chairman. Tom Wallace, Sec'y.Treas.
A. W. I. U. #110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

BULLETIN No.43

Chicago, Ill. November 7, 1923

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## THE TEST OF LABOR

That the injunction aimed at the I.W.W. by Judge Busick in California is potentially destructive of all labor unionism is knowledge that we should be at pains to communicate to our A.F.of L. fellow workers.

This fellow Busick, from the eminence of "the bench", not the soap box, advertised his ignorance when he undertook to distinguish between "strikes for social purposes" and "other strikes". In doing this he announces to the world that he is not aware that the wage relationship is a social relationship, and that every attempt by labor to modify that relationship or to ameliorate any condition or offense growing out of it is by its very nature a social act. In the very same state in which Busick resides and functions the basis of the wage relationship, in the alienation of "the public domain", was laid in chicanery, fraud and graft. Those "public" lands, with their vast coating and lining of treasurable resources, were disposed of by the Spanish monarchs and a corrupted congress without regard for the rights of those who then lived upon them and those who were destined to follow them.

To defend these wrongfully given and unsocially held endowments, and the relationship to which their ownership gives rise, is the function of the courts. This chap, Busick, is attempting to serve the interests now in possession of these rightfully social properties. It may be, and very likely is, a manifestation of loyalty to those whom the "judge" recognizes as being the instruments that lifted him to the bench and maintain his judgeship. But this gentleman to the contrary, every labor effort is social effort whether on the job producting or off the job demanding, no matter what form the demand may take.

But, along with being ignorant the judge is unfair and anti-labor, whether he realizes his prejudice or not. If labor has the right to organize, then the workers also have the right to select the organizations in which they should band themselves together. If a court or a judge can say what organizations workers shall not join, they exercise a prerogative which has the effect of determining what organizations the workers may join. This reduces the right of the workers to organize to the basis of a privilege extended by and at the discretion and pleasure of a judge. The judge is made the arbiter of human destiny insofar as human destiny is influenced by the character of labor unions. If judges may determine labor union selection for workers, then they may also select to adjudge that any unions which do not conduct their affairs in accordance with judicial conception are illegally constituted and suppress them.

The I.W.W. is only the starting point from which the judiciary in California will move forward to the suppression of all labor organizations, A.F. of L. and independent, craft and industrial unions. Indeed, combinations of working people that might engage in demanding outright social changes, as, for instance, the regulation of the employment of women and children, a question which does not pertain particularly to any individual employer or employment, but, realizing the industrial relationship as social in character aims at its modification in the interest of exploited labor as a class, would come under Judge Busick's injunction ban - something that ought to be extremely interesting to the Socialist party, Women's Trade Union Label League and other such bodies.

The men in Leavenworth and San Quentin are imprisoned because of their opposition to the continuance of the present social relationship, and their advocacy of labor organization to modify it until ready to eliminate it entirely. The demand for the release of these "political" prisoners is as legitimate for labor unionists as for United States senators and representatives in Congress, and unionists who strike to secure their release are not criminal or more [illegible]

than the senators and representatives who vote for it. The strike is the weapon of unionists just as legal enactment is the weapon of legislators. Even after courts declare legislative enactments unconstitutional legislative bodies have a habit of reenacting them, and tho the judges shall try to restrain strikes the workers will still go on striking.

It is an old belief that justice does not reside in the court-rooms; and, if justice did reside in these legal structures, there would be no need upon the part of labor to demand, or to strike for the release of I.W.W. members now held in federal prisons. These men would never have been imprisoned. Moreover, the conviction grows that even Law seldom visits courtrcoms these days, especially when labor cases are before the bar. The law is what the judge interprets it to be, and, when it is interpreted by Busicks, it is not recognized even by those who are most familiar with it. The law would have kept the I.W.W. members out of prison, but the law was violated to put them there.

Even so is it now - the law is being violated and the constitution set aside to keep them in prison. Busick, in order to keep them behind bars would deprive the workers of organization. The interests for whom the Busicks interpret the law are awake to the fact that industrial organization would wrench the doors of labor cells from their fastenings and keep them forever empty. Hence the eagerness and relentlessness with which they hunt down the I.W.W. But, like the Irish under English penal persecution, "the faster they pluck them the thicker they grow". The I.W.W. members are the wild flowers of brutal industrial conditions which the judges cannot pluck fast enough to prevent rapid and luxuriant growth. And, as an idea, the very worst way to suppress the I.W.W. is to try to suppress it. The I W.W. is a social growth beyond the power of courts and capitalists to eradicate. The I.W.W. represents and has the courage to stand for those things that are needed to set society right. Every persecution only serves to extend the range of its acquaintanceship and put more people's minds straight about it.

The IW.W. unions are now setting themselves for a contest with the type of industrial rulers for whommen like Busick stand. The real issue in this fight is whether labor unions shall be run by judges or by the organized workers. This fight is of interest to workers in every union fold, not the I.W.W. alone, and to every political body that seeks to advance the cause of labor.

These, without regard for differences of organization beliefs or opinions should unitedly present a solid front to the judiciary and the capitalist interests. California labor should select a day upon which every wheel in industry and every function in commerce would stop at a certain hour. If the judges will issue injunctions labor should meet them with such a suspension of production as will impress them with its power. Action of this kind upon a state-wide scale would begin the end of injunctions and start labor to recognizing that solidarity is a power whichnever fails.

*********

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

**********

- MEETINGS -

YAKIMA, WASH. October 20, 1923. Business meeting of I.U.110
Fourteen members in good standin.

M & S. That a collection be taken up to help defray expense of the J.I.Turner meeting for Friday evening Nov.2nd,1923. Carried.

M & S. That we do all in our power to eliminate picking spuds by the bushel. Carried.

M & S. That we go on record to set a wage scale of 50¢ per hour and board for picking spuds. Carried.

M & S. That we cooperate with 310 on the Hillside strike of Grant Smith for their demands. Carried.

Following is a list of members who have been nominated for I.U.110 officials. Nominations may still be sent in from the field. The names of all nominees will be published in the Bulletin for 30 days, so that all may have a chance to accept or decline. All nominees not heard from by Nov.20th will be stricken from the ballot.

## NOMINEES FOR SEC'Y TREAS.I.U?LLO

### ACCEPT

Wm Hanley - # 194920

### DECLINED OR NOT ELIGIBLE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| H. Griffin | Ed Burkhart | W.F. Bates | Dave Rommell |
| John Black | J. Greer | W.F. Lowe | |
| Joe O'Neil | H.E.Hartline | Chas.Kolar | |
| Tom Doyle | Wm Rogers | A.R. Sail | |
| J. Murray | F. Swartz | Jas.(Blackie) Sullivan | |
| Wm Murphy | Joe Fisher | Louis Handler | |
| J. Cheesebrew | Joe Jordan | Harvey Karnstrom | |
| C.J. O'Donnell | Tim Reagon | W.R. Boyd | |
| Tom Mc Coy | Harry Bennett | Louis Kromer | |

### NOT HEARD FROM

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Forrest Edwards | 8714 | John Downs | 216612 | Ted Fraser | 15744 |
| Frank Thorpe | 713888 | Frank Clark | 740783 | P.J.Gorman | 259813 |
| Wm Hurley | 247374 | Felix Thornton | 196875 | Jas.Sullivan | 415322 |
| R.Jones | 346943 | Wm Burns | 805374 | Tom Connors | 412494 |
| R.E. Massey | 294844 | Fred Quigley | 395631 | Roscoe Thurman | 312023 |

## NOMINEES FOR G.O.C.

### ACCEPT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Harvey Karnstrom | 239037 | Joe O'Neil | 195015 |
| Ed Burkhart | 249403 | Harold (Dinty) Moore | 232987 |

### DECLINED OR NOT ELIGIBLE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| John Black | H.Bennett | J. Murray | Ray Atkinson |
| Joe Jordan | Jas.Sullivan | Wm Bridges | William Reid |
| H. Greer | E.Hurlbert | Eric Ostrom | W.F. Lowe |
| John Evans | Geo.O'Neil | R. Leonard | John Cheesebrew |
| Wm Klein | W.D. Conway | Wm Murphy | H. Miller |
| Tim Reagon | Wm Rogers | F. Schwartz | J.K. Peterson |
| Jack Lightner | K. Nicoloff | H. Rankin | M. Kearns |
| H.B. Fiske | Ed Donnelly | Chas. Kolar | |

### NOT HEARD FROM

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chas. Ross | 739200 | George Read | 737033 | John Farley | 188477 |
| Arthur Linn | 407217 | Fred Quigley | 395631 | Chas.Riley | 328196 |
| Tom Mc Coy | 412490 | Elmer Purrington | 260325 | C.L. Johnson | 237876 |
| Wm Burns | 805374 | Tom Hayes | 414826 | Oscar Anderson | 703943 |
| Carl Keller | 372561 | Wm Hurley | 242374 | W.F.Powell | 719519 |
| W. Severin | 253089 | M.M.Mc Cabe | 402379 | Harry Young | 356465 |
| Jack Dalton | 719308 | Chas.Swanson | 827344 | Frank Thorpe | 713888 |
| D. Conroy | 195557 | Thos.Bogard | 322104 | Wm Borden | 222382 |
| Fred Fisher | 190890 | Geo.B.Williams | 836566 | E.G.Romeo | 103226 |
| Ed Anderson | 839899 | P.J. Gorman | 259813 | Jas.Donnelly | 256434 |
| Joe Stuart | 257056 | R.S. Morgan | 239832 | Bob Hall | 367949 |
| W.R.Boyd | 447897 | Wm Bradley | 407286 | Chas. Gard | 737419 |
| Byron Standy | 710870 | Stonewall De Luck | 386871 | | |

## NOMINEES FOR ALTERNATE G.O.C.

### ACCEPT

John K.Peterson 315055 J. Murray 803735 John Cheesebrew 414731

### DECLINED OR NOT ELIGIBLE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wm Reid | Wm Edwards | Wm Murphy | K. Nicoloff | H. Greer |
| Joe Jordan | Joe Fisher | F. Swartz | T. Doyle | A.R.Sail |
| W. Klein | J.Brush | W.F.Bates | W.D. Conway | F. Hanson |
| Geo. Adams | Dave Rommell | | S.H.Whitton | |

(over)

## NOT HEARD FROM

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B. Standy | 710870 | Geo. Elsassar | 251302 | J. Downs | 216612 |
| C.R.Bates | 226218 | M. Dykstra | 211106 | Joe Murray | 232674 |
| F.Quigley | 395631 | B. Biggins | 231920 | A.Linn | 407217 |
| W. Bernard | 723221 | Tom Mc Coy | 412490 | P.J.Gorman | 259813 |
| Ed Higgins | 749662 | | | | |

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## JOB NEWS

### MINNESOTA

MADISON, 10-19 They are paying 8¢ per bushel for corn picking here. (AG 43) Corn picking has started full blast, 8 & 9¢ a bushel.Corn is fair. ( AG 1514)

LUVERNE & ELLSWORTH, 10-24 Corn picking on full blast. Wages 8¢ per bu. Corn from 35 to 50 bu. per acre. Good demand for men. (705369)

MARSHALL, 10-29 Corn here is fair. Prices for husking in general 7 to 10¢. Some fields have good corn and others poor. About half done and about 50 per cent wobs. (X31449)

JASPER, 10-24. Corn picking just starting here. Wages are 7 and 9¢ per bu. Quite a number of corn picking machines here. ( AG 158)

### COLORADO

WINDSOR, 10-30 Great Western Sugar Co. paying 40¢ per hour, eight hour shift, good grub and lodging for $8.50 per week. Wages for outside work similar. Shipping from Denver, fare advanced. ( AG 628)

### IOWA

BUFFALO CENTER, 10-17 Corn picking just starting. Wages 9 and 10¢ and board. Around here corn not very good; has been hit by the hail and dry weather. No men here at all. A good place for wobs. A fair picker can make 50 to 60 bushel. ( AG 713)

MONSON, 10-28. The farmers here are wild for men to pick down corn , paying 10¢ per bushel, standing corn 7 and 8¢. ( AG 627)

FORT DODGE, 10-12 Corn picking just starting , 7 and 8¢ per bu. Good crop. ( V.C.)

SIOUX CITY, 10-15. Corn picking on. Not many men in town. Farmers commencing to take men out. Wages 6 & 7¢ a bu. ( AG 25)

CLEAR LAKE, 10-25 Corn picking in this territory is in full blast. Wages 7¢. Good crop. Corn standing well and in good condition for husking. No organization here. ( 419516)

ROCK RAPIDS, 10-28 Corn picking is in full blast. Prices range from 7 to 9¢ per bushel. ( AG 406)

### IDAHO

RIGBY, 10-4. The slaves here in the sugar are all unorganized, working 12 hours a day for 35¢ an hour. The girls are working for $2.00 a day in the beet factory. No delegates here at present. One could do good work here. (X78093)

IDAHO FALLS, 11-1. There is still some spuds to be dug, but they are badly frosted. Lots of work topping beets, $1.00-1.25 per ton. Board and bed $1.00. Boys in kneepants picking spuds; go on strike for more wages. John Shears takes advantage of them because they are school boys. ( AG 419)

### NEVADA

ELY, 10-30. From now till spring the agricultural work will consist mostly of feeding cattle and sheep. Wages $2.50 per day. The slaves are recruited from among young Mormons, a few Indians and wicks from the East who aspire to emulate Bill Hart or Tom Mix. Needless to say there is very little union sentiment. ( AG 456)

WASHINGTON

WENATCHEE, 10-24 There is quite a little snow on the mountains and the auto tramp and his family are making their getaway. The farmers are meowing for help now. The city council closed the schools for two weeks last night so the kids could pick apples.(AG950)

CASHMERE, 10-14. Apple picking is on in full swing at present with full quota of auto tramps and pappooses. Wages are about 40 to 50¢ per hour, but I think we will get some raises before long as there are quite a lot of wobblies here in the fruit. ( AG 1591)

OMAK, 10-23 The apple harvest is on in full swing. 40¢ an hour, board the best way you can. "Speed artists" are offered 4½¢ per box. Wicks numerous. ( AG 630)

CALIFORNIA

WILLOWS, 10-13. Rice threshing on now - object is delegate on each job. Hours what workmen make them. Dew prohibits long days, 9 to 10 hours mostly. Around here better organization on work could hardly be expected. Master up a tree. No actual scale set by C.C. ( AG 8)

MARYSVILLE, 10-25 Orange picking and packing starts about the middle of Nov. south, not much rice after that. ( AG 80)

COLUSA, 10-22 Wages have gone up 50¢ on the day, being now from $3.50 per day up to $5.00 and $6.00. $8.00 per day for running a separator. ( AG 460)

SOUTH DAKOTA

CENTERVILLE, They are paying 8¢ a bushel for conn husking here. ( AG 701)

GARRETSON There are about 25 wobs picking corn out of here, wages 8¢ a bushel with elevator and 9¢ without. It will last about a month. ( AG 850)

SHERMAN, 11-4 The price for corn picking here is 9 and 10¢ a bushel. The corn is fair. ( AG 1212)

CANADA

ALBERTA

CALGARY, 10-20 Threshing here for 30 days yet. Wages seem to be holding at $6.00 and $6.50 per day. Lots of fellow workers here. ( AG 791)

CALGARY, 11-3. Threshing here nearly completed. There is about ten days yet. Wages have dropped with a few exceptions to $5.00 a day. Fellow workers are holding out for $6.00; wicks going out for whatever they can get. ( AG 799)

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I M P O R T A N T

The A.W.I.U.No.110 conference will be held at Stockton, Calif. November 15th, 1923. All 110 members in California should be there to help plan the campaign for organizing the agricultural workers in the orchards, vineyards and ranches of the state. If you cannot be there but have any plans to bring before the conference send them to Wm Dawson, Box 754, Stockton, Calif.

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Any member who bought a duplicate card receipt and has not received a duplicate card, please write to the main office. Give all details possible in regard to card number, date of initiation months paid, etc.

## AMNESTY BY CHRISTMAS

Fellow workers:

Well into their seventh year of unjust imprisonment our members in federal prisons have failed to win from the government authorities that consideration which has been extended to conscienceless profiteers who grafted upon the government, the spies of other governments and malefactors who scuttled ships, wrecked warehouses and blew up munition factories. Evidently, the government holds crime to be less offensive than the holding of opinions that do not accord with those who control it.

Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania, one of the acknowledged legal authorities in the United States, expressed the opinion openly to the late President Harding that the conviction of the I.W.W. prisoners was not warranted by the evidence. He urged their unconditional release as a matter of legal justice without any humanitarian considerations whatever. He spoke as a lawyer, not as a man. His contention amounts to a charge that the law was violated to accomplish the imprisonment of these men, and that the rights of citizenship under the law are being ignored to hold them in Leavenworth.

More than ever, then, does it become our duty to stir the consciences of the people of the United States in whose name the president becomes a party to the legal crime committed by withholding from these men release from cells in which they should never have been incarcerated.

Fellow workers, wherever you are try to get in touch with persons of influence in labor unions, civic and religious societies, women's clubs and societies. Endeavor to have them arrange for meetings of protest against the inactivity of the government authorities in the cases of these innocent victims of wartime passions and prejudices, who have suffered the tortures of a prison hell for seven years.

Have resolutions demanding the release of these prisoners by Xmas passed. Only if, and when the nation resolves to wipe away this stain upon the reputation of a country that stands pre-eminently for freedom of opinion will the rulers of the United States attempt to repair this crime which has robbed these honest men of seven useful years.

These men are our fellow workers. They were condemned to living deaths for us. They must be freed. Let us say so with no uncertain voice on Amnesty Day - Sunday December 23rd. Write in for literature.

General Defense Committee
1001 W.Madison Street.

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## NOTICE

Earl Summers, Henry Lang and Geo.Kelley - lined up by H.B. Fiske at Havnes, Kans. please get in touch with the General Defense Committee or 110 main office.

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L.Maulding, delegate h 554, 1920 has settled his account and has been issued a clearance.

The Christmas receipt books are now out and fellow workers are requested to write to the General Defense for same, if you haven't already received one.

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Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.R. Sail | 1222-4th ST. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Fritz Rudd | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Pat Noonan | (Box 107) 515 N.16th St. | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Chas. Kolar | 601 W. Madison ST. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Miles M.McCabe | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| Jack Stewart | Box 781 | Cranbrook, B.C. |
| John Deady | Box 42 | Colusa, Calif. |

Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman — Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treasurer

A.W.I.U. No.110

An Injury to One Is the Concern of All

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.44

Chicago, Ill. November 14, 1923.

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## THE FIFTEENTH CONVENTION

Fellow workers:

The General Convention of the I.W.W. is now assembled in annual session. It will address itself to the problems of the working class as a whole, in considering the requirements of the I.W.W. as an economic organization representative of the needs, hopes, aspirations and ambitions of that class, and by endeavoring to devise ways and means thru which the working class interest will be advanced.

In the deliberations of the convention and the making of its decisions there should be no prejudice. The delegates, if they will perform their duty to the working class and the I.W.W., must face facts and be guided by what the facts dictate.

There stands out the fact that the I.W.W. is a social organization above and beyond everything else. This is what distinguishes it from all other unions in the United States and Canada - it considers labor in relation to society and has a definite social goal for which it is striving. As such, it takes cognizance of the evolution of capitalist property, and presumably prepares the wage workers to so organize themselves that they will be enabled to engage the most powerful capitalist groups, and, thru the power generated by industrial, class conscious unionism to do so successfully. This contention is sound and beyond question practicable, but our progress toward its realization is slow and very uncertain.

This is one of the facts whichit is absolutely necessary to face. If there is something defective in the structure of the I.W.W., or the methods we have been employing, the sooner we discover what and how to remedy it, the sooner will the organization grow in membership and influence.

In this convention, as well as in those of past years, the "small industrial unions" represent, or rather do not represent at all, some of the most important industries; and even the self-sustaining industrial unions do not represent anything nearly like a respectable proportion of the workers in these industries. Why this condition obtains and how to overcome it is of the very highest organization importance to ascertain.

Suggestions will be presented to the delegates from various sources, some of which should be presumed to know whereof they speak, and whose opinions should be worthy of consideration in connection with the workers in particular industries.

There will be a natural hesitancy on the part of the delegates to break abruptly with organization customs, just as there is hesitancy on the part of workers organized in the old-line unions to break with the craft organizations. Even the most revolutionary delegates are sometimes shaken when it comes to making decisions that may have unreckoned and unintended consequences. Caution in making momentous decisions is very far from being an undesirable quality in a delegate. The careful, cautious man is one upon whom an organization can usually depend. But there are things which appear to be so evident that even experiment is preferable to the perpetuation of the present condition.

The convention of the A.W.I.U.#110 decided that a sliding scale of initiations and dues, to be determined by each industrial union for itself, would stimulate organization work and growth in the several industries. Its delegates stand instructed to work and vote for this constitutional change in the general constitution.

Finance is essential to organization effort, and the extent to which and the effectiveness with which organization work may be

pushed depends upon the finances of the general organization and the several industrial unions. Moreover, when the hostility which the I.W.W. encounters in its organization work is taken into account we must recognize that it, more so than any other union, is compelled to provide for defense.

The situation in California is a case in point. There, lacking the power which extensive organization would confer, the I.W.W. must provide the means of legal defense. For educational purposes, and education is one of the strongest weapons the I.W.W. wields, finance must be forthcoming. To push organization growth in the basic industries finance is necessary.

The belief that the workers in the manufacturing centres will initiate organization is not as safe as that they will do so more readily if the stimulant of organization is injected into them from outside sources. To make big unions out of the small unions is work which the general organization must start and carry on until substantial nuclei are established in these industries. Todo this there must be finance available for the G.E.B. To arrange for this is one task worthy of the convention's best efforts.

The membership of the I.W.W. will be ready to suppor progressive recommendations by the convention. It is not to be expected that perfection will result from this convention, but progress should be expected from it.

In all the industries and in every section the idea of one union possesses the minds of the workers. In the A.F. of L., among the railroad brotherhoods, in the independent unions, among the unorganized, as well as the organized workers, one union of the working class is the prevailing organization idea, and the I.W.W. is the embodiment of it.

With this sentiment, our problem is how to crystallize it into organization. It is not a simple problem by any means, but it is not an impossible one. This convention should make some headway toward its solution, take some step that will bring us nearer to that end. It is our hope that it will. More than that, we are confident that when its sessions are ended the I.W.W. will be stronger, better fitted to cope with its problems, and better prepared to move forward to the accomplishment of its historic mission.

We tender to the convention our very best wishes for harmonious and resultful sessions.

**********

## M E E T I N G S

YAKIMA, WASH. Nov.4 - Regular business meeting of I.U.110. Eight members in good standing present.

M & S. That we accept the resignation of Sta.Del.Mike Doyle,Carr

M & S. That money refunded on hall rent be donated to Calif. Defense. Carried.

M & S. That we formulate plans for a drive in Yakima Valley next summer. Carried.

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SIOUX CITY, IA. Nov.11. Regular business meeting of I.U.110 Eleven members in good standing present.

M & S. That this body goes on record as being not in favor of a compulsory assessment stamp and this action goes before the General convention. Carried.

M & S. That we send congratulations to boys in Walla Walla.Carr.

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WENATCHEE, WASH. Nov.4. - Fourteen members of 110, 3 of I.U.120present

M & S. That money collected for Fellow worker Allen be turned over to Calif. Defense. Carried.

M & S. That resignation of Fellow worker Hyman as stationary delegate be accepted. Carried. (over)

M & S. That collection be taken up for the Calif. Defense at once. Carried. Collection $7.75 - $5.00 turned over to Calif. Defense being collection taken up for Fellow worker Allen at previous meeting. Total $12.75.

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Following is a list of members who have been nominated for I.U.110 officials. Nominations may still be sent in from the field. The names of all nominees will be published in the Bulletin for 30 days, so that all may have a chance to accept or decline. All nominees not heard from by Nov.20th will be stricken from the ballot. The ballot will be in the field on November 25th.

## NOMINEES FOR SEC'Y TREAS. I.U.110

### ACCEPT

Wm Hanley # 194920

### DECLINED OR NOT ELIGIBLE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| H. Griffin | Ed Burkhart | W.F. Bates | Dave Rommell |
| John Black | J. Greer | W.F. Lowe | Forrest Edwards |
| Joe O'Neil | H.E.Hartline | Chas. Kolar | Tom Connors |
| Tom Doyle | Wm Rogers | A.R. Sail | John Downs |
| J. Murray | F. Swartz | Jas.(Blackie)Sullivan | |
| Wm Murphy | Joe Fisher | Louis Handler | Louis Kromer |
| J. Cheesebrew | Joe Jordan | Harvey Karnstrom | Harry Bennett |
| C.J.O'Donnell | Tim Reagon | W.R.Boyd | Tom Mc Coy |

### NOT HEARD FROM

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frank Thorpe | 713888 | Frank Clark | 740783 | Ted Fraser | 15744 |
| Wm Hurley | 247374 | Felix Thornton | 196875 | P.J.Gorman | 259813 |
| R.Jones | 346943 | Wm Burns | 805374 | Jas.Sullivan | 415322 |
| R.E. Massey | 294844 | Fred Quigley | 395631 | Roscoe Thurman | 312023 |

## NOMINEES FOR G.O.C.

### ACCEPT

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Harvey Karnstrom | 239037 | Joe O'Neil | 195015 | Tom Mc Coy | 412490 |
| Ed Burkhart | 249403 | Jas.Donnelly | 256434 | John Downs | 216612 |
| Harold(Dinty) Moore | 232987 | Miles M. Mc Cabe | 402379 | | |

### DECLINED OR NOT ELIGIBLE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| John Black | H. Bennett | J. Murray | Ray Atkinson | Bob Hall |
| Joe Jordan | Jas.Sullivan | Wm Bridges | William Reid | Geo.Read |
| H. Greer | E.Hurlbert | Eric Ostrom | W.F. Lowe | John Farley |
| John Evans | Geo.O'Neil | R.Leonard | Jn.Cheesebrew | R.S.Morgan |
| Wm Klein | W.D.Conway | Wm Murphy | H. Miller | Chas.Kolar |
| Tim Reagon | Wm Rogers | F.Schwartz | J.K.Peterson | Ed Donnelly |
| Jack Lightner | K.Nicoloff | H. Rankin | M. Kearns | H.B.Fiske |
| Geo. B.Williams | | Ed Anderson | | |

### NOT HEARD FROM

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chas. Ross | 739200 | Fred Quigley | 395631 | Chas. Riley | 328196 |
| Arthur Linn | 407217 | Elmer Purrington | 260325 | C.L.Johnson | 237876 |
| Wm Burns | 805374 | Tom Hayes | 414826 | Oscar Anderson | 703943 |
| Carl Keller | 372561 | Wm Hurley | 242374 | W.F.Powell | 719519 |
| W.Severin | 253089 | Byron Standy | 710870 | Harry Young | 356465 |
| Jack Dalton | 719308 | Chas.Swanson | 827344 | Frank Thorpe | 713888 |
| D.Conroy | 195557 | Thos. Bogard | 322104 | Wm Borden | 222382 |
| Fred Fisher | 190890 | P.J.Gorman | 259813 | E.G. Romeo | 103226 |
| Joe Stuart | 257056 | Wm Bradley | 407286 | Chas. Gard | 737419 |
| W.R. Boyd | 447897 | Stonewall De Luck | 386871 | | |

## NOMINEES FOR ALTERNATE G.O.C.

### ACCEPT

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| John K.Peterson | 315055 | J. Murray | 803735 | John Cheesebrew | 414731 |

## DECLINED OR NOT ELIGIBLE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wm Reid | Wm Edwards | Wm Murphy | K. Nicoloff | H. Greer |
| Joe Jordan | Joe Fisher | F. Swartz | T.Doyle | A.R. Sail |
| W. Klein | J. Brush | W.F. Bates | W.D. Conway | F. Hanson |
| Geo. Adams | Dave Rommell | S.H. Whitton | John Downs | Tom Mc Coy |

## NOT HEARD FROM

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B. Standy | 710870 | Geo.Elsassar | 251302 | Joe Murray | 232674 |
| C.R.Bates | 226218 | M. Dykstra | 211106 | A. Linn | 407217 |
| F.Quigley | 395631 | B.Biggins | 231920 | P.J. Gorman | 259813 |
| W. Bernard | 723221 | Ed Higgins | 749662 | | |

**********

## BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

## JOB NEWS

### MINNESOTA

MADISON, 10-19 They are paying 8¢ per bushel for corn picking here. (AG 43) Corn picking has started full blast, 8 &9¢ a bushel. Corn is fair. ( AG 1514)

LUVERNE & ELLSWORTH, 10-24. Corn picking on full blast. Wages 8¢ per bu. Corn from 35 to 50 bu. per acre. Good demand for men. (705269

MARSHALL, 10-29. Corn here is fair. Prices for husking in general 7 to 10¢. Some fields have good corn and others poor. About half done, and about 50 per cent wobs. ( X 31449)

JASPER, 10-24. Corn picking just starting here. Wages are 7 & 9¢ per bu. Quite a number of corn picking machines here. ( AG 158)

### COLORADO

WINDSOR, 10-30. Great Western Sugar Co. paying 40¢ an hour, 8 hour shift, good grub and lodging for $8.50 per week. Wages for outside work similar. Shipping from Denver, fare advanced. ( AG 628

### IOWA

BUFFALO CENTER, 10-17. Corn picking just starting. Wages 9 and 10¢ and board: Around here corn not very good; has been hit by the hail and dry weather. No men here at all. A good place for wobs. A fair picker can make 50 to 60 bushel. ( AG 713)

FORT DODGE, 10-12. Corn picking just starting, 7 & 8¢ a bu. Good cro (V.C.)

SIOUX CITY, 10-15. Corn picking on. Not many men in town. Farmers commencing to take men out. Wages 6 & 7¢ a bu. ( AG 25)

CLEAR LAKE, 10-25 Corn picking in this territory is in full blast. Wages 7¢. Godd crop. Corn standing well and in good condition for husking. No organization here. ( 419616)

ROCK RAPIDS, 10-28 Corn picking in full blast. Prices range from 7 to 9¢ per bushel. ( AG 406)

MARCUS, 11-10 Wages here are 8¢ per bushel. The corn is good.(AG1504)

MANSON, 11-7 Wages at Manson, Pomeroy and Rockwell City are 7 and 8¢ for standing corn and 10¢ for down corn. ( AG 627)

### NEBRASKA

SPRINGFIELD, 11-6. Corn husking in full blast here with wages at 9 and 10¢ a bushel. Think it will be 12¢ before they finish. Lots of corn in this section but most of it is down or leaning. You can make more in down corn at 10¢ than in standing at 8¢. ( AG 1730)

IDAHO

RIGBY, 10-14 The slaves here in the sugar are all unorganized, working 12 hours a day for 35¢ an hour. The girls are working for $2.00 a day in the beet factory. No delegates here at present. One could do good work here. ( X 78093)

IDAHO FALLS, 11-1. There is still some spuds to be dug, but they are badly frosted. Lots of work topping beets, $1.00-1.25 per ton. Board and bed $1.00. Boys in kneepants picking spuds; go on strike for more wages. John Shears takes advantage of them because they are school boys. ( AG 419)

NEVADA

ELY, 10-30. From now till spring the agricultural work will consist mostly of feeding cattle and sheep. Wages $2.50 per day. The slaves are recruited from among young Mormons, a few Indians and wicks from the East who aspire to emulate Bill Hart or Tom Mix. Needless to say there is very little union sentiment. ( AG 456)

WASHINGTON

WENATCHEE, 10-24 There is quite a little snow on the mountains and the auto tramp and his family are making their getaway. The farmers are meowing for help now. The city council closed the schools for two weeks last night so the kids could pick apples. ( AG 950)

OMAK, 10-23 The apply harvest is on in full swing. 40¢ an hour, board the best way you can. "Speed artists" are offered 4½¢ per box. Wicks numerous. ( AG 630)

ELLENSBURG, 11-5. There is no demand for labor here at present as the spuds are all gathered; some hay baling; mostly homeguards as the wobs have gone on to Calif. ( AG 1542)

LEAVENSWORTH, 11-6. The harvest is practically over here. Most of the 110 members are headed south, while some are going to the woods. ( AG 135)

CALIFORNIA

MARYSVILLE, 10-25 Orange picking and packing starts about the middle of November south, not much rice after that. ( AG 8)

COLUSA, 10-22. Wages have gone up 50¢ on the day, being now from $3.50 per day up to $5.00 and $6.00. $8.00 per day for running a separator. ( AG 460)

SOUTH DAKOTA

CENTERVILLE, 11-2 They are paying 8¢ a bushel for corn husking here. ( AG 701)

GARRETSON, 11-1. There are about 25 wobs picking corn out of here. Wages 8¢ a bushel with elevator and 9¢ without. It will last about a month. ( AG 850)

SHERMAN, 11-4. The price for corn picking here is 9 & 10¢ a bushel. The corn is fair. ( AG 1212)

BERESFORD, 11-10. They are paying 8¢ for cornpicking here - with elevator. At Marshall, Minn. 8 to 10¢. At Garretson, S.D. 8¢ with elevator, but not much demand for men. Sioux Falls, 7¢ with elevator; good demand for help. At Hawarden, Ia. 7 & 8¢, but about finished. About half done around here. ( AG 258)

C A N A D A

ALBERTA

GALGARY, 10-20. Threshing here for 30 days yet. Wages seem to be hodding at $6.00 and $6.50 per day. Lots of fellow workers here. ( AG 791)

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The railroad bulls at Sheridan, Wyo. are frisking the trains for cards and tearing them up. Members should be on the look out in making this town.

Fellow workers:

In San Quentin and Folsom penitentiaries in California are approximately 90 of our fellow workers serving from one to fourteen years for mere membership in the I.W.W. Some of the fellow workers have been there for nearly four years.

In Walla Walla, Washington are approximately ten of our fellow workers. Eight of them are the Centralia victims who are serving what constitutes life to the average man. The other two fellow workerssare serving indeterminate sentences under the C.S. law.

In Idaho, Kansas, South Dakota, and various other places fellow workers are serving sentences ranging from one to twenty years.

Leavenworth holds thirty-two of our fellow workers who were convicted under the repealed espionage act. These fellow workers are now going on their seventh year in prison.

The General Defense committee, as is its custom, has started its annual drive for Christmas relief for the various fellow workers. With the cooperation of the membership we hope to make this years drive the biggest yet. We want the fellow workers on the inside to feel that we haven't forgotten them and that we are behind them not only in words but in every way at our command.

Will you help us make this a banner year for the fellow workers on the inside. If so, will you write in for a receipt book and get busy raising funds?

General Defense Committee,
1001 West Madison Street.

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N O T I C E

The A.W.I.U. No.110 conference will be held at Stockton, Calif. November 15, 1923. All I.U.110 members in California should be there to help plan the campaign for organizing the agricultural workers in the orchards, vineyards and ranches of the state. If you cannot be there, but have any plans to bring before the conference send them to Wm Dawson, Box 754, Stockton, Calif.

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Earl Summers, Henry Lang and George Kelley - lined up by H.B. Fiske at Havnes, Kans. please get in touch with the General Defense Committee or the 110 main office.

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The following delegates please get in touch with the main office at once - IMPORTANT -

John Angus Lunney, AG 793 -- Ed Hill, AG 1568.

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Any member who bought a duplicate card receipt and has not received a duplicate card, please write to the main office. Give all details possible in regard to card number, date of initiation, months paid, etc.

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Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.R. Sail | 1222- 4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Fritz Rudd | 115 Nicollet Ave., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Pat Noonan | 515 N. 16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Chas. Kolar | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Miles M. Mc Cabe | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |
| Jack Stewart | Box 761 | Cranbrook, B.C. |

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Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U. No.110

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

BULLETIN No. 45

Chicago, Ill. November 21, 1933.

## THINGS OF INTEREST AT THE GENERAL CONVENTION

Some measures of importance have been acted upon by the delegates attending the fifteenth general convention now in session. The first few days were addressed to routine work, such as the seating of delegates, electing committees, acting upon the reports of the general officers, etc. Some vital measures were adopted however, although the delegates are just beginning the important task before them.

For some time the question of initiation and dues has been under discussion among the membership. The opinion in many quarters has been that each industry should regulate its own dues and initiations. The membership, in the east especially, has been contending that the conditions existing in the basic industries of the east were different from that of the west. Tho the worker in eastern industry is exploited as well as the worker in the western, the conditions under which he is working, however, are far different.

Many resolutions dealing with the question of dues and initiations were brought before the convention. Some of them demanded a flat initiation fee of five dollars and one dollar dues; other resolutions varied in the amount. The substitute offered by the Resolutions Committee set the initiation fee from one to five dollars and the dues from fifty cents up to one dollar. This was adopted by a large majority vote. Each industrial union will decide for itself what its initiation fees and dues shall be in case this carries by referendum.

In the arguments for and against, it was pointed out that no industrial union has the right to dictate to another. Conditions alone should be the determining factor. One delegate has rightfully remarked "I refuse to tie the hands of any industrial union. If they want a sliding scale and if that is what is holding them back from organizing, I am for it".

Resolutions dealing with industrial union autonomy were presented, and carried. By industrial union autonomy the convention does not wish it to be understood that an industrial union can do as it pleases - only insofar as each industrial union may determine its affairs relative to organization in its particular industry.

It was also decided by the convention that if any industrial union wished to put its branches on a per capita basis it may do so. The Marine Transport Workers especially are confronted with a problem that does not exist in any other part of the organization. They must have halls in every large port of the world, which necessarily places large expense upon the union. Other industries will be confronted with the same problem in the future. By putting these branches on a per capita basis and by giving the members in the respective branches a certain amount of the revenue they collect, it will not only put responsibility where it belongs, but also create initiative. Certain local organization problems are bound to come up and it is the sense of this measure not to stifle activity but give them funds that they may be able to carry on local organization work.

The question of individual clemency and commutation that has claimed the attention of the membership for some time will be definitely settled. A thorough investigation is being made by the Grievance Committee. The delegates feel that they must establish a policy for the I.W.W. to be guided by in the future.

Many resolutions demand complete reorganization of our educational facilities. The membership expressing itself that inasmuch as education is of great importance in organizing the working class, that we must bend our efforts towards making that branch of the organization function successfully.

The Ways and Means Committee is now working on a plan for securing more suitable quarters for general headquarters. The present

building is in a very dilapidated condition. Over ten thousand dollars yearly is expended in rent and repairs.

Changes affecting our internal structure, such as doing away with the General Executive Board and replacing same with another administrative force, are some of the important things yet to come up.

This convention is really setting itself to the task of making the I.W.W. a labor organization that will function in industry, not forgetting that part of the preamble "not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown".

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Below is the list of nominees whose names will appear on the A.W.I.U.110 referendum ballot. Ballots cast in the field should be sent direct to the main office, enclosed in a separate envelope and marked Ballot Committee. Ballots must be in the main office by January 10, 1924, on which date they will be counted.

Ballots will be in the field in a few days and may be obtained from any main office, branch or stationary delegate.

NOMINEES FOR SECRETARY TREASURER

Wm Hanley  Frank Thorpe  Reginald Jones

NOMINEES FOR G.O.C.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ed Burkhart | W.R. Boyd | Stonewall De Luck |
| John Downs | A. Linn | Harold (Dinty) Moore |
| Miles M. Mc Cabe | Joe O'Neil | James Donnelly |
| Wm Bradley | | Tom Mc Coy |

NOMINEES FOR ALTERNATE G.O.C.

John K. Peterson  J. Murray  John Cheesebrew

---

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

JOB NEWS

MINNESOTA

MADISON, 10-09 They are paying 8¢ per bushel for corn picking here. ( AG 43) Corn picking has started full blast, 8 & 9¢ a bushel. Corn is fair. ( AG 1514)

LUVERNE & ELLSWORTH, 10-24 Corn picking on full blast. Wages 8¢ per bushel. Corn from 35 to 50 bushel per acre. Good demand for men. ( 705269)

MARSHALL, 11-18 The corn is good around here. They are paying 8 to 10¢ a bushel. About half done. ( AG 172)

JASPER, 10-24 Corn picking just starting here. Wages are 7 & 9¢ per bushel. Quite a number of corn picking machines here. ( AG 158)

COLORADO

WINDSOR, 10-30 Great Western Sugar Co. paying 40¢ an hour, 8 hour shift, good grub and lodging for $8;50 per week. Wages for outside work similar. Shipping from Denver, fare advanced. ( AG 628)

IOWA

BUFFALO CENTER, 10-17 Corn picking just starting. Wages 9 and 10¢ and board. Around here corn not very good; has been hit by the hail and dry weather. No men here at all. A good place for wobs. A fair picker can make 50 to 60 bushel. ( AG 713)

SIOUX CITY, 10-15. Corn picking on. Not many men in town. Farmers commencing to take men out. Wages 6 and 7¢ a bushel. ( AG 25)

IOWA

SIOUX CITY, 10-25 Corn picking on. Not many men in town. Farmers commencing to take men out. Wages 6 & 7¢ a bushel. ( AG 25)

CLEAR LAKE, 10-25 Corn picking in this territory is in full blast Wages 7¢ Good crop. Corn standing well and in good condition for husking. No organization here. ( 413516)

ROCK RAPIDS, 10-28 Corn picking in full blast. Prices range from 7 to 9¢ per bushel. ( AG 406)

MARCUS, 11-10 Wages here are 8¢ per bushel. The corn is good.( (AG 1504)

MANSON, 11-7. Wages at Manson, Pomeroy and Rockwell City are 7 and 8¢ for standing corn and 10¢ for down corn. ( AG 627)

NEBRASKA

SPRINGFIELD, 11-6 Corn husking in full blast here with wages at 9 and 10¢ a bushel. Think it will be 12¢ before they finish. Lots of corn in this section but most of it is down or leaning. You can make more in down corn at 10¢ than in standing at 8¢. ( AG 1730)

NEVADA

RENO, 11-16 IIO work about done here for present year. Some cattle feeding at $2.00 and $2.50 a day and sheep herding at from $60.00 to $80.00 a month. ( AG 456)

WASHINGTON

ELLENSBURG, 11-5 There is no demand for labor here at present as the spuds are all gathered; some hay baling; mostly homeguards as the wobs have gone on to Calif. ( AG 1542)

LEAVENWORTH, 11-6. The harvest is practically over here. Most of the IIO members are headed south, while some are going to the woods. ( AG 135)

CALIFORNIA

MARYSVILLE? 10-25 Orange picking and packing starts about the middle of November south, not much rice after that. ( AG 8)

LINDSAY, 11-12. Heavy orange crop here. Picking full blast about Nov. 15th or 16th. This crop, as all other perishable fruits, must be picked as soon as ripe. Come early. Let's all of us pickers talk the thing over and set the wages. If we do not set any wage the chamber of commerce will. Come on, Fellow workers, to Lindsay, Calif. ( AG 8)

LINDSAY, 11-17 Picking of the orange crop here is all contract work. Prices are from 5¢ a box up to 10¢. Furnish your own blankets, clippers and sack. Hundreds of workers are awaiting the master's call in this town to rush in to the orchards and see who can pick the most oranges. Rooms are very scarce in town; restaurants plentiful. Meals are from 25¢ up. Working by the hour 40¢. They have 17 packing sheds in Lindsay. Mostly women employed in the packing sheds. Picking will be on full blast by the 22nd of November.(AG40[illegible]

SOUTH DAKOTA

CENTERVILLE, 11-2. They are paying 8¢ a bushel for corn husking here. ( AG 701)

GARRETSON, 11-1 There are about 35 wobs picking corn out of here. Wages 8¢ a bushel with elevator and 9¢ without. It will last about a month. ( AG 850)

SHERMAN, 11-4 The price for corn picking here is 9 and 10¢ a bushel. The corn is fair. ( AG 1312)

BERESFORD, 11-10. They are paying 8¢ for corn picking here with elevator. At Marshall, Minn. 8 to 10¢. At Garretson, S.D. 8¢ with elevator, but not much demand for men. Sioux Falls, 7¢ with elevator; good demand for men At Hawarden, Ia. 7 & 8¢, but about finished. About half done around here. ( AG 258)

KANSAS

COLBY, 11-17. Farmers are just crying for men to husk corn here. No men at all. Farmers offering 7¢ and board, but they will pay more as no men. Corn going from 30 to 60 bushel to the acre. ( AG 136)

ATWOOD AND GOODLAND, Farmers here are going mad for men and no men here. They have not set any price for corn huskers. Will pay what they have to. The best corn crop in years. Corn going from 40 to 60 bushel an acre. ( AG 136)

HILL CITY, 11-18. Corn husking on here and no men. Corn going from 35 to 60 bushels to an acre. Farmers are offering 5, 6 and 7¢ and cannot get men. Some men have gone out of Hoxie for 8¢ and board. John Farmer is worried as there are no slaves at all. (AG136)

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Fellow workers:

The General Defense Committee's DRIVE FOR A LARGE CHRISTMAS FUND FOR THE BOYS IN PRISON is well under way. Altho a little late in getting started the large cities are already competing with one another for first place on the list of donators. So far Brooklyn,N.Y. leads with $340.75 sent in; Duluth is next with $119.40.

If you haven't already a GENERAL DEFENSE RECEIPT BOOK send to your Industrial Union headquarters for one or get it direct from the secretary of the General Defense Committee. These receipt books are in triplicate form. Two pieces of carbon paper come with each. The first,or white receipt, is given to the donator; the second, or yellow receipt, is sent to the General Defense Committee with the remittance; the third, or blue receipt, is left in the book to check the account of the holder of the receipt book with the Defense Committee. Remit often and early.

We expect the boys in Leavenworth out by Christmas. Of course, we must see to it that they will want for nothing until such a time as they overcome the effects of the prison rigors and are able to seek work. This will be the seventh Christmas since their arrest.

The other day Fellow worker J.B.Childs was attacked and beaten severely by a prison guard in San Quentin. As a protest 71 members struck and went in the "hole". Twenty of them are in the "dungeon". Fifty-one are in solitary confinement. Such was their answer to brutality. What is yours? Are you behind these boys and the GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE in its effort to obtain freedom for all. SEND IN FOR THAT DEFENSERECEIPT BOOK RIGHT NOW!!

General Defense Committee,
1001 W. Madison Street.

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N O T I C E

Earl Summers, Henry Lang and George Kelley - lined up by H.B.Fiske at Havnes, Kans. please get in touch with the General Defense Committee or the 110 main office.

---

The following delegates please get in touch with the main office at once - IMPORTANT -

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| John Angus Lunney, | AG 793 | Ed Hill, AG 1568 |
| O.A.Johnson | AG 975 | Steve Fisher, AG 621 |

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Any member who bought a duplicate card receipt and has not received a duplicate card, please write to the main office. Give all details possible in regard to card number, date of initiation, months paid, etc.

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Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.R. Sail | 1223-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Fritz Rudd | 115 Nicollet Ave., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Pat Noonan | 515 N. 16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Chas. Kolar | 601 W. Madison St . | Chicago, Ill. |
| Miles M. Mc Cabe | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |

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Albert Hanson, Chairman  Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U. No.110

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

MINUTES OF THE STOCKTON CONFERENCE
Held at Stockton, Calif. November 15-17, 1923.

Called to order by G.O.C.member Wm Dawson, AG 8, 1P.M. Nov.15

Temporary Session

Wm Hyman, elected chairman; W.C.Webber, elected rec. Sec'y. Hartline appointed conductor, and reports 9 members and 5 visitors present. Report accepted.

M & S. That we elect a rules committee of three. Carried.
M & S. " " " " resolutions committee of three. Carried
M & S. " " " " ways and means committee of three. Carried
M & S. That all fellow workers declining nominations state their reasons. Carried.

Nominations & Election of Committees

Rules Committee: F.W.'s O'Dell, Hartline, Knobloch
M & S. That the three fellow workers be elected by acclamation. Carried

Ways & Means Committee: F.W.'s Troy, Sailor, Hyman.
M & S. That the three fellow workers be elected by acclamation. Carried

Resolutions Committee: F.W.'s Webber, Kennedy, Lesnicki
M & S. That the three fellow workers be elected by acclamation. Carried

M & S. That we take one hour for recess to give Rules Committee time to function. Carried.

Reconvened at 2:00 P.M.

Conductor reports 14 members and 2 visitors present.

Report of Rules Committee

Rule 1 - The hours of this conference shall be from 9:00 A.M. to 12:00 noon and from 1:30 P.M. to 5:00 P.M.
M & S. That we concur with Rule #1. Carried.

Rule 2 - To get the floor a member must raise his hand until recognized by the chair.
M & S. That we concur with Rule #2. Carried.

Rule 3 - No member shall have the floor twice until all members present who desire to speak on the question have done so.
M & S. That we concur with Rule #3. Carried

Rule 4 - In discussing a question all members shall be limited to ten minutes.
M & S. That we concur with Rule #4. Carried.

Rule 5 - No discussion shall be closed until all members have spoken who desire to do so.
M & S. That we concur with Rule #5. Carried.

Rule 6 - The maker of a motion shall make the opening talk and have the closing argument if he so desires.
M & S. That we concur with Rule #6. Carried.

Rule 7 - All votes shall be taken by raising of hands.
M & S. That we concur with Rule #7. Carried.

Rule 8 - All discussion shall be out of order when there is no moti before the house, unless a motion has been carried to throw the flo open for discussion.
M & S. That we concur with Rule #8. Carried.

Rule 9 - A point of order is always in order when asked thru the chair, when it does not interfere with the speaker.
M & S. That we concur with Rule #9. Carried.

Rule 10 - When a motion has been moved and seconded, the chair must either rule it out of order or put it to the house.
M & S. That we concur with Rule #10. Carried.

Rule 11 - When making nominations members shall hold up their hand until recognized by the chair.
M & S. That we concur with Rule #11. Carried.

Rule 12 - The minutes of the day shall be read and corrected each day 10 minutes before adjourning.
M & S. That we concur with Rule #12. Carried.

Rule 13 - That members of other I.U.'s be seated with voice and no vo
M & S. That we concur with Rule #13. Carried.

Rule 14 - That no member shall act on more than one committee.
M & S. That we concur with Rule #14. Carried.

Rule 15 - Chairman will appoint conductors.
M & S. That we concur with Rule #15. Carried.

This concludes report of Rules Committee.
M & S. That the report of Rules Committee be accepted. Carried.

Nominations for Permanent Chairman

All decline except Wm Hyman.
M & S. That fellow worker Hyman be elected by acclamation. Carried.

Nominations for Permanent Rec.Sec'y.

All decline except W.C.Webber.
M & S. That fellow worker Webber be elected by acclamation. Carried

Chairman appoints F.W.'s Hartline and C'Dell conductors.

Minutes of the Stockton Conference A.W.I.U.#110, Sept.16-17, 1923 read.
M & S. That minutes be tabled for future reference. Carried.

Verbal report of Wm Dawson, G.O.C. Member.

M & S. That the report of F.W. Dawson be accepted as progress. Carrie

Reading of Communications

Chair rules that communications on being read be given to the respective committees.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Communication from | Felix Thornton. | Referred to | Resolutions | Committee | |
| " | " Thos. Hayes. | " | " | " | " |
| " | " Ind. Worker. | " | " | " | " |
| " | " Tom Connors. | | | | |

M & S. That communication from Tom Connors be laid over to new busine
Carried.

New Business

M & S. That report of Tom Connors be accepted and that we pledge our fullest support to the Calif. Branch of the Gen.Def. Comm. Carried.

In compliance with the rules the minutes of the session were read.
M & S. That the minutes be accepted as corrected. Carried.
M & S. That we adjourn until 9:00 A.M. Nov. 16th to give committees a chance to function. Carried.
Adjourned at 4:46.P.M.

Second Day- November 16, 1923

Called to order by Chairman Wm Hyman at 9:00 A.M.
Conductors report 9 members and 3 visitors present.

Report of Resolutions Committee

Resolution #1 - That we go on record to do away with the G.E.B. and in its place have Sec'ys of the different I.U.'s function instead, as our organization is getting top-heavy and too much dictation is coming from headquarters. This is vital if we wish to remain a rank and file organization.
Committee does not concur.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #2 - (By the committee) Whereas, the Industrial Worker is issuing an 8 page issue twice a month and is facing a deficit as a result, and whereas, all our press is not supporting, and if they are to increase circulation more finances are required,
Therefore be it Resolved, that we the members of A.W.I.U.#11

in conference assembled at Stockton, Calif. Nov.16, 1923 go on record for a 50¢ pressstamp.
Resolutions Committee concurs.
M & S. That we do not concur with the committee. Carried.

Resolution #3 - Whereas, the officials of 110 have seen fit to overrule the wishes of the rank and file, in postponing and cancelling the Marysville conference Nov. 4, 1923, and Whereas, such action has caused confusion and dissension among the members in Calif.
Therefore be it Resolved that we censure the officials responsible and demand that they in Chicago do not interfere and confuse the members' plan in the future, and
Be it further Resolved, that we give F.W. Dawson our full cooperation at all times.
Resolutions Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #4 - Whereas, over two-thirds of the sacks used in Calif. on the rice, potato and fruit farms are made by our imprisoned fellow workers in San Quentin,
Be it Resolved that we advertise the fact and refuse at all times to handle jute or gunny sacks made in San Quentin or any other prison, and members shall enforce same whenever possible; to be publisned in all I.W.W. publications.
Resolutions Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with the committee. Carried.

Resolution #5 - Whereas, the best means of defense is thru organization, publicity and defense of members being absolutely essential to the welfare of all of us,
Be it Resolved that we urge all members of all I.U.'s to push the defense stamps and receipt books to their fullest extent, and also to take defense and organization literature with them to the various jobs.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That We concur with the committee. Carried.

Resolution #6 - ( By the committee) Be it resolved that we call a conference next spring to formulate plans for a drive next spring thru the cantalopes and strawberry-districts of Calif. and to carry the drive right thru the harvest fields of Kansas, and no official of the organization shall have the power to change the date to be set by this body.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried unanimously.

Resolution #7 - ( By Felix Thornton #196875) Be it resolved that this conference draw up a workable program of communication and activity between members of all jobs and delegates and G.O.C. member.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with the committee and refer Res.#7 to the incoming G.O.C. member of Calif. Carried.

Resolution #8 - (By F.Thornton #196875) That the A.W.I.U.110 G.O.C. set aside a fund, to be fixed by the conference, for the drive of organizing the A.W.I.U. here in Calif.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #9 - (By F.Thornton #196875) Be it resolved that the opening of the fruit harvest here in Calif. put one or more travelling literature agents in each district, also one or more travelling delegates to be furnished with a car if possible; the delegate with the car to make different jobs and camps; he shall establish job delegates and build up lines of communications and activity between jobs and towns in his district.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #10 - (By F.Thornton #196875) Be it resolved that the literature and travelling delegate shall function in establishing meetings in his given district with the members and job delegates in conjunction with his organization work.
Committee concurs.

M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried

Resolution #11 - (By F.Thornton #196875) Be it resolved that this conference draw up the districts thruout the state of Calif. in which the G.O.C., literature agent and travelling delegate shall function in their respective districts.
Committee does not concur
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #12 - (By F.Thornton #196875) Be it resolved that in all meetings, on the job, workers be instructed to refrain from piece work.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried. O'Dell & Knobloch voting no.
The hour of twelve having arrived the conference adjourned.

Afternoon Session

Called to order by Chairman Hyman at 1;30 P.M. Conductors report 9 members and 4 visitors present.

M & S. That the minutes be accepted subject to correction. Carried.

Resolutions Committee continues report.

M & S. That we rescind action in regard to Res.#12. Carried.
Chair rules Res.#12 still to be acted upon.
M & S. That we do not concur with committee on Res.#12. Carried.

Resolution #13 - (By F.Thornton #196875) That all members on the job stand instructed to send all transaction of job meetings to the G.O.C. in his district, same to be put in bulletin form by the G.O.C. of Calif. and referred back to the various jobs between jobs.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #14 - (By F.Thornton #196875) That the G.O.C. shall establish a job bulletin to be printed here in Calif. as the general bulletin takes too long to bring latest news to members on the job.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #15 - (By F.Thornton #196875) That whenever a stationary delegate is established he stands instructed to establish a free mailing list of workers' addresses in towns and vicinity. This will afford the message of industrial unionism to those who can't be reached otherwise.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #16 - (By F.Thornton #196875) When a delegate leaves a job he must notify the G.O.C. member of his new address and the conditions of the job he left, as for instance: Who is now the job delegate, what percent of organization can be developed; how many lined up members on the job; how much literature; etc.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #17 - ( By F.Thornton #196875) That all delegates gather data pertaining to the job, same to be registered with the G.O.C. as workable material to be used at the calling of the spring or summer conference here in Calif.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #18 - (By F. Thornton) That all members attending the conference resolve themselves to carry the work of the convention to the job, and apply same in action.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #19 - (By F.Thornton) That we put our shoulders to the wheel for an early release of class war prisoners.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #20 - (By F.Thornton) That the members of each job meeting elect a strike committee of one or more to work in conjunction with committees of other jobs, and formulate strike agitation for the release of C.S. prisoners. Committees to secure strike literature and keep in communication with general strike committee.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #21 - ( By 841331) That we go on record to discourage all piece or bushell work with all the ways and means at our command.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #22 - ( By X30528) Delegates lining up new members should place their delegate# in front of card and not their names, as per illustration on page 55 of the general constitution.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

This concludes report of Res. Comm. for the present.
M & S. That report of Res. Comm. be accepted. Carried.

## Report of Ways & Means Committee

Recommendation #1 - That we recommendathat the G.O.C. member consult the membership regarding the placing of traveling or stationary delegates.
M & S. That we concur with recommendation No.1 Carried.

Recommendation #2 - That we recommend that job delegates should show the receipt of his last report when collecting dues or drawing supplies.
M & S. That we concur with recommendation No.2. Carried
Fellow worker O'Dell recorded as voting no.

Recommendation #3 - That we recommend that the G.O.C. member should consult the membership regarding the hours and the conditions under which they are working and formulate their demands to better their conditions,and be published in the job bulletin.
M & S. That the floor be thrown open for discussion on Recom.#3. Lost.
M & S. That we concur with recommendation No.3. Carried.
This concludes report of Ways & Means Comm. for the present.
M & S. That report of Ways & Means Comm. be accepted. Carried.

## New Business

M & S. That we go on record as being opposed to any compulsory assessment stamp in the I.W.W.
Roll call vote called for on this question.
Webber, no - O'Dell, no - Nobloch, no- Lemiski, no- Thurman, yes- Fisher, yes- Troy, yes- Sullivan, yes- Kennedy, yes- Hartline, yes- 3 for, 4 against. Motion carried.
At this time the minutes of the session were read and corrected.
M & S. That we adjourn. Carried. Adjourned at 5 P.M.

## Third Day- Morning Session

Called to order by Chairman Wm Hyman at 9:00 A.M.
Conductors report 9 members and 2 visitors present.

## Resolutions Committee Reports

Resolution #23 -( By the committee) Whereas stickers are one of the many ways, and very effective propaganda, to put before the public,and
Whereas, we are in the midst of a drive for the release of the class war prisoners,
Be it Resolved that this body go on record to push the pasting of the boycott stickers in their proper and conspicuous places.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #24 - (By Card X 3528) That we discuss nothing further in this conference that does not pertain to Calif.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #25 - That we ask all members to make themselves known to the delegates on the jobs and give their utmost support.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #26 - That the G.O.C. and stationary delegates advise all fellow workers where to go to secure work and encourage them to stay in Calif. thruout the drive.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried

Resolution #27 - That no delegate waste time or energy trying to line up boose hounds, but to try and line up home-guards.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #28 - That members try to familiarize themselves with conditions in the fruit packing plants where women and children are employed, and the same be given the widest publicity.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #29 - That the members on the job hold meetings whenever a quorum can be secured.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Resolution #30 - Whereas our papers are one of our best means of propaganda and
Whereas, the Industrial Worker is going in the hole as the result of issuing an 8 page paper twice a month, as a means of educating the workers,
Be it Resolved that we go on record for fellow workers to give the I.W.W. press all the support possible and to push the subs all they can.
Committee concurs.
M & S. That we concur with committee. Carried.

Letter by Res. Comm. to Thos. Hays read.
M & S. That we endorse letter to Thos. Hays. Carried.
Letter to Industrial Worker read
M & S. That we endorse letter to the Worker. Carried.

M & S. That we accept the report of the Resolutions Comm. and that they be discharged. Carried.

Ways and Means Committee, having nothing further to report, were discharged.

New Business

M & S. That the floor be thrown open for discussion on Res.#8. Carried.
M & S. That discussion be closed. Carried.
M & S. That we rescind former action on Res. #8. Carried.
M & S. That we do not concur with Res.#8, as the G.O.C. already has the power to get money for organization purposes. Carried.
M & S. That we adjourn. Carried . Adjourned at 12:10 P.M.

Afternoon Session

Called to order by Chairman Wm Hyman,
Conductors report 12 members and 5 visitors present.
Minutes of the morning session read.
M & S. That we accept the minutes as corrected. Carried.
Chair rules session is under new business.

M & S. That the minutes of this conference be sent to the A.W.I.U. main office to be published in bulletin form and to be mailed as regular bulletins. Carried.

M & S. That the G.O.C. member be instructed to investigate the conditions in the beet fields as soon as possible. Carried.

M & S. That we urge each and every fellow worker when he gets on the

job to send to 226 Russ Bldg., San Francisco, Calif. for a defense receipt book and to push for funds for the Calif. Br. of the Gen.Def. Comm. Carried.

M & S. That we urge all fellow workers, who are on the job between now and the 20th of December, to donate one day's pay to the Calif. Def.Comm. for the use of the class war prisoners. Carried.

M & S. That we, the members of the A.W.I.U. in conference here in Stockton, Calif., send to all class war prisoners our revolutionary greetings and assure them that we will carry on the fight where they left off and will continue to organize for their unconditional release. Carried.

M & S. That we urge all members to write to fellow workers who are in prison whether they know them or not. Carried.

M & S. That we all cooperate with the G.O.C. of Calif. in getting out publicity pertaining to labor conditions in the agricultural industry in Calif. Carried

M & S. That this body authorize Fellow worker Dawson to appoint stationary delegate in the orange and hay districts, if he deems it advisable. Carried.

M & S. That we set the date of the Spring Conference as May 2, 1924, and place, at San Pedro, Calif. Carried.

M & S. That we elect a committee of three to draw up greetings to the fellow workers in prison. Carried.
M & S. That F.W.'s Webber, Kennedy and Lesnicki be elected by acclamation. Carried.
Greetings to the class war prisoners read by comm.
M & S. That we endorse the letter of greetings to the class war prisoners. Carried.

Good & Welfare

Talks on organization by those present for about two hours.

M & S. That this conference stand adjourned. Carried.
Adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

Wm Hyman # 819738
Chairman

W.C. Webber, #737838
Recording Secretary.

Letter of greetings sent to the class war prisoners:

To all Call War Prisoners:

We, the members of the A.W.I.U.#110 in conference assembled at Stockton, Calif., this 17th day of September, hereby send to you our revolutionary greetings and pledge ourselves to carry on the fight for human liberty where you have left off, and to continue to organize for your UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE.

(Signed by the Committee)

Endorsed and ordered sent)

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.46

Chicago, Ill. November 28, 1923.

## THE CONVENTION PROGRESSES

There never was a time in the history of the I.W.W. when sound thinking and sane deliberation was more needed than at the present. Never have so many questions of vital importance come up for settlement in so short a time.

Our general convention has been in session for some time. The delegates to that convention have had tasks to perform and decisions to make which no other I.W.W. convention has even been confronted with. In our criticisms it is our duty to take into consideration not only the sincerity of the delegates (which is beyond question) but also the difficulties under which they must carry on their work.

The organization is, as ever, in need of larger revenues. One of the problems of the delegates will be to grasp the financial situation and offer a solution for it. Great injustice has resulted from the voluntary system of taxing the members. A few thousand loyal members are compelled, in the interest of our institutions, to give up from fifteen to twenty dollars per year, while the great majority reap benefits from defense and other departments for a pitiful sum of 50 cents a month dues. This has gone on so long that the voluntary system is breaking down. A more equitable system must be instituted. Equal taxation for equal privilege is not asking too much. This is in accord with a decision of the A.W.I.U.110 convention held in Fargo,N.D., and carried as instructions to the general convention by her delegates, which if passed would mean that each member will be asked to share equally the burden of finances thru the budget system of apportioning funds, and direct taxation of all alike to make up the cost of budget.

It is only fair to state that in the last few years general officialdom has not been held in high esteem. This should not be so, since all our officials are selected from the membership and elected by direct ballot. If officials do not accomplish as much as we expect them to, we should inquire into the cause. If we find they are lacking in qualifications we must remedy that by being more careful in our selections. No one is to blame but ourselves. Again, where you have made a selection, treat them as members of the I.W.W., back them up, and encourage them to step forward on their own initiative. Then, if they are found wanting they easily can be replaced. Some radical changes in the general offices and the manner of filling them have been made by the convention. Study them carefully and from all angles. Haste will only complicate the situation.

The educational committee has succeeded in getting out an exceptional program.

Remember that the problems of our class are many and that we are only beginning to solve them; that it behooves us all to assist in their solution; that tradition and prejudice must be set aside and deliberate thought and united action must take their place Remember that whatever decisions we make may hinder for a time but cannot erase the idea of industrial unionism. That tactics once endorsed must be pursued until better ones come to take their place.

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## BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

## - M E E T I N G S -

LINDSAY, CALIF. Nov.18, 1923- Regular 110 Business Meeting.

M & S. That G.O.C. call a special meeting and give the same report here as he sent to Fargo convention. Carried.

M & S. That a stationary delegate be elected for Lindsay at half pay and commission on literature. Carried.

M & S. That all members get on the job and make conditions and wages on the job. Carried.

& S. That all members going on the job take along a supply of literature and distribute same. Carried.

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OMAHA, NEBR.Nov.23, 1923- Regular 110 Business Meeting.
18 members present.

M & S (Grossman-Saunders) That we, the members of Omaha branch, A.W.I.U.110, go on record in favor of resolution adopted at the fall convention held at Fargo, on October 18, 1923, resolution known as RC 49 and urge its enforcement with no exception. Carried

Resolution RC 49 - (by K.Nicoloff 416633) Resolved that this convention of A.W.I.U.110 go on record in favor that any official who has been known by the membership of A.W.I.U.110 to be in an intoxicated condition during his term of office in the I.W.W. shall be ineligible for any official position and shall not be appointed for any organization work.

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SIOUX CITY, IA. Nov. 25, 1923 - Regular 110 Business Meeting.
27 members in good standing present.

M & S. That we concur with the Omaha branch in regards to Res.RC 49. Carried.

M & S. That we go on record as being against the resolution passed by the 110 convention in regard to closing the Sioux City and Omaha halls.

M & S. That we table this motion for a period of a half hour. Carried

M & S. That we go on record as being in favor of closing this hall if the membership has to beg on the street for the upkeep of it and if the I.U.110 is unable to finance it. Carried.

M & S. That we do not concur with the emergency clause in regard to By-law 13. Carried.

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Below is the list of nominees whose names will appear on the A.W.I.U.110 referendum ballot. Ballots cast in the field should be sent direct to the main office, enclosed in a separate envelope and marked Ballot Committee. Ballots must be in the main office by January 10, 1924, on which date they will be counted.

Ballots are in the field and may be obtained from any main office, branch or stationary delegate.

NOMINEES FOR SECRETARY TREASURER

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wm Hanley | Frank Thorpe | Reginald Jones |

NOMINEES FOR G.O.C.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ed Burkhart | W.R. Boyd | Stonewall De Luck, |
| John Downs | A. Linn | Harold (Dinty)Moore |
| Miles M.Mc Cabe | Joe O'Neil | James Donnelly |
| Wm Bradley | | Tom Mc Coy |

NOMINEES FOR ALTERNATE G.O.C.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| John K.Peterson | J. Murray | John Cheesebrew. |

## JOB NEWS

### MINNESOTA

MARSHALL, 11-19. The corn is good around here. They are paying 8 to 10¢ a bushel. Quite a number of corn picking machines here. About half done. ( AG 172)

JASPER , 10-24. Corn picking just starting here. Wages are 7 & 9¢ per bushel. ( AG 158)

### COLORADO

WINDSOR, 10-30 Great Western Sugar Co. paying 40¢ an hour, 8 hour shift, good grub and lodging for $8.50 per week. Wages for outside work similar. Shipping from Denver, fare advanced. ( AG 628)

### IOWA

CLEAR LAKE, 10-25 Corn picking in this territory is in full blast. Wages 7¢. Good crop. Corn standing well and in good condition for husking. No organization here. ( 419516)

ROCKRAPIDS , 10-28 Corn picking in full blast. Prices range from 7 to 9¢ per bushel. ( AG 406)

MARCUS, 11-10 Wages here are 8¢ per bushel. The corn is good.(AG150

MANSON , 11-7 Wages at Manson, Pomeroy and Rockwell City are 7 and 8¢ for standing corn and 10¢ for down corn. ( AG 627)

### NEBRASKA

SPRINGFIELD, 11-6 Corn husking in full blast here with wages at 9 and 10¢ a bushel. Think it will be 12¢ before they finish. Lots of corn in this section but most of it is down or leaning. You can make more in down corn at 10¢ than in standing at 8¢. ( AG 1730)

### NEVADA

RENO , 11-16. 110 work about done here for present year. Some cattle feeding at $2.00 and $2.50 a day and sheep herding at from $60.00 to $80.00 a month. ( AG 456)

### WASHINGTON

ELLENSBURG, 11-5 There is no demand for labor here at present as the spuds are all gathered; some hay baling. Mostly homeguards as the wobs have gone on to Calif. ( AG 1542)

LEAVENWORTH, 11-6. The harvest is practically over here. Most of the 110 members are headed south, while some are going to the woods. ( AG 135)

### CALIFORNIA

MARYSVILLE, 10-25 Orange picking and packing starts about the middle of November south, not much rice after that. ( AG 8)

LINDSAY , 11-12. Heavy orange crop here. Picking full blast about Nov. 15th or 16th. This crop, as all other perishable fruits, must be picked as soon as ripe. Come early. Let's all of us pickers talk the thing over and set the wages. If we do not set any wage, the chamber of commerce will. Come on, fellow workers, to Lindsay, Cal. ( AG 8)

LINDSAY, 11-17. Picking of the orange crop here is all contract work. Prices are from 5¢ a box up to 10¢. Furnish your own blanket, clippe and sack. Hundreds of workers are awaiting the master's call in this town to rush in to the orchards and see who can pick the most oranges. Rooms are very scarce in town restaurants plentiful. Meals are from 25¢ up. Working by the hour 40¢. They have 17 packing sheds in Lindsay. Mostly women employed in the packing sheds. Picking will be on full blast by the 22nd of November . ( AG 460)

### SOUTH DAKOTA

CENTERVILLE, 11-2. They are paying 8¢ a bushel for corn husking here. ( AG 701)

BERESFORD, S.D., 11-10. They are paying 8¢ for corn picking here with elevator. At Marshall, Minn. 8 to 10¢. At Garretson, S.D. 8¢ with elevator, but not much demand for men. Sioux Falls, 7¢ with elevator; good demand for men. At Hawarden, Ia. 7 & 8¢, but about finished. About half done around here. ( AG 238)

KANSAS

COLBY, 11-17. Farmers are just crying for men to husk corn here. No men at all. Farmers offering 7¢ and board, but they will pay more as no men. Corn going from 30 to 60 bushel to the acre. ( AG 136)

ATWOOD & GOODLAND. Farmers here are going mad for men and no men here. They have not set any price for corn huskers. Will pay what they have to. The best corn crop in years. Corn going from 40 to 60 bushel an acre. ( AG 136)

HILL CITY, 11-18. Corn husking on here and no men. Corn going from 35 to 60 bushel to an acre. Farmers are offering 5, 6 and 7¢ and cannot get men. Some men have gone out of Hoxie for 8¢ and board. John Farmer is worried as there are no slaves at all. ( AG 136)

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Fellow workers:

The General Defense Committee is confronted at present with three big problems, questions that require the coordination of every member of the I.W.W. We need the cooperation of the membership of the I.W.W. for the next thirty days more than at any other time in the history of the above committee.

Altho there are rumors to the effect that the President will make a favorable announcement in the federal cases, the committee is not going to let it deter it one iota in its efforts to obtain the release of the Leavenworth fellow workers. There has been a rumor to the above effect every year and still the fellow workers are held in custody. THE FIGHT MUST BE KEPT UP UNTIL EVERY FELLOW WORKER IS GIVEN HIS UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE.

At their last meeting the Committee voted that half of the receipts of the defense stamps should be sent to our California office. This will enable the fellow workers there to spend more of their time in publicity and other necessary work and relieve them of a great portion of the financial end.

Last, but not least, is our Christmas drive. Owing to the change in secretaryship we got a late start this year. Unless we are given the whole-hearted ccoperation of the membership this year, the fellow workers in prison will receive an amount far short of the one sent them last year. Last Christmas every fellow worker was given $25.00. Can we duplicate it this year, or better yet, can we make it $30.00? WRITE IN FOR A CHRISTMAS RECEIPT BOOK TODAY. Books can be obtained from Dan Liston, Box 778, Seattle, Wash.; Tom Connors, 226 Russ Bldg. San Francisco, Calif,; Philip Taft, Room 411, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City, N.Y.; General Defense Committee, 1001 W. Madison St. Chicago, Ill.

IN ORGANIZATION THERE IS STRENGTH

General Defense Committee,
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

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There is mail at the 110 main office for the following:
John Black, Sam Boscia, David I.Crane, Leroy Crossman, Gilbert Dobbins .L. Hilligoss, F.A. Martin, Loren Melville (3), Oscar Rayner, ymond Scott, Marian Simovic, Tim Sullivan, James Whalen, Emil Boby, . Coleman, Mr. Patrick Higgins, John Joyce, H. Marshall, Frank Schei, nd Charles Wagner.

rite the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.R. Sail | 1222-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Fritz Rudd | 115 Nicollet Ave., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Pat Noonan | 515 N. 16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Chas. Kolar | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Miles M.Mc Cabe | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |

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Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U. No.110

An Injury to One Is the Concern of All

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No. 47

Chicago, Ill. December 5, 1923.

**********

## CALIFORNIA HOLDS THE KEY

Fellow workers:

In California the situation is pregnant with possibilities for the I.W.W., and if we are equal to our opportunity there our organization will establish itself to a degree where other organizations will be won over by its effectiveness.

In the persecution of the I.W.W. in California all labor, and every labor union, is being attacked. It is being demonstrated in that state that law is not administered but taken advantage of to supply means for serving the desires and ambitions of privilege. The densest and most prejudiced are seeing that in California the scale is discarded for the whip; and that socalled "sanctuaries of justice" are but portals to the penitentiary when accused workers enter them. Even those who have been most unwilling to see are now compelled to admit that the courts do not function socially and impartially but stand ready to defy law in the service of the interests that hold California and its workers by the throat.

With the growth of an opinion that refuses to support the unjust decisions of the courts, the I.W.W. pushed forward its organization plans and men and women devoted to it go voluntarily to defend the ground that labor cannot afford to relinquish. To hesitate now would be to imperil the prospect of success, or to delay its realization. Every attack must be resisted as every previous attach has been resisted. We must press on until we have established organization to an extent and acquired industrial control to a degree which even the most hardboiled of judges and industrialists will respect. For, when we are powerful enough to embarrass the employers, farmers or trust magnates - preferably the latter - we shall have reached a stage where these will call their legal puppets to heel, from J.P. to supreme judges.

The conferences of the A.W.I.U. and other industrial unions that have beenheld in California, not only manifested a disregard of the C.S. law and the Busick injunction, but by arranging organization plans and setting themselves to carry these out, have shown wisdom, judgment and generalship that the courts and those who control them will find it difficult to offset. Their challenge has been accepted and their bluff called.

The battle in California will result in many legal casualties and the work of defense will be necessarily heavy. That this has not been overlooked nor neglected vouches for the thoroughness with which preparation for the drive has been made. The General Defense Committee proposes to allow 50 per cent of the proceeds derived from the sale of defense stamps to the California branch of the General Defense. This should operate to augment the revenues of the California branch considerably.

In the present emergency every dollar for defense is a dollar for organization. In California the I.W.W. has an opportunity to win the attention and support of the workers thruout the United States and Canada, even of the world. For labor, in that state, the time has come to make a choice and take sides. The lineup in California will determine the lineup of labor in North America.

The A.W.I.U. in deciding to assert the right of the workers to organize into unions of their own selection has been guided by the true spirt of labor that governs every industrial union of the I.W.W. A failure to pick up the judicial gauntlet thrown by the employing class would be tantamount to a confession that labor lacks

the intelligence to organize and the courage to establish its rights.

California holds the key to the conquest or the emancipation of American labor.

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## M E E T I N G S

Resolutions adopted at a business meeting held at Lindsay, Calif. Nov.25, 1923. Eighteen members of I.U.110 and nine other I.U. members present.

Res.1 Whereas, nothing would suit our industrial masters more than for the members of the Industrial Workers of the World to remain out of the industries, and

Whereas, a condition exists in the citrus fruit harvest over which we have no control, namely, that of furnishing our own tools, as piece-work is all the rage in the citrus harvest and overtime in the packing sheds

Be it Resolved that we go on record that members use their own judgment in getting on the jobs, and that no member be censored or condemned for doing so,

That we bend all of our efforts towards educating the worker on the jobs to the necessity of organization,

That we do all in our power toward building up the I.W.W. in Calif. among the agricultural workers for the purpose of doing away with the above named condition.

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Res.2 whereas, one suggestion will bring on another one, Be it Resolved, that members write suggestions pertaining to organization in this district to be read and discussed in the meetings, also that members who have played this district in the past but are not here this year send suggestions to the stationary delegate at Lindsay, Calif.

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Below is the list of nominees whose names will appear on the A.w.I.U.110 referendum ballot. Ballots cast in the field should be sent direct to the main office, enclosed in a separate envelope and marked Ballot Committee. Ballots must be in the main office by January 10, 1924, on which date they will be counted.

Ballots are in the field and may be obtained from any main office, branch or stationary delegate.

### NOMINEES FOR SECRETARY-TREASURER

Wm Hanley — Frank Thorpe — Reginald Jones

### NOMINEES FOR G.O.C.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ed Burkhart | W.R. Boyd | Stonewall De Luck |
| John Downs | A. Linn | Harold (Dinty) Moore |
| Miles M. Mc Cabe | Joe O'Neil | James Donnelly |
| William Bradley | | Tom Mc Coy |

### NOMINEES FOR ALTERNATE G.O.C.

John K. Peterson — J. Murray — John Cheesebrew

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BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

JOB NEWS

MINNESOTA

MARSHALL, 11, 19 The corn is good around here. They are paying 8 to 10¢ a bushel. Quite a number of corn picking machines here. About half done. ( AG 172)

IOWA

MARCUS, 11-10 Wages here are 8¢ per bushel. The corn is good.(AG1

MANSON, 11-7 Wages at Manson, Pomeroy and Rockwell City are 7 and 8¢ for standing corn and 10¢ for down corn. ( AG 627)

NEVADA

RENO, 11-16 110 work about done here for present year. Some cattle feeding at $2.00 and $2.50 a day and sheep herding at from $60.00 to $80.00 a month. ( AG 456)

CALIFORNIA

MARYSVILLE , 10-25 Orange picking and packing starts about the middle of November south, not much rice after that. ( AG 8)

Lindsay, 11-12. Heavy orange crop here. Picking full blast about Nov. 15th or 16th. This crop, as allother perisable fruits, must be picked as soon as ripe. Come early. Let's all of us pickers talk the thing over and set the wages. If we do not set any wage, the chamber of commerce will. Comeon, fellow workers,to Lindsay, Calif . ( AG 8)

LINDSAY, 11-17. Picking of the orange crop here is all contract work. Prices are from 5¢ a box up to 10¢. Furnish your own blanket, clipper and sack. Hundreds of workers are awaiting the master's call in this town to rush in to the orchards and see who can pick the most oranges. Rooms are very scarce in town; restaurants plentiful. Meals are from 25¢ up. Working by the hour 40¢. They have 17 packing sheds in Lindsay. Mostly women employed in the packing sheds. Picking will be on full blast by the 22nd of November. ( AG 460)

LEMON COVE, 11-25 Orange picking is on here with wages at $3.50 and board. ( AG 8)

LINDSAY, 12-1. Four more weeks will clean up the orange picking-probably not that long. All contract work here. Picking 7¢ a box up to 10¢. Working in packing sheds 40 to 55¢ and 60¢ an hour. All the packing is also piece work, 7¢ per box for packing. Mostly women employed in packing houses. They work all kinds of hours. No regard for the state law which calls for an 8 hour day for women workers. Orange picking will start in here again in March of the coming year. ( AG 460)

KANSAS

COLBY,BREWSTER,BIRD CITY- 11-30 There is about 15 days threshing left to do in this country. Was wet all fall. Paying $5.00 here, some trying to get men for $4.00. There are no slaves at all. Lots of corn to pick. Wages are from 6,7,8 and 9¢. They pay what the slaves make them pay. ( AG 136)

ATWOOD & GOODLAND, 11-17 Farmers here are going mad for men and no men here. They have not set any price for corn huskers. Will pay what they have to. The best corn crop in years. Corn going from 40 to 60 bushel an acre. ( AG 136)

HILL CITY, 11-18 Corn husking on here and no men. Corn going from 35 to 60 bushel to an acre. Farmers are offering 5, 6 and 7¢ and cannot get men. Some men have gone out of Hoxie for 8¢ and board. John Farmer is worried as there are no slaves at all. ( AG 136)

COLORADO

BURLINGTON, 11-30 They have the biggest corn crop here of any place. There are many fields going 70 to 90 bushel to an acre here. There are not many men, mostly wicks who are here. Offering 8,9 and 10¢. There is some snow, not much. Mostly Russians. ( AG 136)

# L E S T  W E  F O R G E T ! ! !

Fellow workers:

Christmas, that has been chronicled of old as a season of peace, goodwill and festivity, will soon be here; and lying in the many bastiles of America are some 250 of our fellow workers who are looking forward to Christmas as the one time in the year, above all others, that allows them to receive - in gifts and words of cheer- the remembrances of their fellow workers from the outside world.

At this season, for the short space of a few days, those in power are gracious enough to permit our imprisoned fellow workers to receive a few extra comforts. This is their concession to the so-called "Christmas spirit" that capitalism prates about so much but practices so little. We of the I.W.W., however, would carry to our imprisoned fellow workers cheer and comfort every day of the year, if it were possible to do so, but iron rules and the callous indifference of prison authorities forbid that we should. So we must content ourselves with the one opportunity that is given us at Christmas time and determine to avail ourselves to the limit of this one chance to remember adequately and fully the boys behind the cold, gray walls.

We know that only those who have been immured in those pits of shame and degradation, that men call prisons, can appreciate fully how much this one little break in the dull and drear monotony of prison life means to our fellow workers who dwell in "durance vile". But, we can visualize the eager anticipations of the men in prison as they wonder if they are remembered or forgotten by their fellow workers on the outside. We can picture the happiness of our imprisoned fellow workers when they find all their doubts removed, when they know that they are not forgotten by the men with whom they have fought shoulder to shoulder in the past. We know these things, and because we know, we shall not fail in our duty to them. We shall not forget because we dare not. We must not refuse them our aid and comfort lest some day, if we occupy their position, aid and comfort be denied to us.

Let us then resolve to make this coming Christmas of our class war prisoners the best ever. Let us make known in no uncertain tones our firm and unflinching resolution to stand by them in every way. Let us make our slogan "We never forget" something more than a mere phrase. Let us make those words a reality, something practical. Let us live up to that splendid injunction by NOT FORGETTING THE MEN IN JAIL.

The Christmas Relief Fund for our class war prisoners offers us a grand opportunity to display our solidarity with themen in prison, and shame be upon the fellow workers who fail to respond to this call of providing Christmas cheer and comfort for our imprisoned fellow workers. Send at once your contribution to the Christmas Relief Fund. Time is short, and the period allowed the class war prisoners to receive Xmas gifts and comforts is very brief and scant. Therefore, do not delay but do your bit at once - RIGHT NOW.

General Defense Committee,
1001 W. Madison St.

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Joe Murphy, member of the G.O.C. of 110, died in Okla.City on Nov.30. Death was caused by a blood clot on the brain. The remains were burie by the members in Okla.City. F.W.Murphy was an old and active member of the I.W.W. and was well known to thousands of members.

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H.R. Wagner- write to Tim Reagon, 1001 W. Madison St. Chicago, Ill.

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The general convention adjourned Monday, Dec. 3rd. The minutes will be off the press in a few days. All members should write in and obtain a copy.

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Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.R. Sail | 1222-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Fritz Rudd | 115 Nicollet Ave., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
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Albert Hanson, Chairman G.O.C. Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treasurer
A.W.I.U.No.110.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.48

Chicago, Ill. December 13, 1933

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## EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM OF THE 15th GENERAL CONVENTION

The general convention is over and the delegates are back among their fellow workers in the various industries, after having mapped out a program for the time immediately ahead.

While never losing sight of the objective toward which the I.W.W. is set, the delegates realized that the everyday struggles of the workers are the stepping stones to its goal. This view the great majority of the members share. Whatever may be said about some proposals of the convention, its opinion about the pressing importance of immediate daily problems will be endorsed by the rank and file. In the referendum approval and disapproval can be expressed by the men and women who constitute the I.W.W. They can reject what does not recommend itself and accept what their judgment regards as beneficial for them and for the organization.

To do any task means must be available - one must have a knife to cut, a hammer to drive with, pincers with which to pull, and a lever for lifting heavy bodies. So, also, to organize we must have means, and these are primarily men and women who know and who can explain persuasively. From the job delegates to the general officers those who do things for the organization are those who possess the faculty of explaining. This in its turn depends upon the possession of knowledge, for unless we know things we cannot explain them. Very often it happens that we know things but cannot explain them, because we have not had the training which enables us to give our ideas expression.

The delegates felt the importance of education, as necessary organizing equipment, and laid down a program of education which is worthy of the support of every member of the I.W.W.

But while education is an abstract thing, its acquirement depends upon very material conditions. Those who study must have food and shelter, books and schoolrooms. When educational work is organized as a function of the organization all the material requirements must be considered and provided. This calls for finance. Unless funds are provided, this necessary function cannot be carried on by the I.W.W. The organization asks money not to build up a treasury but to enable it to do something necessary for the advancement of the working class. It does not want a surplus, only a sufficiency. Its educational department, its press, its literature, the Work People's College, are the agencies it employs to bring knowledge to the workers who stand badly in need of it. Its organizers are educators, and its educators are organizers. Education is a necessary and important part of the organization.

The Work People's College, for example, educates men and women along lines that enable them to understand the workings of capitalist society and how these operate to the disadvantage of the wage workers. It not only enables the students to understand how the forces within capitalism operate but why they operate as they do. Moreover, it teaches them to understand the evolutionary historical process that brought about capitalism, which is destined to be superseded by the kind of industrial society for which the I.W.W. is striving. In its English classes it is teaching the workers who go there how to express to others the things they themselves have been taught. In its mathematical and bookkeeping classes it is enabling them to qualify in positions where they will be capable of serving their class with a higher quality functioning than if they had not attended the Work People's College. And the tuition fee is only $8.00 per month, while clean, steam-heated rooms, with abundant well cooked

board, is only $31.00 per month. Board, room , schooling, gymnasium, and laundry for $39.00 per month. The College evidently is not run for profit. It is cheaper to put the winter there than to "shack up".

The educational department gets out literature, and the press is invaluable. The educational program of the convention is one thing that every member should vote for and then support sincerely and substantially.

Education is the guide to organization, the only safe and reliable one.

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## CANDIDATES FOR A.W.I.U. OFFICES

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John K. Peterson — J. Murray — John Cheesebrew

---

## BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

## KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

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## JOB NEWS

### ILLINOIS

BLOOMINGTON, 12-11. Corn husking will last from eight to ten days yet. Corn mostly standing up and fairly good. Wages from 5 to 7¢ and board. Wicks go out for 5¢; good union men get more.( AG 1730)

### IOWA

MARCUS, 11-10 Wages here are 8¢ per bushel. The corn is good. ( AG 150)

MANSON , 11-7 Wages at Manson, Pomeroy and Rockwell City are 7 and 8¢ for standing corn and 10¢ for down corn. ( AG 627)

### NEVADA

RENO, 11-16. 110 work about done here for present year. Some cattle feeding at $2.00 and $2.50 a day and sheep herding at from $60.00 to $80.00 a month. ( AG 456)

### CALIFORNIA

Marysville, 10-25 Orange picking and packing starts about the

middle of November south, not much rice after that ( AG 8)

LINDSAY, 11-17. Picking of the orange crop here is all contract work. Prices are from 5¢ a box up to 10¢. Furnish your own blanket, clipper and sack. Hundreds of workers are awaiting the master's call in this town to rush in to the orchards and see who can pick the most oranges. Rooms are very scarce in town; restaurants plentiful. Meals are from 25¢ up. Working by the hour 40¢ They have seventeen packing sheds in Lindsay. Mostly women employed in the packing sheds. Picking will be on full blast by the 22nd of November. ( AG 460)

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KANSAS

COLBY, BREWSTER, BIRD CITY- 11-30 There is about 15 days threshing left to do in this country. Was wet all fall. Paying $5.00 here, some trying to get men for $4.00. There are no slaves at all. Lots of corn to pick. Wages are from 6,7, 8 and 9¢. They pay what the slave make them pay. ( AG 136)

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N O T I C E

The following delegates will please get in touch with the main office. IMPORTANT.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Marian Birdsell | AG 152 | H.C. Blackman | AG 380 | A. Buoyer | AG966 |
| Thos. Conway | 1677 | Harold Curry | 866 | J.H.Dohery | 147 |
| Mike Durkie | 49 | Don Ervantes | 96 | E. Evans | 1656 |
| Geo. Fredericks | 355 | Jess Ed Gibson | 658 | John Gibson | 475 |
| Harry Gilbert | 668 | Alvin Goode | 1529 | Millard Gordon | 1721 |
| H.J. Hall | 1593 | Hans B.Hansen | 984 | Chas.Johnson | 89 |
| M. Hill | 549 | Harvey Horton | 87 | J.A.Lunney | 793 |
| R.V.Johnson | 306 | Grover Gordan | 1450 | J.Mc Kinsey | 1528 |
| Jack Mc Farland | 278 | Tim Mc Graw | 1540 | N.F.Mayes | 1728 |
| John Mc Nelly | 1622 | W.F. Mc Mahon | 557 | G. Michaels | 1511 |
| Jake Manierski | 1513 | V.D. Mehrier | 1093 | G.L.Peterson | 276 |
| D.F. O'Connor | 634 | G.D.Osburn | 1690 | D.Rearick | 1536 |
| Jack Peterson | 559 | Albert Randell | 168 | G.Rusicka | 1566 |
| A.H. Ringwood | 972 | L.E.Rogers | 631 | J. Shields | 259 |
| Earnest Schilling | 1094 | Wm Schlager | 618 | V.S.Steele | 354 |
| Frank Smith | 1562 | John Smith | 379 | Foster Ward | 968 |
| V.L. Walker | 1502 | C.E. Wallgren | 1534 | | |
| F. H. Whitmore | 212 | Walter Wicker | 942 | | |

## FIGHTING FOR THE PRISONERS

Unceasing has been the campaign for the release of our fellow workers imprisoned in Leavenworth penitentiary, and at last itlooks as tho the entire 31 would be freed by Christmas Day. As if by magic the sentiment of the country has changed. We see even Judge Rudkin, who sentenced the Sacramento defendants, appealing for clemency on the ground of faulty evidence,and we note Judge Pollock requesting President Coolidge to pardon the remaining Wichita defendants. President Coolidge has indicated that he will act by Christmas.

The fight for our class war prisoners has been vigorous this year. Instead of forgetting our comrades entombed in jail by the enemy, the class conscious workers on the outside have geared themselves up to greater energy intheir behalf. Strikes and tremendous literature campaigns have been carried on. Late last April the country was stirred by the news that much of the shipping of the nation was paralysed by the walkout of the marine workers for class war prisoners. At the same time the donkey engines and rigging of the logging camps went dead, and the life went out of many big construction projects in the west. All at the time when the profiteers were in their biggest boodle scramble. All thru the summer the agricultural workers did splendid work in arousing the workers and the farming population of the wheat belt and the far west; and in September we find the lumber industry hit again. One demand, and one only,did the workers make - "Release the Class War Prisoners".

Fellow workers, now that victory in the case of the federal prisoners - the wartime victims in Leavenworth - seems so near, we wish to remind you that there is a bigger battle to be won. Remember there are 31 federal class war prisoners, but there are more than 120 in state penitentiaries, who are there for their class under frame-ups or anti-labor laws. First come the seven Centralia fellow workers, doing 25 to 40 years because they defended their union hall against mobbing Legionaires in 1919. These men only exercised their constitutional rights of self defense in protecting their organization property against lawless vandals, and it must not be forgotten that their action put a stop to the raiding of labor headquarters by extra legal gangs. Now these seven Centralia loggers are in Walla Walla penitentiary. They must lie there no longer. They must be released, and they can be freed by making their case as big an issue as was the case of the federal prisoners.

The syndicalism defendants in California, Washington, Idaho and other states must be freed and can be freed by aggressive strike activity and by persistent educational effort. San Pedro is a shining example of what can be done by earnest I.W.W.'s who will stick to a thing. Last winter every home in San Pedro was visited again and again by literature distributers. At different times separate pamphlets of the General Defense Committee were left at EVERY DOOR. In addition, there were numerous meetings. Thus, when the big strike came for the release of the prisoners in late April, we foudn the people of the town behind the strikers. Even the small business men - 60 of them - for reasons of friendship or policy actually contributed funds to the support of the strike.

Fellow workers, this country must be made safe for the working-class. All together in the fight!

General Defense Committee
1001 W. Madison Street.

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Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.R. Sail | 1222-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Fritz Rudd | 115 Nicollet Ave., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
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| Frank L. Seaman | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |

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Albert Hanson, Chairman G.O.C. Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U. No.110

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.49

Chicago, Ill. December 19, 1923

## ORGANIZE FOR DEFENSE

The last of the war-opinion federal prisoners are being released by presidential commutation, but the injustice done them has not been redressed, nor is it in the power of men or government to give them back the long, dreary years spent behind the bars.

There is colossal irony in "pardoning" men who are not guilty of committing crime. Surely President Coolidge must have felt, when ordering the release of our imprisoned fellow workers, that the government was the real criminal.

To be held in prison for more than six years because they elected to act the part of freemen and to exercise a right which this nation was the first in history to acknowledge as an inherent right of every man, is a distinction of which the released I.W.W. prisoners may well be proud. Their victimization is an outstanding event that marks the decay of capitalist society in the United States. When freedom of opinion is denied, democracy is dead. Even the emptiness of political democracy has been reduced to an absolute vacuum, and in the incarceration of these wartime victims the death sentence of free citizenship was pronounced.

We are not inclined to look a gift horse in the mouth, but we are first of all realists. Our life conditions and our social position do not dispose us to cherish illusions. We know our social and industrial enemy at first hand and from actual and intimate contact. We know that the capitalist class is ruthless and relentless. So we realize that the release of our fellow workers was not dictated by ideas of justice but by virtue of expediency. We are not grateful for their release as an act of benevolence; we are resentful that it took the government more than six years to act upon the knowledge that they should never have been imprisoned. Mr. Coolidge's labor record is not such as conduces to the belief that outrages upon working people are abhorrent to him. More than likely the forthcoming election had a great deal more to do with his order to release these men than that they were entitled to freedom. Mr. Coolidge is a politician as well as being president. His opposition to men like the released prisoners, and to ideas not so far-reaching as theirs, made him the running partner of the late Mr. Harding and put him in line of succession. The hatred of the I.W.W. and those who adhere to it, by the interests with whom the president trains and runs, has in no way lessened; and to believe that we are not destined to again encounter similar hostility and to suffer like injustice would be to indulge a vain hope.

Even while our fellow workers are being released from Leavenworth, the political and legal puppets of the ruling class are herding hundreds of our members into Folsom and San Quentin; and in Walla Walla and other penitentiaries victims of the class war are penned for no other reason than that they have been active in organizing and spreading the doctrines of the I.W.W.

The need for defense has not been lessened one iota. This means that the need for organization is as great now as before the president ordered the release of our 32 fellow workers. Our forces can now be concentrated upon the labor task on the Pacific Coast. This in itself is an advantage of which we must make the most. While a man of ours remains in prison, or there is danger of our members being sent there, for their opinions or organization activities it is our duty to press on until we have attained that measure of organization which will force justice in the courts and compel the prisons to disgorge.

Education and organization are our most powerful weapons. We

must use both. Education for the purpose of making our own forces more effective and to enlighten the workers whom ignorance in various forms holds in thrall. Men fight best when well armed, and that organization is best armed whose store of knowledge is greatest.

The crime of Leavenworth is being repeated in California. The same sordid interests that buried our fellow workers alive for nearly seven years in the federal pens are thrusting our men in California into living tombs. Between a Landis and a Busick there is not the tossup of a penny, and between a Daugherty and a Palmer we should not try to distinguish, for there is no difference. All of these are deformed products of a vicious system. While that system lasts those who insist upon the superiority of human rights over property rights do so at their peril. That peril is ours and only by understanding it shall we be prepared to deal with it.

Education and organization are the first line trenches of the workers in the class war. Until we have occupied these we must use the courts, when in the toils of the law, to show the brutal and inhuman character of capitalism. We have no choice but to do so. In its every move, even in the exercise of its legal and coercive powers, capitalism is adding to its grave diggers.

Education and organization are the first steps toward Emancipation. The fight has not ended with the release of our fellow workers, it is only beginning. To know this is to realize the importance of preparation, of organization, and education.

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## CANDIDATES FOR A.W.I.U. OFFICES

Below is a list of nominees whose names appear on the A.W.I.U.No.110 referendum ballot. Ballots cast in the field should be sent direct to the main office, enclosed in a separate envelope and marked Ballot Committee. Ballots must be in the main office by January 10, 1924, on which date they will be counted.

Ballots are in the field and may be obtained from any main office, branch or stationary delegate.

### NOMINEES FOR SECRETARY-TREASURER

William Hanley — Frank Thorpe — Reginald Jones

### NOMINEES FOR G.O.C.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ed Burkhart | W.R. Boyd | Stonewall De Luck |
| John Downs | A. Linn | Harold (Dinty) Moore |
| Miles M. Mc Cabe | Joe O'Neil | Tom Mc Coy |
| William Bradley | | James Donnelly |

### NOMINEES FOR ALTERNATE G.O.C.

John K. Peterson — J. Murray — John Cheesebrew

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## BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

## KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

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## N O T I C E

Members will please take note - All branches and stationary delegates have an ample supply of free literature. Can also be hade by writing the main office direct. Also, members are urged to send in all job news possible, especially of California jobs.

## JOB NEWS

### ILLINOIS

BLOOMINGTON, 12-11. Corn husking will last from eight to ten days yet. Corn mostly standing up and fairly good. Wages from 5 to 7¢ and board. Wicks go out for 5¢, good union men get more. ( AG 1730)

### NEVADA

RENO, 11-16. 110 work about done here for present year. Some cattle feeding at $2.00 and $2.50 a day and sheep herding at from $60.00 to $80.00 a month. ( AG 456)

### CALIFORNIA

LINDSAY, 11-17 Picking of the orange crop here is all contract work. Prices are from 5¢ a box up to 10¢. Furnish your own blanket, clipper and sack. Hundreds of workers are awaiting the master's call in this town to rush in to the orchards and see who can pick the most oranges. Rooms are very scarce in town; restaurants plentiful. Meals are from 25¢ up. Working by the hour 40¢. They have seventeen packing sheds in Lindsay. Mostly women employed in the packing sheds. Picking will be on full force by the 22nd of November. ( AG 460)

LEMON COVE, 11-25 Orange picking is on here with wages at $3.50 and board. ( AG 8)

LINDSAY, 12-1. Four more weeks will clean up the orange picking-probably not that long. All contract work here. Picking 7¢ a box up to 10¢. Working packing sheds for 40 to 55 and 60¢an hour. All the packing is also piece work, 7¢ per box for packing. Mostly women employed in packing sheds. They work all kinds of hours. No regard for the state law, which calls for an eight hour day for women workers. Orange picking will start in here again in March of the coming year. ( AG 460)

EL CENTRO, 12-11. The lettuce is just starting here now. Will be on in full blast in about another week. ( AG 257)

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## N O T I C E

The following delegates will please get in touch with the main office. IMPORTANT.

| NAME | DEL.NO. | NAME | DEL.NO. | NAME | DEL.NO. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Marian Birdsell AG | 152 | H.C. Blackman AG | 380 | A. Buoyer AG | 960 |
| Thos. Conway | 1677 | Harold Curry | 866 | J.H.Dohery | 147 |
| Mike Durkie | 49 | Don Ervantes | 96 | E. Evans | 1656 |
| Geo.Fredericks | 355 | Jess Ed Gibson | 658 | Jn.Gibson | 473 |
| Harry Gilbert | 668 | Alvin Goode | 1529 | Millard Gordon | 1727 |
| H. J. Hall | 1593 | Hans B. Hansen | 984 | | |
| M. Hill | 549 | Harvey Horton | 87 | Chas.Johnson | 89 |
| R.V. Johnson | 306 | Grover Gordan | 1450 | J.A. Lunney | 793 |
| Jack Mc Farland | 278 | Tim Mc Graw | 1540 | J. Mc Kinsey | 1528 |
| John Mc Nelly | 1622 | W.F. Mc Mahon | 557 | N.F. Mayes | 1738 |
| Jake Manierski | 1513 | V.D. Mehrier | 1093 | G. Michaels | 1511 |
| D.F. O'Connor | 634 | G.D. Osburn | 1690 | G.L.Peterson | 278 |
| Jack Peterson | 559 | Albert Randell | 168 | D. Rearick | 1536 |
| A.H. Ringwood | 972 | L.E. Rogers | 631 | G. Rusicka | 1566 |
| Earnest Schilling | 1094 | Wm Schlager | 618 | J. Shields | 259 |
| Frank Smith | 1562 | John Smith | 379 | V.S. Steele | 354 |
| W.L. Walker | 1502 | C.E. Wallgren | 1554 | Foster Ward | 968 |
| F.H. Whitmore | 212 | Walter Wicker | 942 | | |

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The 1924 credentials are now ready. In exchanging the 1923 credentials for those of 1924 it is not necessary to turn in the supplies; merely send a statement of the amount of supplies on hand to the main office, and the 1923 account will be transferred to the new 1924 credential number.

# D E F E N S E  N E W S

On Saturday the office of the General Defense Committee was advised that the President granted an unconditional release to all I.W.W. prisoners convicted under the espionage act. The fellow workers are to be released as soon as the presidential warrant reaches Leavenworth. As yet, we have not heard from the fellow workers in Leavenworth, so take it for granted that they have not been released at the time of writing this article. It is probable that they will be released by the end of this week.

This will be the end of a two year intensive amnesty drive by the General Defense Committee and other amnesty committees who helped in the work. But the greater credit goes to the members of the Industrial Workers of the World who ungrudgingly dug into their pockets for nearly seven years in order to obtain the release of the members convicted in Chicago, Kansas City and Sacramento. At no time did the membership fail to respond to the many appeals calling for their aid. The General Defense Committee takes this opportunity to express their gratitude to the members for their unfailing support.

## WHAT NEXT

Although the release of the Leavenworth fellow workers will lift a weight from the organization, there is a fight that will prove just as hard, if not harder; and that is the release of the fellow workers confined in the state prisons for their organization activities. In the very near future the General Defense Committee will outline its future program. We anticipate the whole-hearted support of every fellow worker.

General Defense Committee.

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## NOTICE TO THE MEMBERSHIP

The General Referendum Ballots are now in the field. Members may secure ballots from branch secretaries, traveling delegates, delegates, industrial union headquarters, and general headquarters.

Ballots must be in general headquarters by February 10, 1924.

Send all ballots addressed General Office Ballot Committee, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

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It is important that all candidates for I.U.110 offices get in touch with the main office at once. Branches should tabulate all ballots not later than January 6th. A ballot committee should be elected prior to that time, as the ballots must be in the main office on or before January 10.

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All delegates should send in a statement of the amount of supplies on hand, as the 1924 credentials are ready to be issued and will be sent out as fast as the delegates report. It is not necessary to send in the 1923 credentials until you receive the ones for 1924.

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Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.R. Sail | 1222-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Fritz Rudd | 115 Nicollet Ave., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Pat Noonan | 515 N. 16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Chas. Kolar | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Frank L. Seaman | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |

Albert Hanson, Chairman G.O.C. Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U. No.110

## JOB NEWS

### NEVADA

RENO, 11-16 110 work about done here for present year. Some cattle feeding at $2.00 and $2.50 a day and sheep herding at from $60.00 to $80.00 a month. ( AG 456)

### CALIFORNIA

EL CENTRO, 12-11. The lettuce is just starting here now. Will be on in full blast in about another week. ( AG 257)

BRAWLEY, 12-14. Wages in the lettuce are $4.00 per day-board yourself. Will be in full blast by the first of the year.(X 95934)

WASCO, 12-17. Kern Co. Land Co.(Paso Ranch) Mc Allister's Camp. Four miles from Wasco, Calif. about 20 men; mostly shears. Wages $2.00 and board. Eight fresnoes working;board rotten; no butter furnished; sleeping accomodation rotten; hay bunks; sleep in cars; ten men in car. Sentiment for organization poor. I asked boss for a donation for Xmas fund and he told me that no one gave him anything when he was in jail. The next morning I asked for my time, but it was already made out for me. ( AG 450)

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## N O T I C E

The following delegates will please get in touch with the main office. IMPORTANT.

| Name | Del.No. | Name | Del.No. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Marian Birdsell | AG 152 | H.C.Blackman | AG 380 |
| A. Buoyer | 966 | Thos. Conway | 1677 |
| Harold Curry | 866 | J.H. Dohery | 147 |
| Mike Durkie | 49 | Don Ervantes | 96 |
| E. Evans | 1656 | George Fredericks | 355 |
| Jess Ed Gibson | 658 | John Gibson | 475 |
| Harry Gilbert | 668 | Alvin Goode | 1529 |
| Millard Gordon | 1721 | Hans B. Hansen | 984 |
| M. Hill | 549 | Harvey Horton | 87 |
| Charles Johnson | 89 | R.V. Johnson | 306 |
| J.A. Lunney | 793 | Jack Mc Farland | 278 |
| Tim Mc Graw | 1540 | J. Mc Kinsey | 1528 |
| John Mc Nelly | 1622 | W.F. Mc Mahon | 557 |
| N.F. Mayes | 1728 | Jake Manierski | 1513 |
| V.D. Mehrier | 1093 | G. Michaels | 1511 |
| D.F. O'Connor | 634 | G.D. Osburn | 1690 |
| G.L. Peterson | 276 | Jack Peterson | 559 |
| Albert Randell | 168 | D. Rearick | 1536 |
| A.H. Ringwood | 972 | L.E. Rogers | 631 |
| G. Rusicka | 1566 | Earnest Schilling | 1094 |
| Wm Schlager | 618 | J. Shields | 359 |
| Frank Smith | 1562 | John Smith | 379 |
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It is important that all candidates for I.U.110 offices get in touch with the main office at once. Branches should tabulate all ballots not later than January 6th. A ballot committee should be elected prior to that time, as the ballots must be in the main office on or before January 10th.

## THE BATTLE HAS JUST BEGUN

Saturday evening, December 22, 1923, the doors of the federal penitentiary, at Leavenworth, swung outward and twenty-seven of our fellow workers stepped out into the night air, "free" men. Three, Tori, Lorton and Lloyd, were held for deportation, but will be out shortly on $1000.00 bond each.

This after a six year fight for "justice" in court and press. There yet remain the state cases, which, as far as our present organization activities,are concerned are the more important. Oklahoma, Kansas, Arizona, California and Idaho are viciously persecuting our organizers - more than 100 are either doing time or awaiting trial at these states. In Washington the state penitentiary holds the Centralia boys. They are doing a sentence of from 25 to 40 years.

It took the weight of tons and tons of printed matter to turn the key in the Leavenworth lock. It will take many tons of publicity to open the doors of the state penitentiaries. We must not despair at the cost. The victory just won must spur us on to greater activity. Funds are needed for the publicity barrage without which our efforts will be in vain. Get busy! The battle has just begun.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

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## NOTICE TO THE MEMBERSHIP

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Ballots must be in general headquarters by February 10, 1924.

Send all ballots addressed to General Office Ballot Committee, 1091 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

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It is important that all delegates send in a statement of the amount of supplies on hand, as the 1924 credentials are ready to be issued and will be sent out as fast as the delegates report. It is not necessary to send in the 1923 credentials until you receive the ones for 1924.

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The newly elected General Organization Committee will go in session about the 20th of January. Any members having suggestions pertaining to organization work should send them in to the main office before that time. Members in Calif. are especially urged to send any suggestions they may have in regard to organizing the slaves of that state.

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Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.R.Sail | 1222-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Fritz Rudd | 115 Nicollet Ave., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Pat Noonan | 515 N. 16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Charles Kolar | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Frank L.Seaman | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |

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Yours for the I.W.W.

Albert Hanson, Chairman G.O.C. Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U.No.110

An Injury to One Is the Concern of All

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.51

Chicago, Ill. January 2, 1934

ZXZXZX

these organized workers cling to a system of unionism which has demonstrated its ineffectiveness every time it has been put to a test, is that the opinions held are formed in the working places. From church, school, fraternal lodges, and other sources influences are ever at work to weaken the consciousness that grows naturally out of working class experiences. The individualistic conception, which the craft union system fosters, militates against the acceptance of class doctrine with its concommitant revolutionary proposals.

The acceptance of the class struggle theory by the workers is something that the capitalist class must, in the verynature of things, fight to the last inch of the last ditch. The agencies of the employing class, and none have done more valiant fighting than the Gompers' unions, have bitterly contended with progressives who tended toward working class unity, and with the socialists who worked for the acceptance of the class theory by American unionists. That the officialdom of the American union movement has unfailingly done the work of the capitalist class, and has done it as eagerly and more effectively than the capitalists themselves is significant. It has brought them under suspicion of which it is their business, not ours, to clear themselves.

The Preamble of the I.W.W. is a recognition of the relationship of the classes in capitalist society. It states unequivocally the facts in connection with that relationship and points out the historic circumstances that govern and by which the working class movement must guide itself. Against the I.W.W., to which its Preamble is the industrial North star, the capitalist class has launched every agency controlled by it, and not the least of these has been the craft system unions.

Instead of hailing the I.W.W. discovery as an asset, the craft unionists have attacked it from every angle and in every capacity-from stool pigeons on the job to sluggers on the picket line. But so thoroly in keeping with working class experience in industry has the I.W.W. been that now, after having withstood all assaults made openly and secretly, the consciousness of its really proletarian character has impressed the craft unionists and open acknowledgments of its worth are being made.

As time passes and capitalism presses the men and women of labor must be impressed in ever-growing numbers that the conflict in society involves them in a common struggle where they must preserve a common front. The illusory divisions into which capitalist design has intrigued them are breaking up and the detached fragments drift to the I.W.W. as the nucleus of a Labor's New Front.

The problem of the working class is a serious problem, and the serious conditions out of which that problem springs will make the workers serious-minded. No matter how they felt yesterday, no matter how they feel today, the hold of their capitalist directors is breaking and a new alignment is in the process of forming. The croaking of the pessimist has no place in I.W.W. counsels. Only those of faith, courage and vision can march confidently to that new birth for labor that is just ahead.

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## BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

## KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

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William Hanley  Frank Thorpe  Reginald Jones

## NOMINEES FOR G.O.C.

Ed Burkhart
John Downs
Miles M. Mc Cabe
William Bradley
W.R.Boyd
A. Linn
Joe O'Neil
Stonewall De Luck
Harold (Dinty) Moore
James Donnelly
Tom Mc Coy

## NOMINEES FOR ALTERNATE G.O.C.

John K. Peterson  J. Murray  John Cheesebrew.

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1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

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Jchn Abbott, X 49049, write to main office for your card.

## DO YOUR BIT!

Each year with Christmas over and the money collected for the Christmas Fund on its way to the various prisons, there generally is a letup on the part of the membership in collecting funds for the General Defense Committee. This is not right. We feel grateful and proud over all you have done, but we should never slacken in our efforts to obtain the release of all class war prisoners.

It took six years of ceaseless toil to obtain the freedom of the boys in Leavenworth. Their release in a measure marks the end of the federal cases. That is, these boys are out of prison, but there still remain the deportation cases, three of them involving fourteen men, and the state cases.

In the federal cases a successful worldwide publicity campaign was carried on. Our leaflets, pamphlets and circular letters went to the far corners of the earth. Missionaries and newspapermen in darkest Africa, dark India and China received the Defense News Service Bulletin and literature. Labor unions and papers in South America, Australia, Japan and every country of Europe were covered. Appeals went out asking for help inmaking the United States feel that it can be made costly financially to keep men in prison for opinions' sake - we advocated the boycott of American made goods and obtained splendid support from both labor press and unions of the various countries.

We must continue this worldwide publicity campaign in connection withthe planned concentration on each state which imprisons members of the I.W.W. for mere membership. Liberal bodies have pledged their support. We must lash the master class of the U.S. with the whip of financial loss - THE BOYCOTT - into bringing pressure to bear on the backward states of the U.S., California, Washington, Idaho, Oklahoma, Kansas and Arizona.

Collect funds to carry on publicity as well as for lawyer fees and prison comforts. Send in to this office for Calif. boycott stickers that will help hit the boss in the pocketbook. DO IT NOW!

General Defense Committee.

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## IMPORTANT

The following delegates will please get in touch with the main office.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Marian Birdsell | AG | 152 | H.C. Blackman | AG | 380 |
| A. Buoyer | | 966 | Thos. Conway | | 1677 |
| Harold Curry | | 866 | J.H. Dohery | | 147 |
| Mike Durkie | | 49 | Don Ervantes | | 96 |
| E. Evans | | 1656 | George Fredericks | | 355 |
| Jess Ed Gibson | | 658 | John Gibson | | 476 |
| Harry Gilbert | | 668 | Alvin Goode | | 1529 |
| Millard Gordon | | 1721 | Hans B. Hansen | | 984 |
| M. Hill | | 549 | Harvey Horton | | 87 |
| Charles Johnson | | 89 | R.V. Johnson | | 306 |
| J.A. Lunney | | 793 | Jack Mc Farland | | 278 |
| Tim Mc Graw | | 1540 | J. Mc Kinsey | | 1528 |
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| N.F. Mayse | | 1728 | Jake Manierski | | 1513 |
| V.D. Mehrier | | 1093 | G. Michaels | | 1511 |
| D.F. O'Connor | | 634 | G.D. Osburn | | 1690 |
| G.L. Peterson | | 276 | Jack Peterson | | 559 |
| Albert Randell | | 168 | D. Rearick | | 1536 |
| A. H. Ringwood | | 972 | L.E. Rogers | | 631 |
| G. Rusicka | | 1566 | Earnest Schilling | | 1094 |
| Wm Schlager | | 618 | J. Shields | | 259 |
| Frank Smith | | 1562 | John Smith | | 379 |
| V.S. Steele | | 354 | V.L. Walker | | 1502 |
| Foster Ward | | 968 | F.H. Whitmore | | 212 |

Walter Wicker AG 942.

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Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
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| Fritz Rudd | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Pat Noonan | 515 N. 16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
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| Frank L. Seaman | General Delivery, | Fresno, Calif. |

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Albert Hanson, Chairman G.O.C. Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U. No.110

An Injury to One Is the Concern of All

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.52

Chicago, Ill. January 9, 1924

## WHAT MEANS DEFENSE?

In the release of our members - the alleged "political" prisoners"- the value of organized publicity has been clearly demonstrated, and the policy of defense by the I.W.W. has been vindicated. In saying this we are only stating an established fact and not advocating legal defense as a principle for economic organizations. The "power of public opinion" or, in a more restricted sense, the pressure of liberal opinion, has been invoked only by the unending stream of publicity that centered attention upon the most heinous offense against democratic political conceptions which has ever stained the record of any modern government.

The particular organization value of the work of the Defense Committee does not lie so much in that the prisoners were released as in this - that it has used the prisoner issue so that the organization, its aims, methods and principles were brought before those who were interested in maintaining principles outraged by the actions of the courts, the Department of Justice, the two previous administrations, and by everyone and in everything connected with the case. As a result the I.W.W. is now better understood by people in wider and ever-growing circles, and toleration has supplanted enmity and prejudice in the minds of hundreds of thousands.

Herein lies the virtue of defense. While the courts have lost none of their hostility, the judiciary has lost much of its courage in the face of an opinion which has the temerity to openly voice its condemnation and its contempt. The law, careless as it is about the workers' rights and ambiguous as it is in its definitio where labor is concerned, has had to suffer distortion and strained interpretations to imprison workers guiltless of crime in fact or in intention. The Defense Committee has been constantly on guard and alert to give warning, and so to arouse sentiment, for the average man and woman is peculiarly sensitive where flagrant injustice is done. It is upon this trait of human nature that the I.W.W. depends to gain the ears and win the hearts and heads of the workers of this and other countries.

The tolerant opinion, which grows and spreads, offers a field for publicity which it would be criminal to neglect. A tolerant sentiment must precede and provide opportunity for the education of the millions who stand in need of the I.W.W. Under the whip of persecution the workers are joining the I W.W. industria unions, and the pace at which they are coming can be accelerated an will be as our means of publicity and education become more extensi and better organized.

More than any other organization in labor history, the I.W.W. depends upon an enlightened and educated membership. To neglect education in the building of the I.W.W. is to create a machine that as liable to injure as to serve the working class interest. Unless the membership, new and old, understand the principles of the I.W.W. its place in the social scheme and its aims for labor, its path would be a perilous one, where danger would lurk in every situation and the old game of "sell and deliver" could be played, as it has been played in the past and is being played in the present by other miscalled labor unions.

Publicity and Education, if they can be differentiated, are the guides to growth, power and safety. We can neglect these only at the price of peril.

California is a case in point. The publicity carried on in

that state has divided the capitalist opposition into two camps - one which would repeal the C.S. law and the other which would maintain it. Remember that those who favor repeal do not do so because the law is directed against the I.W.W., but because it has failed to suppress the I.W.W., and is responsible for the growth of the organization instead. But the point is here, and it is not unimportant either, that as the capitalists divide in response to their particular interests at a particular time, labor opinion becomes more united. Of this we should take advantage, and press the issue harder than before.

Publicity and Education, bringing industrial organization in their train, will open the doors of San Quentin and Folsom, just as the doors of Leavenworth were made to swing. With the boycott, which publicity is pushing to dimensions where it is hurting seriously, these will wrest their prey from the California capitalists in quicker time than it took to bring the federal prisoners forth from their living tomb. Education and organization are and must remain the watchwords of the I.W.W.

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BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

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## JOB NEWS

### CALIFORNIA

EL CENTRO, 12-11 The lettuce is just starting here now. Will be on in full blast in about another week. ( AG 257)

BRAWLEY, 12-14 Wages in the lettuce are $4.00 per day; board yourself. Will be in full blast by the first of the year. ( X95934)

REDLANDS, 1-1 Orange picking will be on full blast by the last of this month, and will last till late in March. ( AG 8)

WASCO, 12-17. Kern Co. Land Co. (Pasco Ranch) Mc Allister's camp. Four miles from Wasco, Calif.; about 20 men, mostly shears. Wages $2.00 and board. Eight fresnoes working. Board rotten, no butter furnished; sleeping accomodations rotten, hay bunks, sleep in cars, ten men in car. Sentiment for organization poor. I asked the boss for a donation for Xmas fund and he tole me that no one gave him anything when he was in jail. The next morning I asked for my time , bu it had already been made out for me. ( AG 450)

BRAWLEY, 1-5 The lettuce harvest is in full swing. Many more men can be employed as the packing houses crowd all the work in one shift which runs from 12 to 16 hours. Wages 50¢ per hour. (X89237)

REDLANDS, 12-28 Redlands is 66 miles east of Los Angeles. Orange picking just started, but not many workers employed yet. It is day work, 55½ per hour. Furnish your own sack and clippers. Some piece work also, 5 to 9¢ per box. Just now they are picking only the oranges that are ripe. Packing will start on or about the first of January. The picking and packing of the orange crop will last about three months. Market is well supplied with labor, but the chances a good for jobs when the packing sheds start up. ( AG 460)

### NEVADA

RENO, 11-16. Some cattle feeding at $2.00 and $2.50 per day, and sheep herding at from $60.00 to $80.00 a month. ( AG 456)

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## N O T I C E

The General Referendum ballots are now in the field. Members may secure ballots from branch secretaries, traveling and job delegate industrial union headquarters, and General Headquarters. Ballots must be in general headquarters by February 10, 1924. Send all ballots addressed to General Office Ballot Committee,
1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

## CAN WE ORGANIZE AS ONE ?

Is there Industrial Union patriotism in the I.W.W.? Is there sectional patriotism in the organization? Does provincialism exist within the one organization which has the reputation for discouraging such obstacles? Can the members of the organization practice what they preach?

The above burning questions are of vital concern to every member and official of the organization. They are questions of deep concern to every member now languishing in jail for organization activities. If those obstacles exist within the organization, we have a big job before us, because standing divided nothing can be accomplished, nothing.

The General Defense Committee knows that the membership of the I.W.W. can act as one. The Xmas fund drive - the campaign for the release of the federal prisoners has proven it. There was one thing that made the amnesty campaign a success, and that was the splendid solidarity of our membership. By their acting together they made a rumble that could not be drowned. If it was done in the past, it can be done again.

Our committee is now laying the grounds for a campaign for the release of the state prisoners which will exceed even the campaign fo the release of the political prisoners. We are depending a whole lot on the undivided support of the members and officials. But even more important is the forgetting of personal differences, the eliminating of controversies. Controversies are destructive and take up more time, energy and funds than constructive work.

Over 150 of our members are now confined in various prisons because they dared admit membership in the organization. There is no doubt but everyone of them could be free today had they denied affiliation in the I.W.W. It was a matter of principle to them. They felt that it would only be a question of time before the organization would be powerful enough to effect their release. The question now i are we strong enough to obtain their release? Are we really conscious of our power? There is but one answer. In order to ascertain our real power it is essential that we forget our differences and in reality line up together for One Big Drive for the release of the state prisoners.

The General Defense Committee is out for the release of every member now in jail. We want to publish pamphlets and leaflets dealing with their cases. We want to route speakers thruout the country organizing committees and to speak for those who cannot speak for themselves. This will take funds. If you are with us then write in for receipt books; organize local committees to raise funds; distribu literature;and organize meetings. Write to the General Defense for information, or to the California branch.

General Defense Committee.

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## IMPORTANT

It is important that all candidates for I.U.110 offices get in touch with the main office at once.

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It is important that all delegates send in a statement of the amount of supplies on hand, as the 1924 credentials are ready to be issued and will be sent out as fast as the delegates report. It is not necessary to send in the 1923 credentials until you receiv the ones for 1924.

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Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature, etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.R.Sail | 1223-4th St. | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Fritz Rudd | 115 Nicollet Ave. | Minneapolis, Min. |
| Pat Noonan | 515 N.16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Charles Kolar | 601 W. Madison St. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Frank L.Seaman | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |

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Albert Hanson, Chairman G.O.C. Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.
A.W.I.U. No.110

A.W.I.U.No.110 BALLOT COMMITTEE REPORT± JANUARY 12, 1924

We, the undersigned members of the Ballot Committee, hereby submit our tabulation of the 1923 fall referendum.

For Secretary-Treasurer

| Candidate | Field | Mpls Br. | Omaha Br. | Soo CityBr. | Seattle Br. | Chi.Br. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wm Hanley | 88 | 30 | 28 | 43 | 6 | 46 | 241 |
| Frank Thorpe | 86 | 11 | 14 | 18 | 47 | 32 | 208 |
| Reg. Jones | 42 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 0 | 12 | 66 |

For G.O.C.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Joe O'Neil | 184 | 37 | 37 | 60 | 44 | 79 | 441 |
| A. Linn | 158 | 36 | 20 | 48 | 46 | 72 | 380 |
| Jas.Donnelly | 142 | 35 | 23 | 47 | 29 | 58 | 334 |
| Wm Bradley | 143 | 20 | 36 | 42 | 37 | 55 | 333 |
| Miles McCabe | 152 | 23 | 22 | 35 | 36 | 55 | 323 |
| W.R.Boyd | 139 | 35 | 25 | 36 | 36 | 49 | 320 |
| Ed Burkhart | 134 | 32 | 24 | 45 | 12 | 51 | 298 |
| Dinty Moore | 115 | 14 | 39 | 29 | 40 | 55 | 292 |
| S.De Luck | 90 | 12 | 13 | 21 | 30 | 23 | 189 |
| Tom Mc Coy | 85 | 5 | 8 | 26 | 4 | 34 | 162 |
| John Downs | 57 | 5 | 2 | 19 | 5 | 19 | 107 |

For Alternate G.O.C.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jn K.Peterson | 99 | 26 | 28 | 33 | 24 | 38 | 248 |
| Jn. Cheesebrew | 80 | 17 | 23 | 18 | 25 | 39 | 202 |
| J. Murray | 86 | 12 | 13 | 24 | 13 | 31 | 179 |

| Amendments: | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 123 | 94 | 35 | 6 | 35 | 5 | 37 | 19 | 31 | 19 | 58 | 29 | 319 | 122 |
| 6 | 170 | 50 | 32 | 9 | 29 | 10 | 41 | 14 | 29 | 20 | 58 | 29 | 359 | 132 |
| 11 | 157 | 61 | 28 | 14 | 29 | 11 | 32 | 25 | 31 | 17 | 65 | 24 | 342 | 152 |
| 14 | 134 | 70 | 32 | 5 | 28 | 8 | 32 | 15 | 32 | 14 | 58 | 27 | 316 | 139 |
| 17 | 81 | 129 | 12 | 25 | 15 | 21 | 23 | 32 | 31 | 17 | 30 | 54 | 192 | 278 |
| 24 | 185 | 33 | 27 | 13 | 39 | 1 | 51 | 5 | 45 | 5 | 74 | 13 | 421 | 70 |
| 36 | 101 | 109 | 9 | 31 | 10 | 28 | 25 | 31 | 35 | 15 | 34 | 49 | 214 | 263 |
| 44 | 179 | 34 | 27 | 16 | 41 | 3 | 39 | 20 | 48 | 3 | 65 | 22 | 399 | 98 |

Total Ballots cast:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 228 | 44 | 51 | 68 | 53 | 91 | 535 |

One ballot void on amendment from Minneapolis Branch; one void on amendment from field; two ballots came in too late to be tabulated.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That the record of members voting on referendum ballots be looked up by General Ballot Committee before counting ballots.
2. That all ballots not filled out properly shall be declared voi
3. That all ballots shall be held until the next convention of the Industrial Union.

R.S. Morgan, #239832

Wm Morreau #311614

George Elsassar #251302

BALLOT COMMITTEE.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All"

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.53

Chicago, Ill. January 16, 1924.

## WHAT THE BALANCE SHOWS

A bulletin, for December 22, 1923, issued by tne U.S.Department of Agriculture notes a change in relation between American agriculture and that of the world. The opening paragraph, which we shall quote presently, clearly and forcibly shows the oneness of world production, the earth as an economic unit.

If there be in any country an industry native to it, then agriculture must be that industry. When, therefore, we find the United States, which has previously held a position of preeminence as the world's leading agricultural nation, importing more agricultural products than it is exporting we are reminded that a change has taken place, which presages a less secure future for American agriculturists than the uncertain past that reduced a great percentage of farm owners to tenantry, or forced them into the industrial proletariat.

While some of the agricultural products that go to make up the volume of imports are not indigenous to this continent and apparently not amenable to cultivation here, such as coffee, tea, silk, etc., yet the proportionate importation of such staples as wool and sugar marks a competition which American agriculture has been unable to meet. for while the silk imports of 1922-1923 were as 1 to 1 1/3, the imports of sugar were as 1 to 1 3/5, and of wool from 1 to 3 5/8. The imports of meat are not given nor are the exports referred to in the bulletin which comments thus:

> "Imports of agricultural products into the United States for the year ending June 30, 1923, exceeded in value the exports of agricultural products from the United States, probably for the first time in the history of the country."

The exports of wheat fell from 280 million dollars in 1922 to 192 million dollars in 1923, and the exported corn from 116 to 75 million dollars. Among other things, even after allowing for the decreased purchasing power of the war-ravaged European countries, this tends to show that the power of American agriculture to dominate in the world market is waning. The American farmer cannot meet the competition of the farmers in other countries, notwithstanding the fertility of this continent and the productivity of its machinery-equipped farms.

The development leading up to this change has been noted only by the revolutionary elements among the workers and their warnings won for them the designation of "calamity howlers". In the decrease of export values we may take into account that as the industrial element - the proletariat - increases, the home (American) market tends to consume an ever-increasing proportion of farm products, so that greater volumes of home grown and foreign grown commodities are requir Such a condition, however, does not reflect itself in improved conditions for American farmers, as it should, and we find them insistently demanding relief which in the nature of things will not be forthcoming

The American farmer is experiencing competition in his home market and finds that he is unable to meet it. He does not understand what is happening and regards with enmity those who tell the unwelcome truth, and who are preparing themselves to win advantage from the change by dealing with it understandingly. Against the I.W.W. the farmers of the United States entertain an intense hostility because they do not understand that the I.W.W. is building the only structure in which they will find shelter when the concentration of ownership and the capitalization of agriculture will separate them from their holdings and permit them to till the soil only as proletarians upon a

wage basis.

The groundwork of small farm ownership is crumbling. The development of machinery and the obligations of farm owners to financiers, together with the introduction of modern farm machinery to utilize vast cultivable but hitherto uncultivated areas all over the world, bring a pressure which will crush the individual owners of even comparatively large farms into relinquishment of their acres.

The hostility of the farmers to the I.W.W. is based upon his recognition that in the compact organization of the workers another factor has been added to the power which is crushing him. His feeling, is a natural feeling. Even when he understands, his understanding does not reconcile him to the organization, and he will fight it tooth and nail.

We must, however, continue and increase our efforts to construct the organization upon which the future of the workers, and of socicty itself, depends. To this end we must employ education. We must interpret for the farmers, our whilom employers, the significance of changing imports and export relations, the significance of capitalist ownership of social essentials, the world wide and class character of production, the dependence of society upon its workers and of every worker in the social working force upon all the others. We must be prepared to show the oneness of labor in service, and the need for unity.

Meanwhile for ourselves the lesson of the import and export statistics for 1922-23 should increase our perspective and broaden our calculations to include the world. It is time for the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No.110 of the Industrial Workers of the World to forego provincialism and sectionalism as a step in the international organization of the growing army of the world's slaves of the tractor and the harvester and of their increasing productivity, and their concommitant increasing misery.

The World for the workers, and only the I.W.W. will put them in possession of it.

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## JOB NEWS

### CALIFORNIA

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BRAWLEY, 1-5 The lettuce harvest is in full swing. Many more men can be employed as the packing houses crowd all the work in one shift, which runs for 12 to 16 hours. Wages 50¢ per hour. ( X89237)

REDLANDS, 1-9 Orange picking will be on in full blast by the 20th of January. Wages $3.15 per day without board. It is run on a bonus plan. You got to pick over 35 boxes per day up to 45 or you are laid off. No one is just fired, merely laid off. Some plan! "Call around tomorrow, we may put you to work again", that is what you are told by the boss. $10.00 reward for finding a fat looking orange picker in Redlands, who got fat on a $3.15 dail y wage. (AG 260)

### NEVADA

RENO, 11-16 Some cattle feeding at $2.00 and $2.50 per day, and sheep herding at from $60.00 to $80.00 a month. ( AG 456)

The defense news this week is very encouraging. The convictions of Fellow workers Flanagan and Stangeland, sentenced at Sacramento last spring, were reversed by the Supreme Court of California on the grounds that neither of the defendants were shown to have had any knowledge of the alleged organization crimes that Townsend and Coutts, the two professional stoolpigeons and degenerates, swore to. Under this ruling convictions will be practically impossible, for no wobbly every brought to trial had any knowledge of crimes that were never committed. In the language of Fellow worker Connors, wiring to the General Defense Committee from San Francisco, "The teeth have been taken out of the syndicalism law". With prosecutions coming entirely to an end in California, as we hope will soon be the case, th organization of #110 will have a clear field to sweep the state.

Good news comes from Idaho also. Five fellow workers awaiting trial at Bonners Ferry are ordered freed by the Idaho Supreme Court. The decision also reverses the famous ruling of Judge Steele at the trial of Edwin Krier at St. Marie, last December, that peaceable "slowing down" on the job is criminal sabotage. This news is good, bu we must remember that even if prosecutions stop there are still more than a hundred fellow worker serving out sentences under criminal syndicalism laws in California, Idaho, Washington, Oklahoma and Kansas The fight to free them must be kept up energetically by organization on the job and publicity.

General Defense Committee.

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BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

N O T I C E

Wm Hanley has been elected secretary-treasurer of I.U.110. The new officials take office on Feb.1st. All money orders which will reach the main office after that date should be made payable to him.

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At a special meeting of 110, Seattle, Wash. The following motion was passed:

"That this body go on record in favor of calling a conference March 5, 1924 in Seattle, Wash."

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Thru some error the minutes of the fall convention do not show report for Bob Hall, travelling delegate in Washington. However, this report was made and showed that 110 did more business in Washington this year than at any other time since its inception.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
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A.W.I.U. No.110

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### IOWA

SIOUX CITY , 1-14 Ice harvest nas started here. They are paying 30¢ an hour. They are not getting slaves out very easy this season. ( 12-A4)

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## N O T I C E

The following delegates will please get in touch with the main office. IMPORTANT.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Marian Birdsell | AG 152 | | H.C.Blackman | AG 380 | |
| A. Buoyer | 966 | | Thos. Conway | 1677 | |
| Harold Curry | 866 | | J.H. Dohery | 147 | |
| Mike Durkie | 49 | | Don Ervantes | 96 | |
| E. Evans | 1656 | | Geo. Fredericks | 355 | |
| Jess Ed Gibson | 658 | | John Gibson | 475 | |
| Harry Gilbert | 668 | | Alvin Goode | 1529 | |
| Millard Gordon | 1721 | | H.J. Hall | 1593 | |
| Hans B. Hansen | 984 | | M. Hill | 549 | |
| Harvey Horton | 87 | | Chas. Johnson | 89 | |
| R.V. Johnson | 306 | | Grover Gordan | 1450 | |
| J. A. Lunney | 793 | | Jack Mc Farland | 278 | |
| Tim Mc Graw | 1540 | | J. Mc Kinsey | 1528 | |
| John Mc Nelly | 1622 | | W.F. Mc Mahon | 557 | |
| N. F. Mayes | 1728 | | Jake Manierski | 1513 | |
| V.D. Mehrier | 1093 | | G. Michaels | 1511 | |
| D.F. O'Connor | 634 | | G.D. Osburn | 1690 | |
| G.L. Peterson | 370 | | Jack Peterson | 559 | |
| Albert Randell | 168 | | D. Rearick | 1536 | |
| A. H. Ringwood | 972 | | L.E. Rogers | 631 | |
| G. Rusicka | 1536 | | Earnest Schilling | 1094 | |
| Wm Schlager | 818 | | J. Shields | 259 | |
| Frank Smith | 1582 | | John Smith | 379 | |
| V.S. Steele | 354 | | V.L. Walker | 1502 | |
| C.E. Wallgren | 1564 | | Foster Ward | 968 | |
| F. H. Whitmore | 212 | | Walter Wicker | 942 | |

## CENTRALIA VICTIMS MUST BE FREED

### ARE YOU WITH THEM OR AGAINST THEM?

Eight of our fellow workers are now on their fifth year in Washington prisons because they did what every other red-blooded person would have done had they been in their place the day of the tragedy. Who can tell but what the Centralia victims nipped in the bud a national conspiracy of the masters to terrorize the I.W.W. out of existence. Had the fellow workers allowed the mob to wreck their hall and lynch them without resistance, there is little doubt but it would have encouraged mobs in other localities to follow the same procedure that received judicial sanction in the state of Washington.

It was proven by witnesses at the trial that the whole plot was hatched by agents of the lumber trusts and that it was their intention of raiding the hall and that two prominent persons marching in the parade carried ropes, presumably to lynch several of the fellow workers. Moreover, it was brought out at the trial by a member of the parade that the mob was at the door of the hall attempting to enter when they were resisted.

Their action in defending their hall against this lawless element has been of inestimable service to the working class in general and to you in particular. They have made it easy for you to keep your hall open against agents of the masters. They averted what might have been a wholesale slaughter of the active members of all labor organizations.

Is their thanks to be twenty-five or forty years behind prison bars? Shall we give the master an opportunity to sayto the fellow workers, "You claim you stood your ground on working class principles. Let us suppose you were right in your stand, but on the other hand, what is the working class doing for you". Are they even cooperating with the General Defense Committee to effect your freedom?". And the question is ARE YOU?

The General Defense Committee has now on the press a 16 page pamphlet containing facts of the Centralia conspiracy. You can help us by distributing literature and raising funds. The pamphlet will be circulated free. Can we enlist your aid for the fight? Remember the success of the fight does not depend entirely upon the Defense Committ butpupon you and every member of the organization. Ask yourself if th fellow workers are entitled to your aid and then let us hear from you.

General Defense Committee.

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Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.

A.W.I.U. No.110

An Injury to One Is the Concern of All

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO.110 OF THE I.W.W.

B U L L E T I N No.55

Chicago, Ill. January 30, 1924

## AN ORGANIZATION PROBLEM

The organization of farm wage labor by the A.W.I.U.110 does not imply only that which is employed in the different harvests, but of all farm labor, in all seasons. Those who work in the preparation and planting, and the cultivation and attendance required to bring crops to maturity must be included. Every wage-worker employed on farms, orchards, vineyards, cattle and sheep ranches; and, regardless of what they do in agriculture, or when they do it, so long as they are employed upon a wage-basis need the organization, whether they are aware of it or not. When they are not, it is our duty to make them aware of it.

It is for this purpose that the A.W.I.U. is organized, and, when it is not functioning thus, it is doing less than is required.

Whether the A.W.I.U. is doing all that it can do at the present time is a matter that must be considered. We are firmly of the belief that it is doing all that lies within its means. But the very fact that so much territory remains untouched, and, indeed, from the organization viewpoint, practically unexplored, presents a problem with which we shall have to cope in the very near future. This being so, then, now is not a bit too soon to begin preparation.

There are extensive agricultural sections that depend almost entirely upon migratory workers in which no attempt whatever has been made by the A.W.I.U. to build up organization. In these districts th conditions are crying for improvement, and the men and women who, in the absence of the A.W.I.U., must endure them are ripe for organizati Like us, they are compelled to move from place to place and shift from industry to industry, and only such a union as the I.W.W. can serve and function for them at all times.

Moreover, when the principles of class industrial unionism are grasped by them, they carry the idea into the various industries into which they go from the harvest field, or when the fruit picking is done. In this manner they function to spread the message of industrial unionism and to prepare the way for organization wherever they go.

The I.W.W. is one union in which the class interest finds expression and the group interest is subordinate. While, more than any other union, the I.W.W. is capable of generating greater power for the group in the everyday struggle, and will prove itself more competent to secure betterments in hours, wages and conditions, yet these are only means by which it strives to achieve its real goal - the control and administration of social affairs - an industrialized society.

In this program lies the only hope for the wage workers. The mere bettering of wages and conditions, and reducing the length of the working day within capitalism will not bring to the proletariat that security which it must strive to attain. The fulfilment of the I.W.W. aim - the abolition of the wage system - is the only thing that will bring security to the workers. This end can only be achieved by industrial unionism that is built upon a class basis and arranged to correspond with the arrangement of industry. Too much rigidity would unfit it, so the lines by which the various industrial unions are coordinated must be flexible enough to admit of any modifications which industrial development may dictate.

The A.W.I.U., as one of its coordinated bodies, must itself build upon a class conception and not permit itself to be influenced by sectional considerations. It must recognize that it is an

agricultural workers' union in the widest and not in the most restricted use of the term. It is its business to organize agricultural workers everywhere, not in merely selected localities or in convenient territory.

Of course, the A.W.I.U., like all other bodies, will expend its force along the line of least resistance, and, for the present anyhow, it will be compelled to follow the track, now beaten more or less, which circumstances forced it upon. But it must strive to prevent the policy of years becoming a fixed habit. We must look beyond the horizon of the midwest grain harvest for the material with which the full growth of the union will be reached.

The old unionism has completely disregarded the migratory workers, for which we should be duly thankful. Our destiny is in our own hands, and whether it be good or bad will rest with us. We must not allow ourselves to regard the organization as perfect and incapable of improvement. To do so would be to invite disaster at no distant date. Nothing is beyond change in a changing world, and we cannot be stationary where everything is in motion. The time is here to arrange for a survey of territory to the east and south of Chicago. Then guide ourselves by what is discovered. There is a world in which every farm worker needs the A.W.I.U. We must reach and organize them. It is time to be on the move. Let's go.

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## N O T I C E

The following delegates will please get in touch with the main office. IMPORTANT.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Marian Birdsell | AG | 152 | H.C. Blackman | AG | 380 |
| A. Buoyer | | 966 | Thos. Conway | | 1677 |
| Harold Curry | | 866 | J. H. Dohery | | 147 |
| Mike Durkie | | 49 | Don Ervantes | | 96 |
| E. Evans | | 1656 | Geo. Fredericks | | 355 |
| Jess Ed Gibson | | 658 | John Gibson | | 475 |
| Harry Gilbert | | 668 | Alvin Goode | | 1529 |
| Millard Gordon | | 1721 | H. J. Hall | | 1593 |
| Hans B. Hansen | | 984 | M. Hill | | 549 |
| Harvey Horton | | 87 | Chas. Johnson | | 89 |
| R. V. Johnson | | 306 | Grover Gordan | | 1450 |
| J. A. Lunney | | 793 | Jack Mc Farland | | 278 |
| Tim Mc Graw | | 1540 | J. Mc Kinsey | | 1528 |
| John Mc Nelly | | 1622 | W.F. Mc Mahon | | 557 |
| N.F. Mayes | | 1728 | Jake Manierski | | 1513 |
| V. D. Mehrier | | 1093 | G. Michaels | | 1511 |
| D.F. O'Connor | | 634 | G.D. Osburn | | 1690 |
| G.L. Peterson | | 276 | Jack Peterson | | 559 |
| Albert Randell | | 168 | D. Hearick | | 1536 |
| A. H. Ringwood | | 972 | L. E. Rogers | | 631 |
| G. Rusicka | | 1586 | Earnest Schilling | | 1094 |
| Wm Schlager | | 618 | J. Shields | | 259 |
| Frank Smith | | 1562 | | | |
| V.S. Steele | | 354 | V.L. Walker | | 1502 |
| C.E.Wallgren | | 1534 | Foster Ward | | 968 |
| F.H. Whitmore | | 212 | Walter Wicker | | 942. |

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The new officials take office on February 1st. All communications which will reach the main office on or after that date should be addressed to William Hanley, the new secretary-treasurer. A.C. Linn has been elected Chairman of the G.O.C.

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All 1923 delegates of I.U.110 should get in touch with the main office immediately. All 110 credentials bearing the serial letter AG have expired. 1924 credentials, serial A4, are now in the field. Delegates should send in a list of supplies on hand and have them transferred to new credentials. All 1923 delegates should have a clearance on their account or a statement of same at once.

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BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA MADE GOODS

KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS.

Fellow workers:

The General Defense Committee is now in a position to wage an intensive campaign for the release of our fellow workers who are held in various state penitentiaries thruout the country. We have already published a 16 page pamphlet containing the facts of the Centralia frame-up. Several thousands of these booklets have been sent to various organizations and individuals in the state of Wash. Cooperation is promised us by different labor, civic and religious organizations. Already they have sent us parts of their mailing list of subscribers and members of Washington and in due time we hope to have a list of adaresses that will be the means of eventually reaching every worker and others who are interested in the release of the Centralia victims.

The Supreme Court of the State of Idaho has recently ruled that "slowing down on the job" is not illegal, and consequently ordered the release of the fellow workers who have been held at Bonners Ferry, Idaho, during the summer months. This is a big victor for the organization in that state, inasmuch as practically all of th past convictions were due to the trial judge's instructions that "slowing down on the job" was a violation of the criminal syndicalism law. Industrial Solidarity will give the court's opinion in full. The Defense will make this week's Solidarity a special issue and distribute it as much as possible thruout the state of Idaho. Stamps, stationery, literature and other material is needed to make this drive effective. We cannot do this alone. Without the help of the members we must give up.

We have a considerable number of receipt books in the office. If you haven't one, write in immediately. Push the defense stamps. Take up collections. Let's make the next three months banner ones for the I.W.W. Let's clean the slate as far as imprisoned members are concerned. We can do it. What do you say?

General Defense Committee

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## JOB NEWS

### CALIFORNIA

BRAWLEY, 12-25 Wages in the lettuce are $4.00 per day; board yourself. Will be in full blast by the first of the year. (X95934)

REDLANDS, 1-1 Orange picking will be on full blast by the 1st of this month, and will last till late in March. ( AG 8)

BRAWLEY, 1-5 The lettuce harvest is in full swing. Many more men can be employed as the packing houses crowd all the work in one shift, which runs from 12 to 16 hours. Wages 50¢ per hour.(X89237)

REDLANDS, 1-9 Orange picking will be on full blast by the 20th of January. Wages $3.15 per day without board. It is run on a bonus plan. You got to pick over 35 boxes per day up to 45 or you are laid off. No one is just fired, merely laid off. Some plan! "Call around tomorrow, we may put you to work again", that is what you are told by the boss. $10,000.00 reward for finding a fat looking orange picker in Redlands, one who got fat on a $3.15 daily wage.(260 A4)

### NEVADA

RENO11-16 Some cattle feeding at $2.00 and $2.50 per day, and sheep herding at from $60.00 to $80.00 a month. ( AG 456)

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Write the nearest branch when in need of supplies, literature,etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.R.Sail | 1222-4th St., | Sioux City, Ia. |
| Fritz Rudd | 115 Nicollet Ave., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Pat Noonan | 515 N. 16th St.(Box 107) | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Chas. Kolar | 601 W. Madison St., | Chicago, Ill. |
| Bryan Kinney | 310 Eye St. | Sacramento, Calif. |
| Wm Dawson | General Delivery | Fresno, Calif. |

Albert Hanson, Chairman Tom Wallace, Sec'y-Treas.

A.W.I.U. No.110

# General Construction Workers Bulletin

CHICAGO, ILL. G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W. No. 1. April 15, 1922

## WHY AMERICANS SHOULD CELEBRATE THE FIRST OF MAY

It was the first of May, 1886, that the first great body of workers in the U. S. gained the 8-hour day. This was granted them after a strike.

There are organizations in the pay of the employers trying to steal this day from the workers. Many of us went through much, losing jobs, etc., trying to establish the first Monday of September Labor Day. After it was established, the employers captured it, and now it means nothing to the workers.

The one and only way to keep the first of May clean is to use it, as did the strikers in 1886, making an effort to make life more bearable.

A fellow worker once wrote that he was inclined to believe with the Jews, that the birth of the "Saviour" was false, and that we are still waiting for the "Messiah." But when he does come and capitalism and all its misery is abolished; when the human family is no longer divided into master and slave, and a world of men is born, we will make a new start. The year of One, on the first of May.

## WE TOLD YOU SO

Some time ago there was established in California a commission known as "The State Commission of Housing and Immigration." The business of the commission was to protect the people of the state of California from the holding of large tracts of land from cultivation, for speculation by corporations and also as its name implies, to enforce the state laws regarding housing, etc.

Some of the members of the commission took it upon themselves to point out many irregularities and violations of the state constitution dealing with the land laws and in other instances to enforce the law pertaining to sanitary conditions in construction and other camps.

What happened is hard to tell. Anyway the commission is out of business. It was created to see that the men in camps had fit places to live. Those who created it destroyed it.

The workers who follow camp life (and they are mostly American born), are being referred to by some investigators as the "Chinese coolies of the West" have only one remedy. Organize. Join I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W.

## 310 CONFERENCE

Ogden, Utah, April 15, 1923. Standard Building, Room No. 1, 362 24th St.

There will be a conference of the members and delegates of I. U. No. 310 at Ogden, Utah. This meeting has been called by the G. O. C. member of this district. The workers in the construction camps of Utah and the surrounding country sure are in need of organization. We have to have them with us. All for whom it is possible should attend. If sending resolutions, address

Matthew Trisler,
Box 911, Ogden, Utah.

## THE POWER OF THESE TWO HANDS

By T-Bone Slim

The construction workers have made millionaires from coast to coast—Maine to California; Minnesota to El Paso; at all points, projects and places in between, wherever undertakings of any size have been completed.—"With the strength of this poor old back! With the power of these two hands!" (A "brain" of a contractor never made him a millionaire — cheap lodging houses are full of contractors — unemployed.)

It was these two hands, yours and mine, that finished the job of boosting him into a purple automobile; while we beat our way back to civilization (so-called) in box cars, ice boxes, etc., for, if we "put out" the price of transportation we find there would have been no use of going to the job in the first place). We don't go to these jobs just for the sake of making new millionaires. No. We go there to get something for ourselves and that something is—you'd never guess it in a thousand years—money.

It is a stake we are after. We do not go to these jobs merely to take on some work; we do not go there merely to wear out our old clothes; (old clothes can be worn out); we don't go there merely to eat and sleep—if we did, we would not be on these jobs in the good old summertime, we would sleep under an apple tree with our mouths wide open. No. The only thing that brings us to these jobs in these out-of-way places is the fact: "We need the money." It's a question of money, and God knows, too much money never ruined the author of this screed. Too much money never made a tramp of a working man.

Now it happens that we, as construction workers, building this road, building this dam and power house, building this tunnel, removing this mountain (and digging a cellar in which you could put it) have a position in society to maintain but we cannot do it without money. And, plenty of it!

It happens that we, the construction workers, moving these rivers around from one place to another; putting in ponds, reservoirs and lakes wherever needed, digging out here, filling in there, have a social position of great importance. But it also happens that society has utterly failed to take care of us, in any sense; it has neglected to reward us for the big things we have done and on the little things, society has stripped us clean—robbed us blind. We have nothing! Nothing to show for all the work we have done. That is the situation—and what is the solution?

You might say (according to this) that we, the builders of a new society, are traveling in tough luck—and you might even go so far as to suggest that we ought to get together in a general construction workers union, in a big way—to point out these things to society, in a big way—you might argue that "we are used to doing big things, so why leave our unionism frail?" And I will agree with you. Now . . .

First, before we go any further, we will made a few observations. We will see how the land lies: The thing that sticks out most plainly is the fact that the bosses are looking for trouble—and, they are going to find it. Morning, noon and night and between meals, they are going around with a chip on their shoulder (you might say) looking for some one to knock it off. Sometimes seven days a week they are on our trail, telling us, do this, do that and the other thing—everything. All together!—Yo, Heave!

Not merely every day, every hour, but almost every minute we find the boss camping on our trail looking after the profits "they get out of our hides."—And, it has been SO a long, long time—long enough!

We have been harassed (interfered with) in our work to such an extent that we could not do our best work (at any time) the easy way—the **right** and **light** way. Always have we been "up in the air" over something or other when the boss (leather lunged boss) arrived on the job with his authority.

If we will look about us we can see that it is high time something was done "to clean camp" but before this can be done there is a certain step to be taken by the workers—so they can act as once. They must lay away all sentimentalism and look at themselves merely as fellow workers producing the "thing" that society needs. They must view the job as merely so much work to be done and paid for, in full—both ways. Looking at out job in this light we see that we have no reason to worry about what will confront us on the next job; what will bother us next year, or a hundred years from now; what is going to "queer" us when we get ready to take over industry or, any of **all the questions** being pressed upon us right now when we are about to start dickering with the Boss.

We can see that we have some "very immediate demands" to make—and, if we have any other demands they will no doubt occur to us as we go along.—Our position is such in these camps, denied of all comfort, entertainment and even necessaries of life, that we are in no position to "take on questions" of puzzling nature and in no way can we get away from the immediate things right in front of us. The "things" confronting me and you on the job are the things that make it almost impossible to think—to read—to learn and, not only are they "immediate demands," they are **intimate demands** and will have to be taken up, in an intimate way with the boss at each camp before we can hope to better our condition as construction workers. We are held fast by these things. We can't get away from them—until they first are corrected—remedied.

Now let us consider that the big mills and manufactories have their own construction companies and that these mills and factories for the first time have started shipping men—construction men—into their gates. Let us see these men as they are on the job: The "alarm clock" wakes us up in the morning to grab a hasty breakfast—pasty breakfast—which, because of its "quality," it would be far better to leave untasted. We grab a nose bag of sandwiches (sand—) and make a dash for the time-clock to punch in. (Being single we lose no time kissing friend-wife good-bye). (To be continued next issue).

# USE THIS BULLETIN TO EXPRESS YOUR OPINION

The Organization Committee decided that a printed bulletin be issued once a month. Every member of No. 310 should and can send us articles, that will help make it what it should be. A means of information, etc. for all. When sending job news state facts. Do not make it appear that conditions are better or worse than they are. It may be that this bulletin will be issued twice a month in the near future.

In the meantime we will issue a mimeograph sheet with general information. Let us know your opinions on how to improve on this issue, and hoping to hear from all.

We are with best wishes, yours for the I. W. W.

**Tom McMahon,** chairman, G. O. C., I. U. No. 310, **J. Kennedy,** Sec'y-Treas., I. U. No. 310.

## IMPORTANT NOTICE

Any fellow workers who paid dues to F. W. Wilson, delegate GC-94, please send in a record of months paid as he lost a report sheet which had $1.50 in dues entered upon same. This is important in order to keep the records straight.

### Where to get Supplies and Literature

Cyril Berry, Box 785, San Francisco, Cal.
J. C. Muller, Box 365, Seattle, Wash.
S. Healey, Box 3291, Portland, Oregon.
Frank Doyle, Box 754, Stockton, Calif.
Joe O'Neill, Box 34, The Dalles, Oregon.
Jas. McMahon, Gen. Delivery, Reno, Nev.
Ed. Anderson, General Delivery, Fresno.
C. P. Stevens, Box 911, Ogden, Utah.
Nick Wallace, Box 1689, Spokane, Wash.
George Blair, Box 91, Eureka, Calif.
Jos. Fischer, Box 107, Omaha, Nebr.
Sam Murphy, 141½ First St. So., Minneapolis, Minn.
J. C. Snyder, 1219 4th St., Sioux City, Iowa.
Elmer Anderson, Box 161, Tacoma, Wash.
Nels Peterson, Box 641, Everett, Wash.
Pat Cantwell, Box 827, Pasco, Wash.
Oil Workers' I. U. No. 230, Box 212, Taft, Calif.
James Farrell, Box 71, Groveland, Calif.
Lee Tulin, 318 No. Wyoming St., Butte, Mont.
Jim Lyden, Box 477, Whitefish, Mont.

## WHOLE DAY AFFAIR, MAY FIRST

May 1st, the International Labor's Day, will be celebrated from 2 p. m. until 1 a. m. During the day speeches will be delivered in many different languages as well as singing and reciting. In the evening a dance will be given until 1 A. M.

The members of the various braneches and groups are requested not to arrange anything for that date, but to celebrate in a body at the above named place.

### Proceeds for the Industrial Pioneer

The proceeds from this affair will go to the Industrial Pioneer that will resume publication once more with the May issue. Everybody remember May 1st, Prudential Hall, to celebrate International Labor's Day. Watch for future announcements.

## DEFENSE NOTES

Chicago, March 28, 1923.

To the membership of Industrial Union No. 310.

Fellow Workers:

What are you doing to help get the class war prisoners out of the penitentiaries? Fifty-three are still confined in the federal war opinion cases, 49 of which are I. W. W. members, eight fellow workers are locked up at Walla Walla, Washington, doomed to spend most of their lives behind the bars for defending themselves at Centralia; and scores of other fellow workers are in prison in California under the state's criminal syndicalism law.

Three kindred movements are to be noted at this time: 1, the plan for observance of General Amnesty Day, April 29; 2, the writing of letters to President Harding by labor organizations in various foreign countries; 3, the agitation for a general strike to compel the release of all class war prisoners here.

Local committees in many cities are arranging demonstrations for April 29, and a large number of clergymen will preach amnesty sermons. Much attention is being paid to the amnesty question by the religious press.

Agitation for a general strike in basic industries of the United States continues steadily, this being a rallying cry for organization in numerous industrial centers in the west. At the recent convention of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120, held at Portland, Oregon, unanimous approval was given the plan to call a general strike for the purpose of getting all class war prisoners out.

It must be confessed, however, that the workers of other countries are expressing more indignation these days over the plight of the class war prisoners in the United States than are the workers in our own country. We are receiving letters from many lands, in many languages, telling of protests sent by workers' organizations to President Harding or to the nearest American consul. One letter comes from Alex Gossip, general secretary of the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association of England. He wrote to Robert P. Skinner, U. S. Consul General in London, calling upon this government to grant immediate amnesty, and declaring it highly unjust for this nation to continue persecuting men who hold strong views against war.

John Meehan, an old time fellow worker, now in Liverpool, is busy among the unions in that district and promises quick action in our behalf.

Recently the Washington Star published a front page story discussing the amnesty question and declaring that President Harding intended to take up the matter as soon as he returned from his vacation in Florida. While this smoke may be considered indicative of fire beneath, we have reached the point in this office where we never believe anything until it happens, and we cannot afford to slow up for a single day in our campaign. We cannot afford to believe that the Harding administration will release our fellow workers solely as a matter of justice. Amnesty will come only when the administration can no longer withstand the force of public opinion which we have generated.

Accordingly, we urge upon every member of the I. W. W. to get busy in this campaign. Arrange for demonstrations on April 29. Form a local committee if there is none in your community. Get the liberals to work with you. Spread the facts. Get your local newspapers to print those facts. Sometimes this can be done by having a committee of liberals call upon the editor, or by writing compact and logical letters to the press, confining the writing to facts, and leaving opinion out.

Once more we find ourselves handicapped for money. This, of course, is always our greatest need, for publicity work must not be stopped. We must keep up a constant outpouring of literature and news matter. Send us all the cash that you can spare. Help us to gather money from others. If you haven't a defense receipt book, send for one at once.

Yours for industrial freedom,
General Defense Committee.
Harry Feinberg, Secretary.

## NOTICE TO MEMBERS

J. B. Perdue, Card No. 778971, has been expelled from the organization. He was lined up in I. U. No. 120 and transferred to I. U. No. 310, Sept. 15, 1922. The following charges were filed against him at Portland, Oregon.

(1) Wearing the I. W. W. button on the job when you know it is hostile to any other member of the I. W. W. on the Cazedero job.

(2) You being mail clerk at the end of steel on the Cazedero job, and papers being sent from the Portland office of the I. W. W. never are received by the fellow workers on the job, forces us to believe that when you sort the mail, you destroy or do away with the papers or literature, as you are the only one that sorts mail. No second class mail gets to camp, only first class mail.

(3) Why do you look over every train that brings men to the end of the steel, and why do you go to the office and stay there while men are registering, also why ask certain men if they ever worked there before?

We demand explanation of your actions.

In reference to the above:

J. B. Perdue, Card No. 778971, has been expelled from the organization. He was lined up in I. U. No. 120 and transferred to I. U. No. 310 Sept. 15th, 1923. Charges were filed against him at Portland, Oregon, and the trial committee elected to try him, went on record as finding J. B. Perdue guilty of charges filed against him, and recommended that he be expelled from the I. W. W. And that expulsion together with his name and card No. be in the I. W. W. papers and the I. U. No. 310 bulletin. At the I. U. No. 310 business meeting, held at Portland, Ore., March 22, 23, the following motion carried:

M. & S. that the report and recommendations of the Charges Committee against J. B. Perdue be concurred in. Carried.

## TO RELATIVES OR FRIENDS

Joe Miller, Card No. 366087, a member of I. U. No. 310, was killed at the St. Paul Logging Co.'s Camp No. 1 at Kapowsin, Wash., and buried at Eatonville, Wash.

Anyone knowing the present address of any of his relatives, please notify Elmer Anderson, Box 421, Tacoma, Wash.

# HOW TO STRIKE

The chairman of a strike committee serving against the master on one of the California Construction Co. jobs has, as a result of his experience in this strike and others like it, tabulated the procedure in calling and winning a strike. He states that failure to observe rules has cost the workers ten thousand dollars recently in lack of efficiency. This is his manual:

HOW TO STRIKE.

Call a meeting.

Throw the floor open for grievances.

Recorder will note on a slip of paper the kicks.

Close discussion.

Recorder and chairman will revise kicks and put them in order:

1. Hours of labor.
2. Wages.
3. Foods.
4. Sanitary conditions.
5. Living quarters, etc.

Lastly, discriminations.

When drawing up demands place at top, "That all class war prisoners be released."

Put demands to vote. If carried appoint grievance committee.

Give them power to present demands to boss and call next meeting. If demands are not granted:

1. Strike on the job.

2. If you have to go off the job use intermediate strike tactics. (1). Slow up, etc. (2). Send members with scabs, etc., writing postcards to scabs.

If you decide to strike on the job appoint two members of each department to supervise and plan tactics, and meet at every opportunity.

If you decide to strike off the job impress on all: Don't booze or gamble. Don't talk important matters outside meetings. Don't allow individual interviews.

Appoint a strike committee of at least 20 members, who will subdivide into finance, picket, comfort and welfare, information and publicity sub-committees.

Register names and card numbers of strikers. Don't let them run around to other jobs.

Members doing committee and picket duties should make a statement in meeting that they will do their best to fill job and stay with it until relieved.

Take up collection; try to finance for at least two weeks the upkeep of pickets, feeding and other expenses.

Make charges against anyone advocating violence or destruction of property at meetings.

Give all committeemen and pickets collection lists.

Use indelible pencil and carbon paper for copying minutes and general letters, etc.

When spending money, get receipts.

Hold a strikers' meeting every day.

Get as many good writers as possible for duties as copyist.

Editor's Note:—This is a very important subject, about which there can not be too much education. If any of the fellow workers care to write articles on the same subject, either to emphasize some of the points in the above regulations, or to argue against them and substitute others, their articles will be gladly received.

# PIONEER MEETS HEARTY RESPONSE

As the date for the reappearance of the **Industrial Pioneer** grows nearer, we feel highly gratified by the hearty response to our appeals for assistance from the membership of the organization and, also, our friends amongst the liberals and in the labor world generally.

*Every day brings more subscribers and more orders for bundles, nearly every day we receive donations from different parts of the country, from widely separated localities. Both coasts and most of the country between them have written in to the Pioneer office, congratulating us on our decision to again publish a real working class monthly magazine and pledging the whole-hearted support of many branches to the end that the Pioneer may be a success.*

And this is at it should be. The need for such a magazine as the *Pioneer* will be, has long been recognized by those who have the interest of the working class at heart and who like to see all the labor views of the world printed truthfully and without bias.

The *Pioneer* will do this. Everything of interest to the cause of labor, will be found in the columns of our magazine, presented in such a manner as to be most interesting reading. If you want to treat yourself to some of the best reading you ever had the pleasure of enjoying, subscribe for the *Pioneer*. Don't put it off till tomorrow, do it today.

### Material Promised

*We have been promised material for the first issue by nationally known labor writers, men and women whose works are known everywhere as authorities on the subjects with which they deal. Our own talent, too, will be well represented, as we are receiving queries from them every day regarding the submission of articles. To all of them we are sending cordial invitations to send their work in and let the editor have a look at it. They may be sure that we will treat them with fairness and use anything which will not lower the high standard of excellence that has been set for the PIONEER.*

### Roll Up Subs

In order to make the *Pioneer* a real success, financially, as well as propaganda, we need a large subscription list. Mailing privileges are based on subscribers, and, of course, we want to get second class rights. So from now on we are asking the membership to bend all their energy towards building up a large enough subscription list to insure our getting second class mailing privileges.

We have plenty of triplicate receipt books on hand and are only waiting for orders to send them out to the field; write in and get one or more of them today.

### May Day Celebration

*Another means of raising funds for the PIONEER would be by holding entertainments or dances and donating the proceeds to the magazine. Chicago has already made this move. Preparations are on foot there for the biggest May Day celebration ever staged in that city, starting in the early afternoon and winding up with a grand ball in the evening, the proceeds to go to the PIONEER.*

## SUBSCRIBE TO THE PIONEER

### INSTRUCTIONS TO DELEGATES

The volunteer traveling delegate credentials are being sent out to supply stations and to stationary delegates, and can be reissued by them to delegates, thereby making the job delegates a voluntary traveling delegate.

Blank credentials are issued to the delegate at time of receiving the volunteer traveling delegate credentials, and he in turn then can issue credentials and supplies to any member who has been in the organization over six months.

A delegate in taking out the volunteer traveling delegate credentials should have supplies enough with him so that he can issue a reasonable amount to the delegate he is issuing credentials to.

In the past on jobs where the delegate quit or got canned in a camp, as a rule there is no one left in such a camp to carry on the work of organizing the men on the job.

But with the voluntary traveling delegate credentials now in the field, the delegate in leaving a camp can issue a portion of supplies he has on hand to another member, and by doing this it will always leave a delegate on the job.

Voluntary traveling delegates in issuing supplies and credentials to a member shall take a record of his card number and send same in with credential number, also supply bill to cover amount of supplies issued to the main office.

This is important.

# "A PROPOSED ORGANIZATION DRIVE"

That a conference of the delegates and active members of I. U.'s 110, 310, 120, 520, and any other union, for whom it would be possible to take part, be called, and that a plan be perfected similar to the one that was formed in 1915 at Kansas City. The object in view is the starting of an organization drive. Commencing immediately west of the Mississippi. That all industrial unions take into consideration the financing, etc.

# PREAMBLE

—of the—

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allowe one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workere into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

# JOB NEWS FROM ACTIVE DELEGATES

## ARIZONA

**Superior, 2-20-23.**

Excavating for smelter. Wages $2.75 for 8 hrs. Must furnish your own balloon. Mostly Mexicans employed. A Spanish speaking delegate could do some good organization work on this job. The slaves are sure discontented, and are ready and willing to strike at any time, but realize that without organization it is useless. There will be from 2 to 3 hundred iron workers employed later on. Work 63 miles from Phoenix and 30 miles from Globe, on the Globe State Highway. 200 men employed. 60 or 70 wobs on the job. Bring plenty of Spanish literature.—Delegate MM-213.

## CALIFORNIA

**Fresno, 2-23-23.**

Sugar Pine Lumber Co. building a saw mill. Work nine miles out of Fresno. 30c car fare. Wages for boiler riggers 57½c per hr. Helpers 50c. Skinners 50c hr. for 8 and 9 hr. day. Expect to start a night shift soon. 300 to 400 men employed. Mostly natives. Board poor. Bedding furnished. Can hire on the job. Several months' work.—AG-227.

**Trinidad.**

DeLukey Contractor. Clearing right of way for highway. 16 men employed. Wages are $4.00 for 8 hrs. Board in town for $1.20 a day. Furnish your own bed. Sleep in tents out on the works. Haul you back and forth in trucks. Take nose bag out for dinner.

There are two more camps, McGullis Contractor, 8 miles out. Ready's 15 miles out. Wages for teamhands, for two ups $4.00, $4.25 for four up. Brush gang $4.00. Board fair at $1.20 per day. About 30 to 40 men employed in each camp. Furnish your own blankets, and sleep on the ground in tents. Sanitary conditions bum. No baths. No wash houses. Can hire out on the job. Or ship from Metropole Employment Shark, fee $2.00. Fare $1.00.—GC-80.

**Ludlow, 2-16-23.**

Hamilton and Sprange, Camp No. 1. Doubletracking on the Santa Fe 8 miles east of here. Board fair at $1.20 day. There is no such thing as sanitary conditions in this camp. Blankets furnished at 5c day. No hospital fee. Wages, teamhands $3.50, laborers $3.75 for 9 hr. day. Sentiment for the I. W. W. is fair. About 100 men in the camp. Can go to work any time. There are a great many Mexicans in the other camps. Good place for Spanish speaking fellow workers along this line.

**Sisson, 3-19-23.**

Brownmoor Construction Co. 2 miles from town. Employ about 100 men. Muckers, skinners and lumberjacks building wagon roaod. About one million feet of lumber to be cut. Mill will start after logs are cut. A number of Negroes and Mexicans on this job. Wages, 50c hr. is low. Board $1.00 day. 8 hrs. work. Watch for Mexican stool by the name of Peco.—Del. RR-634.

**Dunsmuir, 3-12-23.**

Hauser Construction Co. One mile south. 2 steam shovels, dinkeys, etc. 50c hrs. work, board fair at $1.25 day. Beds furnished. Sanitary conditions no good. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. no good. This is a high ball outfit.—Card No. 788657.

## IDAHO

**Hammet, 3-3-23.**

Bakers' team outfit, ten miles out, double tracking on the O. S. L. 15 men employed. Fresno work, cut, shuffle and deal. Will have wagons in a few days. Wages are $3.50 for 9 hrs. Board poor, Sanitary condition fierce. Blankets $1.00 per month. Hospital 20c day for the first 5 days. Can go to work by going to the job. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. fair. There are six (6) camps on this job. The Utah Constructoin Company have the main contract. Conditions about the same in all the camps.—Delegate GC-269.

**Hammet.**

Utah Construction Co. Grading for R. R. 2½ miles out. Two standard gauge engines. Air dump cars. One steamshovel. Wages, laborers 40c hr. Dinkey skinners $125.00 month Shovel runner $200.00 month and board. Brakeman $4 9 hr. day. Board fair at $1.20 day. Sanitary conditions poor. No floor in the bunk houses. No bath houses. Blankets furnished at $1.00 month. 27 men employed. Can hire on the job. Good chance to go to work. Come help us make conditions. Sentiment for the I. W. W. good. —GC-354.

## IOWA

**Durango.**

S. J. Groves and Son's Contractors. Work 8 miles out of Dubuque, Iowa. Contractor's office two miles west of Durango on the Great Western R. R. County road work. Steamshovel work. Long job. 250,000 yards of dirt to move. Wages $2 per day and board. Sleeping quarters crowded. Board good. Pay day monthly. Can drag from office in town any time. A few wagons and teams working.—No. 253242.

## KANSAS

**Eldorado, 2-11-23.**

Santa Fe "Moore" working five wheeler teams. Work located 1 mile south of town. Wages $3.50 day. Board bum at $1.50 day. Conditions bum. "All Hog" Curtney working four Fresno teams on the same work. A steamshovel and a one machine outfit will be at work in a few days. About 15 wagon teams will be used by the shovel outfit.

## MONTANA

**Essex, 3-15-23.**

Guthrie and Co. Double tracking on the Great Northern R. R. 18 miles extending from Java to Gary. All summer's work. About 7 camps. When full handed there will be about 1,000 men employed. Wages $3.30 for 10 hrs. One sub-contractor paying 50c per hr. Board good at $1.10 per day. Sanitary conditions good. Sleeping quarters fair, but crowded. Sentiment for the I. W. W. is excellent. Employment office St. Paul.—Delegate RR-31.

## NEVADA

**Los Vegas, 3-17-23.**

Weir and Co. Grading state highway. Arrow Head trail. 3 camps. Work will last about three months. 60 men employed. Wages 40c hr. Board $1.20 day. Furnish your own blankets. Sanitary conditions none. Can go to work most any time. A No. 310 delegate is needed on this work, also lots of literature and active members.—Del. MM-207.

The nearest R. R. point is Dry Lake, 30 miles north. Shrader Const. Co. putting in concrete culverts along San Pedro & Salt Lake R. R. Board fair at $1.20 per day. Sentiment for the I. W. W. good. Ship from the Utah employment office, Salt Lake City. Fee $2.50. Free fare. What's the matter? Sentiment good and no delegate.—Delegate MM-207.

## OREGON

State road work extending from Marshfield to Humboldt Co., Calif. There are 12 different camps along this work and starting more. Sentiment for the I. W. W. good. Wages, teamhands and laborers $4.00 8 hrs. Two delegates on the job. Board good.

Sanitary conditions poor. Can go to work any time by applying on the jobs or ship from U. S. Employment office at Marshfield. No fee. Fare $1.30. Chances to do some good organization work on this job. Help make those camps as much like home as possible.—Delegate LU-178.

**Biggs, 2-27-23.**

McCall and Sheerin, ½ mile out on the branch line to Wasco. Camp just started up. 4 months' work. 10 men on the job at present. Conditions fair. Small bunkhouses. Blankets furnished and board fair at $1.20 per day. Hire on the job. 8 hrs. work. Takes ten to make it as the work is 2 miles from the camp. Wages $4.00 day.—GC-105.

**Huntington, 2-20-23.**

Sun Portland Cement Co. Camp situated 4 miles west of Huntington. Wages 40c hr. 8 hrs. Board $1.20 day. Must furnish your own balloon. Sanitary conditions good. Wash houses and baths. 15 men employed. Will use more later on. Myself and another delegate run off this job by the foreman. He stated that he made a mistake in hiring us, as wobs caused him all kinds of trouble in the past. There will be plenty of construction work in this part of the country this summer. We can make all of these jobs 8 hrs. and make the boss pack our balloons. Get on this job and leave the brass band behind. "REMEMBER MAY FIRST."—GC-250 and GC-103.

## WYOMING

**Thermopolis, 2-5-23.**

Christenson, contractor. Camps 4 and 5 miles out. Wages for teamsters and laborers 50c hr. Powder men $150.00 month and board. The U. C. has two camps working at Boyson and Shoshone. About 50 men employed in each camp.

**Casper, 3-16-23.**

John Marsh Construction Co. Building yards for the C. & N. W. R. R. Wages 37c hr. for 10 hrs. Board fair at $1 day. Accommodations rotten. Few card men on this job. There is an extra gang on the Northwestern at this point. The wages the same as above.—Card 708386.

**Douglas, 3-15-23.**

John Marsh Const. Co. Steam shovel work. Just starting up. All of John Marsh's work in this vicinity is 37½c hr.

Extracts from a clipping from the Casper Herald. "A $12,000,000 contract for the construction of 330 miles of railroad was signed by Peterson, Shirley and Gunther, contractors of Omaha, Nebraska. The road is to extend from Casper to Miles City, Mont. The work to start by the first of April. Omaha will be shipping center."

# CONSTRUCTION WORKERS BULLETIN

"An Injury to One Is An Injury to All."

ONE UNION No. 1 ONE ENEMY

Published Monthly by I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W.
Address all communications to
2 SO. MORGAN ST. CHICAGO, ILL.
T. McMAHON, Chairman, G. O. C.
J. KENNEDY, Sec'y-Treas.


## ORGANIZATION NEWS

### SPECIAL BUSINESS MEETING

Ogden, Utah, March 24th, 1923.

Called to order at 5:00 P. M. by M. Trisler, G. O. C. member.

Fellow Worker Quaco, chairman. Fellow Worker Warwick, rec. secretary.

M. & S. that the report of M. Trisler, G. O. C. member, be accepted as progress. Carried.

### NEW BUSINESS

M. & S. that we take the minutes of the Portland conference seriatim. Carried.

M. & S. that we do not concur with Res. No. 1 of Seattle.

Chairman gives Fellow Worker Trisler, G. O. C. member, the floor in regards to May 1st strike.

M. & S. that we concur with Seattle resolution in regards to the general strike for the release of political and class war prisoners, but that we do not concur with specifying the date. Carried.

M. & S. that we do not concur with resolution No. 3 from Seattle. Carried.

Resolution No. 3 printed above.

M. & S. that we do not concur with resolution No. 4 from Seattle. Carried.

Resolution No. 4: That if the membership of the I. W. W. in any locality see the need of a hall and a branch of the I. U. No. 310, have their office in that hall, and if through propaganda meetings and entertainments same hall is not self-supporting, I. U. No. 310 branch shall pay their pro rata share in conjunction with the other industrial unions using said hall, to make up the rent.

M. & S. that we do not concur with resolution No. 5 from Seattle. Carried.

Resolution No. 5: That the incoming G. O. C. recommend to all branch secretaries a correspondence course in bookkeeping by the Smithville College.

M. & S. that we hold Fellow Worker Muller responsible for $10 loaned to I. U. No. 510 (M. T. W.) from I. U. No. 310 for hall rent. Carried.

M. & S. that we adjourn until 8:00 P. M. Carried.

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Evening meeting called to order by Chairman Quaco at 8:15 P. M.

M. & S. that we do not concur with resolution No. 7 from Seattle. Carried.

Resolution No. 7: That we recommend to the Educational Bureau to get out in pamphlet form the eight lessons in modern economics by Vera Smith, editor of the Industrial Worker.

M. & S. that we do not concur with Resolution No. 8 of Seattle. Carried.

Resolution No. 8: That no wages be paid in the main office of I. U. No. 310 for Sunday work to any one except the sec.-treas. and the chairman of G. O. C. Carried.

M. & S. that we do not concur with Resolution No. 9 of Seattle. Carried.

Resolution No. 9: That delegates be instructed to report to the nearest branch and that report be forwarded to general headquarters of I. U. No. 310 on the same per capita basis as the branch receipts.

M. & S. that we refer Resolution No. 10 of Seattle to the I. U. No. 310 conference to be held on April 15th, '23. Carried.

Resolution No. 10: That we recognize all fellow workers as members, who were expelled by the last convention for appealing for individual clemency—until they have had a fair trial according to the constitution of the I. W. W.

M. & S. that we concur with Resolution 11 of Seattle. Carried.

Resolution No. 11: Whereas: There is a tendency on the part of some members to criticise the stuff of the Industrial Worker printing article called "The Curse of Derense," Resolved that we give a vote of confidence to the staff of the Industrial Worker, in their efforts to build up the paper.

M. & S. that we concur with Res. No. 2 of Oakland general membership meeting held March 6, 1923. Carried.

Resolution No. 2: Whereas a letter printed and circulated by the general defense is advocating political action and whereas the organic law of the I. W. W. and the trend of thought and action of the I. W. W. has been and is today primarily industrial and economic, and

Whereas, we, the membership, in meeting here believe this action in advocating such political action to be either a deliberate attempt to prostitute the principles of the organization or the very badly mistaken and misdirected efforts of the general defense, therefore be it resolved that we demand that the G. E. B. immediately inform itself as to its responsibility for this letter and resolution and remove them from office forthwith, and further repudiate entirely this letter and resolution.

M. & S. that we concur with Resolution No. 2 from Reno, Nevada, March 11th, 1923. Carried.

Resolution No. 2: Resolved that this meeting is opposed to all forms of gypoing, station, bushel, or bonus work, and that we ask all papers to give it the fullest publicity. Motion to concur. Carried.

M. & S. that we do not concur with Resolution No. 1 by F. W. Chas. Downey. Carried.

Resolution No. 1: That we go on record as being in favor of issuing voluntary assessment stamps, to range from $2.50 to $5.00 to be used for the paying of the bail and bond debt only.

M. & S. that we donot concur with Resolution No. 2 by F. W. Chas. Downey. Carried.

Resolution No. 2: That the Educational Bureau of the I. W. W. either function in getting out literature that fits the need of the membership in industry and get speakers to cover the country or get out of the way and let the branches do it.

M. & S. that we concur with resolution by Fellow Worker O'Neil. Carried.

Resolution: That whenever a strike is called by members of I. U. No. 310 on any job, that we extend strike to wherever the company that we are striking against may be operating, providing membership on other jobs is strong enough to cripple same.

M. & S. that we concur with resolution by Fellow Worker Ira Young. Carried.

Resolution: Whereas in the past the members of the G. O. C. have not made a report to the members of I. U. No. 310 at the various No. 310 meetings where they have been in attendance, Therefore be it resolved that it shall be the duty of all G. O. C. members who are at any meetings of I. U. No. 310 to make a report to the members in attendance regarding their activities in the field such as the amount of supplies issued, credentials issued and expenditures.

Whereas in the past the members of the G. O. C. have not kept in touch with the various supply stations, branches, etc. in their given districts, leaving the membership uninformed in emergncies. Therefore be it resolved that it shall be the duty of all G. O. C. members to keep in direct touch with the supply stations, branches, etc. in the district they are functioning in.

M. & S. that we do not concur with resolution No. 2 from F. W. John Hancock. Carried.

Resolution: That in the event the G. O. C. does not put out a ballot concerning branch per capita form of organization by April 15th, 1923, that the Seattle branch go on the per capita basis as outlined in Resolution No. 2 by John Hancock.

M. & S. that we concur with resolution by Fellow Worker Green pertaining to class war prisoners. Carried.

Resolution: That the Portland district conference of I. U. No. 310 in session March 15th, 1923, extend our greetings to all class war prisoners, and do pledge ourselves to remember them at all times, especially while at the point of production.

M. & S. that we instruct Fellow Worker Trisler, G. O. C. member, to send the charter and stamp of I. U. No. 310 in to headquarter and stamp of I. U. 310 in to headquar-

M. & S. that we co-operate with the stationary delegate and do no organization work while in town. Carried.

M. & S. by Nichols and Black, that whereas the members of this meeting are strictly opposed to the branch form of organization, on account of former experiences and that the last legislative body of I. U. 310 voted it down, Therefore be it resolved that it shall be left to the next I. U. No. 310 convention, and that we are opposed to the stand of the Portland and the Seattle branches in overruling the last I. U. No. 310 convention. Carried.

M. & S. that we instruct the chairman of the G. O. C. to have the minutes of this meeting published in the Industrial Solidarity, Industrial Worker and the next I. U. No. 310 Bulletin. Carried.

M. & S. that we are in favor of the date, April 15th, set by the G. O. C. member for Ogden conference. The place will be the Standard Building, 362 24th St., Room 1. Carried.

M. & S. that Fellow Worker Wilson be given credit for one card and credentials that he lost at Weed, Calif. F. W. Trisler checked the fellow worker's supplies O. K. and received $12.50 on account from last report. Carried.

M. & S. that we instruct Fellow Worker Trisler, G. O. C. member, to remit the $12.50 collected from Fellow Worker Wilson, delegate GC-94. Carried.

M. & S. that we accept the minutes as corrected. Carried.

M. & S. that we adjourn. Carried.

Rec. Sec. Geo. Warwick No. 778482.
Chairman L. Quaco No. 395958.

# PORTLAND CONFERENCE

Portland conference called to order by C. S. Smith, supply clerk, Portland joint branches, at 10:30 A. M., March 15th, 1923.

Fellow Worker Green, chairman. Fellow Worker M. Fisher, rec. secretary.

Resolution No. 3 from Seattle branch: That we request the present G. O. C. chairman and sec.-treas. to put in the next Bulletin of I. U. No. 310 all minutes of action taken by the different branches of I. U. No. 310 on following resolution and be it further resolved that the following resolution be printed in the next I. U. No. 310 Bulletin:

Shall I. U. No. 310 have a branch form of organization on a per capita paying basis, viz.: $1. on initiations, 25c on due stamps, 50% on organization assessments. Each branch to pay all literature bills and other miscellaneous accounts, and to use the I. U. No. 310 Bulletin to discuss the matter. Resolution Committee concurs.

M. & S. that we concur with the Resolution Committee. Carried.

## FRISCO MEETING

**San Francisco, Calif., 12-26-'22.** Meeting called to order by Chas. Miller, stationary delegate.

M. & S. that we do not concur with Portland in regard to changing the form of organization. Carried.

Geo. Roeshlau, rec. secretary. Joe O'Neill, chairman.

**Chicago, Ill., Feb. 12, 1923.** Business meeting of I. U. No. 310 called to order by Art Miller, stationary delegate, 19 members in good standing present.

M. & S. that we do not concur with resolution by J. Hancock pertaining to the branch form of organization. Or the putting out of a ballot at this time. Carried.

The reason for not concurring in the first place after considering it from every angle the I. U. No. 310 convention did not concur in any change, and furthermore, considering past experiences, raids, stool pigeons, etc., is not for the best interest of I. U. No. 310 to experiment at this time.

## MERCED, CALIF.

**Merced, Calif., March 20, 1923.**

Special meeting of I. U. No. 310 called to order by delegate GC-480.

Fellow Worker Madden elected chairman.

Fellow Worker Robinson rec. sceretary, 20 members present.

M. & S. that there be no strike on this job at present. Carried.

M. & S. that we rescind the former motion. Carried.

M. & S. that as long as the fellow workers have no grievances that we go back on the job. Carried.

M. & S. that if we have any grievances that we strike on the job. Carried.

M. & S. that the floor be opened for discussion pertaining to supply clerk. Carried.

M. & S. that the discussion be closed. Carried.

M. & S. that a I. U. No. 310 supply clerk be elected pro tem, until such time as a meeting of 110 and 310 can be held, and a joint clerk be elected. Carried.

Fellow workers Potter and Robinson nominated.

Fellow Worker Robinson elected as supply clerk pro tem.

Several fellow workers gave talks on organization under good and welfare.

M. & S. that we adjourn. Carried.

Fellow Worker Madden, chairman. Fellow Worker Robinson, recording sec'y.

### RECOMMENDATION

**To Conferences, Business Meetings and Members**

This is a recommendation approved of by the G. O. C.'s of 110 and 310 in 1922 and by the I. U. No. 310 convention.

"That ways and means be established whereby there will be an understanding as to the issuing and exchanging of supplies and credentials between trav. del.'s, G. O. C.'s and stationary delegates of No. 110 and No. 310." With the end in mind of combining our forces in all our activities and thus bringing nearer realization our hopes of One Big Union of the workers.

Industrial unions No. 120, 520, etc., should consider this matter. In connection with the recommendation, it extends further than the exchanging or transferring of supplies. For instance if it so happens that a committeeman or traveling delegate for any I. U. should be in a locality where there was an opportunity for organization, and no delegate on the scene, that the G. O. C. member or traveling delegate look the situation over and do whatever could be done, and then notify the chairman of the particular I. U. involved, that some one should be on the job.

This is being practiced now to some extent and so far the plan is working without friction.

In the issuing of supplies to other union delegates, there will be no danger of mistakes as long as the one issuing them does business with his own industrial union.

## ORGANIZATION NEEDED ON THIS JOB

### MISSOURI

List and Bagwell, contractors. 190,000 yards of dirt to move. Spencer, a subcontractor, also on the job. "Dead Shot" Dan Condon is just setting up camp on this job. These are all machine outfits. Two wheeler outfits will start soon. Work for the "Q." R. R. Camps located in town. Wages—plow holders $150.00 month and board. Wagon dumpers $3.50 day and board. Wagon skinners 35c hr., 9 hrs. Board $1.05 per day. One delegate on this job.—GC-260.

**Weston, 3-19-23.**

Condon, grading 3 miles for the C. B. & Q. About 6 weeks' work. About 50 men employed. Sentiment for the I. W. W. indifferent. Wages, teamhands 35c hr. Board fair at $1.05 day. Sleeping quarters badly crowded, and sanitary conditions poor. Hire on the job or ship from Kansas City, Mo. There is also a wheeler outfit moving on this job. The gypo will pay $3.00 per day and board. Nine hrs. day.—F. J. K., No. 245569.

## JOIN GEN. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION, NO. 310, I. W. W.

## "THE STIFF"

In my travels around the country I run across quite a few stiffs who have sore eyes. They lay the blame on everything from moonshine to dust. We all know that moonshine or dust could be responsible. But it never occurs to them that when they are cleaning the collar of a sore necked mule, they get some of the corruption on their hands, then they run and grab a pan of cold water, rub this corruption all over their face and eyes, call it a wash and hurry before the ding-dong rings. Dirt movers never heard of such a thing as having the bull-cook furnish them with hot water.

There is not a camp in the middle western states that ever sends their blankets to the laundry. It could be done every two or three weeks. Some outfits never have them cleaned they are so filthy they stink.

When a new hand comes into camp they grab a bunk that's empty. He don't know which way the last man had his head, and chances are that the new man will put his head where the other man had his feet.

It is no wonder that the stiffs do not look any healthier than they do. If it wasn't for the open air they would soon die.

Another thing you seldom see in these camps is a floor in the bunk house. But it don't make much difference as there is no one to keep them clean.

These are a few of the rotten conditions the slaves live under. I could mention many more, but point these out as an illustration. I do not say that all these conditions can be changed at once. But to change any one of them is worth organizing for, and we have the remedy.

The stiff in traveling the middle western states and working in different gypo dirt camps, knows that in practically all these camps the living conditions are so rotten that a home guard, used to sleeping in a clean bed at home, would not stay in one of these camps over night. That's one of the reasons why the gypo contractor depends upon the floater (known as the stiff) to do this line of work for him.

The stiff as a rule who has followed this line of work for any length of time, pays little or no attention to the miserable conditions that exist in these camps.

He has put up with them so long, not having any way to remedy them, that he has gotten used to them in a way. The stiff would prefer to live better if he knew what to do. But the fact is that the standard of living has created a knew environment for him.

It is up to the members and delegates of this organization, who follow this line of work, to point out these rotten conditions and show a remedy. In order that they make them better for themselves it is necessary to improve them for others also.

## "AIN'T IT THE TRUTH?"

"They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn,
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn,
We can break their haughty power, gain our freedom when we learn
That the union makes us strong."

## SUBSCRIBE TO THE PIONEER

# FINANCIAL STATEMENT

**District No. 1: Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana.**
**District No. 2: California, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico.**
**District No. 3: Wyoming, Utah, West Colorado, North and South Dakota.**
**District No. 4: Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri.**
**District No. 5: Central and Eastern States.**

## RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiations | $ 472.00 |
| Dues | 1,496.50 |
| Initiations, other unions | 226.00 |
| Dues, other unions | 702.00 |
| Organization assessments | 185.00 |
| General Defense | 108.50 |
| Papers | 237.53 |
| Card cases | 38.50 |
| Buttons and pins | 18.35 |
| Literature | 118.48 |
| On account supplies | 135.17 |
| Paid on account to G. O. C. supply clerks, etc. | 1,609.65 |
| Duplicate cards | 20.00 |
| For strikes on lists and donations | 5.00 |
| Jail relief on lsits and donations | 69.00 |
| Subs, papers and magazines | 11.10 |
| No. 120 delegate | .50 |
| Temporary loan to I. U. No. 120 | 150.00 |
| Scandinavian bank | 13.18 |
| Total | $5,916.76 |

## EXPENSES

| | |
|---|---|
| Commissions on initiations and literature | $ 138.09 |
| Field wages | 1,251.27 |
| Mileage | 631.01 |
| Allowance to other unions | 339.35 |
| Remittance to other unions | 427.50 |
| Held on account, G. O. C., supply clerks | 1,383.74 |
| Papers | 431.45 |
| For defense assessments and dona. | 432.50 |
| Main office wages | 572.00 |
| Rent, light and heat | 32.50 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 21.35 |
| Postage, express and wires | 88.90 |
| Joint acc't I. U. No. 310 and No. 110 | 16.25 |
| Northwest defense | 15.00 |
| Subs | 11.00 |
| Per capita | 1,374.30 |
| Refund of temporary loan (I. U. No. 120) | 150.00 |
| To strike (Portland and Biggs' Ore.) | 55.00 |
| Writing leaflet | 10.00 |
| Defense and relief donations | 45.00 |
| Portland conference | 25.00 |
| Total | $7,451.21 |

## SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Total receipts | $5,916.76 |
| Cash on hand March 1st | 2,093.12 |
| Total | $8,009.88 |
| Total expenses | 7,451.21 |
| Cash on hand April 1st, 1923 | $ 558.67 |

## INDEBTEDNESS

| | |
|---|---|
| Per capita | $4,220.72 |
| Literature | 1,013.08 |
| Organization supplies | 861.24 |
| Rent | 572.33 |
| Due Books | 630.00 |
| Total | $7,297.37 |

# CASH RECEIPTS

## District No. 1—Washington, Idaho and Oregon

*March 1*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-105 | $ 35.00 |
| GC-290 | 12.00 |

*March 2*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-105 | 7.50 |
| GC-258 | 12.00 |

*March 6*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-16 | 6.38 |
| GC-16 | 13.48 |

*March 5*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-103 | 12.10 |
| GC-310 | 7.00 |
| GC-19 | 2.00 |

*March 6*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-123 | 16.50 |

*March 8*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-265 | 3.80 |
| GC-16 | 41.15 |

*March 9*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-131 | 15.00 |

*March 12*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-117 | 2.00 |

*March 13*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-329 | 8.00 |

*March 16*

| | |
|---|---|
| C. Dalquist, No. 120 delegate | .50 |

*March 17*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-16 | 6.35 |
| GC-121 | 11.50 |

*March 20*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-105 | 8.00 |
| GC-2 | 14.50 |

*March 21*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-265 | 6.50 |
| R-858 | 3.00 |
| GC-41 | 13.00 |

*March 24*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-281 | 5.00 |

*March 26*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-356 | 24.10 |
| GC-462 | 2.50 |
| GC-20 | 10.45 |
| GC-121 | 2.50 |
| GC-150 | 5.00 |
| GC-412 | 6.00 |
| GC-16 | 25.00 |

*March 30*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-217 | 13.50 |
| Total | $348.31 |

## District No. 2—California, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico

*March 1*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1 | $ 7.50 |
| GC-80 | 64.09 |

*March 2*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-366 | 47.95 |
| GC-215 | 7.75 |
| R-521 | 5.00 |

*March 3*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-88 | 28.50 |
| GC-367 | 17.50 |

*March 5*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-46 | 3.40 |
| GC-463 | 2.50 |
| GC-389 | 8.50 |
| GC-254 | 1.00 |
| GC-73 | 63.00 |
| GC-270 | 8.50 |
| GC-72 | 9.00 |
| GC-450 | 3.00 |
| GC-450 | 9.00 |
| GC-388 | 2.80 |
| GC-388 | 26.00 |

*March 6*

| | |
|---|---|
| R-107 | 7.00 |
| GC-275 | 18.50 |
| GC-366 | 36.85 |
| GC-6 | 17.00 |

*March 8*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-27 | 5.50 |
| GC-359 | 1.00 |

*March 9*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-386 | 8.00 |
| GC-56 | 5.00 |
| GC-395 | 16.50 |

*March 10*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-69 | 10.00 |
| GC-275 | 10.50 |

*March 12*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-12 | 8.50 |
| GC-270 | 15.10 |

*March 13*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-266 | 15.00 |
| R-907 | 1.50 |
| GC-276 | 25.00 |

*March 14*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-300 | 15.00 |

*March 15*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-395 | 3.00 |
| R-471 | 12.00 |

*March 16*

| | |
|---|---|
| Joe Zanacky | 1.30 |
| GC-366 | 37.31 |
| R-163 | 5.00 |
| GC-217 | 11.50 |
| GC-89 | 8.50 |
| GC-388 | 30.66 |
| GC-463 | 22.50 |
| GC-272 | 10.10 |

*March 17*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-470 | 2.00 |
| GC-351 | 56.50 |
| GC-341 | 47.00 |

*March 19*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-46 | 14.00 |
| GC-214 | 19.50 |
| GC-56 | 9.45 |
| Chas. Miller | 2.00 |

*March 20*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-275 | 13.50 |
| GC-270 | 4.00 |

*March 21*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-366 | 38.05 |

*March 22*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-388 | 21.50 |
| GC-52 | 1.00 |
| GC-386 | 10.50 |

*March 26*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-389 | 2.00 |
| GC-264 | 3.00 |
| GC-277 | 20.00 |
| GC-5 | 10.00 |
| GC-259 | 63.25 |
| GC-215 | 32.50 |
| GC-352 | 50.00 |
| GC-480 | 22.00 |
| GC-46 | 7.00 |
| GC-104 | 24.00 |
| GC-180 | 33.50 |
| GC-366 | 28.82 |

*March 28*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-388 | 46.55 |
| GC-283 | 11.50 |
| GC-463 | 14.00 |
| GC-386 | 16.50 |

*March 30*

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-351 | 26.50 |
| GC-70 | 2.00 |
| GC-279 | 59.20 |
| Total | $1,384.13 |

**District No. 3—Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, North and South Dakota**

*March* 7

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-269 | $ 10.00 |

*March* 12

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-354 | 22.00 |

*March* 22

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-363 | 16.35 |
| GC-263 | 26.25 |
| GC-94 | 12.50 |

*March* 29

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-9 | 9.00 |
| Total | $ 96.10 |

**District No. 4—Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma**

*March* 1

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-362 | $ 12.00 |
| R-27 | 93.00 |

*March* 15

| | |
|---|---|
| E-1222 | 5.00 |

*March* 21

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-261 | 2.50 |

*March* 23

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-93 | 3.50 |
| Total | $116.00 |

## CASH RECEIPTS

**District No. 5—Central and Eastern States**

*March* 1

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-21 | $ 4.43 |
| GC-392 | 8.50 |
| I. U. No. 110 February business | 73.65 |

*March* 2

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 440 | 4.80 |

*March* 3

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 5.50 |
| GC-293 | 2.00 |
| GC-464 | 11.00 |
| GC-358 | 10.37 |

*March* 4

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-25 | 39.65 |

*March* 5

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-65 | 1.50 |

*March* 6

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-370 | 14.40 |
| I. U. No. 210 February business | 16.25 |

*March* 7

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 520 February business | 42.35 |

*March* 8

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 230 February business | 14.30 |

*March* 9

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-24 | 17.65 |
| I. U. No. 450 | 1.25 |
| I. U. No. 410 | 6.35 |
| I. U. No. 330 | 3.55 |
| GC-292 | 3.50 |
| GC-282 | 4.00 |
| R-724 | 10.00 |

*March* 11

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-25 | 95.75 |
| GC-467 | 1.00 |
| R-558 | 6.00 |

*March* 17

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 10.50 |
| GC-25 | 60.05 |
| A. L. Nurse No. 510 | .50 |

*March* 20

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 20.00 |
| I. U. No. 120, refund | 150.00 |
| I. U. No. 120 February business | 110.70 |

*March* 24

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-65 | 5.00 |
| GC-25 | 51.90 |

*March* 26

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-397 | 5.00 |
| GC-21 | .50 |

*March* 30

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-373 | 17.00 |
| Total | $828.90 |

## CASH RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| **District No. 1** | $ 348.31 |
| **District No. 2** | 1,384.13 |
| **District No. 3** | 96.10 |
| **District No. 4** | 116.00 |
| **District No. 5** | 829.90 |
| **Total** | $2,783.44 |

## CASH EXPENDITURES

*March* 1

| | |
|---|---|
| Strike Biggs, Ore., to J. Verden | $ 50.00 |
| Cost of wiring above | 1.65 |

*March* 2

| | |
|---|---|
| Spanish paper, Solidaridad | 15.00 |
| Thomas F. Ryan, G. O. C. Wages | 1.00 |

*March* 3

| | |
|---|---|
| Industrialisti, Finnish paper | 3.50 |
| Olin Lewis, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| Ira Young, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| Thos. F. Ryan, G. O. C., wages | 24.00 |
| M. Trisler, G. O. C., wages | 12.00 |

*March* 5

| | |
|---|---|
| John Lyden, G. O. C. and postage | 32.61 |

*March* 6

| | |
|---|---|
| Thos. McMahon, G. O. C., wages | 28.00 |

*March* 9

| | |
|---|---|
| Equity Printing Co., credentials | 4.43 |
| Writing leaflet, T.-Bone Slim | 10.00 |
| J. Kennedy, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| Per capita, to Jack Gillis | 1,374.30 |
| Joint account 310 and 110, to T. Wallace | 16.25 |

*March* 10

| | |
|---|---|
| Olin Lewis, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| Ira Young, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| Thos. F. Ryan, main office, wages G. O. C. | 20.00 |
| M. Trisler, main office, wages G. O. C. | 28.00 |
| Temporary loan to No. 120, to Wm. Bryan | 150.00 |

*March* 12

| | |
|---|---|
| John Graham, G. O. C. wages | 68.00 |
| Elmer Swanson, G. O. C. wages | 13.07 |

*March* 13

| | |
|---|---|
| John Graham, advanced, G. O. C. | 175.00 |
| Elmer Swanson, advanced, G. O. C. | 150.00 |
| Industrial Worker, February bundle order | 224.25 |
| Northwest defense, card cases | 15.00 |

*March* 14

| | |
|---|---|
| Matthew Trisler, advanced, G. O. C. | 125.00 |

*March* 17

| | |
|---|---|
| Tom McMahon, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| Ira Young, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| Thos. F. Ryan, advanced, G. O. C. | 5.00 |

*March* 22

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance due Ind. Worker | 4.20 |
| Office supplies, to Albert Hanson | .50 |
| I. U. 480 Feb. business on report | .50 |

*March* 24

| | |
|---|---|
| Ira Young, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| Thos. F. Ryan, advanced, G. O. C. | 75.00 |

*March* 26

| | |
|---|---|
| John Graham, advanced, G. O. C. and postage | 50.18 |

*March* 27

| | |
|---|---|
| Elmer Swanson, advanced, G. O. C. | 50.00 |
| Cost of wiring above | 1.65 |

*March* 30

| | |
|---|---|
| Express on package to Stockholm | .80 |

*March* 31

| | |
|---|---|
| Tom McMahon, main office, wages | 28.00 |
| Ira Young | 28.00 |
| John Russell | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy | 28.00 |
| F. Gussetti, Solidaridad | 5.40 |
| Il Proletario, Italian paper | 4.50 |
| I. U. No. 120, March business on reports | 88.00 |
| I. U. No. 130, March business on reports | 2.50 |
| I. U. No. 110, March business on reports | 105.30 |
| I. U. No. 210, March business on reports | 46.85 |
| I. U. No. 220, March busines son reports | 6.05 |
| I. U. No. 330, March business on reports | 30.80 |
| I. U. No. 410, March business on reports | 6.45 |
| I. U. No. 320, March business on reports | 1.50 |
| I. U. No. 420, March business on reports | 2.00 |
| I. U. No. 430, March business on reports | 1.30 |
| I. U. No. 450, March business on repotrs | 8.85 |
| I. U. No. 460, March business on reports | 20.20 |
| I. U. No. 230, March business on reports | 10.00 |
| I. U. No. 440, March business on reports | 17.75 |
| I. U. No. 520, March business on reports | 62.15 |
| I. U. No. 650, March business on reports | 3.30 |
| I. U. No. 540, March business on reports | 2.05 |
| I. U. No. 610, March business on reports | 3.55 |
| I. U. No. 530, March business on reports | 8.40 |
| General defense | 432.50 |
| Industrial Solidarity | 174.60 |
| Total | $4,307.89 |

## CASH SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash on hand March 1st | $2,093.12 |
| Cash receipts for March | 2,773.44 |
| | $4,866.56 |
| Cash expenses for March | $4,307.89 |
| Cash on hand April 1st, 1923 | $ 558.67 |

**Distributes as Follows:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Personal deposit | $ 94.50 |
| Organization deposit | 467.17 |
| Total | $558.67 |

J. KENNEDY, Sec'y-Treas.

**JOIN G. C. W. I. U. NO. 310 OF THE I. W. W.**

# General Construction Workers Bulletin

CHICAGO, ILL. | G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W. | No. 2, May 10, 1923

# One Big Union! One Big Strike!

**Thousands of construction workers, lumber workers, loggers, marine transport and oil workers are on strike. It was physically impossible for them to stand the terrible living conditions imposed on them by their masters. Some of the grievances are: an increase in wages, shorter workday, better all around conditions and the release of their fellow workers from the masters' jails because they tried to organize.**

**The ranks of the strikers are being swelled daily by workers from other industries.**

**Keep in touch with the I. W. W. papers and bulletins for truthful information and all strike details.**

**It will also be well to watch the daily papers. In alleged strike disorders who will be victims of the "Law"—the strikers or their masters?**

## NOTICE

**BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS—KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS (AND THAT MEANS PRACTICALLY ALL OF THEM).**

**All I. W. W. papers and bulletins please copy.**

## THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY

General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310, of the I. W. W., is establishing the eight-hour day on the big power dam jobs on the Western coast.

Men have been lining up fast, and a number of strikes have been pulled, and now almost all camps are working eight hours.

The time is ripe for the workers in the middle, Southern and Eastern states to go after the eight-hour day. Very little effort has been made to get the eight-hour day in those sections. The bosses are claiming a labor shortage in some lines, and the time is ripe to hit them for more pay and shorter hours.

A man that works ten hours a day does 1 1-4 day's work; in 9 hours he does 1 1-8 day's work. A ten-hour crew of 400 men can do as much work as an 8-hour crew of 500 men, which results in 100 men on the slave market, to bid for your jobs. Four hundred men in a 9-hour camp means 50 men on the slave market.

After you get an eight-hour day, go after eight hours from camp to camp. The only eight-hour day is eight hours from camp to camp. Eight hours on the job and an hour or two going to and from camp, is not an eight-hour day. It is a nine or ten-hour day. The construction workers must have a real eight-hour day!

F. B.

### NOTICE TO I. U. No. 310 MEMBERS

V. DeTourville has been elected Supply Clerk for I. U. No. 310 at Portland, Oregon. Address all communications to him at Box 3001 Portland, Oregon.

## BIG POWER DAMS AND THE AGE OF ELECTRICITY

Big power dams are the order of the day, and the age of electricity is dawning. Great water power plants and thousands of miles of power lines are under construction, and other big projects have been authorized.

Members of General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310, have a big job laid out for them, and it will keep them busy for several years, organizing all these jobs and building the power system for the new society that is being built within the shell of the old.

Work will soon start on the largest dam in the world. It will be constructed on the Columbia River at Priest Rapids, Wash., and will cost $28,000,000. Power lines will be constructed to Seattle, Tacoma and Spokane. Ten thousand acres of land will be irrigated. A town will have to be built to house forty thousand people, while the dam is under construction.

Other power dams are under construction in California, Kansas and New York state.

The Wabash River is being dammed, nine miles from Terre Haute, Ind., and the project will cost $7,000,000. These power dams, under construction, are only a starter in the plans of big capitalists to electrify industry.

Plans are being laid to dam the Colorado River with three large dams. Capitalism proposes to harness this mighty river, that wends its way down that huge water-worn gash called the Grand Canyon. Think of the power, fellow worker, that this mighty stream will furnish for the new society! This project may be ready for you to begin operations on, as soon as you complete the dams already authorized. Truly the age of electricity is here.

The coming electric development will revolutionize industry and will replace steam power plants with water power, throwing thousands of coal miners, firemen, producers of fuel oil and numerous other classes of workers out of work, and will force them to compete for work in other lines of employment.

The manufacturing industry will move westward and southward, with the coming of the electric age, and cities will be built in a year where none existed before.

The workers, while building the power plants for the electric age, must lay the foundation for the new social order by organization on the job.

They must develop an organization that will be able, through economic power, to take over the new electrified system and operate it for the working class!

All hail the Electric Age! It must also be the age of the Industrial Commonwealth!

F. B.

## SUPPORT THE JOB DELEGATE

**T-Bone Slim writes that:**

The general construction workers are getting to be so thoroughly organized that there is no need to use any special tactics to get the men to join 310—all the membership has to do is to point out this one fact to the unorganized men, and they will follow suit.

Many of the "unorganized" have an idea that we are a small industrial union—they don't know of all the camps that are solid I. W. W.—but we, the members, can do much in helping the delegate, even before he comes, by putting cardless men "next to themselves" on that score.

We want a perfect organization this summer, and we can't afford to wait for the delegates to do all the work.

Let us ask these men quietly if they have a card—if they have no card, let us ask them if they are organizing another union. Let us ask these men if they are doing anything to better the condition of the workers, and if not, why not? This will help the delegate greatly, in fact, our talk is more effective than the delegate's, if not so fine. Show the men this is no one horse outfit!

### NOTICE TO NON-MEMBERS

This bulletin is published by the membership of I. U. 310 of the I. W. W., for the benefit of the I. W. W., and is paid for by the membership of I. U. 310. Therefore, if you are not supporting us by being a dues-paying member of the I. W. W., you should become one and be a help to your class, not a burden.

## JOIN G. C. W. I. U. NO. 310, OF THE I. W. W.

### NOTICE

When sending in job news, etc., to be published in the bulletin, be careful to state things as they are. Do not exaggerate. All members of I. U. No. 310 are expected to use this bulletin to express their views on any and all matters of interest to the organization. Let's hear from all!

**Tom McMahon,** Chairman, I. U. 310.
**J. Kennedy,** Sec'y-Treas., I. U. 310.

## ISSUING CREDENTIALS

The following are a few points pertaining to the issuance of credentials. The purpose is not only to have a delegate system, but to build up an efficient delegate system.

1—Never issue credentials to any member who has carried credentials before in any of the industrial unions, unless he has received a clearance from the industrial union for which he carried them.

2—Do not issue credentials to anybody who cannot write.

3—By-laws prohibit you from issuing credentials to members who have not been at least six month in the organization.

4—Show the prospective delegate how to make out membership cards and the other formulas like reports, transfers, application for membership and application for duplicate cards. In fact, show him everything used in the transactions of the organization's business. Also explain to him what to do when remitting funds to the main office.

5—Impress on his mind the need of taking good care of supplies and other property of the union. Loss of supplies not only means a monetary loss but, if same should fall into wrong hands, could be used to create mischief.

6—Remind the delegate to refrain from carrying in his pockets, for any length of time, any report of actual business done. It is important to have the records in office as soon as possible. Not being able to remit should not be cause for holding reports.

7—Impress upon him the importance of distributing literature, and remind him that he can get more from any of the stationary delegates or supply stations, as well as from headquarters.

8—Have him get his name and address on headquarter's mailing list for bulletins, etc.

9—The delegate should always notify the main office, and give all facts on all matters of importance. By doing so the main office will be properly informed and in position to give the membership the correct information on questions that may arise.

By observing the above rules at all times the main office will be able to function efficiently.

### NOTICE

Frank Tarleton is requested to get in touch with Tom McMahon, 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

## THE MAY PIONEER

The May issue of The Industrial Pioneer is off the press. Here are some of the outstanding features about it:

It is the best looking magazine the I. W. W. has ever put out. It is printed on the very best book paper and has a cover in two colors. The cover design shows a powerful lumberjack striking the chains from a figure which represents the class-war prisoners.

Here follow some of the leading articles: "Up With the Radical Press!" by Eugene V. Debs; "The Barbo Fair," by Mary E. Marcy; "The General Strike Call," by the G. E. B.; "Organize the Unorganized," by H. Van Dorn; "In the Grip of a Dead Hand," by Vern Smith; "Tightline Johnson and Efficiency," by Wm. Akers; "Forcing the Farmers Off the Farms," by Justus Ebert, and many others.

The humorous section called "Wobbles," which made such a hit with the old Pioneer, is also back. In the future an attempt will be made to get plenty of humor and "pep" into the magazine.

Our idea is to put out a straight I. W. W. magazine which at the same time will have plenty of variety: Humor, cartoons and illustrations, short stories, good poetry, as well as contributions dealing intimately with the various industries. To this end we invite the co-operation of all the fellow workers in the field.

Let us all put our shoulders to the wheel and put The Industrial Pioneer over with a bang!

## READ THE I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

**Working class education demands that you read and subscribe for the following publications:**

The Industrial Worker, Industrial Solidarity and the Industial Pioneer should be read by every wage worker. Receipt books are on hand for the sub-getters. You can have bundle orders of these publications mailed to you; also magazines, papers and leaflets in various foreign languages.

For further information, get in touch with the General Construction Worker's Industrial Union No. 310, of the I. W. W., 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

## SPECIAL BUSINESS MEETING

At a meeting of I. U. No. 310 held in Minneapolis, on April 6, 1923, the following resolutions were passed on motion:

Resolution No. 1:

Be It Resolved, That all members that are delinquent delegates in I. U. 310, not be allowed to pay dues until their accounts are paid or settled in full; and, be it further

Resolved, That any delinquent delegate that pays dues after going on the delinquent list, that said member's card be taken up.

Resolution No. 2:

Resolved, That all delegates be sent a delinquent list.

It was also moved and seconded that these resolutions appear in I. U. No. 310 bulletin.

Signed by eighteen members of I. U. 310.

### WHERE TO GET SUPPLIES AND LITERATURE

L. C. Lybeck, Box 754, Stockton, Calif.
W. R. Hall, Gen. Delivery, Reno, Nev.
Elmer Anderson, Box 421, Tacoma, Wash.
W. H. Boyd, Box 827, Pasco, Wash.
Geo. H. Simpson, Box 71, Groveland, Cal.
J. C. Muller, Box 365, Seattle, Wash.
S. Healey, Box 3291, Portand, Oregon.
Ed. Anderson, General Delivery, Fresno, Calif.
C. P. Stevens, Box 911, Ogden, Utah.
Nick Wallace, Box 1689, Spokane, Wash.
Wm. Rackle, Box 91, Eureka, Cal.
Jos. Fisher, Box 107, Omaha, Nebraska.
Sam Murphy, 14½ First St., So. Minneapolis, Minn.
Ed. A. Anderson, Box 451, Casper, Wyo.
J. C. Snyder, 1219 Fourth St., Sioux City, Iowa.
Nels Peterson, Box 641, Everett, Wash.
Oil Workers I. U. 230, Box 212, Taft, California.
Lee Tulin, 318 N. Wyoming St., Butte, Montana.
J. J. Dunning, Box 246, Whitefish, Mont.
L. C. Lybeck, Box 754, Stockton, Calif.
W. R. Hall, Gen. Delivery, Reno, Nev.
Elmer Anderson, Box 421, Tacoma, Washington.
V. de Tourville, Box 3001, Portland, Ore.

### "THE AMNESTY KEY"

TUNE: "I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles."

I'm having dreams,
I'm seeing gleams,
Of men in prison cells;
Sentenced long years
To haunting fears,
And death in these earthly hells.
If you would hasten the dawning
Of blissful "Amnesty Morning:"

CHORUS:

Come, then, workers, strike together
In one mighty union grand;
Hear ye the call: Freedom for all—
Strike till the masters' bastiles fall;
Empty every cell house,
Make all sorrow flee—
We can open up the prisons
With the One Big Union key.

Organize right
We'll win the fight,
For all we'll freedom gain—
After the strife
They'll find new life
With wife and babies again.
If you would shorten their anguish
Break down the bars where they languish.

**John Nordquist.**

**Fort Dodge, Iowa.**—Johnson Bros. are hiring men at the clay works. Thirty-five and 40 cents per hour. Also piece-work. Shack up on job. Viaduct being built here by a Spencer, Iowa, firm. Thirty-five and 40 cents per hour. Mostly homeguards on job. Not quite in full swing yet. Farmers are hiring month men at $40, and in a few cases $50. Quite a few buildings going up. Laborers, 30, 35 and 40 cents per hour. mostly home talent.—**AG-129.**

# HOW TO STRIKE

The chairman of a strike committee serving against the master on one of the Californai Construction Co. jobs has, as a result of his experience in this strike and others like it, tabulated the procedure in calling and winning a strike. He states that failure to observe rules has cost the workers ten thousand dollars recently in lack of efficiency. This is his manual:

HOW TO STRIKE.

Call a meeting.

Throw the floor open for grievances.

Recorder will note on a slip of paper the kicks.

Close discussion.

Recorder and chairman will revise kicks and put them in order:

1. Hours of labor.
2. Wages.
3. Foods.
4. Sanitary conditions.
5. Living quarters, etc.

Lastly, discriminations.

When drawing up demands place at top, "That all class war prisoners be released."

Put demands to vote. If carried appoint grievance committee.

Give them power to present demands to boss and call next meeting. If demands are not granted:

1. Strike on the job.

2. If you have to go off the job use intermediate strike tactics. (1). Slow up, etc. (2). Send members with scabs, etc., writing postcards to scabs.

If you decide to strike on the job appoint two members of each department to supervise and plan tactics, and meet at every opportunity.

If you decide to strike off the job impress on all: Don't booze or gamble. Don't talk important matters outside meetings. Don't allow individual interviews.

Appoint a strike committee of at least 20 members, who will subdivide into finance, picket, comfort and welfare, information and publicity sub-committees.

Register names and card numbers of strikers. Don't let them run around to other jobs.

Members doing committee and picket duties should make a statement in meeting that they will do their best to fill job and stay with it until relieved.

Take up collection; try to finance for at least two weeks the upkeep of pickets, feeding and other expenses.

Make charges against anyone advocating violence or destruction of property at meetings.

Give all committeemen and pickets collection lists.

Use indelible pencil and carbon paper for copying minutes and general letters, etc.

When spending money, get receipts.

Hold a strikers' meeting every day.

Get as many good writers as possible for duties as copyist.

Editor's Note:—This is a very important subject, about which there can not be too much education. If any of the fellow workers care to write articles on the same subject, either to emphasize some of the points in the above regulations, or to argue against them and substitute others, their articles will be gladly received.

# GENERAL DEFENSE NOTES

In almost every city where members of the I. W. W. gather, mass meetings, parades and other demonstrations will be held in behalf of the class-war prisoners. In Minneapolis, a committee has been organized to distribute literature to every workingman's home. Advocates of the general strike aim to take advantage of the 29th of April meetings for the distribution of strike literature.

From all parts of the country we are receiving constant demands for more and more literature dealing with class-war prisoners. The workers are commmencing to realize the seriousness of the persecutions that are being carried on against all active unionists.

The opportunity for the I. W. W. was never better. The workers can plainly see that the I. W. W. is the only organization effectively combatting the enemies of labor. To enlist them as members, we must reach them with our ideas via the literature route. Every new member means that we are that much stronger and the masters are weaker.

A large organization will force the release of our imprisoned fellow workers. Are your shoulders to the wheel? If you are unable to go into the industries, then write in for a receipt book. Help those that are desperately trying to secure the release of their fellow workers who have been in prison over five years. Write today! Every day you wait means that our fellow workers in prison are forced to wait!

**General Defense Committee.**

# JOIN G. C. W. I. U. NO. 310 OF THE I. W. W.

Edward Peterson, J. P. Shirley and Ralph Dutcher have just returned from Califonia. They motored from Omaha to San Diego, and while there took in the races at Tia Juana race track and, according to reports, made quite a clean up.

They were very reckless in placing profits derived from the "labor" of workers in their camps who produce same. Having more money than they knew how spend, it is said they made the "bookies" back down from 15 to 1 to even money. On their return trip they stopped at Clovis, New Mexico and, as a side line, they bid on Federal Project No. 103, and were awarded this contract amounting to $85,000.

Now is the time for those who work in the construction camps to organize into an industrial union and demand shorter hours, more pay and better working conditions. Very few of the workers who worked for any of the above contractors last summer had enough money to take a similar trip as they did, and, in order to be able to do so, organize in I. U. No. 310, of the Industrial Workers of the World. By doing this you will be able to get more of the good things of life and will eliminate the sensations, to those who live from the sweat of others, caused by seeing "Spark Plug" come under the wire by a "nose."

**Earth Mover.**

# SUBSCRIBE TO THE PIONEER

# STRIKE ON

## STAY AWAY FROM ALL U. C. CO. CAMPS AT HAMMETT, IDAHO.

## DEMANDS THAT MUST BE MET.

**1. Release of class-war prisoners.**

**2. That pillows, sheets and pillow-cases be supplied and changed at least once every week.**

**3. That eight hours be a day's work. One way on bosses' time.**

**4. That fifty cents ($.50) per hour be the minimum pay.**

**5. That shower baths with hot and cold water be installed in each camp.**

**6. That wash-house with hot and cold water be installed in each camp.**

**7. That no discrimination be shown against strikers.**

**Signed—STRIKE COMMITTEE.**

**Hood River, Ore.**—Phoenix Utility Co. Building power plant. Two months work. 200 men employed. Wages, muckers, $3.75; concrete gang, $4 and $4.50; linemen, $7.20 per day. Eight hours work. Board poor; sanitary conditions fair. Sleeping quarters crowded. Poker, moonshine and whiskey main topics among slaves on this job. Blankets furnished at 5 cents per day. Chances to go to work at any time. Two delegates on the job.—**RR-18.**

**Terre Haute, Indiana.**—No organization here. No delegates on job. Wages 37½c per hour. 9 hours. Board and bunk house conditions sanitary and fair. This is a $7,000,000 project on the Wabash river, eight or nine miles from Terre Haute. Can most always get ride out from West Terre Haute with truck driver. Putting in branch railroad to be completed by first of May. —**H. E. F.**

# JOIN G. C. W. I. U. NO. 310, OF THE I. W. W.

# PREAMBLE

—of the—

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

# JOB NEWS FROM ACTIVE DELEGATES

## ARIZONA

**Superior, 2-20-23.**

Excavating for smelter. Wages $2.75 for 8 hrs. Must furnish your own balloon. Mostly Mexicans employed. A Spanish speaking delegate could do some good organization work on this job. The slaves are sure discontented, and are ready and willing to strike at any time, but realize that without organization it is useless. There will be from 2 to 3 hundred iron workers employed later on. Work 63 miles from Phoenix and 30 miles from Globe, on the Globe State Highway. 200 men employed. 60 or 70 wobs on the job. Bring plenty of Spanish literature.—Delegate MM-213.

## CALIFORNIA

**Fresno, 2-23-23.**

Sugar Pine Lumber Co. building a saw mill. Work nine miles out of Fresno. 30c car fare. Wages for boiler riggers 57½c per hr. Helpers 50c. Skinners 50c hr. for 8 and 9 hr. day. Expect to start a night shift soon. 300 to 400 men employed. Mostly natives. Board poor. Bedding furnished. Can hire on the job. Several months' work.—AG-227.

**Trinidad.**

DeLukey Contractor. Clearing right of way for highway. 16 men employed. Wages are $4.00 for 8 hrs. Board in town for $1.20 a day. Furnish your own bed. Sleep in tents out on the works. Haul you back and forth in trucks. Take nose bag out for dinner.

There are two more camps, McGullis Contractor, 8 miles out. Ready's 15 miles out. Wages for teamhands, for two ups $4.00, $4.25 for four up. Brush gang $4.00. Board fair at $1.20 per day. About 30 to 40 men employed in each camp. Furnish your own blankets, and sleep on the ground in tents. Sanitary conditions bum. No baths. No wash houses. Can hire out on the job. Or ship from Metropole Employment Shark, fee $2.00. Fare $1.00.—GC-80.

**Ludlow, 2-16-23.**

Hamilton and Sprange, Camp No. 1. Doubletracking on the Santa Fe 8 miles east of here. Board fair at $1.20 day. There is no such thing as sanitary conditions in this camp. Blankets furnished at 5c day. No hospital fee. Wages, teamhands $3.50, laborers $3.75 for 9 hr. day. Sentiment for the I. W. W. is fair. About 100 men in the camp. Can go to work any time. There are a great many Mexicans in the other camps. Good place for Spanish speaking fellow workers along this line.

**Sisson, 3-19-23.**

Brownmoor Construction Co. 2 miles from town. Employ about 100 men. Muckers, skinners and lumberjacks building wagon roaod. About one million feet of lumber to be cut. Mill will start after logs are cut. A number of Negroes and Mexicans on this job. Wages, 50c hr. is low. Board $1.00 day. 8 hrs. work. Watch for Mexican stool by the name of Peco.—Del. RR-634.

**Dunsmuir, 3-12-23.**

Hauser Construction Co. One mile south. 2 steam shovels, dinkeys, etc. 50c hrs. work, board fair at $1.25 day. Beds furnished. Sanitary conditions no good. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. no good. This is a high ball outfit.—Card No. 788657.

## IDAHO

**Hammet, 3-3-23.**

Bakers' team outfit, ten miles out, double tracking on the O. S. L. 15 men employed. Fresno work, cut, shuffle and deal. Will have wagons in a few days. Wages are $3.50 for 9 hrs. Board poor, Sanitary condition fierce. Blankets $1.00 per month. Hospital 20c day for the first 5 days. Can go to work by going to the job. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. fair. There are six (6) camps on this job. The Utah Constructoin Company have the main contract. Conditions about the same in all the camps.—Delegate GC-269.

**Hammet.**

Utah Construction Co. Grading for R. R. 2½ miles out. Two standard gauge engines. Air dump cars. One steamshovel. Wages, laborers 40c hr. Dinkey skinners $125.00 month Shovel runner $200.00 month and board. Brakeman $4 9 hr. day. Board fair at $1.20 day. Sanitary conditions poor. No floor in the bunk houses. No bath houses. Blankets furnished at $1.00 month. 27 men employed. Can hire on the job. Good chance to go to work. Come help us make conditions. Sentiment for the I. W. W. good. —GC-354.

## IOWA

**Durango.**

S. J. Groves and Son's Contractors. Work 8 miles out of Dubuque, Iowa. Contractor's office two miles west of Durango on the Great Western R. R. County road work. Steamshovel work. Long job. 250,000 yards of dirt to move. Wages $2 per day and board. Sleeping quarters crowded. Board good. Pay day monthly. Can drag from office in town any time. A few wagons and teams working.—No. 253242.

## KANSAS

**Eldorado, 2-11-23.**

Santa Fe "Moore" working five wheeler teams. Work located 1 mile south of town. Wages $3.50 day. Board bum at $1.50 day. Conditions bum. "All Hog" Curtney working four Fresno teams on the same work. A steamshovel and a one machine outfit will be at work in a few days. About 15 wagon teams will be used by the shovel outfit.

## MONTANA

**Essex, 3-15-23.**

Guthrie and Co. Double tracking on the Great Northern R. R. 18 miles extending from Java to Gary. All summer's work. About 7 camps. When full handed there will be about 1,000 men employed. Wages $3.30 for 10 hrs. One sub-contractor paying 50c per hr. Board good at $1.10 per day. Sanitary conditions good. Sleeping quarters fair, but crowded. Sentiment for the I. W. W. is excellent. Employment office St. Paul.—Delegate RR-31.

## NEVADA

**Los Vegas, 3-17-23.**

Weir and Co. Grading state highway. Arrow Head trail. 3 camps. Work will last about three months. 60 men employed. Wages 40c hr. Board $1.20 day. Furnish your own blankets. Sanitary conditions none. Can go to work most any time. A No. 310 delegate is needed on this work, also lots of literature and active members.—Del. MM-207.

The nearest R. R. point is Dry Lake, 30 miles north. Shrader Const. Co. putting in concrete culverts along San Pedro & Salt Lake R. R. Board fair at $1.20 per day. Sentiment for the I. W. W. good. Ship from the Utah employment office, Salt Lake City. Fee $2.50. Free fare. What's the matter? Sentiment good and no delegate.—Delegate MM-207.

## OREGON

State road work extending from Marshfield to Humboldt Co., Calif. There are 12 different camps along this work and starting more. Sentiment for the I. W. W. good. Wages, teamhands and laborers $4.00 8 hrs. Two delegates on the job. Board good.

Sanitary conditions poor. Can go to work any time by applying on the jobs or ship from U. S. Employment office at Marshfield. No fee. Fare $1.30. Chances to do some good organization work on this job. Help make those camps as much like home as possible.—Delegate LU-178.

**Biggs, 2-27-23.**

McCall and Sheerin, ½ mile out on the branch line to Wasco. Camp just started up. 4 months' work. 10 men on the job at present. Conditions fair. Small bunkhouses. Blankets furnished and board fair at $1.20 per day. Hire on the job. 8 hrs. work. Takes ten to make it as the work is 2 miles from the camp. Wages $4.00 day.—GC-105.

**Huntington, 2-20-23.**

Sun Portland Cement Co. Camp situated 4 miles west of Huntington. Wages 40c hr. 8 hrs. Board $1.20 day. Must furnish your own balloon. Sanitary conditions good. Wash houses and baths. 15 men employed. Will use more later on. Myself and another delegate run off this job by the foreman. He stated that he made a mistake in hiring us, as wobs caused him all kinds of trouble in the past. There will be plenty of construction work in this part of the country this summer. We can make all of these jobs 8 hrs. and make the boss pack our balloons. Get on this job and leave the brass band behind.

—GC-250 and GC-103.

## WYOMING

**Thermopolis, 2-5-23.**

Christenson, contractor. Camps 4 and 5 miles out. Wages for teamsters and laborers 50c hr. Powder men $150.00 month and board. The U. C. has two camps working at Boyson and Shoshone. About 50 men employed in each camp.

**Casper, 3-16-23.**

John Marsh Construction Co. Building yards for the C. & N. W. R. R. Wages 37c hr. for 10 hrs. Board fair at $1 day. Accommodations rotten. Few card men on this job. There is an extra gang on the Northwestern at this point. The wages the same as above.—Card 708386.

**Douglas, 3-15-23.**

John Marsh Const. Co. Steam shovel work. Just starting up. All of John Marsh's work in this vicinity is 37½c hr.

Extracts from a clipping from the Casper Herald. "A $12,000,000 contract for the construction of 330 miles of railroad was signed by Peterson, Shirley and Gunther, contractors of Omaha, Nebraska. The road is to extend from Casper to Miles City, Mont. The work to start by the first of April. Omaha will be shipping center."

# CONSTRUCTION WORKERS BULLETIN

"An Injury to One Is An Injury to All."

ONE UNION No. 1 ONE ENEMY

Published Monthly by I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W.
Address all communications to
2 SO. MORGAN ST. CHICAGO, ILL.
T. McMAHON, Chairman, G. O. C.
J. KENNEDY, Sec'y-Treas.


## JOB NEWS

**Osceola, Iowa.** — Kearns, contractor. County road work. One and one half miles out of Woodburn. Three ups. Thirty-five cents an hour. Mostly local help. Long job. One machine with stock. Also jobs of same kind of work at Corydon near Chariton.—**Card No. 252342.**

**Weston, Ore.**—Four miles from Weston, nearest railroad point. Johnson Construction Co. contractors. Constructing four miles highway. About fifty men in camp. About half station men. Job will last about six weeks. One camp. About twenty-five men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. fair. Weston is about twenty-five miles north of Pendleton on the Walla Walla highway. Wages, plow shaker, $4; plow skinner, $4; Fresno skinners, $3.75; Fresno holders, $3.50; muckers, $3.50, and hammersmen, $4. Work eight hours. Board rotten at 40 cents per meal. Sanitary conditions poor. Blankets furnished free. No bath. There are chances to go to work. Apply on the job. Ship from Pendleton fom Pioneer employment office. Fee $1.50 and fare 90 cents. About one dozen wobs and one dozen natives, mostly stump ranchers. Not very many men. There are also some other camps out of here; also lots of mule herders wanted to drive 12 mules for Farmer John at $5 per month.—**Delegate GC-269.**

**Magna, Utah.** — Fourteen miles out of Salt Lake City. Utah Construction Company contractors. Tunnel and steam shovel. Job will last one year. One camp. About fifty men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is poor. Delegates here at present cannot do anything, mostly the home boys. Jack-hammers, 50 cents an hour; Burley, 60 cents per hour; steam shovel engineer, $200 and board; firemen, $100 and board, and cranesman, $150 and board. Laborers, 40 cents an hour. Work ten hours. Sanitary conditions fierce. Board is poor at $1.20. Double deckers, crowded, bedding has never been washed. Chances of going to work. Apply on the job. Fare is 55 cents on electric car from Salt Lake. —**Delegate GC-369.**

**Council Bluffs, Iowa.** — Glenn Perry's outfit, five miles out on Blue Grass trail. One machine. Wages $3.50; ten hours. Board good at $1 per day. Sleeping quarters fair. Team hands are all in favor of eight-hour day. What is the matter with sprockets and essential hands? Are you going to let the so-called hoosier do your battling for you?—**Delegate GC-752.**

**Omaha, Neb.**—Seabury and Son's camp on the Florence car line in North Omaha. Wages: team hands, $3.75 per day. Ten hours consists a day, and chances are good to make it eight hours, as the sentiment for the eight-hour day is excellent.—**Delegate**

**JOIN G. C. W. I. U. NO. 310, OF THE I. W. W.**

**Bedford, Iowa.**—John Peterson. State highway work will be through in about ten days and we will more on to some new work, east from this point. Twenty men employed. Wages, plow holder, $200 per month; machine whipper, $160 per month; wagon dumper, $150 per month; gig skinner, $4.50 per day; push skinner, $3.50 and board; wagon skinners, $3.50; blacksmith, $120 and board; cook, $150. Ten-hour day. Board is good at $1. Sleeping quarters rotten. One delegate on the job. This work is located along the Burlington, between Creston, Iowa and St. Joe, Missouri. —**Delegate GC-261.**

**Earlham, Iowa.**—I. C. Cox. Four miles out. About 60 men employed. Steam shovel working two dinkeys. Wages $3.50 low. Ten hours per day. Dinkey skinners get $100 per month. About two years' work. Board is fair at $1 per day. Sleeping quarters fair. Sentiment good.—**Delegate GC-705.**

**Friant, Cal.** — Warren Construction Co. Building railroad for Sugar Pine Lumber Co. Eight or nine camps. Rock work and team work. Camps 28, 20 and 22 are rock camps. Camps 30 and 26 are mostly team work. Spanish-speaking delegates are needed in these camps. Wages, muckers, $3.60; jackhammermen, $5 per day. Eight hours on the job. Hire out at company employment office in Fresno. No fee. Fare 75 cents.—**Delegate GC-623.**

**Wasco, Oregon.**—Sherron and McCall. Working in town doing street work. Five Fresnoes and one plow team. About four months' work. Sentiment for the I. W. W. is good. Wages $4 per day. Board is fair at $1.20 per day. Good chances to set in. Two delegates on the job.—**Del. GC-75.**

**Marshalltown, Iowa.**—Ten miles north on Primary Road No. 14. Wages for teamsters, $3.50; ten hours. Board $1 per day. Plowholders, $150 per month and board; dumpers, $5 per day and board. Women cooks; chuck fair. Two machines working cats. Five months work; just starting up. This outfit is four miles south-east of Conrad, Iowa. The contractors, Longerbone Bros., have a machine camp on this road south of Marshalltown.—**Del. GC-705.**

**Placerville, Cal.**—Western State Headquarters camp. Construction ditch. Can pull this camp clean. Ten legionnaires who will scab. Job will last all year. About 75 men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is good. Have been informed that there are 800 men employed in all camps. $4 to $5 for labor. Board, $1.20. Sanitary conditions are poor. Furnish your own blankets. Hire out on job.—**Delegate GC-623.**

**Wilmington, Cal.**—Nearest R. R. point is Watson. H. G. Fenton building tanks for oil. Now building three big tanks for the Union Oil Company. About six months of work. Sentiment for the I. W. W. is good. Three machine outfits. Wages, team hands, $4.50; three-up wagons, plowholders, $8; cat skinner, $8 for 60 h. p.; 30 h. p., $6; Fordson, $5; wagon dumper, $5; blademen, $5; water sprinklers, $4.50; stable boss, $6 per day. 118 head of stock on this outfit. Board fair at $9 per week. Sanitary conditions fair. Chance to set in at times. Dirt movers preferred on this job. Men are not very plentiful.—**Delegate GC-279.**

**White Salmon, Wash.** — Job fourteen miles north of White Salmon. K. Sauset, contractor. Clearing right of way for highway. Five miles of work at present; fourteen miles more to start soon. Job will last seven months. One camp. Thirty men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. is fair. More men will be employed later. No work at present but clearing right of way, but there will be steam shovel and team work later. Work eight hours. Board poor at $1.20 per day. Sanitary conditions are rotten. Company truck in White Salmon every day. There are chances to go to work on the job.—**Delegate GC-116.**

**Casper, Wyo.** — Peterson and Walker camp. Junction sixteen miles west of Casper. Job is fourteen miles from junction. Fresno work. Will start one machine about April 16. Job will last until August. One camp. Eighteen men employed. Sentiment for the I. W. W. fair. Teamsters three up on Fresno, $4.50 and $1.50 for board. Ten hours work. Board is good. Sanitary conditions are fair. Single bunks, two high. Chances to go to work when machine starts. Hire on job. Plenty of men.—**Delegate GC-751.**

**Bandon, Oregon.** — Construction camp out of Bandon, Ore. Wheeler and Fresno and a little right of way clearing. About 25 men employed. $5 a day for dumping wheelers.—**Delegate GC-525.**

**Soldior, Iowa.**—H. A. Moseman, contractor. Two-machine county road outfit. Job will last three or four months. One camp. Twenty-five men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is good. Wages, plow holder, $150 per month and board; machine skinner, $125; gig, $3 per day and board; push, $2.75 and board. Wages $2.50 and board. Work ten hours. Sanitary conditions fair. Ship from Omaha, Neb. Fare, $2.50. Plenty of men.—**Delegate GC-811.**

**Connell, Wash.**—Northern Pacific Railroad Co. Nearest railroad point is Pasco, Wash. New construction work on telegraph line. Setting new poles and transferring wires from the old poles and dismounting the old poles. Fourteen men employed. Ignorance is very plentiful, such as making remarks as having fought for democracy. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. is hostile. Wages range from 42 cents an hour to 68 cents. 42 to 48 cents for common slavery; 50 to 62 cents for framing poles; 55 to 68 cents for climbing. Seniority seems to play a part in the wages. Eight hours forty-five minutes for five days and four forty-five on Satudays. One camp. Electrical Workers' International Union. Sanitary condjtions primitive. Board, the average. Wages too cheap; cook changing every week. Employ at Spokane or Seattle from N. P. R. R. employment office. Free pass. To get on this job is a gamble. Ground and line work. Job will last about three months. They are always shorthanded and men are coming and going. They have several different rates of pay; it all depends on the amount of willingness the slave will show towards this wonderful N. P. R. R. Co.—**Delegate GC-267.**

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**SPECIAL FROM PORTLAND, OREGON**

Strike is on in full swing. Construction camps tied up solid.

**Ostrander, Wash.**—Nettleton, Bruce and Eschach are building a log railroad one mile south of Ostrander. There are two steam shovels and two burley drills. The work is mostly rock work. Job will last about nine months. There are about forty men working. The wages are, laborers, $4; machine drillers, $5.50; steam shovel engineer, $200 per month; cook, $125; flunkey, $60; dishwasher, $60, and bullcook, $60 per month. Work is eight hours. The board is good at $1.20 per day, with bed included. Sanitary conditions are fair. Shower baths are being installed, and clean bedding is furnished. They are hiring men on the job, and shipping from Hanley Employment office at Portland, Oregon. The employment fee is $1.50 and $1. The job is full-handed at present. There is no delegate on the job.—**Delegate GC-297.**

**Biggs, Oregon.**—McCall is sub-contracting about three miles of highway from Warren Construction Co. The camp is about a half a mile out of Biggs. The wages are $4 low, per day. The camp conditions and board are the average. Blankets are furnished. The sentiment for I. W. W. is fair. There are two delegates on the job. There are 19 men employed, and the job will last about six weeks.—**Delegate GC-297.**

**Wasco, Oregon.**—The city is doing some street and sewer work. Warren Construction Co. got the contract and have sub-let it to McCall and Wilson and some gyppos. Wages, 50 cents per hour. Board in town. No delegate on the job.—**Delegate GC-297.**

**Grass Valley, Oregon.**—There is about 30 miles of highway work out of here. There are six camps. The first one is about two miles out. It is a small team camp. The second camp, Daves Camp, is about five miles out. All team work. The sentiment is fair. Bower and Bower Camp is about nine miles out. They are starting a rock-crusher. Not very many working yet. Newport Camp is about one half mile further up the line. There are about thirty men working. The wages are $4 low. Board is the average. The camp conditions in all of these camps are bum. No floor in tents or bunk houses. No delegates in any of these camps.—**Delegate GC-297.**

**Hood River, Oregon.**—The Continental Pipe Line Manufacturing Co. is constructing a pipe line one mile out of here. The job will last about three weeks. The wages for laborers are $3.75 for 8 hours. Boss, $10 a day. The board is bum at $1.20. Sanitary conditions are fair. Beds with clean sheets and pillows are furnished at five cents per night. They are hiring the men on the job, and men can get on most any time. There are three delegates on this job and sentiment among the men is fair, but the bullcook, who is also the company policeman, has no use for I. W. W.'s. After I had collected about $10 for the Stone and Webster strike and had done all my business, I started selling literature, and was caught going from one bunk house to another with pamphlets in my hands. I was told to leave the company grounds as fast as I could. I told him: "All right; I was going to leave anyhow."—**Delegate GC-297.**

## JOIN GEN. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION, NO. 310, I. W. W.

**The Tri-Cities, Moline, and Rock Island, Illinois and Davenport, Iowa.** — Construction work is increasing as the season progresses. Wages 30 to 40 cents per hour. Board and room, $6 per week. Central Engineering Company doing big paving job at Bettendorf, suburb of Davenport. McCarthy Co. also doing much work in this vicinity this year. Good live delegates are needed badly here. Sentiment fair. Plenty of opportunity as far as work is concerned, so come and spend the summer in the beautiful Tri-Cities and while enjoying its wonderful natural beauty, help put it on the map of the I. W. W. Come to Socialist Headquarters, 609 W. Fourth st., Davenport. A. F. of L. is trying to line up the slaves for May 1st strike. Let's beat 'em to it!—**Card No. 493776.**

**Galesburg, Ill.**—C. C. Barnes Co., contractors. C. B. Q. reservoir. Job will last three months. One camp. Thirty-two men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is good. One machine at Mt. Ayr, Iowa. Three-up skinners, 35 cents per hour of C. C. Barnes. Board fair. Work ten hours. Board $1. Sixteen men to a shack; sanitary conditions rotten. Chances to go to work. Timekeeper in town every day.—**Delegate GC-813.**

**Montezuma, Iowa.**—Four and one half miles north of Montezuma. Shirley and Caldwell contractors. State highway. Six weeks of work. One camp. Fifteen men employed. Sentiment for the I. W. W. is fair. Sentiment for the eight-hour day is good. 37½ cents an hour is the wages for wagon skinners. Work ten hours. Board is good at $1 per day. Sanitary conditions fair. Apply for work at camp.—**Delegate GC-752.**

**Valley Junction, Iowa.**—Four miles west of Valley Junction. Hoosier Martins contractor. State highway. One machine outfit. One camp. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. fair. Sentiment for the eight-hour day good. Wagon teamsters 35 cents per hour. Work ten hours. Board is fair at $1 per day. Sanitary conditions are fair. Sleeping quarters are fair. Apply for work at camp.—**Delegate GC-752.**

**Groveland, Cal.** — Hetch Hetchy. Job delegates and card members are requested to give this work the once over. Come ready to start organization work, the field is ripe and ready to be harvested. Wages are $4 to $5.50. Board, $1.25 a day, fair. Conditions in the tunnels are becoming unbearable, owing to the speed and bonus system. Very much discontent among the workers. Get busy, make it.—**Delegate GC-202.**

**Monee, Ill.**—Walsh Construction Co., 34 miles from Chicago. Steam shovel and track work. Steam shovel digging at Monee. Hauling dirt seven miles north to dump. Job will last a month or more. One camp. Two hundred men employed. Thirty-five cents an hour. Ten hours a day, eleven or twelve at night. Board is $7 per week and poor. Carry a nose-bag. Sanitary conditions are very poor. Free shipment from Chicago. Hire out from Dragas Labor Agency, 28 South Canal street, Chicago. Men coming and going. Six bunk houses, thirty-two beds to a bunk house. Moonshine is the only thing that occupies the minds of the slaves. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. is fair.—**Delegate GC-887.**

**Essex, Montana.**—A. Guthrie and Co., Inc. Between the stations of Essex and Garry. Steam shovel work. A good deal of pick and shovel labor, and quite a little station work at present. Job will last until September. Four camps. Between 350 and 400 men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. is good. When shovels commence in ten days, quite a number of men now needed will not be required. Steam shovel runners, $200; cranemen, A. F. of L. scale; firemen, A. F. of L. scale; gang foremen, 35 and 40 cents an hour; laborers, 33 cents an hour. All work ten hours. Some camps work Sundays and overtime. Board fair at $1 per day. Room for improvement in the sanitary conditions. Camp Six, (bridge gang), located at Essex: No bath house. There are chances to go to work. Ship from Minneapolis from Guthrie's own employment office. Fee $2 to $3, fare free. Men do not stay long in any of these camps, they come and go continually. A number of delegates on the job.—**Delegate GC-558.**

**Essex, Montana.**—A. Guthrie and Co., Inc. Timber work, building large wooden culvert. This work will not last long. Men working in water using hip rubber boots furnished by company. Work will last about six weeks. One camp. Thirty men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. is good. Carpenters receive $6 a day; helpers, 50 cents an hour; station work in camp, 80 cents a yard. Work ten hours. Board good at $1 a day. No bath house. Sanitary conditions fair. Men must walk from roundhouse one quarter of a mile to bathe. Ship from Minneapolis and Spokane, Mathewson and Nichols at Minneapolis . Fee $2 and $3, fare free. Men do not stay over two or three days. This is a hurry-up job on account of trying to beat the spring thaw. Plenty of men. A number of delegates in town. Delegates cannot stay in any of these camps; they get canned as soon as located. Job located on edge of town.—**Delegate GC-558.**

**Essex, Montana.** — James Lawlor contractor. Job one and one half mile east of Essex. Steam shovel. The contractor despises a wobbly and tells one so. However, no objection is made to members so long as they keep quiet. Work will last until September. One camp. Sixty men employed. Among the men the sentiment for the I. W. W. is fair. About 40 per cent members here. Ten hours. Very good board at $1 a day. Sanitary conditions are fair. Bath house just completed. Employmen offices: A. Guthrie or Nichols at Minneapolis. Fee $2 to $3, fare free. Work is of a preliminary nature at present. Shovel may start in ten days. There seems to be plenty of men. No delegate can last in this camp; canned in one or two days.—**Delegate GC-558.**

**Priests Rapids, Wash.**—A $100,000,000 project to be commenced soon on Columbia river at Priests Rapids. Dam alone to cost $28,000,000; it will be the largest in the world. Expect to build up a manufacturing city of 40,000 here, and to supply Seattle and Spokane with power. Will irrigate 1,000,000 acres of land.—**H. E. F.**

## JOIN G. C. W. I. U. NO. 310, OF THE I. W. W.

# FINANCIAL STATEMENT

## APRIL, 1923

### RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiations | $ 772.00 |
| Dues | 1,910.50 |
| Initiations, other unions | 370.00 |
| Dues, other unions | 836.00 |
| Organization assessments | 202.50 |
| General defense | 438.50 |
| Papers | 298.33 |
| Card cases | 27.00 |
| Buttons and pins | 20.00 |
| Literature | 101.05 |
| On account, supplies | 166.50 |
| From supply clerks, delegates and traveling delegates | 954.44 |
| Duplicate cards | 18.00 |
| For strikes on lists, and donations | 97.25 |
| Jail relief on list and donation | 4.00 |
| Subs | 3.00 |
| Donation to I. U. No. 310 | .50 |
| Donation to Industrial Pioneer | 3.00 |
| Total | $6,222.57 |

### EXPENSES

| | |
|---|---|
| For Pioneer | $ 2.20 |
| Commissions on initiations and literature | 164.36 |
| Field wages | 1,254.09 |
| Mileage | 174.45 |
| Allowance to other unions | 450.45 |
| Remittance to other unions | 591.25 |
| Held on account by G. O. C.'s, traveling delegates and supply clerks | 1,280.08 |
| Papers | 454.06 |
| For defense, assessments and donations | 442.50 |
| Main office wages | 448.00 |
| Rent, light and heat | 45.33 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 129.25 |
| Postage, express and wires | 163.95 |
| Northwest defense, card cases | 31.00 |
| Subs | 3.00 |
| To strike funds | 200.00 |
| To strikes on lists and donations | 16.00 |
| To I. U. No. 120, card cases | 9.00 |
| To traveling delegates | 40.00 |
| Printing | 188.81 |
| Total | $6,087.78 |

**Indebtedness to I. W. W. Headquarters**

| | |
|---|---|
| Per capita | $4,793.87 |
| Literature | 1,000.76 |
| Organization supplies | 962.46 |
| Rent | 611.13 |
| Due books | 905.00 |
| Total | $8,273.22 |

**Distributed as follows:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Personal deposit | $ 94.50 |
| Organization deposit | 598.96 |
| Total | $ 693.46 |

J. Kennedy,
Sec'y-Treas., I. U. No. 310.

## TO ALL STRIKE COMMITTEES

We wish to issue a warning, which should be called to the attention of all the members, as well as to all strike committees, that every one should be on the lookout for anyone who advocates the destruction of property or violence, or anything detrimental to the organization. We have everything to lose by hasty and unplanned action.

## District No. 1: Washington, Idaho, Oregon.

### CASH RECEIPTS

**April 1.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-16 | $ 47.25 |
| GC-143 | 54.50 |

**April 2.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-258 | 19.00 |
| GC-365 | 37.00 |
| GC-365 | 26.00 |
| J. O'Brien, on list | 31.25 |

**April 4.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-15 | 5.00 |
| GC-121 | 31.00 |

**April 5.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-105 | 14.05 |
| GC-268 | 23.40 |

**April 6.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-19 | 16.00 |
| GC-117 | 14.50 |

**April 7.**

| | |
|---|---|
| R-856 | 5.00 |
| GC-171 | 7.50 |

**April 9.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-412 | 17.50 |
| GC-124 | 19.00 |

**April 10.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-389 | 2.00 |

**April 11.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-74 | 25.00 |
| GC-300 | 12.00 |
| GC-258 | 29.00 |
| GC-439 | 14.00 |

**April 16.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-128 | 6.00 |
| GC-215 | 18.00 |
| GC-366 | 13.00 |

**April 17.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-365 | 14.00 |
| GC-365 | 39.50 |
| GC-626 | 23.00 |

**April 20.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-116 | 8.00 |
| GC-10 | 14.00 |
| GC-413 | 32.00 |

**April 21.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-16 | 59.95 |
| GC-374 | 12.70 |

**April 23.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-576 | 23.00 |
| GC-651 | 25.00 |
| GC-584 | 13.00 |
| GC-103 | 38.50 |
| GC-613 | 42.00 |
| R-760 | 7.00 |

**April 24.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-267 | 15.85 |
| GC-525 | 24.50 |
| GC-74 | 16.00 |
| GC-673 | 13.00 |
| Total | $ 907.95 |

## District No. 2: Nevada, California, Arizona and New Mexico

**April 1.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-280 | $ 22.75 |

**April 2.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-383 | 6.50 |
| GC-384 | 18.55 |
| R-306 | 5.00 |
| R-306 | 2.50 |
| GC-72 | 30.00 |
| GC-46 | 27.00 |
| GC-290 | 19,00 |
| GC-10 | 8.00 |
| GC-341 | 25.50 |

**April 3.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-212 | 7.00 |
| GC-277 | 15.40 |
| GC-367 | 10.50 |

**April 4.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-470 | 2.40 |
| GC-366 | 21.40 |
| GC-270 | 23.00 |
| GC-270 | 28.00 |

**April 5.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-618 | 7.00 |
| GC-613 | 12.25 |

**April 6.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-730 | 14.50 |
| GC-450 | 8.00 |

**April 7.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-388 | 5.50 |
| GC-383 | 16.50 |

**April 9.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-68 | 5.50 |
| R-263 | 15.00 |
| GC-279 | 56.25 |
| GC-46 | 18.00 |
| GC-275 | 4.00 |

**April 10.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-75 | 7.00 |
| GC-276 | 7.50 |
| GC-46 | 12.25 |
| GC-551 | 5.00 |
| GC-71 | 9.00 |
| GC-389 | 1.00 |
| GC-47 | 16.00 |
| GC-703 | 9.50 |

**April 13.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-259 | 24.35 |
| GC-388 | 45.87 |
| GC-469 | 20.50 |
| GC-272 | 6.00 |
| GC-623 | 11.00 |
| GC-352 | 10.00 |
| GC-56 | 2.00 |
| GC-270 | 13.60 |
| GC-270 | 12.00 |
| GC-219 | 5.30 |

**April 17.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-75 | 13.50 |
| GC-238 | 3.00 |
| GC-551 | 5.50 |
| GC-61 | 5.00 |
| GC-659 | 3.00 |
| GC-211 | 7.50 |

**April 20.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-388 | 18.16 |
| GC-82 | 8.00 |

**April 21.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-384 | 13.50 |
| GC-367 | 19.50 |
| GC-69 | 20.00 |
| GC-351 | 19.00 |
| GC-102 | 12.00 |
| GC-266 | 6.50 |

**April 24.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-264 | 19.00 |
| GC-271 | 1.00 |
| GC-463 | 15.50 |
| GC-202 | 49.90 |
| GC-626 | 32.00 |

**April 26.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-342 | 20.00 |
| GC-851 | 2.00 |
| GC-87 | 2.00 |

**April 27.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-13 | 3.00 |
| GC-259 | 21.00 |
| GC-283 | 23.50 |
| GC-236 | 8.00 |
| Total | $1,003.93 |

## District No. 3: Wyoming, Utah, Colorado and North and South Dakota

**April 2.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-558 | $ 43.55 |

**April 5.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-269 | 10.00 |

**April 6.**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. Nos. 210-220 | 46.30 |

**April 9.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-558 | 44.55 |
| E. Anderson | .50 |
| GC-472 | 14.00 |

**April 16.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-95 | 12.00 |
| GC-558 | 35.16 |
| GC-558 | 47.90 |

**April 17.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-354 | 40.45 |

**April 21.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-369 | 10.00 |

**April 23.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-558 | 50.00 |
| GC-363 | 10.85 |
| GC-295 | 13.00 |

**April 28.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-635 | 12.00 |
| Total | $ 390.26 |

**District No. 4: Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma**

**April 4.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-183 | $ 10.00 |
| GC-253 | 1.00 |
| GC-707 | 32.75 |

**April 10.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-358 | 8.89 |

**April 13.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-709 | 3.00 |

**April 17.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-183 | 15.00 |

**April 18.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-707 | 16.85 |

**April 22.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-261 | 4.60 |

**April 24.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-811 | 3.50 |
| F. J. Kelley | 2.00 |
| GC-183 | 8.00 |
| Total | $ 105.59 |

**District No. 5: Middle and Eastern States**

**April 1.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-24 | $ 4.21 |
| GC-65 | 5.00 |
| GC-25 | 25.75 |

**April 2.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-285 | 1.00 |
| GC-257 | 3.50 |
| I. U. No. 460 | 1.80 |
| I. U. No. 110 | 97.55 |

**April 3.**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 120 | 181.85 |
| Includes GC-228 $21.00 | |

**April 4.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-392 | 3.50 |
| I. U. No. 520 | 38.95 |

**April 6.**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 440 | 5.60 |

**Apri 7.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 3.40 |

**April 8.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-25 | 76.35 |
| GC-256 | .87 |
| Sidney Weise | 1.00 |

**April 10.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-370 | 8.90 |

**April 11.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-362 | 1.50 |

**April 13.**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 510 | 57.40 |

**April 14.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 3.87 |
| GC-25 | 100.00 |

**April 16.**

| | |
|---|---|
| R-709 | 1.50 |

**April 17.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-286 | 3.00 |

**April 18.**

| | |
|---|---|
| F-1222 | 5.00 |

**April 20.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Wm. Dwyer, on account | 5.00 |
| Office report | 30.55 |

**April 21.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-256 | 6.00 |

**April 22.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-25 | 129.45 |
| GC-65 | 5.00 |
| GC-328 | 3.30 |
| I. U. No. 530 | .75 |
| I. U. No. 410 | 11.05 |
| I. U. No. 330 | 5.00 |

**April 27.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-25 | 80.00 |
| GC-292 | 7.00 |

**April 29.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 17.85 |
| Total | $ 932.45 |

## CASH SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash receipts for April | $3,340.18 |
| Cash on hand April 1st, 1923 | 558.67 |
| Total | $3,898.85 |
| Cash expenses for April | 3,205.39 |
| Cash on hand May 1st, 1923 | $ 693.46 |

## CASH EXPENDITURES FOR APRIL

**April 2.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Acc't., postage for March | $ 41.00 |

**April 3.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Acc't., A. McMillan, Ad. Tr. Del. | 50.00 |

**April 4.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Acc't., Industrial Pioneer, (subs) | 2.20 |
| Acc't., Industrial Worker, March bundle orders | 297.60 |
| Acc't., Thos. F. Ryan, Adv. G. O. C. and postage | 25.12 |

**April 5.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Northwest defense, card cases | 31.00 |

**April 6.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Matthew Trisler, acc't., G. O. C. | 50.00 |
| Cost of wiring above | 1.65 |
| S. Healey of No. 120, for papers issued to No. 310 del. | 5.69 |

**April 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| Ira Young, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Elmer Swanson, Adv. G. O. C. and postage | 50.18 |
| Charge of wiring above | 1.47 |

**April 10.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Tie Vapauteen, Finnish magazine | 3.50 |

**April 11.**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 230, on acc't., reports of March, 1922 | 15.10 |
| John Graham, acc't., Adv. G. O. C. and postage | 50.18 |

**April 12.**

| | |
|---|---|
| John Graham, acc't., Adv. G. O. C. and postage | 25.12 |

**April 13.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Henry Sandberg, acc't., Adv. Tr. Del. and postage | 35.15 |

**April 14.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Ira Young, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| To I. U. No. 120 for card cases | 9.00 |

**April 16.**

| | |
|---|---|
| A. McMillan, Adv. Tr. Del. and postage | 50.18 |

**April 17.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Advance to General Strike Committee, Seattle | 100.00 |
| Cost of wiring above | 2.70 |
| J. C. Robinson, Adv. Tr. Del. and postage | 25.12 |

**April 18.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Thos. F. Ryan, G. O. C. | 20.00 |
| To Stone and Webster strike on list | 16.00 |

**April 20.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Matthew Trisler, Adv. G. O. C. and postage | 50.18 |
| Elmer Swanson, Adv. G. O. C. and postage | 50.18 |

**April 21.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Tom McMahon, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kailayla, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |

**April 26.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Underwood Typewriter Co., for typewriter | 102.50 |

**April 27.**

| | |
|---|---|
| V. de Tourville, Adv. Acc't., Tr. Delegate and publicity strike committee | 150.00 |
| Cost of wiring above money | 2.54 |
| Russian paper, bundle orders | .90 |

**April 28.**

| | |
|---|---|
| John Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kailayla, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Thos. F. Ryan, G. O. C. and postage | 50.18 |
| Geo. Warwick, Tr. Delegate and postage | 25.12 |
| Postage for April | 64.00 |

**April 30.**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. 110, business, April reports | 123.95 |
| I. U. 120, " " " | 161.25 |
| I. U. 130, " " " | .75 |
| I. U. 210, " " " | 57.00 |
| I. U. 230, " " " | 22.85 |
| I. U. 220, " " " | 7.50 |
| I. U. 330, " " " | 25.50 |
| I. U. 410, " " " | 2.00 |
| I. U. 430, " " " | 1.00 |
| I. U. 440, " " " | 13.55 |
| I. U. 450, " " " | 1.05 |
| I. U. 460, " " " | 33.95 |
| I. U. 470, " " " | 2.30 |
| I. U. 510, " " " | 32.05 |
| I. U. 530, " " " | 5.80 |
| I. U. 610, " " " | 3.35 |
| I. U. 620-630, " " " | 1.50 |
| I. U. 640, " " " | 3.10 |
| I. U. 650, " " " | 3.50 |
| I. U. 520, " " " | 74.20 |
| Equity Printing Co., bulletins, G. O. C. minutes and leaflets | 188.81 |
| Harry Feinberg, Gen. Defense | 442.50 |
| Industrial Solidarity, April B. O. | 146.37 |
| Total | $3,205.39 |

## SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Total receipts | $6,222.57 |
| Cash on hand April 1st | 558.67 |
| Total | $6,781.24 |
| Total expenses for April | $6,087.78 |
| Cash on hand, May 1, 1923 | $ 693.46 |

# General Construction Workers Bulletin

CHICAGO, ILL. | G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W. | No. 3, June 10, 1923.

# One Big Union! One Big Strike!

## NOTICE

**BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS—KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS (AND THAT MEANS PRACTICALLY ALL OF THEM).**

**All I. W. W. papers and bulletins please copy.**

## THE HURLEY-MASON STRIKE

The strike on the Portland Light and Power project at Cazadero, Ore., has been transferred to the job. This action is being taken after much discussion at a regular meeting of I. U. 310, and is in line with the policy of the I. W. W. as being opposed to long strikes.

The demands for decent camp conditions have not been granted, but the fight for them has just begun. The gunmen are still around the outfit. The vicious man-hunting superintendent is still here. While he is on the job the lives of the workers will never be safe. This outfit spends its money hiring gunmen rather than pay decent wages or make their camps fit places to live in.

One Oregon paper asks: "How many armed men are in these camps? By what right do they carry arms? If there are to be prison camps on construction jobs and if the Industries of Oregon are to be ruled by gunmen, should they not be hired by the civil authorities and not by private individuals or groups?"

Recently one gunman killed another on this job near Cazadero. At the inquest all hands were exonerated. The verdict of "accidental" killing was brought in by the Coroner's jury. The accident was that one gunman got another gunman, instead of an I. W. W. messenger who was carrying the strike call from camp to camp. Two things that are not accidental are that thugs with clubs and guns are still prowling on this job and that the Coroner's jury whitewashed the killer. We wonder, if one of the slaves had done the killing, what would have been the verdict?

Those going back to the camps should gather dope on the number of gunmen, and on the activities of the Forest Service men who are acting as armed guards so their crookedness can be exposed. There is only one way to make this outfit decent: The contractors and those behind them must be made to realize that their labor-hating policy is expensive; that dirty beds and rotten food make inefficient workers; that gunmen are non-producers; that as long as they try to make slaves out of the men in their camps, they will have strikes and "labor trouble."

**Keep up the fight to get the gunmen out of the Hurley-Mason Camps.**

## STRIKE CALLED

**Nettleton-Bruce-Eschbach Construction Co.**
Between Kelso and Ostrander Wash.
DEMANDS:

1. Release of the Class war Prisoners.
2. That men be reduced to six men in tents.
3. Minimum wage of $5.00.
4. Cook $150.00 per month; flunkeys and bull cook $70.00 per month including board.
5. Eight hours from Camp to Camp.
6. That any laborers remaining on the job be fired before the strike is called off.
7. That you do away with the employment office and that men be hired on the job if possible.
8. Boycott all California products.
9. No discrimination against the I. W. W.

STRIKE COMMITTEE,
G. C. W. I. U. No. 310.

## MEXICAN—EXILE OR PILGRIM

Thousands of workers are being imported into United States from Mexico: Why this is being done is rather hard to understand. It would almost seem that the workers of this country are unable to support "the happy bunch of parasites" who make our land their home. But this, however, is not so—We are fully equipped and able to support these people in such idleness as they may care to enjoy—if we feel like it.

No complaint has ever been registered by our capitalists as to lack of support, except for a few that complain their profits have been too small—in view of their great abilities as idlers. Even during the hard times just past they have kept themselves fairly well supplied with the good things labor produced—Not one of them has ever complained of missing more than one meal while they were sober—hence, to say that Mexicans were imported to help us support these exquisite people, is an insult to every American working man; and an underhanded blow at the Industrial Workers of the World in so far as it gives us no credit for the free board we furnish them.

But it would seem the Mexican workers were brought to this country for the purpose of creating a labor surplus; for the purpose of stopping the rapid (slow) increases in

(Continued on page 2.)

WANTED: FIFTY DELEGATES

to take out supplies and credentials for I. U. 310 on the Canadian side. This is a good field for construction workers in the vicinity of Cranbrook, B. C. and along the Canadian Pacific—also an enormous amount of highway work in this vicinity.

Del. GC-948.

## WITH THE M. T. W.

The M .T. W. strike is transferred back to the job.

The seamen have had remarkable success. Having forced raises in pay, better conditions, as well as a more perfect organization.

The United States Shipping Board granted a 15 to 20 per cent increase and a three watch system.

The fight is just beginning. The M. T. W. intend to have I. W. W. port delegates in all the principal foreign shipping centers to prepare for the next strike.

## DEFENSE NOTES

### AN APPEAL FOR HELP

Fellow Workers:

Owing to the recent strikes in the lumber, construction and marine industries, the General Defense Committee incurred a large expense, and as a consequence, its treasury is now depleted.

Various cases in the South and in the Northwest are now pending, and in order to give the various fellow workers adequate defense, it is necessary that we have funds immediately. But for the arrests during the strike this appeal would not be necessary.

The next month will prove a difficult one for the committee as well as for the defendants—unless the membership come to our rescue.

Put your receipt books to use. If you haven't one, then write in immediately to your secretary.

*

F. L. Armstrong, Frank Peterson, William Rackle, George C. Miller and E. J. McVeigh who were tried for alleged violation of the California state criminal syndicalism law were acquitted at Eureka after the jury deliberated twenty-seven hours. These fellow workers were arrested during a strike meeting April 25th, this year.

Jointly charged with the above six fellow workers was H. E. Thompson, who shortly before the trial pleaded guilty to the charge of the anti-criminal syndicalism law. He was released on a two-year probation. His action, however, failed in its intended purpose, since the jury refused to be influenced by it.

*

The General Defense Committee will shortly publish an attractive leaflet for California and will attempt to reach every nook and corner of that state. However, the amount to be printed and the quality of paper will depend on the amount of funds on hand. Help your fellow workers by helping the Defense. Raise funds today.

**The General Defense Committee.**

# JOIN G. C. W. I. U. NO. 310, OF THE I. W. W.

## NOTICE TO NON-MEMBERS

This bulletin is published by the membership of I. U. 310 of the I. W. W., for the benefit of the I. W. W., and is paid for by the membership of I. U. 310. Therefore, if you are not supporting us by being a dues-paying member of the I. W. W., you should become one and be a help to your class, not a burden.

## MEXICAN—EXILE OR PILGRIM

(Continued from page 1.)

wages. This seems a little more reasonable than the former.

—Upon first glance, it would seem a sensible thing to do—and, I could convince 90 out of 100 that this is the idea behind this immigration—But unfortunately the capitalist class is not acting in a sensible manner just now. And it is very hard to understand their moves. They themselves do not know how a move will turn out, but still they go ahead, laying their plans along the general line of making labor uncomfortable. So, let us see if we can find another motive behind all this.

In Mexico, the government is inclined to be favorable to the workers. It is inclined to meet the workers half way, and to look after the interest of the workers in a manner that surprises many who have been reading the terrible stories of the capitalist press (and believing them)—This solicitude on the part of the Mexican government has been a thorn in the side of World-Capitalism. Something had to be done. A way had to be discovered how to "wallop" Mexico for the "unwarranted liberty" it was taking—that of sympathizing with labor. . . .

Is it not resonable then to think that Mexico is being drained of its able bodied workers so as to create a shortage in Mexico (rather than a surplus in United States.) Let us here note: When deprived of support, a part of the "ruling class" also would revolt. . . .

With a shortage of labor in Mexico the biscuits would soon hang high for the Mexican aristocracy—for they have their idlers to support in Mexico as well as we have in this country—and the aristocracy would soon learn to eat out of the hands of world capitalism, whose motto appears to be: Labor must be kept down.

The moves of capitalism are so fast that it is difficult to follow them—Think them over yourself—They are too fast for me.

Naturally and ultimately the Mexican workers will drift into the construction lines—thousands are already in them, and a greater part of them are members of the General Construction Workers Industrial Union No. 310—what I mean to say they are good members!

The Mexicans recognize, the same as we do, the same as labor the world over does, that we shall all be in the same perdition unless we learn to organize ourselves into a one big union and to fight for the very things that makes life worth living.

The I. W. W. recognizes no boundary lines.

T-Bone Slim.

# ON THE JOB

In the search for cheaper labor, the contractors of America have scoured Europe. Almost every known nationality of human has been used to replace American labor, Irish, Swedes, Italians, Polish and so on. Some of these proved to be ideal slaves. Others were not so satisfactory.

The Italians stand out as being the first imported slaves who knew how to work for the pick handle contractors and protect themselves. It was a common saying that one American could do as much as five Italians. The English speaking slave was proud of this. Events have proved that the Italians were the wiser. While the Italians, as a rule, had a home such as it was, with wife and little ones, the proud American construction worker becomes extinct.

Happenings like the following were of daily occurence: On one of the Kerbaugh's jobs in Pennsylvania, a gang of Italians were working in a rock cut. They were loading rock in the two wheel carts. The character who took "Ned" by the whiskers had a bad habit of losing the end gate of the cart. This meant a small load, with the result that all the carts would be on the dump at the same time and the muckers could talk it over. Again some of the rock was heavier than one man could handle. As many as was possible of the so-called "Dagoes" would gang around it. Between stooping over, spitting on their hands and much grunting, they would finally get the rock in the cart. The American bossman was continually yelling "Hurry up, John, get a move on you, you Dago—" but to no avail.

One morning the gang were such an extra long time around one piece of rock that the bossman lost his senses, jumped in amongst the men, grabbed the rock and threw it in the cart saying, "that's the way to do it." The Italians looked at him grinning. One said, "Big stronga man." The boss swelled up. About an hour later they came to another large rock. As usual, they gathered around it. Finally one looked up at the boss and said, "Big stronga man, another one," but he got wise to the fact that they would let him lift all the heavy rock, and said, "Aw, go to Hell." The Italians sure knew how to work for the contractor.

**By the character who led him by the whiskers.**

## ONE SWEDE TO ANOTHER

"This is a funny country all right. They talk about wonderful America. I don't see it. The Irish control the politics, the Jews have all of the money and all that's left to the American is the flag.

## NOTICE

Card of Fellow Worker C. Stock, No. X 75333, was stolen in Denver, Colorado. Pick up on sight and send it into the Main Office.

## NOTICE

Watch yard-hound in Forsythe, Montana. He beat up a member, knocked him unconscious and the fellow worker had to be taken to the hospital.

Del. GC-8, G. O. C. member.

## WHERE TO GET SUPPLIES AND LITERATURE

L. C. Lybeck, Box 754, Stockton, Calif.
W. R. Hall, General Delivery, Reno, Nev.
Elmer Anderson. Box 421, Tacoma, Wash.
W. H. Boyd, Box 827, Pasco, Wash.
Frank Doyle, Box 71, Groveland, Calif.
Wm. Freeberg, Box 365, Seattle, Wash.
Nick Wallace, Box 1689, Spokane, Wash.
A. McKinnon, Box 81, Eureka, Calif.
Pat Noonan, Box 107, Omaha, Nebraska.
Chas. Gray, 14½ S. First St., Minneapolis Minnesota.
Ed. A. Anderson, Box 451, Casper, Wyo.
A. Vernon, 1219 Fourth St., Sioux City,, Iowa.
Nels Peterson, Box 641, Everett, Wash.
Oil Workers I. U. 230, Box 212, Taft, Calif.
Lee Tulin, 318 N. Wyoming St., Butte, Montana.
J. J. Dunning, Box 246, Whitefish, Mont.
V. De Tourville, Box 3001, Portland, Ore.
Sam Healey, Box 3291, Portland, Oregon.
Jim Manley, Box 730, Missoula, Montana.
Geo. Wenger, 302 Fifth St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Jas. P. Sullivan, Box 1504, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Robert Nelson, I. U. 510, Box 69, Station D. New York, N. Y.
Jas. O'Brien, Box 501, La Grande, Oregon.
Wm. Randall, Box 653, Aberdeen, Wash.
Wm. Morreau, 110 Front St., Fargo, N. D.
Fred Carr, 8 N. Sixth Ave., West, Duluth, Minn.

## MORE WORK

**Cheyenne, Wyo.,** 5-25-23. — Contracts for construction of nearly $290,000 worth of highway work was let at the May meeting of the State Highway Commission. Included in the approved list are:

Reconstruction of five miles of the Casper-Salt Creek Road, Warren Construction Co., Portland, Oregon, $98,000; Construction of the Worland-Tensleep Road, Washakie County to Taggert-Tebbs Construction Co., $38,984.00; Gravel surfacing twelve miles of the Sundance-Beulah Road, Crook Co., M. J. Kennedy Construction Co. Denver, $9,800.-00.

Eighty foot steel bridge over Oil Woman Creek, Niobrara County, James F. Turpin, $22,732,00.

# THE I. W. W.—THE ONLY WAY

A short time ago while the labor leaders of England, who have been elected members of Parliament, were singing "The Red Flag" in the House of Commons, the masters of industry were busy cutting the wages of their slaves on the job.

It is on the job where we are jobbed.

Join G. C. W. I. U. No. 310.

## NOTICE

Fellow Worker High Kingsley, Card No. 451081 lost his card. Some junker in Albia, Iowa picked up this fellow workers coat, containing card. If found, please return to Main Office.

## NOTICE

Fellow Worker Harry Wilson has lost his card. It was lost somewhere between Oroville and Chico, Cal. If found, please return to this office.

NOTICE

All delegates who have not reported into this office in the past six months, do so at once, as a list of names of all those who have not done so will be sent into the field during the month of June, 1923.

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Earl Winters, Perry Chessman, Wm. Brooks, and Frank Brandt please get in touch with M. Trisler, G. O. C. member I. U. 310, at 2 S. Morgan St., Chicago, Ill. Important.

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BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS. KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS (AND THAT MEANS PRACTICALLY ALL MOVING PICTURES).

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WANTED

A letter from Whitefish, Montana states that a good active delegate could do extra good work for the organization in camps around Essex, Montana.

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STRIKE CALLED

Telegram received May 29th, 1923.
Staples, Minn.

Strike called this morning on Robert Bros. Track raising job out of Staples, Minn. Minutes of meeting and details later. Notify Duluth, Minneapolis and Fargo as soon as possible. Strike Committee on the job.
Strike Committee.

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**JOB NEWS**

**Wyo., Petrie, 5-25-23.** — Nearest post-office Casper. Peterson and Davis. Wagon three up. Work will last two months. Twelve camps. 22 to 24 men employed. Wages skinners 50 cents per hour, dumper $6.00 and beans, plow holder $150.00, cat skinner $125.00, blacksmith $150.00, cook $150.00, flunkey $80.00. Work ten hours on the job. Board fair at $1.50 a day. Sanitary conditions rotten. Chances of going to work.—Del. GC-720.

**Wyoming, Petrie, 5-25-23.** — Poor Bay and Peterson Co. Wagon three ups. Work will last two and a half months. One camp. Twenty men employed. Wages skinners 50 cents hour, plow holder $150.00 a month, dumpman $125.00, corralman $80.00, cook $125.00, flunkey $80.00, cat skinner and blacksmith $150.00. Ten hours on the job. Board fair at $1.50 a day. Sanitary conditions bum. The blankets are dirty. Two high bunks. Chances of going to work.—Del. GC-720.

**Nev., Lahonton, 5-20-23.**—United States Reclamation Service. Wages $4.00 eight hours. Board $1.25, is rotten. Accomodations need improving. There are still double deckers here. Fourteen slaves in one small room big enough for four men. Three men sleep in the warehouse. You can hire on the job or ship from Francovich Employment Agency of Reno, Nevada. Sentiment for the I. W. W. is fair. Slaves like to read our literature but don't care for lining up.—Del. GC-500.

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THE MAN WORKING NEXT TO YOU OUGHT TO BE IN THE UNION. IF YOU HAVE NOT TRIED TO GET HIM IN BEFORE, DO IT NOW!

**Kansas, Udall, 5-22-23.** — The Phoenix Utility Co. is building a pole line through here. Paying 40 cents an hour for common labor, 80c for linemen. Board, $1.20 per day. Camp is located five miles east of Belle Plaine and four miles West of Udall. Clean sheets and towels once a week. Work nine hours. Go both ways on company time. Ride out and in on trucks. Working about fifteen linemen and around thirty groundmen. Hire all their men at the camp. Sentiment for the I. W. W. and K. K. K. about 50-50.—Card No. 728086.

**Cal., Truckee, 5-14-23.**—Utah Construction Co. Camp A, six miles from Truckee. This camp works about 90 men. The conditions are the worst I ever saw. Tents with dirt floors and no beds. Springs are put either on boxes or rocks. Wages are $4.00 eight hours and up. Board $1.25 is rotten. The kitchen crew is 100 per cent American. Cook went to the boss and told him that some I. W. W. put stickers on the dining room and was so afraid that the wobblies would get him off the job, that he could not cook supper and the boss and his tools got busy to find the criminal. A Mexican delegate can do good here, over half the slaves are Mexicans.—Del. GC-500.

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A GOOD UNION MAN SPREADS BOTH REASON AND LITERATURE.

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**Cal., Cayton, 5-14-23**—Mt. Shasta Power Co. on P. G. and E. Railroad construction. Power plant. Dam tunnel. Work will last about three years. Two camps. Two hundred seventy men employed at present. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is fair. There will be about seven or eight hundred employed by first of July. Wages skinners $4.25, laborers $4.00. Work eight hours. Board fair at $1.25 per day. Poor bath. Sanitary condition poor. Chances of going to work. Ship from Redding or Murray and Ready, Sacramento or Stockton. $7.50 from Redding. $15.00 from Sacramento. Men are not plentiful. There are two highway camps, state camps, north of Redding.—Del. GC-368.

**Cal., Dunsmuir, 5-15-23.** — Castle Crag Lumber Co. Building logging railroad, narrow gauge. All hired gyppo. Stock Fresno work. Work will last three months. Twenty-one logging and one mill camp. Thirty men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. poor. All poison oak scissors of the 100 per cent type. This job started about two months ago. Work nine hours. Board rotten at $1.05. Sanitary conditions fair. Shower bath and drying room. Chances of going to work. Hire out on job. See a man by the name of Chunck. If any wobs coming to these camps, look out for deputy finks. Leave the brass band in the jungles.—Del. GC-322.

**Cal., Sisson, 5-15-23.** — Pioneer Lumber Co. Grading road. Wages for laborers 47 cents per hour and $1.00 a day for board. There are about 15 men working here. The food is good and there is no place to take a bath here. Eight hours but you go on your own time both ways. All homeguards. The place for hiring out is at main office, Pioneer Lumber Co. one mile from Sisson. They are coming and going all the time.—Del. GC-251.

**Ohio, Barberton, 5-15-23.**—Grant Carey, contractor. Rock cut on highway. Work will last two months. One camp. Fourteen men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. none. Few teams on wagons wagoning from steam shovel. Wages shovel runner $250.00 and board, cook $175.00, skinners $6.00, board $1.25, wagon dumper $7.50, board $1.25, mucker $6.00. Work ten hours. Board fair at $1.25. Sanitary conditions not very good. Chances of going to work. Apply on the job. This camp is in a farm house on the Cleveland and Massilon highway.—Del. GC-261.

**Iowa, Davenport, 5-21-23.**—The U. S. is putting on 500 more men at R. I. Arsenal in a few days. Quite a few working there now. Wages in Davenport for common labor run from 35 to 75 cents per hour.—J. W.

**Iowa, Decorah, 5-16-23.**—J. C. Dunkel, contractor. Dirt work. State highway. Work will last all summer. One camp. Fifteen men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. fair. Wages $2.50 per day and board for three up wagon skinners. Work ten hours. Board good. Sleeping quarters good. Chances of going to work. Sanitary conditions good. Apply at camp. Men are not plentiful.—Del. GC-752.

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A SUBSCRIPTION TO AN I. W. W. PAPER IS A GOOD INVESTMENT FOR EVERY WORKER

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**Iowa, George, 5-21-23.**— Three miles south of George. Ira C. Cox contractor. Dirt. State road work. One camp. Fifteen men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is fair. Wages for skinners $2.50 per day and board. Work ten hours. Board good, sleeping quarters good. Sanitary conditions good. Chances of going to work. Apply at camp. Men are not plentiful.—Del. GC-752.

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## JOIN G. C. W. I. U. NO. 310, OF THE I. W. W.

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## PREAMBLE

—of the—

**INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.**

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

# JOB NEWS FROM ACTIVE DELEGATES

**Ore., Redmond, 5-20-23.** — Taylor, contractor. Rock—McKenzie highway. This camp has fourteen men, most all mucking. One jack hammer at work. Work will last three months. One camp. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is fair. Wages $5.00 high. Work eight to ten hours. Board $1.20. Carry own bed. Sanitary conditions fair. Chances of going to work. Apply on job. See Taylor in town or camp. Men are not plentiful.—Del. GC-19.

**Wis., Antigo, 5-27-23**—M. E. White Construction Co. Just at the edge of Milwaukee. They are lowering the grade for the Northwestern railroad and putting in retaining walls. The supt. is very hostile to the I. W. W. The feeling here is fair. There is a gang of about forty men employed by the N. W. railroad here, laying tracks for 47½ cents a hour. Wages, carpenters helper receives 60 cents an hour, carpenters 90 cents, cement mixer eleven hours for ten 60 cents or $6.60 ten hours, wheelers 50 cents, dumpmen 50 cents an hour and bridge helpers 60 cents hour. Shovel Engineer $1.15 an hour, craneman 90 cents, fireman 80 cents, pitmen 55 cents an hour, 11 hours pay for ten hours work. In all there are about two hundred men employed and they hire all they can get. A bunch of men walked off the concrete gang the day I came, three days ago, because they wanted a raise of ten cents an hour and I am sorry to say that some of the carpenters took their place and are still wheeling, as it is pretty hard to hire slaves for 50 cents. Some quit before they would wheel. The board here is good and sleeping quarters fair. They furnish bedding. Twenty-four men to a bunkhouse. Have a washroom and shower baths. Sanitary conditions fair. Can be improved a little. Come on, footloose, make a harvest stake, get on the job. A few fellow workers got fired Friday for placing stickers on wheelbarrows. Stool pigeon on big mixer and one handling jack at dump.—Del. GC-299.

**Indiana, Gary, 5-25-23.** — Mellon Construction Co. Camp one and one-half miles out. Bunk house and board fair. Sanitary conditions fair as far as it goes. No hot water or bathing conditions. Wages lowest 45 cents per hour. Ten hours. Chances of work. Considerable of track work, lots of building going on. Get job from Clapp, Riley and Hall, 12 S. Canal St., Chicago. Fee $1.00 or go to work on job. Job will likely be a long one. Quite a lot of old country men on job. Quite a number of Mexicans, a few Negroes. Shipping out every day so far. Ride out on truck from the depot. Sentiment fair.—Card No. 835493.

**Priests Rapids, Wash.**—A $100,000,000 project to be commenced soon on Columbia river at Priests Rapids. Dam alone to cost $28,000,000; it will be the largest in the world. Expect to build up a manufacturing city of 40,000 here, and to supply Seattle and Spokane with power. Will irrigate 1,000,000 acres of land.—**H. E. F.**

**JOIN G. C. W. I. U. NO. 310 OF THE I. W. W.**

**Iowa, Kalona, 5-21-23.** — Knight Const. Two miles south on highway. Two machine spread pulled by cats. Two and three up wagons. About thirty men employed when full handed. Ten hours per day. Two months work. Wages cook $150.00 per month, flunkey $75.00 per month, plow holder $175.00 per month, dumpmen $5.00 per day, skinners $2.50 per day. Wages include board which is good. Sleeping quarters poor. Crowded. No bath house. Sentiment for I. W. W. fair. A good place for a delegate.—Del. GC-13.

**Iowa, Mason City, 5-17-23.**—McCree and Nelson contractors. Steam shovel striping quarry for Lehigh Cement Co. Work will last one year. One camp. Fifty men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. fair. Wages 40c per hour for laborers Work ten hours. Board good at $1.05 per day. Good sleeping quarters. Sanitary conditions good. Chances of going to work. Apply at camp. Men are not plentiful.—Del. GC-752.

**Iowa, Oskaloosa, 5-19-23.** — There are three road camps working out of here. Swanson's Camp, paying $2.00 per day and board. McAndrews Camp and Mathews camp are near this town also. There are of course wick outfits. Some of the drivers working in these camps are only fifteen years old. Judge for yourself.—Del. GC-705.

**Indiana, Terre Haute, 4-30-23.** — Stone and Webster. Work nine hours. Wages are now 37½ cents per hour. Not much sentiment for organization, but strong for dice and card gambling. Many farmers of surrounding regions on the work, as well as a large ignorant scissorbill element.—Card. No. 835493.

**Iowa, Tipton, 5-21-23.**—Condon and H. Perry. One machine outfit. Six miles work. Prim. road Tipton to Standwood. Three up. Skinners 40 cents per hour. Board $1.00. Cat skinner $150, dumper $150. Chuck good. Sanitary conditions good. Ten hour day. Sentiment for the eight hour day. Men kind of scarce.—Del. GC-813.

**Iowa, West Liberty, 5-17-23**—Littig Construction Co. Wages $2.75 and board. The board is very poor. Sleeping quarters are bum. Two machine outfits located between West Branch and Rochester, Iowa. Plow holder $5.00 a day, $120.00 month for dumpmen, barnmen $75.00 a month. Not very well organized yet.—A. W.

**Montana, Forsythe, 5-19-23.** — Winston Brothers, sub Nelson. Grading thirty-five miles R. R. Work will last all summer. Eight camps. Thirty-five men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is fair. Wages, laborers 40c per hour, teamsters and drillers 45 cents per hour, and some teamsters work twelve hours for $45.00 per month, dumpman $125.00. Work ten hours. Board rotten. Sanitary conditions rotten. Furnish blankets, no mattress. There are chances of going to work. Apply on job, also at Minneapolis. Men are not plentiful.—Del. AG-408.

**Montana, Hardin, 5-15-23.** — The contract for the building of the drainage system for the Valley center drainage north of Hardin was awarded to Winston Bros. of Minneapolis at 14 cents per square yard. The cost of the work at this basis will be about $200,000. A sub-contract for the building of culverts and concrete work has been awarded to Ernset Adler, a pioneer Hardin contractor.

**Neb., Darr, 5-19-23.** — There is a pipe line job at Darr on the U. P. R. R. Wages are $4.00 to $4.50 for nine hours. There are about 100 men in the camp. They are about one half white and the other half a foreign mixture. Part are Bulgarian. The sleeping quarters are badly crowded. Board first class at $1.25 per day. No bath house and very poor lights at night and working conditions are fairly good. Ride to and from work. The contractor brought a bunch of Southerners from Oklahoma in their B. V. D's and as soon as their contract is fulfilled they will go back South. With a change of delegates each week or two, I am of the opinion that we can do something. The job is laying pipe 426 miles and will be about ten months work.

There also is Pat Kelly's gang at Darr on the U. P. R. R. Ninety nine men and about 40 per cent organized. Shipping point U.P. Free Employment office at Omaha, a good chance for a live wire to ship out. The board is 90 cents per day. Wages 37 cents per hour, eight hours. No Sunday work Conditions and board are fair. There is about 20 per cent of the gang belonging to the Maintenance of Way and when I was there I gave them all of the railroad literature I had.—Del. AG-138.

**Ostrander, Wash.**—Nettleton, Bruce and Eschach are building a log railroad one mile south of Ostrander. There are two steam shovels and two burley drills. The work is mostly rock work. Job will last about nine months. There are about forty men working. The wages are, laborers, $4; machine drillers, $5.50; steam shovel engineer, $200 per month; cook, $125; flunkey, $60; dishwasher, $60, and bull-cook, $60 per month. Work is eight hours. The board is good at $1.20 per day, with bed included. Sanitary conditions are fair. Shower baths are being installed, and clean bedding is furnished. They are hiring men on the job, and shipping from Hanley Employment office at Portland, Oregon. The employment fee is $1.50 and $1. The job is full-handed at present. There is no delegate on the job.—**Delegate GC-297.**

**White Salmon, Wash.** — Job fourteen miles north of White Salmon. K. Sauset, contractor. Clearing right of way for highway. Five miles of work at present; fourteen miles more to start soon. Job will last seven months. One camp. Thirty men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. is fair. More men will be employed later. No work at present but clearing right of way, but there will be steam shovel and team work later. Work eight hours. Board poor at $1.20 per day. Sanitary conditions are rotten. Company truck in White Salmon every day. There are chances to go to work on the job.—**Delegate GC-116.**

**SUBSCRIBE TO THE PIONEER**

# CONSTRUCTION WORKERS BULLETIN

"An Injury to One Is An Injury to All."

ONE UNION No. 3 ONE ENEMY

Published Monthly by I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W.
Address all communications to
2 SO. MORGAN ST. CHICAGO, ILL.
T. McMAHON, Chairman, G. O. C.
J. KENNEDY, Sec'y-Treas.


## READ THE I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

**Working class education demands that you read and subscribe for the following publications:**

The Industrial Worker, Industrial Solidarity and the Industial Pioneer should be read by every wage worker. Receipt books are on hand for the sub-getters. You can have bundle orders of these publications mailed to you; also magazines, papers and leaflets in various foreign languages.

For further information, get in touch with the General Construction Worker's Industrial Union No. 310, of the I. W. W., 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

IGNORANCE IS THE ENEMY OF THE WORKERS. PUSH THE LITERATURE.

**Ore., St. Helens, 5-15-23.**—U. S. Government work changing channel on Columbia River. Twenty men employed. Shoveling and wheeling rock. Wages $3.00 per day and board and room on house boat. At present we are at St. Helens but will move to Rainier in a few days and then to Astoria. Work will last all summer. Board and conditions good. Blankets, sheets and pillow slips furnished and changed once a week.—GC-378.

**Utah, Echo, 5-18-23.**—Morris and Knutson. Thirty-nine miles from Ogden east on U. P.. Steam shovel and few teams. Double tracking. Wet in pit. Furnish hipboots. Sixty men employed. Sentiment poor. Mostly home guards. Delegate can do good here for organization. Wages team hands 50 cents per hour, laborers 45 cents per hour, pitmen's wages are 50 cents per hour. Work nine hours. One camp. Sanitary conditions fierce. Board fair at $1.25. Employment office W. O. Jones, Ogden. Shipping fee $1.00, fare free. Sleeping in tents, double deck bunks. Bedding furnished at 75 cents per month. New bedding. No floor in tents. about August or September. Men are com-Tents are leaking when it rains. Chances of going to work. Apply on job or ship. Teamsters and laborers. Job will last till August or September. Men are coming and going every day. Conditions drive them away. Had walkout a few days ago, 31 out of 36.—Del. GC-369.

**Ore., Medford, 5-12-23.**—Chris Natrick. Fifteen miles out. Ditch work. Mostly stump ranchers and a few cat wise stiffs. Four up Fresnos. Man tailing. $4.50 eight hours but put in nearer eleven getting eight in. Grub fair at $1.25 a day. Flop and sanitary conditions rotten. Sentiment the same.—Del. GC-211.

JOIN G. C. W. I. U. NO. 310, OF THE I. W. W.

**Iowa, Tama, 5-22-23.**—J. O'Neil is working one stock machine. Wages for skinners $3.75 and $1.00 out, all two-ups. Machine driver $135.00 per month, plow holder $150.00 month and board. Most all old time dirt hands. This outfit is two miles east of town, also has an oufit four miles east.—Del. GC-705.

**Neb., Willow Island, 5-16-23.** — Oklahoma Pipe Line contractor is putting this job through. It is not a hi-ball job. $4.50 and $4.00 for pipe liners, $4.00 for ditcher, $1.20 for board. The board is good. In and out on your own time. A Buckeye machine on the job.—H. A.

**Ore., Medford, 5-12-23.** — Von Hellun, ditch work. Forty-eight miles out. Mostly mucking. Going to start Wheeler outfit in few days. 25 men employed. All stump ranchers. $4.50 to $5.00 a day, eight hours. Board fair at $1.50. Sleeping quarters fair. Blankets furnished. Sanitary conditions rotten. Stone quarry about a mile from camp. Want huskys, Swedes all the time. —Del. GC-211.

**Utah, Lund, 5-13-23.**—Utah Construction Co. Nearest postoffice is Cedar City. Grading for branch R. R. All Italians working on this line, only a few floaters here. Job will last sixty days. One camp. Thirty-five men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is fair. Wages 40 cents per hour. Four ups on Fresno. Work ten hours. Board good at $1.20 per day. Sanitary conditions none. Chances of going to work. Orders to ship no one on job on account of the reds liable to get in and call a strike. Men are plentiful.—Del. MM-207.

**Wash., Kelso, 5-12-23.**—Nettelton Bruce. Building a logging road for the Ostrander Lumber Co. Job will last couple of months. One camp. Forty men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is good. Wages are as follows: Muckers $4.00, drillers $5.50, pitmen $4.50, right-of-way $4.50. Working eight hours. Two steam shovels working. Sanitary conditions better than the average. Bathhouse, hot and cold water. Bullcook on the job. Sign hanging on the bunkhouse door, "Occupants of this bunkhouse are requested to keep this clean. Signed, McDonnell." Board $1.20 a day and good. Men are hired on the job. Men not so plentiful. —Del. GC-105.

**Wash., Shoskin, 5-13-23.**—Nearest postoffice is Ellensburg. Grant Smith Co. Surfacing and relaying steel. Job will last all summer. One camp. Seventy-five men employed when full handed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is fair. All men broke here. Don't stay over two days. Wages forty cents per hour for laborers. Bosses wage a secret, trying the speed up system. Hospital fee $1.50. Work eight hours. Board rotten at $1.25 per day. Sanitary condition none. Good chances of going to work. Fee $1.00, fare free. This is a good camp to stay away from. I worked twelve hours here, drew check for $1.65. Timekeeper tries to charge three cents for paying off.—Del. GC-413.

**Cal., Watson, 5-14-23.**—Bent Bros. Construction Co. Mostly Mexicans. Grub no good, no blankets. Nine hours. Five dollars. No lights or mattresses. Sentiment for the organization is fair.—J. T. C.

A DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION IS BUILT FROM THE GROUND UP. WHAT ARE YOU DOING?

**Cal., Camino, 5-25-23. — Nearest post-**office is Placerville. Seven miles north. Western States Gas and Electric Co. Constructing an electric power plant. Work will last about two years. Ten camps. Two thousand men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is rabid. Plenty of stool pigeons, mostly American Legions. Wages laborers, $4.00, hammersman, $4.50. Some camps eight hours and some nine. Sentiment for overtime very strong. Board $1.20. Sanitary conditions fair. Food is good. Chances of going to work. Shipments only from Western Employment at Sacramento. Fee $2.00, fare $3.50. This company has been turning men down that applied for work on the job with instructions to return to Sac and ship, fifty-nine miles away. Men are plentiful. All camps are not in operation at present but will be in full in about two weeks.—Del. GC-202.

**Montana, Armington, 5-23-23. —** White, Brown and Leahey of Great Falls. State highway. Grading with steam shovels and dump wagons. Six teams on dump wagons, one jack hammer man, one dump boss, one cook, one water wagon man. Thirteen miles of heavy grading. Work will last about eight months. One camp. Seventeen men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is good. Wages teamsters $4.00. Paid for eight hours but work nine and a half. Board fair at $1.20. Sanitary conditions could be better. Two bunkhouses, six men to bunkhouse. Double deckers. Dirt floor. Rustle your wood. Blankets furnished. No sheets or pillows. Chances of going to work. Apply on job, one mile south of Armington. Sometimes picks men up with auto at Belt or Armington or Great Falls. Men are plentiful. These men are U. M. W. miners from coal mine at Belt and Armington, one and three miles distance respectively. Some stump ranchers also but they are quitting continually—dissatisfied.—Del. GC.-414.

**Ore., Prineville, 5-23-23.**—Capt. Fuller. Road, highway, dirt and rock. This camp has all farmers at present, there are no construction workers. Job will last all summer. One camp. Forty-five men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. indifferent. There is a good chance for construction workers of 310 to get on this job and organize. Wages $4.00 high. Work eight hours. Board fair at $1.20. Sanitary conditions rotten. Chances of going to work. Apply at Capt. Fuller's office, Prineville. Men are not plentiful. Members of 310 get on this job for they want the dirt-mover. Let's organize.—Del. GC-19.

**Ore., Bend, 5-20-23. —** Logan Construction Co. 23 miles s. w. of Bend. Grading dirt, rock, clearing right-of-way. This work is being done for Sharilen and Hixon Lumber Co. It is a logging railroad. Work will last all summer. One camp. Twelve men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. is hostile. This camp is rotting, the bunk house has no floor and the grub is rotten. Carry your own bed on the job. Chances of going to work. See boss in Bend. Men are plentiful. This job is ranchers with their own teams and natives around Bend. —Del. GC-19.

JOIN G. C. W. I. U. NO. 310, OF THE I. W. W.

**Montana, Essex, 5-22-23.**—Guthrie Co. of St. Paul. Double tracking on the Great Northern R. R., Jave to Nyack. About six months to finish job. Wages 45 and 50 cents an hour. Ten hour day. Board $1.20 per day. Short handed now. Nearly all camps running with little better than half crews. Some organization work going on. Sentiment in some of the camps towards the organization is good and others very indifferent. About forty per cent organized. With the agitation that has been going on, the bosses have handed out on the 21st. a camouflaged eight hour day, said eight hour day to consist of ten hours on the job with eleven hours pay. Good for the boss but very unfair for the slaves. With some new faces headed this way and some more economic education, the actual eight hour day is plainly in sight.

**Lawlor's Camp 5.**—Same job two miles from Essex. Chuck fair. Bunkhouse fair. Sentiment to organization indifferent. About forty per cent organized. Now, this cook at Camp 5 who has had a card for several years and claims to be a good wobbly, refused to feed about fifteen fellow workers who were late about thirty minutes for attending meeting at Essex. Wake up 310 and put this construction job on the map.—Del. LU-1459.

**Arizona, Prescott, 5-20-23.**—Fort Whipple hospital. Plumbing, steamfitting, orderlies, cooks, firemen, laborers, kitchen help. 400 or more men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is fair. Good conditions. We expect a raise but not sure. Wages, plumbing C. S. $160.00, steamfitting S. C. $160.00, orderlies $48.00 to $70.00, cooks from $75.00 to $135.00, laborers $48.00, kitchen help $48.00 and board for all. Chances of going to work. Just ask for Mahoney, headquarters Fort Whipple barracks. —Del. GC-259.

**Cal., Red Bluff, 5-20-23.**—Nearest postoffices Payne Creek and Mineral. Twenty-five miles east. State highway. State road. One camp at Payne Creek. Camp 2 six miles from Payne Creek and one camp three miles from Mineral and will start another camp soon. Job will last about four years. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. fair. There will be a contractor. Readman, Page and Bond has twelve miles of road on the same stretch and will have steam shovel and team camp as soon as he can get started in a week or ten days. In camp Mineral and headquarters Camp board is fair but $1.20 per day. Work eight hours. In camp 2 there is no floor in cook tent. Chances of going to work. Ship out from Redding, Chico and Red Bluff or hire on the job. Highway trucks go out from Red Bluff every day, and some days there is a special man wagon in the above towns. It can be made a good job if the members will get on this job. Men are scarce. Get on this job and bring credentials and supplies. Good field to work on, good climate and fine winter.—Del. GC-368.

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A PAMPHLET CAN BE READ BY LANTERN LIGHT AS EASILY AS THE SPOTS ON A PAIR OF DICE

## NOTICE

In accordance with ruling of I. U. 310 Convention, all delegates are to report into Main Office of I. U. 310 at least once a month.

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## MANY CAMPS STARTED ALONG NEW RAILROAD

Miles City, Montana, 5-28-23—With more than a dozen camps established along this new project, scenes of activity mark the route for a distance of one hundred miles. Reports from good authority state that Emil Prahl, who has the contract for the second fifty miles out of the city, has started his outfit to work on the grade. There are a number of outfits nearer to the city. One is at the Potter ranch, one at the Hogg and Blum ranch and others at the De Los, Milo, Cowles and Weastes places, while a new camp is being established about twelve miles out. Delegates of the Construction Workers I. U. 310 and all active members should take note of the above.

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## FINANCIAL STATEMENT
**May, 1923**

### RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiations | $1,622.00 |
| Dues | 2,964.00 |
| Initiations for other unions | 704.00 |
| Dues for other unions | 1,370.00 |
| Organization assessments | 350.00 |
| General Defense stamps | 680.00 |
| Papers | 308.62 |
| Card cases | 46.50 |
| Buttons and pins | 119.75 |
| Literature | 253.85 |
| On acc't supplies | 21.80 |
| From Supply clerks, G. O. C., Tr. Delegates | 1,301.63 |
| Duplicate cards | 30 00 |
| Pioneer | 42.42 |
| Subs | 3.00 |
| Donation to I. U. No. 310 | 22.40 |
| Donation to strikes on lists | 57.45 |
| Donation to Defense | 5.00 |
| Refunds from strike funds | 118.23 |
| I. U. No. 330 delegate | 15.00 |
| Denegate GC-53 | .50 |
| Total | $10,036.15 |

### EXPENSES

| | |
|---|---|
| Per capita | $1,023.70 |
| Commissions on initiations and literature | 308.47 |
| Field wages | 1,708.50 |
| Mileage | 328.16 |
| Allowance to other unions | 629.20 |
| Held on account by G. O. C's. Tr. Delegates, Supply clerks, and Delegates | 1,651.27 |
| Gen. Defense stamps and dons. | 685.00 |
| Magazines and papers | 452.96 |
| Remittance to other unions, 50% on reports | 955.65 |
| Main office wages | 448.00 |
| Rent, light and heat | 49.43 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 71.58 |
| Postage, express and wires | 194.88 |
| North West Defense | 50.00 |
| Adv. to strikes | 391.10 |
| To strikes on list | 19.49 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 330 Delegate | 15.00 |
| Printing | 151.45 |
| Adv. to Sta. Del. J. Rook | 10.00 |
| Adv. to Sta. Del. R. Brown | 50.00 |
| Craft cards | 4.00 |
| Refund | 7.52 |
| Total | $9,205.36 |

### SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Total Receipts | $10,036.15 |
| Cash on hand, May 1 | 693.46 |
| Total | $10,729.61 |
| Total Epenses for May | 9,205.36 |
| Cash on hand June 1, 1923 | $ 1,524.25 |
| **Distributed as follows:** | |
| Personal deposit | $ 94.50 |
| Organization deposit | 1,429.75 |
| Total | $1,524.25 |

**District No. 1: Washington, Idaho, Oregon**

**May 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-678 | $ 12.50 |
| GC-660 | 8.50 |
| GC-217 | 2.50 |
| GC-675 | 8.10 |
| GC-267 | 15.75 |
| GC-439 | 28.00 |
| GC-16 | 24.54 |

**May 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-690 | 21.55 |
| GC-258 | 28.00 |
| GC-416 | 22.50 |

**May 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-478 | 25.00 |
| GC-115 | 27.00 |
| GC-265 | 7.50 |
| GC-737 | 12.50 |
| GC-679 | 14.50 |

**May 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-659 | 5.00 |
| GC-105 | 10.80 |
| GC-16 | 189.00 |
| GC-145 | 7.50 |
| GC-131 | 17.75 |
| Norman Norchester, I. U. No. 330 Delegate | 15.00 |
| GC-421 | 4.50 |
| GC-171 | 18.00 |
| GC-680 | 5.00 |
| GC-423 | 4.50 |
| GC-586 | 6.50 |
| GC-412 | 14.50 |
| GC-68 | 3.00 |

**May 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-556 | 3.50 |
| GC-300 | 209.00 |

**May 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-691 | 29.50 |
| GC-144 | 4.00 |
| GC-116 | 10.00 |

**May 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-88 | 32.50 |
| GC-296 | 5.00 |

**May 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-692 | 27.00 |
| R-273 | 20.00 |

**May 12**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-115 | 29.00 |
| GC-16 | 105.50 |
| GC-117 | 2.50 |
| GC-138 | 9.50 |
| GC-586 | 26.50 |
| GC-354 | 16.00 |

**May 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-365 | 36.50 |
| GC-365 | 18.50 |
| GC-578 | 9.00 |
| GC-16 | 64.63 |
| GC-211 | 25.00 |

**May 15**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-300 | 148.00 |

**May 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-88 | 9.00 |

**May 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-688 | 35.00 |
| GC-214 | 7.00 |

**May 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-730 | 5.00 |

**May 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-150 | 8.00 |
| GC-16 | 9.34 |

**May 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-300 | 100.00 |
| GC-106 | 5.00 |

**May 25**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-693 | 11.50 |
| GC-891 | 25.00 |
| GC-423 | 8.00 |

**May 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-596 | 8.19 |
| GC-105 | 27.90 |

**May 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-690 | 3.50 |

**May 31**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-948 | 41.10 |
| Total | $1,694.15 |

**District No. 2: California, Arizona and New Mexico**

**May 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-50 | $ 6.50 |
| GC-366 | 9.90 |
| GC-354 | 47.60 |
| GC-59 | 26.00 |
| GC-60 | 4.50 |
| GC-202 | 20.50 |
| GC-202 | 62.50 |
| GC-72 | 20.50 |
| GC-20 | 20.00 |
| GC-2 | 12.00 |
| GC-61 | 5.00 |
| GC-388 | 50.26 |

**May 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-361 | 30.00 |
| GC-6 | 10.00 |
| GC-627 | 13.00 |
| GC-626 | 38.00 |
| GC-268 | 10.02 |
| GC-383 | 25.25 |
| GC-613 | 29.25 |

**May 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-673 | 8.00 |
| GC-46 | 21.00 |
| GC-218 | 9.50 |
| GC-82 | 21.50 |
| GC-238 | 7.39 |
| GC-69 | 52.00 |

**May 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-367 | 13.50 |
| GC-429 | 17.00 |
| R-594 | 4.00 |
| Tom O'Hara | 9.45 |

**May 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-279 | 29.85 |
| GC-19 | 13.00 |
| GC-22 | 7.00 |
| GC-626 | 72.00 |
| Tom O'Hara, Literature | 22.05 |

**May 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-61 | 7.00 |
| GC-6 | 5.00 |

**May 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-202 | 32.05 |
| GC-463 | 23.50 |
| GC-2 | 32.50 |
| GC-106 | 10.50 |

**May 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-279 | 39.00 |
| GC-470 | 22.00 |

**May 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-69 | 76.52 |
| GC-366 | 22.40 |
| Frank Mason, papers | .75 |
| GC-626 | 48.00 |
| GC-386 | 3.00 |
| GC-6 | 6.50 |
| GC-551 | 3.50 |
| GC-551 | 3.00 |
| GC-61 | 17.00 |
| GC-463 | 12.00 |

**May 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-891 | 7.50 |
| R-469 | 5.00 |
| GC-55 | 3.00 |
| GC-52 | 5.00 |

**May 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-217 | 12.00 |
| GC-704 | 2.00 |
| GC-551 | 2.50 |
| GC-640 | 12.35 |
| GC-220 | 4.30 |
| GC-637 | 8.50 |

**May 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-626 | 12.00 |
| GC-647 | 12.00 |

**May 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-551 | 2.00 |
| GC-276 | 5.00 |
| GC-268 | 18.00 |

**May 25**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-281 | 23.25 |

**May 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-290 | 25.00 |

**May 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-82 | 15.50 |
| GC-648 | 7.00 |
| GC-470 | 11.00 |
| GC-259 | 20.30 |
| GC-20 | 5.00 |
| GC-22 | 10.00 |
| GC-609 | 28.50 |
| GC-469 | 8.00 |

**May 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-621 | 1.00 |
| GC-202 | 5.50 |
| GC-68 | 9.00 |
| GC-86 | 11.50 |
| GC-626 | 30.00 |
| GC-351 | 4.00 |

**May 31**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-251 | 15.50 |
| GC-463 | 25.70 |
| GC-758 | 33.00 |
| GC-47 | 15.50 |
| GC-278 | 9.90 |
| GC-48 | 5.00 |
| GC-426 | 19.00 |
| GC-500 | 16.95 |
| Total | $1,578.49 |

**District No. 5: Middle and Eastern States**

**May 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-25 | $ 45.82 |

**May 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-25 | 50.70 |
| GC-623 | 15.00 |
| GC-328 | 17.00 |
| GC-285 | 3.00 |
| GC-293 | 2.00 |
| I. U. No. 110 | 197.45 |

**May 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-875 | 3.00 |
| GC-370 | 6.00 |
| I. U. No. 120 | 206.60 |
| Includes GC-53 | .50 |

**May 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. 520 | 46.20 |
| GC-197 | 15.50 |
| GC-358 | 9.89 |
| GC-299 | 3.00 |

**May 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 13.15 |
| Refund from Pioneer | .60 |
| GC-287 | 50.00 |
| GC-382 | 2.00 |
| GC-256 | 8.50 |

**May 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-257 | .50 |
| GC-21 | 9.38 |
| Bert Lewis, Literature | 2.00 |
| Refund, old typewriter | 25.00 |
| GC-467 | 6.00 |
| I. U. No. 460 | .25 |
| I. U. No. 330 | 4.00 |
| I. U. No. 410 | 6.60 |
| I. U. No. 440 | 7.50 |
| I. U. No. 510 | 64.10 |

**May 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-256 | 7.15 |

**May 12**

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 20.65 |
| GC-287 | 80.10 |
| Jas. Clinton | 3.00 |
| GC-622 | 10.00 |
| GC-24 | 6.00 |
| GC-382 | 1.00 |
| Al. Bailey, Literature | 4.56 |

**May 15**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-256 | 4.50 |
| GC-875 | 4.50 |
| GC-468 | 3.00 |
| Ben Freeman, Literature | 1.50 |

**May 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-397 | 3.15 |

**May 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 8.60 |
| GC-287 | 119.20 |
| Ben Freeman, song books | 1.50 |
| GC-24, strike list | 2.00 |
| GC-322 | 5.00 |
| GC-292 | 4.50 |
| Al. Bailey, Literature | .72 |

**May 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-13 | 30.00 |

**May 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-875 | 1.00 |

**May 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 30.80 |
| GC-287 | 78.30 |
| GC-755 | 2.50 |
| Office report | 6.00 |
| J. Clinton, Literature | 1.80 |
| GC-373 | 13.00 |
| GC-382 | 2.00 |

**May 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-373 | 1.00 |
| GC-212 | 7.00 |
| Ben Freeman, Literature | 1.50 |

**May 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-260 | 20.50 |
| Total | $1,306.77 |

**CASH SUMMARY**

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash Receipts | $5,507.10 |
| Cash on hand May 1st | 693.46 |
| Total | $6,200.56 |
| Cash Expenses | $4,676.31 |
| Cash on hand June 1, 1923 | $1,524.25 |

**District No. 3: Wyoming, Utah, Colorado and North and South Dakota**

**May 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-372 | $ 7.00 |
| R-36 | 2.00 |
| GC-15 | 23.32 |
| GC-95 | 12.00 |

**May 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-263 | 7.50 |

**May 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-369, Strike list | 3.50 |
| GC-15 | 17.82 |

**May 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-94 | 8.00 |
| GC-886 | 9.50 |
| GC-372 | 12.50 |

**May 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-369 | 16.00 |
| GC-721 | 5.00 |
| GC-277 | 40.00 |

**May 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-369 | 12.00 |
| GC-869 | 2.50 |
| GC-734 | 18.00 |

**May 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-269 | 30.00 |
| GC-95 | 13.00 |
| GC-673 | 30.00 |
| GC-758 | 6.00 |

**May 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-720 | 7.50 |

**May 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-736 | 17.50 |
| GC-558 | 7.65 |
| GC-720 | 12.00 |
| GC-914 | 10.50 |

**May25**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-874 | 13.00 |
| GC-683 | 1.50 |

**May 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-372 | 41.00 |

**May 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-914 | 10.50 |
| GC-472 | 27.50 |

**May 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-761 | 5.00 |

**May 31**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-731 | 49.50 |
| GC-874 | 32.45 |
| GC-732 | 15.00 |
| Total | $ 526.24 |

**District No. 4: Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma**

**May 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-705 | $ 6.00 |
| GC-707 | 8.60 |

**May 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-93 | 2.50 |
| GC-813 | 6.50 |
| GC-13 | 15.50 |
| GC-814 | 38.00 |
| GC-183 | 15.00 |

**May 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 230 | 6.75 |

**May 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-705 | 3.00 |

**May 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-755 | 9.50 |
| GC-573 | 20.00 |

**May 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 230 | 8.45 |
| I. U. No. 210 | 16.15 |

**May 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-183 | 18.00 |
| GC-7 | 1.00 |

**May 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-759 | 5.00 |
| GC-709 | 18.50 |

**May 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-813 | 19.00 |
| GC-813 | 3.00 |
| GC-816 | 10.00 |

**May 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-358 | 2.40 |

**May 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-762 | 12.30 |

**May 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-814 | 17.20 |

**May 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-811 | 6.80 |

**May 25**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-708 | 12.00 |
| GC-824 | 26.50 |

**May 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-475 | 6.50 |

**May 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-813 | 21.25 |
| GC-197 | 23.00 |

**May 31**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-757 | 18.50 |
| GC-720 | 13.00 |
| GC-707 | 11.55 |
| Total | $ 401.45 |

## CASH EXPENSES

**May 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| Adv., A. McMillan, Tr. Del., and postage | $ 25.12 |
| Adv., Elmer Swanson, G. O. C., and postage | 50.12 |
| A. McMillan, Tr. Del. and postage | 25.12 |
| Matthew J. Trisler, G. O. C. | 50.00 |
| Cost of wiring Trisler | 1.65 |

**May 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| A. B. Dix, office supplies | 8.25 |

**May 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| Matthew Trisler, G. O. C. and postage | 25.12 |

**May 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| John Graham, G. O. C. and postage | 50.18 |
| Postage for Main office | 30.00 |
| North West Defense, card cases | 50.00 |
| Industrial Worker, B. O. | 244.35 |
| V. De Tourville, Portland Strike Committee | 100.00 |
| Cost of wiring De Tourville | 2.81 |
| Industrial Pioneer, B. O. | 60.96 |

**May 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| John Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| H. Sandberg, Tr. Del. | 35.00 |
| Tie Vapauteen, Finnish magazine | 1.00 |

**May 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| E. W. Latchem, I. U. No. 330 Del. | 15.00 |

**May 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| A. McMillan, Tr. Del. and postage | 50.18 |

**May 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| F. M. Adams, Tr. Del. | 50.00 |
| Cost of wiring Adams | 1.65 |

**May 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| Thos. F. Ryan, G. O. C. and postage | 25.12 |

**May 12**

| | |
|---|---|
| John Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| John Graham, G. O. C. | 50.00 |
| Cost of wiring to Graham | 1.65 |
| Postage, Main office | 30.00 |

**May 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| Workers Socialist Pub. Co. | 5.50 |
| John Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |

**May 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| Thos. F. Ryan, G. O. C. and postage | 50.18 |
| H. Feinberg, Acc't Gen. Defense | 200.00 |
| Tels. to Portland and Seattle | 3.67 |

**May 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| V. DeTourville, for strike | 50.00 |
| Cost of wiring to DeTourville | 2.35 |

**May 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| Matthew Trisler, G. O. C. | 50.00 |
| Cost of wiring to Trisler | 1.65 |

**May 25**

| | |
|---|---|
| Equity Printing Co., Bulletins and Leaflets | 151.45 |

**May 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| John Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| On acc't protested check, A. Wright | 10.00 |
| A. McMillan, Tr. Del., and postage | 50.18 |

**May 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| Geo. Lutzai, Roumanian paper | 1.35 |

**May 30**

| | |
|---|---|
| R. Brown, Kelso, Wash., acc't str. | 25.00 |
| Cost of wiring to Brown | 1.55 |

**May 31**

| | |
|---|---|
| Postage, Main office | 38.00 |
| Industrial Pioneer, B. O. | 50.42 |
| I. U. No. 110, May reports | 178.35 |
| Il Proletario, Italian paper | 8.15 |
| Industrial Solidarity | 75.23 |
| Per capita | 1,023.70 |
| Tie Vapauteen, Finnish magazine | 1.00 |
| I. U. 120, May reports | 290.85 |
| I. U. 130, May reports | 12.70 |
| I. U. 420 | 5.70 |
| I. U. 410 | 4.60 |
| I. U. 320, May reports | 7.90 |
| I. U. 330, May reports | 57.30 |
| I. U. 220, May reports | 14.05 |
| I. U. 210, May reports | 75.55 |
| I. U. 510, May reports | 63.80 |
| I. U. 440, May reports | 40.25 |
| I. U. 520, May reports | 108.40 |
| I. U. 640, May reports | 6.70 |
| I. U. 630, May reports | 6.15 |
| I. U. 450, May reports | 2.50 |
| I. U's. 470 and 480 | 2.60 |
| I. U. 530 | 8.20 |
| I. U. 660 | 2.35 |
| I. U. 650 | 2.50 |
| I. U. 230 | 9.70 |
| General Defense, Defense stamps and donations | 485.00 |
| I. U. No. 460 | 55.50 |
| Total | $4,676.31 |

**Indebtedness to I. W. W. Headquarters:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Per capita | $4,659.37 |
| Literature | 1,041.23 |
| Organization supplies and tels. | 1,235.63 |
| Rent | 658.29 |
| Due books | 1,084.20 |
| Total | $8,678.72 |

## NOTICE

When sending in job news, etc., to be published in the bulletin, be careful to state things as they are. Do not exaggerate. All members of I. U. No. 310 are expected to use this bulletin to express their views on any and all matters of interest to the organization. Let's hear from all!

**Tom McMahon**, Chairman, I. U. 310.
**J. Kennedy**, Sec'y-Treas., I. U. 310.

**JOIN GEN. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION, NO. 310, I. W. W.**

# General Construction Workers Bulletin

CHICAGO, ILL. | G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W. | No. 4, July 10, 1923

# The Short Work Day for All Camps

### THE STATE LAW AND THE 8-HR. DAY

A member of the Industrial Commission of the State of Utah calls to our attention that the 8-hour law of that state does not apply to construction jobs.

We knew this. We know the reason also. Utah is not alone. Several states have so-called labor laws. Whenever the wage workers have weak organization, there is no law enforcement.

A fine distinction is drawn between those who are organized and those who are not.

The whole struggle between Capital and Labor revolves around the length of the workday. All Capital is produced and reproduced by the unpaid labor of the wage workers. Every hour that the wage worker cuts from the workday means that much unpaid labor or profit taken from the capitalists, and just that much more will the wage workers receive of what they produce.

All capitalists realize this. The strength or possibility of the wage workers' organization is their only guide when considering the short workday or any other concessions.

The wage workers in some industries have made it lawful to work 40 hours a week and others have started an agitation for 6 hours of every twenty-four. We, of the construction camps, are still working 8, 10, and some places more hours for a day. There is only one reason for this. Not enough of us organized. However, I see by the monthly statement of G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 that quite a number of construction workers are lining up. This is a good sign. It gives the hope that a strike or the threat of a strike will enforce a short workday in the camps and have the laws on the state's law books include workers on construction jobs.

195417.

### SUMMER TOURISTS

(Overheard by an M. T. W. deck hand on the S. S. Leviathan).

FIRST FAT CONTRACTOR: "Hello, Tom, going to Europe for a rest?"

SECOND FAT CONTRACTOR: "Hell no; just showing off."

**"The Immediate Demands of the I. W. W." has been translated into Spanish. Same is now ready to be sent into the field. Any members or delegates who can distribute this pamphlet among the Spanish workers should write in and get a bundle of it, which is for free distribution.**

### BACK TO THE JOB

The strike in the Guthrie construction camps around Whitefish, Mont., has been transfered back to the job. A telegram was received by the Main Office of I. U. No. 310 to this effect. Details will follow.

## NOTICE

**BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS—KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS (AND THAT MEANS PRACTICALLY ALL OF THEM).**

**All I. W. W. papers and bulletins please copy.**

## A FRIEND OF LABOR

The President of the U. S. is on a tour of the Northwest. He is making many speeches. On one occasion he is said to have admitted the fact that he is a "friend of labor."

If this is true and I expect it is as it was in all the capitalist papers, we would never have guessed it by his past performance. Neither he nor his cabinet proved themselves "friendly" in the injunction they had issued against the railroad strikers last year; again recently when considering the releasing of laboring men from federal prisons, where they are being held on account of their efforts in behalf of organized labor. He refused to consider the case of one because he is said to have taken part in strikes in the oil fields.

On the other hand, another one of the cabinet deplores the terrible conditions of the nation's poorhouse. He promised that these institutions will be made larger and more fit for the crowds of working people who have no other hope for old age.

From the contractors we know how to protect ourselves, but from our FRIENDS?

427523.

## ENFORCING THE LAW IN CALIFORNIA

Weed, Cal., June 22—I was arrested about a week ago in one of the smaller cities of California. I got a "trial" in the city jail. The police told the judge I was an I. W. W. scoundrel, whatever that is. He ruled that I should be out of town by 11:00 o'clock.

I spent one night in a cell. That same evening a Greek bootlegger lost his liquor supply in a raid. The captured moonshine was locked up in a cell next to me. Late in the night an auto came. It had four men in it. Amongst them was the trial judge and two of the officers who arrested me. They had demi-johns and a small hose. When they had filled their vessels with the moon, they put water in the hooch.

When they were leaving the jail, the Judge jokingly remarked, "You fellows have larger jugs than I," and they all laughed.

These are the ones who call men scoundrels.

Del. GC 322.

## Victory in Sight

The past few weeks show conclusively the work carried on by the various defense committees has not been in vain. In California the opposition is gradually letting up on the persecution against members of the organization. Several acquittals have taken place and some dismissals. The latest news is to the effect that a Judge in Sacramento ruled that members could sell the Solidarity, Industrial Worker and the Industrial Pioneer on the streets of that city without official interference? Until recently members were charged with criminal syndicalism for that reason.

During the past month hardly a member has been arrested and charged with criminal syndicalism, and from all appearances the fight in California so far as new arrests are concerned, is almost at an end.

Two incidents of importance to the organization has recently happened in California. Two judges, one in Fresno and the other of Los Angeles, have ruled that hearsay evidence would not be tolerated in their courts, and that evidence of what happened outside of the state would receive the same treatment. This is a blow to the prosecution since their arguments have been built on the testimony of Coutts, Dymond and Townsend. Most of their testimony is hearsay.

(Continued on second page.)

## PUSH THE PIONEER!

General Construction Workers should not fail to read Industrial Pioneer and push it in all the camps. The July number is especially good. It begins a manual on "How to Strike" by Vern Smith. It tells how to organize and manage the workers' only weapon against the boss in a way that all the workers in the camps can handle it to the best advantage.

There's lots of other good matter worth reading, such as "The Significance of the Modern City" by George Williams; "El Proceso Wilckens" by Leone Esmond; "Revolutionary History and the Workers" by Pasquale Russo; "Tightline Johnson Goes to Heaven" by William Akers and "The International Situation" by Henry Van Dorn.

The leading feature is "The Great Agricultural Workers Drive." You'll want to read it.

Beginning with August issue, Industrial Pioneer will be under the editorship of Justus Ebert, formerly editor of Industrial Solidarity. With the co-operation of the membership, he will try to make the Pioneer the best magazine published. Give a push!

## VICTORY IN SIGHT

(Continued from page one.)

On June 20th President Harding commuted the sentences of 27 of the political prisoners provided they would consent to the condition contained in the commutation.

We are informed that 14 of the 27 have accepted the commutation. Already the following have been released:

Ralph Chaplin, Forrest Edwards, Michael Sapper, John I. Turner, C. W. Davis, John Foss and Chas Bennett.

The following we are informed are awaiting word from Washington if the old deportation warrants are still held against them:

Richard Brazier, Peter Green, J. A. MacDonald, Don Sheridan, Vincent Santilla and Joe Graber.

Those who rejected the President's commutation are as follows:

James P. Thompson, Alexander Cournos, J. T. Doran, H. F. Kane, Harry Lloyd, Burt Lorton, James Rowan, Chas H. McKinnon, Wenzel Francik, Harry Gray, James Slovick.

The General Defense Committee has a big fight ahead of it. A number of fellow workers have been arrested in Kansas and charged with vagrancy. The authorities are using this law thinking they can break the organization that way. In order to counteract their work a tremendous amount of publicity must be sent to that state.

Funds will be needed the most in the next few months to obtain the liberty of all class war prisoners. We ask your co-operation. Will you respond?

General Defense Committee.
1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

## Where to Get Supplies and Literature

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| L. C. Lybeck | Box 754, | Stockton, Cal. |
| B. Kelso | 142 N. Virginia St., | Reno, Nevada. |
| Elmer Anderson | Box 421, | Tacoma, Wash. |
| W. H. Boyd | Box 827, | Pasco, Wash. |
| S. W. Brook | Box 365, | Seattle, Wash. |
| A. Vacelio | Box 1689, | Spokane, Wash. |
| A. McKinnon | Box 91, | Eureka, Cal. |
| Al Frane | Box 107, | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 No. Nicolett Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Leslie Garner | Box 451, | Casper, Wyoming. |
| A. Vernon | 1219 Fourth St., | Sioux City, Iowa. |
| Oil Workers I. U 230 | Box 212, | Taft, Cal. |
| Nels Peterson | Box 641, | Everett, Wash. |
| Lee Tulin | 318 N. Wyoming St., | Butte, Mont. |
| Albert R. Graham | 13 Central Ave. | Whitefish, Montana. |
| J. MacAnally | Box 3001, | Portland, Oregon. |
| Sam Healey. | Box 3291, | Portland, Oregon. |
| J. F. Leddy | Box 730, | Missoula, Montana |
| Geo. Wenger | 302 Fifth St., | Milwaukee, Wis. |
| Jas. P. Sullivan | Box 1504, | Salt Lake, Utah. |
| John Shuskie | Box 69, Station D | New York, N. Y. |
| Wm. Morreau | 110 Front St., | Fargo, N. D. |
| Fred Carr | 8 N. Sixth St., W., | Duluth, Minn. |
| Geo. VanDusen | Box 501, | LaGrange, Oregon. |
| Wm. Randall | Box 653, | Aberdeen, Wash. |
| R. Seefeldt | Gen'l Del., | Kelso, Wash. |

# JOB NEWS

**Ostrander, Wash., June 22.**--Grant Smith & Co. Four camps. First camp six miles outside of Ostrander logging road. Team hands $4.50, laborers $4.00. Sleeping quarters too high and crowded. Grub fair. sanitary conditions fair. All summers work. Board $1.20. Hospital $1.00 per month. Compensation 50c per month. Sentiment for I. W. W. fair. Hire on job. (GC 506).

* * *

### FAVORS BOND STAMPS
**Minutes of Meeting**

Extract from minutes of meeting held at Stockton, Cal., June 24. M. & S. That all our English and foreign language publications keep up a continuous campaign of publicity in regard to the bond stamps until the debt is paid in full. Carried.

* * *

**Kenwood, Cal., June 14.**—Grant Smith One mile north. Highway. Fresno and Rocking road. Work will last all summer. One camp. About 50 men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. fair. Mexican, Negroes and Whites employed. Wages teamsters $4.50. Am not sure but I think the Rock gang gets $4.50 and laborers $4.00. Work eight hours. Board very poor at $1.25. Sanitary conditions poor. Bath house but no hot water. Chances of going to work. Hire on job and don't know but they ship men from Frisco. This job is eleven miles east of Santa Rosa and they are putting on more stock as this work should have been finished by July. There are ten miles to do. Delegates could do good work. (GC 368).

* * *

**Portola, Cal., June 14.**---Ratto contractor. Building concentrate plant for Walker mine. This work is not on the bull system. No hit-the-ball. Men are sticking pretty well. Work will last all summer. One camp. About 100 men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. very good. Chance for organizing the unorganized pretty good. Wages, labor $4.25 eight hours, concrete men, $6.00 nine hours teamsters $4.75 eight hours, flunkeys $70.00 per month and found, cook $150.00 and found Fink carpenters working nine hours straight time. Work eight and nine hours. Board very good at $1.25. Sanitary conditions quite good. Chances of going to work. Apply on job or ship from Liberty at Sacramento. Fee $2.50, fare $8.10. Also ship from Reno at stage office. Fee $2.00, fare $6.75. Ship from Portola no fee, fare $3.25. (GC 202)

* * *

**Rock Valley, Iowa, June 15.**—Jos. St. Agen. 3½ miles southwest. County road work. Two machine outfit, also slip and Fresno outfit one mile north. Two camps. About 30 men employed in one and about 15 in gyppo camp. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. no good. He has got nearly all Sioux City de-horn victims. Wages, wagon skinners $3.50 and some are getting $4.00, dumpman $5.00 and chuck, plowman and machine wipers are old doughpops. Don't know their wages. Gig $4.50, push $4.00. Work eleven hours. Board fair at $1.00. Sanitary conditions rotten. the men's tents are beside the corrals. No chance of going to work. He won't hire a stiff if he thinks he's a wob. (GC 186).

* * *

**Edgar, Montana, June 16.**—Grant Smith. Gravel pit. Steamshovel dinky. Work will last all summer. One camp. 30 men. Sentiment against the I. W. W. hostile. Wages 45c per hour laborers. Work eight hours. Board $1.20. Sanitary conditions fair. Furnish blankets. Chances of going to work. Apply Kelly's Billings. Fee $2.00. (GC 8)

* * *

**Edgar, Montana, June 12.**—Grant Smith & Co. Gravel pit. Putting up outfit for washing gravel for N. P. R. R. Also working one steam shovel. Work will last all summer. One camp. About 30 men. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. fair. Quite a number of stump ranchers working on job. Boss a snake-hunter from W. Virgina. Wages labor 45c per hour, carpenters 75c per hour. Work eight hours. Board fair $1.20 per day. Sanitary conditions poor. Hospital fee taken out at the rate of 20c first five days. Chances of going to work. Hire on job or ship from Kelley's Empt. office, Billings, fee $1.00. (GC 886)

* * *

**Nyack, Montana, June 18.**—Siems & Carlson Const. Co. Camp No. 1 is a rock camp, camp No. 2 is a steam shovel and camp 3 team with two-ups. Work will last three months. Three camps. 85 men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. fair. They hire the men on the job. This camp is full handed for the time and there is about two months work in Camp No. 3. The wages in these camps is $4.50 for eight hours. Board and bed $1.50 per day. Sanitary conditions good. There is a bath in these camps. Chances of going to work. (GC 874).

### NOTICE TO NON-MEMBERS

This bulletin is published by the membership of I. U. 310 of the I. W. W., for the benefit of the I. W. W., and is paid for by the membership of I. U. 310. Therefore, if you are not supporting us by being a dues-paying member of the I. W. W., you should become one and be a help to your class, not a burden.

### JOIN G. C. W. I. U. NO. 310, OF THE I. W. W.

## FROM THE G. O. C. MEMBER IN ARIZONA.

**Prescott, Arizona, June 16.**—Highway work, some of it being done by the State. Wages $3.50 to $5.00 for eight hours, board $1.20 and have your own bed. The Contractors on the highway work are paying from $5.00 and up. 62½ cts for truck drivers. Some of the jobs are nine hours and you have to furnish your own tents.

There are some bridge gangs. One big one at Drake, Arizona, Wages $3.00 or $3.50 in the concrete.

A smelter is being built at Superior, am not sure of the wages. Work to be started in the very near future. A new yards at Yuma. A dam at the Mormon Powder Flats just below the Roosevelt dam. The Saginaw Lumber Co. proposes to build a new R. R. from near Flagstaff into the timber. With a little effort all these jobs can be made solid. A few Mexican delegates could do some good work. Will send in more particulars later.

---

**Nyack, Montana, June 24.**—Siems & Carlson Co. Work will last about two months. Three camps. About 100 men employed. Sentiment towords the I. W. W. fairly good. Rock, steam shovel and team camps. The team is two and three-ups. Eight hours from camp to camp. $1.50 per day, board and bed. Sanitary conditions good. Chances to go to work. Hire on job. (GC 874).

* * *

**Biggs, Oregon, June 18.**—Sheren and McCall. State highway. Two four-ups on Fresnoes, one plow team. Will have car team in couple of days. Work will last three weeks.. One camp. 14 men employed. Sentiment towards the I.W.W. fair. Wages team hand four-ups $4.50 per day, plow shaker $5.00, muckers $4.50 per day. Has another camp at Wasco, but they are about finished. Work 8 hours. Board $8.40 per week. Sanitary conditions fair, Single cots, five cots in a tent. Beds free. Short handed. Hire at camp. Walk out to work and in from work on own time 1½ miles to walk. Hospital fee 25c a day for first 6 days. Cook gets $125.00 flunkey $60.00. (GC 689).

* * *

**Magna, Utah, June 19.**—Fare from Salt Lake 55c. Utah Construction Co. Steam shovel, tunnel and open pit. Working ten hours on steam shovel and open pit and eight hours in tunnel. Job will last one year. One camp. 100 men employed Sentiment towards I. W. W. good. Good live delegates can do good here. Wages, laborers 40c, steam shovel pitmen 45c, tunnel $5.50 and $6.00 eight hours, open pit 50c, burley 60c and 50c. Work ten hours. Board poor at $1.20. Sanitary conditions fierce. Hospital fee $1.00 month. Bedding furnished $1.00 month. Apply on job. (GC 369).

* * *

**Kalema, Wash., June 16.**—U. S. Engineers Department. Shoveling and wheeling rack. Changing channel of Columbia river. Rock is handed in barges, we shovel it in river. Work will last all summer. One camp. 21 men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W.W. good. Wages rock shovelers $3.50, cook $95; flunkey $60; dishwasher $60; launch operator $150.00. Eight hours. Board O. K. free. Blankets and sheets furnished and changed each week. Sanitary conditions goods. Towels and soap free. Emp. office Butts—Oake, Portland. Fee $1.50, fare about $2.50. This job is O. K. and the men stick to it so there is not much chance to get on. (GC 378).

* * *

**Casper, Wyoming, June 6.**—Sharrock and Pursel. Eight miles from Casper. Shouldering up on C. & N. W. One machine and eight or nine dump wagons, three-ups. Work will last about ten days. One camp. About 20 men. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. indifferent. Expect to move to Harrison, Nebraska in a few days, as it is a box car outfit. Wages wagon skinners $4.50, push skinner $5.50, corral buck $100.00 and chuck. Work nine hours. Board good at $1.50. Sanitary conditions could be improved. Blankets furnished. Chances of going to work. Hire out at Sharrock's office, Casper, or Union Emp. office. Fee $1, go out on truck. Sharrock and Pursel also have 15 miles on the new road about 20 miles out of Casper. This is supposed to be one of the best outfits in this part of the country (GC 269).

* * *

**Boysen, Wyoming, June 19.**—U. C. Construction Co. State highway. Nearest Postoffice Thermopolis. Rock work. Jackhammer men needed on this work. Work will last three months. Camps 1-2-3. About 100 men employed. Sentiment toward I. W. W. fair. Chance of a delegate doing good here. Wages cook from $100.00 to $150.00, shovel runner $150.00, fireman $90.00, Jackhammer men $4.50 to $5.00 a day, eight hours. Sanitary conditions rotten. No shower baths, no accomodations to wash clothes. Hire on job Board good at $1.20 per day. Charge 10c per day for blankets which are filthy. Short handed. (Del).

* * *

**Niles, Cal., June 22.**—Spring Valley Water Company. Constructing concrete flume. Very good bosses to work for. A few natives working, mostly stiffs. Three camps. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. pretty good Wages common labor $4.00, steel gang $4.50, concrete $4.50, carpenters $7.00. There is a 5c bonus if you stay 30 days, 10c bonus if you stay 60 days. Eight hours. Board not very good at $1.25. Sanitary conditions none. Sleep in tents. No floors or stoves. Chances to go to work. Apply at job. No shipments. There was a few laid off a few days ago but they get short handed. (G. C. 486).

* * *

**Niles, Cal., June 18.**—Spring Valley Water Co. Work will last all summer. Two camps. 175 or 200 men employed. Labor $4.00, helpers $4.50. no lights in tents. Members should make this camp, good climate and good water. (GC 368).

* * *

**Berkeley, Cal., June 20.**—Baits & Borland. Building a stadium. Steam shovel and wagons. Some Fresnos and pick and shovel. Work will last all summer. One camp. About 100 men. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. fair. Wages from $4.00 to $4.50. Eight hours. Board fair at $1.35. Sanitary conditions very poor. No light in bunk houses and no hot water in bath house. Chances of going to work. Hire on job. Sometimes they ship men from employment office at Oakland. (GC-369).

* * *

**Porto Rico, B. C., June 17.**—De Wolfe & Lamb are running a camp here. Furnish your own bed. Sleep in tents. Floors in tents. Spring beds and mattresses. Seven men to tent. Four tents. Board fair for $1.20 per day. No arrangement made for bath or dry house. Bull cook in camp 1. Oil lamp for each tent. Sentiment fair for I. W. W. Wages 45c an hour. Ten-hour day. One steam shovel man. (A. F. of L. man), $6.00, teamsters $5.00. Ten hours on job. Delegate would do good work. This camp is located 15 miles from Nelson, B. C. (LU-72).

* * *

**Bigsure, Cal., June 17.**—Geo. Pollok Const. of Sacramento. Building 13 miles of highway from Bigsure down to the coast. Two camps. Three gasoline shovels running. Wages $4.50 eight hours, low. Board at $1.20 is rotten. Sanitary conditions very bad. Slaves unorganized. Lots of agitation needed. Every wobbly coming this way should pay us a visit. (GC-500).

* * *

**Gladbrook, Iowa, June 11.**—The Parquette Construction Co., is working two machines six miles east. Cat pull. Two months work. Wages for drivers $3.75 per day and $1.00 out. Sloper $4.50 per day and board. Cat skinners $125.00 a month, plow holder $150.00 a month. Cook $125. Forty men employed. Chuck is very scant, not so good. Man and wife cooking. Between them both they get $100 per month and $25.00 bonus if they stay. Isn't that good? It's time we were organized. Sentiment is good for organization. This place is 25 miles north of Tama, Iowa, on a branch of C. and N. W., also of the K. C. line of the C. & G. R. R. 18 miles east of Marshalltown, Ia. (Card No. 785009).

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In accordance with ruling of I. U. 310 Convention, all delegates are to report into Main Office of I. U. 310 at least once a month.

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A SUBSCRIPTION TO AN I. W. W. PAPER IS A GOOD INVESTMENT FOR EVERY WORKER

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# PREAMBLE

—of the—

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

# JOB NEWS FROM ACTIVE DELEGATES

**Aurora, Ill., May 20.**—McCarty Impt. Co. Grading and concreting. Wages for teamsters and laborers 45c per hour. Board $8.00 per week. Sanitary condiitons no good. Board rotten. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. hostile. In this camp cards, dice, women and hootch controls the slaves thinking power. (GC-706).

* * *

**Montgomery, Ill., June 20.**—J. J. Dunnegan contractor. Grading and concreteing. Laborers and teasmters 45c per hour. Board $7.00 a week. Living and working conditions the worst I have ever seen. This is a large outfit. Anybody going this way take plenty literature and be prepared to get your orders from the boss. (GC-706.)

* * *

**Norman, Ill., June 20.**—Contractor working out of this town paying $5.00 for teamsters. (GC-706).

* * *

**Bissell, Ill., June 20.**—Stoner contractor. Wheeler work. $3.00 and board. Sleeping quarters crowded. Board fair. (GC-706).

* * *

**Pamona, Wash., June 17.**—This camp is the Grant Smith Co. Doing road construction. Job will last close to a year. The wages are $4 for 8 hours. Board $1.20, and $1 a month hospital. The job is fair. Grub good. Blankets furnished, but no wash house. We have to usc the Yakima River for a bath tub. Chance to go to work on the job. There are five or six camps. Men are rather plentiful, but most of them are going to Big Dick for harvest. This job is on the main line of the Northern Pacific, 11 miles east of Yakima. (GC-732).

* * *

**Cleveland, Ohio, June 18.**—Stroman and Kidder. This is a day job. The wages are two-up skinners, $5. Board, $1.25. Pay every Saturday or any time you want it, in cash. Plow holder $175 and board. Cook $200, flunkey $110, barn man $100 and board. Wagon dumper $5 and board. Machinc driver $150. This job is five miles from the square on Pearl Road. This man has four camps in town, all the same with the exception that the rest are contract jobs and are three-up wagons. The wages are the same. They feed the best in the land and sleeping conditions are fair. Ten hours. There is a chance to go to work any time, as men are scarce. Hire on job. (E. M.)

* * *

**Philipsburg, Mont., June 15.**—This job is run by White, Brown and Leahy, 45 or 50 miles from Philipsburg, and is what is known as the S k a l k a h o road project. Wages are $4.50 a day with board at $1.25 per day and very poor at that. Rag houscs to sleep in without floors. Wooden bunks, with no mattresses to sleep on. If you want to have any, you have to go to the corrall and shovc a mule over and steal his supper. This outfit has one camp running at present but will start another as soon as they can get thc men. Shipping from Butte and Great Falls. Also hire out at Philipsburg or on the job. Mostly pick and shovel work with somc hard rock and team work. (GC-1124.)

* * *

**Oroville, Cal., June 13.**—Bridge gang on Western Pacific R. R., 40 milcs from Oroville. About 30 men employed. Wages, laborers 50½ cents an hour. Eight hours work. Board is $31 a month and ship from office in Sacramcnto, free. I did not go to work on account of not having my own mattress and spring which you have to have there. Slaves seem to be contented with the conditions. There is no place to take a bath except the ice cold water in the creek. (GC-342.)

* * *

**Mobridge, S. D., June 16.**—Extra gang working. About 80 men employed. Mostly ranch hands here. Chance to go to work. Conditions rotten, but sentiment is fair for I. W. W. Grub is rotten. Slecping quarters fair. Wages are $3.90 for 10 hours. Board, $1 per day. They furnish you a blanket and matress for $1.50 a month. (GC-919.)

* * *

**Nyack, Montana, June 12.**—Siems & Carlson Construction Co., Camp 3.—Twenty-five men in camp. This is a team camp. Work will last until middle of August. Camp is filled up at present, but can hire out on job at times. Board is fair at $1.50. Hospital, $1. Sanitary conditions fair. No shower baths. All log buildings. Eight men to a house. The stock is normal. Two and three-up on Fresnoes. Eight hours from camp to camp. Half mile each way. $4.50 a day straight. Teddy Roosevelt Trail. Spring beds and blankets and mattress furnished. (GC-874.)

* * *

**Beckwith, Cal., June 19.**—U. S. Forest Service is building trails. Wages $3 and beans. Hire at Quincy, Cal. Chief Forester hires the hands. Eight hours from camp to camp. Fetch your own mattress. Bedding, springs, shower bath, towels and soap furnished. (GC-40.)

* * *

**Casper, Wyoming, June 17.**—Marsh Construction Co. On the 16th they gave the slaves a great raise of 1 cent per hour, making 38 cents per hour! Board, $1. Ten hour day. (GC-722.)

* * *

**San Mateo, Cal., June 23.**—Guern Bros. Grading highway. One steamshovel loading wagons, one steamshovel loading trucks. Work will last one month. One camp. Thirty men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. not bad. Truck drivers and steamshovel men lined up in A. F. of L. Wages, laborers, $4.50, teamsters, $4.50. Work 8 hours. Board fair at $1.25 per day. Sanitary conditions fair except the bath, which is ice cold. Chances to go to work. Apply on job. There are two other outfits on this same highway. Do not know wages. Weather is cool, windy and foggy. Comfortable with overcoat. (GC-433.)

* * *

**Blockton, Iowa, June 4.**—Port Peterson contractor. Fiftecn miles from Bedford. County road work. One machine caterpillar pull. Three-up wagons, good mules and lazy-back seats. Good chance, want stiff here. One camp. About seventeen mcn employed. Scntiment toward the I. W. W. not bad. Wages, plow holder, $200, caterpillar man $200, dumpman $175, blacksmith $150 or $175, wagon skinner $4 and board 1, corral bug $150. Work 10 hours. Board, $1 for day men. Sanitary conditions average. Board fairly good. Short-handed. Ship from Savage in Omaha. Fee none, fare none. (GC-183.)

* * *

**Lanark, Ill., June 22.**—They received a raise of 1 cent an hour here on this division on the 16th, which totals $3.80 for 10 hours. C. M. & St. P. R. R. (GC-490.)

* * *

**Bellevue, Iowa, June 26.**—Ed. Sash and Roy Snell. Construction. Grading. Work will last all summer. Two camps. Sixteen men in each. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. fair. Wages, plow holder $175 and board, cat skinner $150, dumpman $150, stableman $90, skinners 40 cents an hour, and $1 for board. Ten hours. Board good at $1. Sanitary conditions fair. Chances of going to work. (GC-761.)

* * *

**Merced, Cal., June 22.**—Merced Irrigation district. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. not very good. Wages, labor $4, skinner $4, plow skinner $4.50, plow holder $4.50. Board $1.25 per day, fair. Sanitary conditions rotten. No bath house. Can go to work most any time. Hire men in Merced almost every day. (GC-649.)

* * *

**Dubuque, Iowa, June 26.**—Groves and Son, contractors. Have four steam shovel camps working on highway, work which will last all summer. Camp 1 is at Rockdale, Camp 2 at Durango, Camp 3 at Holy Cross. Wages for teamsters, $2.50 per day and board, which is good. Can always set in. Hire out at the office in Dubuque. Sentiment in most of these outfits is indifferent. Two gyppos on this job, Dan Condon and Forbes. (GC-705.)

* * *

**Sheldon, Ill., June 28.**—Shirley construction company. Double tracking on Milwaukce (formerly the Walsh road). Wages, wagon dumper $150 per month and board, wagon skinners, two-ups $4.25, three-ups $4.50. Board, $1, and is good. Ten hours from barn to barn. This is the outfit on which the I. W. W. members demanded a 50-cent increase in wages a short time ago, and when same was not granted walked off, leaving the boss do the work himself. Seeing that he could not accomplish anything, he sent the timekeeper to St. Louis to get some men. Upon arrival on the scene of action, some of the workers got curious and started asking questions, and when informed that they had a little trouble with the previous crew. He offered them the raise that was demanded by the previous crew but he informed them that board would be raised to $1.25 a day and they told him nothing doing. Then he said: "I'll give you a 50-cent raise, board at $1 per day and pay your fare from St. Louis and auto trip to camp." So you see, our sweet boss did not profit much by the deal. The outfit is shorthanded at present and wants some dirt movers, so come on 310, let's have some organized action and an 8-hour day this season! (GC-282.)

# CONSTRUCTION WORKERS BULLETIN

"An Injury to One Is An Injury to All."

ONE UNION No. 3 ONE ENEMY

Published Monthly by I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W.
Address all communications to
2 SO. MORGAN ST. CHICAGO, ILL.
T. McMAHON, Chairman, G. O. C.
J. KENNEDY, Sec'y-Treas.


## NOTICES.

Three bond certificates of $1.00, $2.00 and $5.00 denominations are now off the presses and are being mailed into the field, also to Supply Stations and Stationary Delegates.

These are voluntary stamps and not compulsory. The money derived from the sale of these stamps will be used to pay off a debt and the membership should buy as many of these stamps as they possibly can, so as to wipe out this Bond indebtedness as soon as possible.

* * *

Fellow Worker J. MacAnally has been elected Supply Clerk for G. C. W. I. U. No. 310, at Portland, Oregon.

* * *

G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 has a hall at 248 Couch Street, Portland, Oregon.

### DELEGATES WANTED IN MONTANA AND WYOMING

Thermopolis, Wyoming
June 20, 1923

To 310 Members and Delegates:—

There is a lot of construction work in the states of Montana and Wyoming this summer and not enough active delegates. I ask every 310 memberr who is qualified to take out credentials, to do so.

We want a perfect organization this summer and to build up a powerful Construction Workers Union. We can't afford to have the few delegates and members do all the work. Now Fellow Workers, if you come in this state, see a traveling delegate or G. O. C. member and take out the rigging.

GC 8, G. O. member

## READ THE I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

**Working class education demands that you read and subscribe for the following publications:**

The Industrial Worker, Industrial Solidarity and the Industrial Pioneer should be read by every wage worker. Receipt books are on hand for the sub-getters. You can have bundle orders of these publications mailed to you; also magazines, papers and leaflets in various foreign languages.

For further information, get in touch with the General Construction Worker's Industrial Union No. 310, of the I. W. W., 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

IGNORANCE IS THE ENEMY OF THE WORKERS. PUSH THE LITERATURE.

### NOTICE

All delegates who have not reported into this office in the past six months, do so at once, as a list of names of all those who have not done so will be sent into the field during the month of June, 1923.

**Iowa, Tama, 5-22-23.**—J. O'Neil is working one stock machine. Wages for skinners $3.75 and $1.00 out, all two-ups. Machine driver $135.00 per month, plow holder $150.00 month and board. Most all old time dirt hands. This outfit is two miles east of town, also has an oufit four miles east.—Del. GC-705.

**Neb., Willow Island, 5-16-23.** — Oklahoma Pipe Line contractor is putting this job through. It is not a hi-ball job. $4.50 and $4.00 for pipe liners, $4.00 for ditcher, $1.20 for board. The board is good. In and out on your own time. A Buckeye machine on the job.—H. A.

**Ore., Medford, 5-12-23.** — Von Hellun, ditch work. Forty-eight miles out. Mostly mucking. Going to start Wheeler outfit in few days. 25 men employed. All stump ranchers. $4.50 to $5.00 a day, eight hours. Board fair at $1.50. Sleeping quarters fair. Blankets furnished. Sanitary conditions rotten. Stone quarry about a mile from camp. Want huskys, Swedes all the time. —Del. GC-211.

**Utah, Lund, 5-13-23.**—Utah Construction Co. Nearest postoffice is Cedar City. Grading for branch R. R. All Italians working on this line, only a few floaters here. Job will last sixty days. One camp. Thirty-five men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is fair. Wages 40 cents per hour. Four ups on Fresno. Work ten hours. Board good at $1.20 per day. Sanitary conditions none. Chances of going to work. Orders to ship no one on job on account of the reds liable to get in and call a strike. Men are plentiful.—Del. MM-207.

**Wash., Kelso, 5-12-23.**—Nettelton Bruce. Building a logging road for the Ostrander Lumber Co. Job will last couple of months. One camp. Forty men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is good. Wages are as follows: Muckers $4.00, drillers $5.50, pitmen $4.50, right-of-way $4.50. Working eight hours. Two steam shovels working. Sanitary conditions better than the average. Bathhouse, hot and cold water. Bullcook on the job. Sign hanging on the bunkhouse door, "Occupants of this bunkhouse are requested to keep this clean. Signed, McDonnell." Board $1.20 a day and good. Men are hired on the job. Men not so plentiful. —Del. GC-105.

**Wash., Shoskin, 5-13-23.**—Nearest postoffice is Ellensburg. Grant Smith Co. Surfacing and relaying steel. Job will last all summer. One camp. Seventy-five men employed when full handed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is fair. All men broke here. Don't stay over two days. Wages forty cents per hour for laborers. Bosses wage a secret, trying the speed up system. Hospital fee $1.50. Work eight hours. Board rotten at $1.25 per day. Sanitary condition none. Good chances of going to work. Fee $1.00, fare free. This is a good camp to stay away from. I worked twelve hours here, drew check for $1.65. Timekeeper tries to charge three cents for paying off.—Del. GC-413.

## NOTICE

Owing to the fact that I. U. 310 Convention will be held in Chicago, prior to the general convention which convenes the second Monday in November, an I. U. 310 Convention stamp of $1.00 denomination will be placed in the field.

**Cal., Camino, 5-25-23. — Nearest post-**office is Placerville. Seven miles north. Western States Gas and Electric Co. Constructing an electric power plant. Work will last about two years. Ten camps. Two thousand men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is rabid. Plenty of stool pigeons, mostly American Legions. Wages laborers, $4.00, hammersman, $4.50. Some camps eight hours and some nine. Sentiment for overtime very strong. Board $1.20. Sanitary conditions fair. Food is good. Chances of going to work. Shipments only from Western Employment at Sacramento. Fee $2.00, fare $3.50. This company has been turning men down that applied for work on the job with instructions to return to Sac and ship, fifty-nine miles away. Men are plentiful. All camps are not in operation at present but will be in full in about two weeks.—Del. GC-202.

**Montana, Armington, 5-23-23.** — White, Brown and Leahey of Great Falls. State highway. Grading with steam shovels and dump wagons. Six teams on dump wagons, one jack hammer man, one dump boss, one cook, one water wagon man. Thirteen miles of heavy grading. Work will last about eight months. One camp. Seventeen men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is good. Wages teamsters $4.00. Paid for eight hours but work nine and a half. Board fair at $1.20. Sanitary conditions could be better. Two bunkhouses, six men to bunkhouse. Double deckers. Dirt floor. Rustle your wood. Blankets furnished. No sheets or pillows. Chances of going to work. Apply on job, one mile south of Armington. Sometimes picks men up with auto at Belt or Armington or Great Falls. Men are plentiful. These men are U. M. W. miners from coal mine at Belt and Armington, one and three miles distance respectively. Some stump ranchers also but they are quitting continually—dissatisfied.—Del. GC.-414.

**Ore., Prineville, 5-23-23.**—Capt. Fuller. Road, highway, dirt and rock. This camp has all farmers at present, there are no construction workers. Job will last all summer. One camp. Forty-five men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. indifferent. There is a good chance for construction workers of 310 to get on this job and organize. Wages $4.00 high. Work eight hours. Board fair at $1.20. Sanitary conditions rotten. Chances of going to work. Apply at Capt. Fuller's office, Prineville. Men are not plentiful. Members of 310 get on this job for they want the dirt-mover. Let's organize.—Del. GC-19.

**Ore., Bend, 5-20-23.** — Logan Construction Co. 23 miles s. w. of Bend. Grading dirt, rock, clearing right-of-way. This work is being done for Sharilen and Hixon Lumber Co. It is a logging railroad. Work will last all summer. One camp. Twelve men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. is hostile. This camp is rotting, the bunk house has no floor and the grub is rotten. Carry your own bed on the job. Chances of going to work. See boss in Bend. Men are plentiful. This job is ranchers with their own teams and natives around Bend. —Del. GC-19.

A DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION IS BUILT FROM THE GROUND UP. WHAT ARE YOU DOING?

**Montana, Essex, 5-22-23.**—Guthrie Co. of St. Paul. Double tracking on the Great Northern R. R., Jave to Nyack. About six months to finish job. Wages 45 and 50 cents an hour. Ten hour day. Board $1.20 per day. Short handed now. Nearly all camps running with little better than half crews. Some organization work going on. Sentiment in some of the camps towards the organization is good and others very indifferent. About forty per cent organized. With the agitation that has been going on, the bosses have handed out on the 21st. a camouflaged eight hour day, said eight hour day to consist of ten hours on the job with eleven hours pay. Good for the boss but very unfair for the slaves. With some new faces headed this way and some more economic education, the actual eight hour day is plainly in sight.

**Lawlor's Camp 5.**—Same job two miles from Essex. Chuck fair. Bunkhouse fair. Sentiment to organization indifferent. About forty per cent organized. Now, this cook at Camp 5 who has had a card for several years and claims to be a good wobbly, refused to feed about fifteen fellow workers who were late about thirty minutes for attending meeting at Essex. Wake up 310 and put this construction job on the map.—Del. LU-1459.

**Arizona, Prescott, 5-20-23.**—Fort Whipple hospital. Plumbing, steamfitting, orderlies, cooks, firemen, laborers, kitchen help. 400 or more men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. is fair. Good conditions. We expect a raise but not sure. Wages, plumbing C. S. $160.00, steamfitting S. C. $160.00, orderlies $48.00 to $70.00, cooks from $75.00 to $135.00, laborers $48.00, kitchen help $48.00 and board for all. Chances of going to work. Just ask for Mahoney, headquarters Fort Whipple barracks. —Del. GC-259.

**Chaska, Minn., June 24.**—J. G. Grant's camp is putting in two miles of construction work. Dirt. Night watch $70 straight time. Shovel runner on percentage. Four two-ups, 14 three-ups, $2.50 and oats, dumpman $130 per month, machine man $175, machine skinner $150, barn boss $100 per month, barn helper $70 per month and board. Grub is fair, only when it rains the tables are covered with water. Bedding, I don't believe has been washed since it was bought. The floor has not been scrubbed since it was built, cobwebs hanging all over the ceiling. There is a few hundred sacks laying in here and a clipping machine for roaching mules and horses and a lot of old harness. An old stench hole. If I say anything about organization, they walk away. One scissorbill told me there is a good place to bathe down in a little town, Carver. I said, "What is the matter with having a bath house on the job?" and he walked away. (Card No. 824390.)

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Earl Winters, Perry Chessman, Wm. Brooks, and Frank Brandt please get in touch with M. Trisler, G. O. C. member I. U. 310, at 2 S. Morgan St., Chicago, Ill. Important.

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## JOIN GEN. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION, NO. 310, I. W. W.

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS. KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS (AND THAT MEANS PRACTICALLY ALL MOVING PICTURES).

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### WANTED

A letter from Whitefish, Montana states that a good active delegate could do extra good work for the organization in camps around Essex, Montana.

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### WANTED: FIFTY DELEGATES

to take out supplies and credentials for I. U. 310 on the Canadian side. This is a good field for construction workers in the vicinity of Cranbrook, B. C. and along the Canadian Pacific—also an enormous amount of highway work in this vicinity.

Del. GC-948.

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## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

**June, 1923.**

### RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiations | $1,692.00 |
| Dues | 2,766.00 |
| Initiations for other unions | 624.00 |
| Dues for other unions | 1,136.50 |
| Organization assessments | 312.00 |
| General Defense Stamps | 717.50 |
| Papers | 222.95 |
| Card cases | 47.50 |
| Buttons and pins | 75.15 |
| Literature | 140.28 |
| On acct., supply clerks, G. O. C.'s trav. delegates | 1,126.47 |
| Duplicate cards | 25.50 |
| Pioneer | 22.00 |
| Donations to Defense and Relief | 21.90 |
| Donations to strikes | 3.00 |
| Donation to I. U. No. 310 | 19.27 |
| Education Stamps | 21.00 |
| Bail and Bond Stamps | 151.00 |
| Special I. U. No. 520 stamps | 5.00 |
| Total | $9,129.02 |

### EXPENSES

| | |
|---|---|
| Personal deposit withdrawn | $ 14.50 |
| Per capita | 2,000.00 |
| Literature | 40.28 |
| Commission on initiations and literature | 284.67 |
| Field wages | 1,560.00 |
| Mileage | 222.44 |
| Allowance to other unions | 978.30 |
| Held on acct. by G. O. C.s trav. delegates, supply clerks and delegates | 1,631.02 |
| Defense Stamps and donations | 738.90 |
| Magazines and papers | 394.55 |
| Remit other unions | 997.25 |
| Main office salaries | 560.00 |
| Rent, light and heat | 187.95 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 44.03 |
| Postage, express and wires | 174.77 |
| North West Defense, card cases | 156.50 |
| Joint acct. I. U. No. 310 and No. 110, mimeograph supplies | 51.99 |
| Printing, bulletins, letter heads and convention stamps | 79.47 |
| Craft cards | 8.00 |
| Defense donation | 2.00 |
| Bank exchange | .25 |
| Total | $10,126,87 |

### SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Total receipts | $9,129.02 |
| Cash on hand, June 1, 1923 | 1,524.25 |
| | $10,653.27 |
| Total expenses for June | 10,126.87 |
| Cash on hand, July 1, 1923 | $526.40 |
| **Distributed as follows:** | |
| Personal deposits | $ 80.00 |
| Org. deposits | 446.40 |
| Cash on hand | $526.40 |

### CASH EXPENSES

| | |
|---|---|
| **June 1** | |
| Acct. Sam. Healey, papers issued to I. U. No. 310 delegates by I. U. 120 at Portland | $ 2.66 |
| John Graham, G. O. C. | 50.00 |
| Charge for wiring to Graham | 1.65 |
| **June 2** | |
| Main office wages, John Russell | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy | 28.00 |
| M. J. Dillon, stationary del. and postage | 50.18 |
| Elmer Swanson, G. O. C. | 50.00 |
| Louis Mellis, for literature | .55 |
| F. M. Adams, traveling delegate | 50.00 |
| Charge for wiring to Adams | 1.65 |
| **June 4** | |
| A. McMillan, traveling del. and postage | 50.18 |
| R. Brown adv. for strike Kelso, Wash. | 25.00 |
| Personal deposit withdrawn, Chicago supply station | 14.50 |
| Charge for wiring to Brown at Kelso | 1.55 |
| Northwest Defense, card cases | 156.50 |
| Industrial Worker, bundle orders for May, 1923 | 158.80 |
| **June 5** | |
| Henry Sandberg traveling delegate and postage | 53.51 |
| Frank Doyle, stationary delegate and postage | 15.80 |
| N. Radivoeff, Bulgarian paper | 1.40 |
| Golos Truzenika, Russian paper | .90 |
| **June 7** | |
| Joint acct., I. U. No. 310 and No. 110, mimeograph paper and supplies | 51.99 |
| **June 8** | |
| Matthew Trisler, G. O. C. and postage | 50.18 |
| **June 9** | |
| Main office wages, John Russell | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy | 28.00 |
| Thos F. Ryan, G. O. C. & postage | 50.18 |
| **June 12** | |
| P. Silverman, office supplies | 2.70 |
| M. J. Dillon, stationary del. and postage | 25.12 |
| **June 14** | |
| Elmer Swanson, G. O. C. and postage | 50.18 |
| Andrew S. Hay, adv. for strike, Whitefish, Mont. | 100.00 |
| Charge for wiring to Hay | 2.15 |
| **June 15** | |
| Solidaridad, Spanish paper | 43.35 |
| S. Healey, literature issued to I. U. No. 310 at Portland | 39.73 |
| Main office wages, John Russell | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala | 28.00 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Tom McMahon | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy | 28.00 |
| **June 18** | |
| Henry Sandberg, trav. del. and postage | 40.15 |
| **June 20** | |
| A. McMillan, trav. del. and postage | 50.18 |
| **June 21** | |
| Mathhew Trisler, G. O. C. and postage | 25.12 |
| F. M. Adams, traveling delegate and postage | 50.00 |
| Charge for writing to Adams | 1.65 |
| **June 23** | |
| Main office wages, John Russell | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy | 28.00 |
| **June 25** | |
| Geo. Lacey, stationery delegate and postage | 50.18 |
| **June 27** | |
| Thos. F. Ryan, G. O. C. | 50.18 |
| Postage for June | 78.55 |
| Industrial Solidarity, June bundle orders | 92.00 |
| John Graham, G. O. C., adv. and postage | 50.18 |
| M. J. Dillon, stationary delegate and postage | 50.18 |
| Industrial Pioneer, June bundle orders | 82.44 |
| **June 30** | |
| Main office wages, John Russell | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy | 28.00 |
| Equity Ptg. Co., bulletins, letterheads, and conv. stamps | 79.47 |
| Il Proletario, Italian paper | 8.50 |
| Per capita | 2,000.00 |
| I. U. No. 120, June reports | 194.50 |
| I. U. No. 110, " " | 147.20 |
| I. U. No. 130, " " | 11.55 |
| I. U. No. 320, " " | 1.05 |
| I. U. No. 230, " " | 16.80 |
| I. U. No. 220, " " | 19.60 |
| I. U. No. 210, " " | 129.65 |
| I. U. No. 440, " " | 44.60 |
| I. U. No. 430, " " | 1.30 |
| I. U. No. 420, " " | 2.35 |
| I. U. No. 330, " " | 34.90 |
| I. U. No. 410, " " | 4.85 |
| I. U. No. 520, " " | 83.35 |
| I. U. No. 510, " " | 61.80 |
| I. U. No. 480, " " | 2.55 |
| I. U. No. 460, " " | 37.70 |
| I. U. No. 470, " " | 1.80 |
| I. U. No. 660, " " | 2.85 |
| I. U. No. 650, " " | 4.10 |
| I. U. No. 540, " " | 6.75 |
| I. U. No. 640, " " | 1.30 |
| I. U. No. 530, " " | 9.70 |
| Educational assessments | 21.00 |
| Bail and bond assessments | 151.00 |
| I. U. No. 520, special assmt. | 5.00 |
| General Defense and donat. | 738.90 |
| On acct., office rent | 102.34 |
| Bank Exchange | .25 |
| Total | $6,207.93 |

**CASH SUMMARY**

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash receipts | $5,210.08 |
| Cash on hand, June 1, 1923 | 1,524.25 |
| Total | $6,734.33 |
| Cash expenses | 6,207.93 |
| Cash on hand, July 1, 1923 | $526.40 |

| **Indebtedness to I. W. W. Headquarters:** | |
|---|---|
| Per capita | $3,489.17 |
| Literature | 1,095.75 |
| Organization supplies | 1,309.35 |
| Rent and telegrams | 592.02 |
| Due books | 1,423.50 |
| Total | $7,909.79 |

**District No. 1, Washington, Idaho, Oregon.**

**CASH RECEIPTS**

| | |
|---|---|
| **June 1** | |
| GC-891 | $ 2.95 |
| GC-376 | 14.00 |
| GC-948 | 2.00 |
| **June 2** | |
| GC-596 | 11.56 |
| Includes R-72 | 5.00 |
| **June 4** | |
| GC-679 | 37.50 |
| GC-661 | .50 |
| GC-691 | 31.50 |
| GC-300 | 74.42 |
| GC-689 | 15.00 |
| GC-678 | 3.00 |
| GC-684 | 10.00 |
| GC-687 | 1.00 |
| **June 6** | |
| GC-378 | 20.00 |
| GC.381 | 8.50 |
| **June 8** | |
| GC-462 | 5.00 |
| GC-114 | 10.50 |
| GC-310 | 3.50 |
| GC-596 | 32.07 |
| **June 9** | |
| GC-412 | 5.00 |
| GC-144 | 9.50 |
| GC-88 | 37.70 |
| **June 11** | |
| GC-263 | 24.00 |
| GC-439 | 10.00 |
| GC-230 | 4.50 |
| GC-891 | 2.00 |
| **June 12** | |
| GC-510 | 7.25 |
| GC-112 | 9.00 |
| GC-149 | 10.40 |
| GC-300 | 100.00 |
| **June 13** | |
| GC-861 | 5.00 |
| GC-378 | 9.50 |
| **June 14** | |
| GC-169 | 16.50 |
| R-384 | 16.50 |
| **June 15** | |
| GC-800 | 5.70 |
| **June 16** | |
| GC-891 | 61.55 |
| GC-596 | 7.50 |
| GC-596 | 11.07 |
| **June 18** | |
| GC-599 | 16.00 |
| GC-692 | 14.00 |
| GC-211 | 1.00 |
| **June 19** | |
| GC-734 | 15.00 |
| GC-688 | 5.00 |
| GC-558 | 43.47 |
| GC-558 | 29.00 |
| GC-550 | 50.00 |
| GC-134 | 1.50 |
| **June 20** | |
| GC-226 | 9.50 |
| GC-378 | 17.50 |
| **June 21** | |
| GC-211 | 6.00 |
| **June 22** | |
| GC-416 | 20.80 |
| GC-380 | 14.50 |
| GC-369 | 35.00 |
| GC-509 | 21.15 |
| GC-589 | 8.00 |
| **June 23** | |
| GC-732 | 7.00 |
| **June 25** | |
| GC-659 | 8.00 |
| R-200 | 30.00 |
| GC-144 | 30.10 |
| GC-144 | 10.00 |
| GC-363 | 31.40 |
| GC-550 | 40.00 |
| **June 29** | |
| GC-10 | 18.20 |
| GC-509 | 22.20 |
| **June 30** | |
| GC-861 | 15.50 |
| Total | $1,155.49 |

**District No. 2, Nevada, California, Arizona, New Mexico.**

| | |
|---|---|
| **June 1** | |
| GC-46 | $ 6.00 |
| GC-351 | 18.25 |
| GC-296 | 6.00 |
| GC-800 | 11.50 |
| GC-698 | 2.50 |
| **June 4** | |
| GC-27 | 19.40 |
| GC-622 | 14.25 |
| GC-481 | 15.00 |
| GC-639 | 8.00 |
| GC-498 | 13.10 |
| **June 5** | |
| GC-383 | 77.00 |
| GC-794 | 3.50 |
| GC-372 | 19.75 |
| GC-626 | 10.00 |
| **June 6** | |
| GC-487 | 8.00 |
| GC-492 | 5.00 |
| GC-479 | 12.00 |
| GC-352 | 10.00 |
| **June 7** | |
| GC-280 | 14.50 |
| GC-59 | 10.00 |
| **June 11** | |
| GC-283 | 2.60 |
| GC-87 | 29.50 |
| GC-448 | 10.00 |
| GC-650 | 10.00 |
| **June 12** | |
| GC-626 | 36.00 |
| GC-463 | 13.50 |
| GC-259 | 38.22 |
| GC-2 | 10.00 |
| **June 14** | |
| GC-60 | 3.00 |
| GC-479 | 12.50 |
| GC-648 | 11.50 |
| **June 15** | |
| GC-372 | 50.00 |
| GC-322 | 10.00 |
| **June 18** | |
| GC-322 | 15.00 |
| GC-57 | 5.00 |
| GC-87 | 27.50 |
| GC-89 | 8.00 |
| GC-278 | 10.38 |
| GC-626 | 48.00 |
| **June 20** | |
| GC-366 | 6.50 |
| GC-463 | 14.00 |
| GC-647 | 8.50 |
| GC-377 | 8.00 |
| **June 21** | |
| GC-790 | 2.50 |
| GC-268 | 17.75 |
| GC-674 | 29.50 |
| GC-667 | 2.50 |

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-479 | 16.85 |
| GC-367 | 10.00 |
| GC-22 | 16.80 |
| **June 22** | |
| GC-512 | 40.00 |
| GC-639 | 17.00 |
| **June 23** | |
| GC-82 | 27.00 |
| GC-259 | 6.86 |
| GC-795 | 3.00 |
| GC-58 | 7.00 |
| GC-59 | 15.00 |
| GC-799 | 5.00 |
| GC-50 | 17.00 |
| GC-87 | 59.30 |
| GC-665 | 4.00 |
| GC-796 | 20.00 |
| GC-868 | 9.50 |
| GC-492 | 42.50 |
| **June 26** | |
| GC-202 | 42.50 |
| GC-384 | 29.00 |
| GC-626 | 51.00 |
| **June 27** | |
| GC-463 | 6.00 |
| GC-322 | 5.00 |
| GC-68 | 10.00 |
| GC-649 | 5.25 |
| GC-372 | 100.00 |
| **June 28** | |
| GC-470 | 10.50 |
| GC-481 | 29.50 |
| **June 30** | |
| GC-621 | 7.00 |
| Total | $1,336.26 |

**District No. 3, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado,**

| | |
|---|---|
| **June 1** | |
| GC-100 | $ 8.00 |
| GC-673 | 52.50 |
| **June 4** | |
| GC-573 | 8.00 |
| I. U.s 210 and 220 | 89.30 |
| GC-914 | 20.50 |
| **June 5** | |
| GC-369 | 5.00 |
| GC-919 | 13.00 |
| GC-874 | 17.75 |
| GC-677 | 11.40 |
| **June 6** | |
| GC-94 | 11.50 |
| **June 7** | |
| R-36 | 5.00 |
| GC-756 | 18.50 |
| GC-74 | 8.65 |
| GC-215 | 40.00 |
| GC-914 | 31.50 |
| GC-683 | 20.50 |
| **June 9** | |
| GC-472 | 9.50 |
| **June 11** | |
| GC-677 | 13.85 |
| GC-177 | 3.45 |
| GC-683 | 15.50 |
| GC-722 | 30.00 |
| GC-914 | 27.50 |
| **June 12** | |
| R-36 | 23.00 |
| **June 14** | |
| GC-723 | 19.63 |
| GC-914 | 31.50 |
| **June 15** | |
| GC-886 | 27.50 |
| GC-683 | 14.25 |
| GC-256 | 18.00 |
| **June 16** | |
| GC-685 | 12.00 |
| GC-281 | 49.70 |
| **June 18** | |
| GC-869 | 2.50 |
| GC-914 | 21.50 |
| GC-269 | 36.25 |
| GC-948 | 10.00 |
| GC-683 | 8.25 |
| **June 19** | |
| GC-919 | 20.00 |
| **June 20** | |
| GC-217 | 12.50 |
| GC-400 | 15.00 |
| GC-683 | 20.50 |
| **June 21** | |
| GC-920 | 7.50 |
| **June 22** | |
| GC-914 | 13.00 |
| **June 25** | |
| GC-761 | 41.00 |
| GC-914 | 39.50 |
| GC-176 | 27.50 |
| GC-813 | 7.00 |
| GC-176 | 10.00 |
| **June 27** | |
| GC-758 | 37.50 |
| GC-1125 | 5.00 |
| GC-514 | 3.50 |
| GC-869 | 25.00 |
| **June 28** | |
| GC-919 | 26.00 |
| GC-761 | 15.50 |
| **June 29** | |
| GC-722 | 25.50 |
| GC-683 | 24.00 |
| **June 30** | |
| GC-573 | 9.50 |
| Total | $1,119.98 |

**District No. 4, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma.**

| | |
|---|---|
| **June 2** | |
| GC-420 | $ 6.00 |
| GC-823 | 4.00 |
| GC-358 | 11.88 |
| **June 4** | |
| GC-7 | 1.00 |
| GC-478 | 5.00 |
| **June 5** | |
| GC-7 | 1.00 |
| GC-817 | 20.30 |
| GC-764 | 8.00 |
| **June 6** | |
| GC-183 | 12.00 |
| GC-812 | 9.00 |
| **June 7** | |
| GC-299 | 3.60 |
| GC-362 | 18.00 |
| **June 10** | |
| GC-693 | 2.50 |
| GC-763 | 9.50 |
| GC-414 | 17.00 |
| GC-760 | 1.00 |
| GC-707 | 21.40 |
| **June 12** | |
| GC-362 | 9.50 |
| **June 14** | |
| GC-358 | 1.60 |
| **June 15** | |
| GC-37 | 4.00 |
| GC-814 | 4.50 |
| GC-13 | 12.00 |
| **June 18** | |
| GC-186 | 12.50 |
| **June 19** | |
| GC-261 | 2.00 |
| GC-183 | 11.00 |
| **June 20** | |
| GC-414 | 14.00 |
| **June 21** | |
| GC-382 | 7.50 |
| GC-918 | 6.00 |
| **June 22** | |
| GC-680 | 14.25 |
| **June 25** | |
| GC-765 | 7.50 |
| GC-739 | .75 |
| GC-607 | 22.00 |
| **June 27** | |
| GC-287 | 9.50 |
| GC-362 | 12.50 |
| GC-999 | 3.50 |
| **June 28** | |
| GC-12 | 27.50 |
| GC-218 | 6.50 |
| **June 29** | |
| GC-515 | 8.50 |
| Total | $348.28 |

**District No. 5, Middle and Eastern States.**

| | |
|---|---|
| **June 1** | |
| I.U. No. 110 May reports | $ 178.35 |
| **June 2** | |
| I. U. No. 510 for May reports | 49.15 |
| GC-287 | 175.80 |
| Office report | 30.30 |
| J. Kennedy on acct. | 5.00 |
| GC-287 | 3.77 |
| **June 4** | |
| GC-392 | 13.00 |
| I. U. No. 230 | 28.25 |
| **June 5** | |
| I. U. No. 520 | 112.50 |
| I. U. No. 120 | 355.10 |
| GC-59 | 7.50 |
| I. U. No. 450 | 1.00 |
| I. U. No. 410 | 3.75 |
| I. U. No. 330 | 9.40 |
| GC-467 | 2.00 |
| I. U. No. 460 | 7.45 |
| **June 6** | |
| GC-21 | 10.40 |
| GC-413 | 8.50 |
| **June 8** | |
| GC-635 | 8.60 |
| GC-17 | 7.50 |
| Ed Mullen, literature | 1.10 |
| Office report | 29.80 |
| **June 9** | |
| I. U. No. 440 | 10.45 |
| R-9 | 5.00 |
| **June 14** | |
| GC-21 | 6.90 |
| Office report | 50.85 |
| **June 16** | |
| GC-25 | 10.00 |
| GC-65 | 5.00 |
| G. Jorgenson on acct. | 8.00 |
| **June 22** | |
| GC-397 | 3.40 |
| GC-572 | 1.00 |
| **June 23** | |
| Office report | 31.35 |
| GC-490 | 9.50 |
| **June 25** | |
| GC-875 | 1.00 |
| GC-473 | 5.00 |
| **June 26** | |
| GC-382 | 13.50 |
| GC-285 | 3.00 |
| **June 29** | |
| GC-914 | 5.00 |
| GC-24 | 32.90 |
| Total | 1,250.07 |

**Receipts**

| | |
|---|---|
| District No. 1 | $1,155.49 |
| " No. 2 | 1,336.26 |
| " No. 3 | 1,119.98 |
| " No. 4 | 348.28 |
| " No. 5 | 1,250.07 |
| Total | $5,210.08 |

# General Construction Workers Bulletin

CHICAGO, ILL. | G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W. | No. 5. Aug. 10, 1923.

# Thousands Joining the I.W.W.

**An Answer to Injunctions and Anti-Labor Legislation.**

Several thousand men and women have joined the I. W. W. this year. It is said of Russia, before the revolution in that country, that it was a poor family that did not have at least one of its members in the government's jail houses.

Slowly and surely history is repeating itself in this country. The several penitentiaries and their preparatory institutions are being enlarged and new ones built. (It is said of the one in Illinois that they have no millionaires on their register.)

Dispossessed farmers and factory hands, broken down from the speed up system and malnutrition are swelling the ranks of the already large numbers of unemployed and seasonal workers. Many of these are being forced into the construction camps and harvest fields. When these workers land on any of these jobs, they soon find that they are up against as bad or worse than what they left. Those that have any manhood left decide that they have to make a stand somewhere. Reading the monthly bulletins of the I. W. W. is the answer.

Our lords of industry, through their one big union, resent the efforts of their slaves to organize. The injunction against the railroad shopmen, now the one against the I. W. W. and the father of this legislation well established on the Bench of the U. S. Supreme Court, looks as if all labor unions will be included before long. Elsewhere in this bulletin is an article giving an idea of how sweeping the injunction may become.

I. U. No. 310 has right now a thousand new members this month. The lumber workers, the agricultural workers, the oil workers, the marine transport workers have swelled their ranks by several thousands.

The One Big Union of our masters must be opposed by the One Big Union of the wage workers. This is the only chance we have to get our fellow workers out of the jail houses and also put an end to the injunction.

## NOTICE

**BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS—KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS (AND THAT MEANS PRACTICALLY ALL OF THEM).**

**All I. W. W. papers and bulletins please copy.**

## JOIN G. C. W. I. U. NO. 310, OF THE I. W. W.

## TO THE MEMBERS OF I. U. 310

In the past there has been no organized efforts on the part of the members to establish the eight-hour day in the construction industry other than a few spontaneous strikes at scattered intervals and not any co-operation asked from other industrial unions. Don't you think that the following demands would be agreeable to present to the master in the different parts of the country where there is any construction work carried on the day of August, 1923; (date to be set by the members on the job). on all construction work.

1—That an eight-hour day be established in all construction work.

2—The absolute boycott of all California goods used in any part of construction work, including oats and hay for the mules, until such a time as all class-war prisoners that were convicted under the criminal syndicalism law, framed to take away the rights of the workers to organize to protect themselves against the exploiting, rawhiding, unjust treatment meted out by the lumber trust, the fruit trust, the Edison Co. etc., of that state.

3—The release of all class-war prisoners including Mooney, Billings, Sacco, Vanzetti, and others.

Let our slogan be: ONE BIG UNION, ONE BIG STRIKE.

To carry on a strike in this manner, we must first make preparations and would offer the following suggestions:

That a Central Strike Committee be elected for instance, a camp or job that has 100 or more men on strike elect one man to represent them at whatever point this strike committee is located. Their function should be to keep in constant touch with other districts, get out bulletins and publicity and act as a relay of communication from one part to another, thereby eliminating confusion that so often springs up where there is any war waged between the exploiters and the exploited.—GC-24.

## CALIFORNIA—OLD RUSSIA

With approximately one hundred fellow workers confined in various prisons thruout California, the State of California is leading in the race to grab the honors held by the late Czar Nicholas in sending workingmen to prison for the mere expression of opinion and organizing workers.

Not satisfied with the criminal syndicalism law, Judge Busick recently granted a temporary injunction enjoining the I. W. W., the General Defense Committee and other departments of the organization from doing things for which there are already laws on the statute books of that state.

The main cause for the injunction is the recent acquittal and disagreements in criminal syndicalism cases. The reactionaries of that state aim to do away with juries, leaving the judges of that state in the same position as was the Czar of Russia.

But can they stop the courageous fight being carried on by the members of the I. W. W.? Can California get very far when it denies the members a chance to defend themselves? We cite here an excerpt from the restraining order: "That the General Defense Committee of the Industrial Workers of the World (sometimes called the I. W. W.) represents the said Industrial Workers of the World and the said General Executive Board, and controls the policies, appoints the representatives, and has charge of all activities in connection with the defense of members of the Industrial Workers of the World who are being prosecuted for crimes and misdemeanors."

There you are.

Now, fellow workers, the fight in California is nearing a close. It is doubtful whether the citizens of that state will permit the authorities to drag its name into everlasting disgrace.

There is no better way of compelling a show-down than continuing the good organization work in that state.

The General Defense Committee will continue to circulate, distribute and display books, pamphlets, papers or other written matter that seeks the release of members of the I. W. W., although we are enjoined from doing so by politicians.

To those who are not in California we ask that you help by contributions, so we may get tons of pamphlets, books, leaflets and circular letters for the state of California.

Injunctions should have no place in this country or any other country.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

# ENJOINED; EVERYBODY HEADED FOR JAIL

### OUR IMPARTIAL LAW-MAKERS?

With the injunction against the railroad shopmen and now the injunction against the I. W. W., and the Father of Injunctions well established on the bench of the U. S. Supreme Court, it is evident that the intent is that all labor organizations will eventually be outlawed. And others who think themselves immune would do well to note the following, from a recent issue of The Industrial Worker:

Attorney General U. S. Webb, has secured an injunction against the I. W. W. and all those active in its behalf throughout the great state of California.

Webb says that the bill will be as sweeping as the law will permit. And if this is true, such an injunction may just as well be called a broom, for in California the law and those interpreting it permit almost everything providing that it is in the interests of corporate greed.

The injunction, to be effective, will quite naturally have to be directed against every person and every institution that directly or indirectly aids or abets in any manner the support or the promotion of the Industrial Workers of the World.

This miraculous fact established, we will now examine the many points of interest and see just how sweeping this new broom really is.

1—Every man and woman found with an I. W. W. card in his or her possession will be adjudged in contempt of court and will be subject to six months in some county jail.

2—Every man or woman found with a printed or written piece of paper expressing sympathy for the I. W. W. will be guilty of contempt and get his or her regulation six months in the county jail.

3—Every print shop that accepts a job of printing for the I. W. W. or its officers or agents will be guilty of contempt and board with the state for six months.

4—If the street car company knowingly accepts 5 cents fare and carries a member of the I. W. W., such street car company, its officers or agents will be guilty of contempt, and will hoist its "Take the Next Car" banner, and give two bells for the county jail, there to partake of the state of California stew for six months.

5—The writ will apply equally to every ferry, railroad, stage line, hotel, restaurant, in fact to any individual or corporation that renders any service or sustenance to any member or sympathizer of the I. W. W.

6—The United States of America, thru its postoffice department having granted second class mailing privileges to the I. W. W., (not even excepting the state of California, the postmaster general, his assistants and agents will be guilty of contempt of court and subject to six months as the guests of the state of California.

7—Every farmer will exact a written agreement from each shipper or purchaser of his fruits or vegetables, that such fruits or vegetables will not be served to any member or sympathizer of the I. W. W., or he will go along with those alleged I. W. W. to the county jail, and listen to their songs for six months.

8—Every lawyer that defends a member or sympathizer of the I. W. W.; every member of the jury that votes against the verdict of "guilty" having served in a trial of "alleged" I. W. W., and every judge that sustains an objection of an attorney defending I. W. W. or overrules an objection of I. W. W. defendant's counsel will be in contempt of court and subject to six months in the county jail.

9—Every school, college and university that teaches their pupils how to read, thereby making it possible for them to learn the plain truths in I. W. W. literature will, should any of these students or pupils ever express sympathy for the I. W. W. be guilty of contempt and will be obliged to move from the university to the county jail.

10—And since the I. W. W. and its propaganda are caused by the present economic conditions, dictated by the ones who privately own and manage for private profit the industries in which members and prospective members of the I. W. W. work, these owners of industries will quite naturally be in contempt of court for compelling their workers to work in and submit to conditions that cause them to revolt and for ideas similar to or identical with those advocated by the I. W. W.

11—By the time all the foregoing mandates of this injunction are carried out, it will be discovered that good old mother Nature, which provides minds with which workers think, should that mind continue active after this injunction takes effect, will be in contempt and subject to imprisonment for six months.

### SOME "DONT'S"

Here is a list of "Dont's" as the attorney general of California would, no doubt, like them to look and to be observed:

Don't join the I. W. W. or render any service to or for any member of it.

Don't sell anything or render any service to anyone who has sold anything to or rendered any service to a member of the I. W. W.

Don't read I. W. W. papers or literature.

Don't sell anything to or render any service to anyone who has so sympathized with the I. W. W. or its members or is likely to sympathize with the I. W. W. in the future.

Don't hire an I. W. W. or a sympathizer.

Don't buy anything from anyone, sell anything to anyone or render any service, whatsoever, to anyone who has sympathized or is likely in the future to sympathize with the I. W. W. or its members.

Don't feed, house, clothe or sell anything to an I. W. W.

Don't sell anything to, buy anything from, or render any service to anyone who has sold or rendered any service to any one who has fed, housed, or clothed an I. W. W.

Don't do any of these things enumerated above, and watch the list as Attorney General Webb may correct it from time to time.

If you do, you are subject to contempt of court, and maybe compelled to join the merry throng in the several county jails throughout the Great State of California!

**SO BE CAREFUL. . . .**

## REMEMBER THE PIONEER

Don't forget to get behind our monthly magazine, The Industrial Pioneer! Ask news agents for it wherever you go. Contribute articles and photos to its pages. Help make it the leading working class monthly publication on the American continent.

The Industrial Pioneer is a clean-cut, popular illustrated 48-page working class magazine. It aims to keep abreast of modern industrial developments and advocates the cause of industrial unionism.

Its August issue, in the illustrated article "Super-Power Capitalism," it treats of the great power dam construction now being projected throughout the country. It concludes with an appeal for general construction workers to join I. U. No. 310. Attention will also be given to the same and similar subjects in future issues.

The Industrial Pioneer is meeting with a very favorable reception. With a little help on the part of all of our members, it can be made of immense value to the workers. Push its circulation and contribute to its pages!

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RENO, Nev., July 23.—Just came in from Bridgeport, Calif., after working for the Hill Warren Co., who are building a dam for the Walker Irrigation Co.

The conditions in this camp are as poor as they can possibly be. Most all of the men employed are natives of this district, and in order to enlighten them, two fellow workers distributed "Sol" and the Worker and the construction worker pamphlets, with the intention of getting these men in line for better conditions.

But the superintendent thought it would be better to get rid of these I. W. W. at once, with the result that he came out on the job and fired a fellow worker who was stooled on by one of the finks. Six other workers walked off the job.

The superintendent was a bit sorry for being so hasty in his action and said that he wanted to make it a good job, and also a sanitary one. Then he asked us what we expected, and we told him that he would have labor troubles until the conditions were changed.

The wages are $5 low, 8 hours work. All get the same, laborers and teamsters alike. Job will last all summer. Fellow workers should try and make this job and keep up the good work. 135 miles from Reno, Nevada. Stage fare, $9.—**Delegate GC-50.**

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### NOTICE

When sending in job news, etc., to be published in the bulletin, be careful to state things as they are. Do not exaggerate. All members of I. U. No. 310 are expected to use this bulletin to express their views on any and all matters of interest to the organization. Let's hear from all!

**Matthew Trisler,** Chairman, I. U. 310.
**J. Kennedy,** Sec'y-Treas., I. U. 310.

## STOCKTON CONFERENCE

There will be a G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 Conference held in Stockton, California, October 1, 1923.

It will be held for the purpose of devising ways and means of building up a bigger and better organization of I. U. 310 in that district; to thrash out some important questions such as what form of organization is best for I. U. 310 to function under (the present form or branch form on per capita basis); the best tactics to use to get organization on jobs and into territory where there is no organization at present; how to lower the indebtedness of I. U. 310 and other important questions. There will also have to be delegates elected for the I. U. 310 Convention, which will be held in Chicago, November 1, 1923.

Now, fellow workers, it is up to all members of I. U. 310 in this district: Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico, to hold business meetings and draw up resolutions and suggestions and send them in to Box 754, Stockton, California. Individual members should also send in suggestions.

All members of I. U. 310 in this district should make it their business to attend this conference.

**John Graham**, G. O. C. Member.

## PORTLAND CONFERENCE

There will be a conference held in Portland, Oregon, October 1, 1923, to elect delegates to the Convention from District No. 1, which includes Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana.

It will also be held for devising ways and means of building up the organization of I. U. 310 in this district. Members are invited to attend. If they are not in a position to do so, send in resolutions and suggestions on all matters concerning the organization.

There are many vital questions to be brought up at this conference, so it is up to all members of I. U. 310 in this district to hold business meetings and all members at meetings to sign name and card number on minutes, as all resolutions sent in from job meetings will be given so many votes in favor of resolutions sent in.

**Elmer Swanson**, G. O. C. Member.

WANTED: FIFTY DELEGATES to take out supplies and credentials for I. U. 310 on the Canadian side. There is a good field for construction workers in the vicinity of Cranbrook, B. C. and along the Canadian Pacific—also an enormous amount of highway work in this vicinity.

Del. GC-948.

## NOTICE TO I. U. NO. 310 MEMBERS

Fellow Worker Tom McMahon has resigned as Chairman of the G. O. C. of I. U. No. 310 and Fellow Worker Matthew Trisler is now Chairman. So in future address all communications for the Chairman of I. U. No. 310 to Matthew Trisler, 2 So. Morgan St., Chicago, Ill.

BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS. KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS (AND THAT MEANS PRACTICALLY ALL MOVING PICTURES).

## NOTICE TO NON-MEMBERS

This bulletin is published by the membership of I. U. 310 of the I. W. W., for the benefit of the I. W. W., and is paid for by the membership of I. U. 310. Therefore, if you are not supporting us by being a dues-paying member of the I. W. W., you should become one and be a help to your class, not a burden.

**"The Immediate Demands of the I. W. W." has been translated into Spanish. Same is now ready to be sent into the field. Any members or delegates who can distribute this pamphlet among the Spanish workers should write in and get a bundle of it, which is for free distribution.**

## NOTICE

Owing to the fact that I. U. 310 Convention will be held in Chicago, prior to the general convention which convenes the second Monday in November, an I. U. 310 Convention stamp of $1.00 denomination will be placed in the field.

## NOTICE

The Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330 of the I. W. W. has opened a Hall at 236 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco, Calif. All members going through San Francisco should drop in as there is plenty of literature also late bulletins on hand at all times.

A delinquent list of I. U. No. 310 delegates will be placed in the field during the month of August, 1923. A list of all delegates who had not reported into this office in the past six months was sent in field so as to give those whose names appeared upon same a chance to get in touch with Main Office before the delinquent list was sent in field.

## READ THE I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

**Working class education demands that you read and subscribe for the following publications:**

The Industrial Worker, Industrial Solidarity and the Industrial Pioneer should be read by every wage worker. Receipt books are on hand for the sub-getters. You can have bundle orders of these publications mailed to you; also magazines, papers and leaflets in various foreign languages.

For further information, get in touch with the General Construction Worker's Industrial Union No. 310, of the I. W. W., 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

## NOTICES.

Three bond certificates of $1.00, $2.00 and $5.00 denominations are now off the presses and are being mailed into the field, also to Supply Stations and Stationary Delegates.

These are voluntary stamps and not compulsory. The money derived from the sale of these stamps will be used to pay off a debt and the membership should buy as many of these stamps as they possibly can, so as to wipe out this Bond indebtedness as soon as possible.

# JOB NEWS

**Ostrander, Wash., June 22.**--Grant Smith & Co. Four camps. First camp six miles outside of Ostrander logging road. Team hands $4.50, laborers $4.00. Sleeping quarters too high and crowded. Grub fair. sanitary conditions fair. All summers work. Board $1.20. Hospital $1.00 per month. Compensation 50c per month. Sentiment for I. W. W. fair. Hire on job. (GC 506).

* * *

### FAVORS BOND STAMPS
**Minutes of Meeting**

Extract from minutes of meeting held at Stockton, Cal., June 24. M. & S. That all our English and foreign language publications keep up a continuous campaign of publicity in regard to the bond stamps until the debt is paid in full. Carried.

* * *

**Kenwood, Cal., June 14.**—Grant Smith One mile north. Highway. Fresno and Rocking road. Work will last all summer. One camp. About 50 men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. fair. Mexican, Negroes and Whites employed. Wages teamsters $4.50. Am not sure but I think the Rock gang gets $4.50 and laborers $4.00. Work eight hours. Board very poor at $1.25. Sanitary conditions poor. Bath house but no hot water. Chances of going to work. Hire on job and don't know but they ship men from Frisco. This job is eleven miles east of Santa Rosa and they are putting on more stock as this work should have been finished by July. There are ten miles to do. Delegates could do good work. (GC 368).

There is mail at Whitefish, Mont., for A. S. Hay, John Murphy, and William Brooks; for the above write to Albert R. Graham, Box 486, Whitefish, Mont.

A SUBSCRIPTION TO AN I. W. W. PAPER IS A GOOD INVESTMENT FOR EVERY WORKER

# PREAMBLE

—of the—

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

# JOB NEWS FROM ACTIVE DELEGATES

**Aberdeen, S. D., 7-19-23.**—M. O'Rourke, 12 miles south. Hire any time in the evening from Aberdeen. Teamsters, $3 and board, two-up dumpman $150, machine driver $150, push and gig $3.75 or $4.00. Grub fair. Sleeping quarters fair.—**(GC-762).**

**Dixie, Oregon, 7-18-23.**—Sims and Carlson Co. Building state highway. Two camps. Seventy men employed. Wages for laborers and teamsters $4.50 for eight hours. Board and blanket $1.50 per day. Board and conditions better than on many construction jobs. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. good Railroad fare $3.50 from Baker. Ship men from Baker and hire on job. Job will last two months. Mostly pick and shovel work.—**(GC-263).**

**Bryne Falls, Mich., 7-18-23.**—Cobb and Mitchell Logging Co. Logging train makes a trip once or twice a day. Camp No. 48 has about 26 men working at present, building roads. Will be logging in about ten days. Camp No. 49 has 60 men working. The wages of $60 per month low, teamsters $65, full time hookers on the jammer $70, sawing which is done by the bushel. Food is fair at both camps. White sheets on the bed. Bathroom. Lots of Polish workers here. This is a ten-hour outfit. —**(GC-382).**

**Vernonia, Oregon, 7-15-23.**—J. A. Lyons. Excavating a 40-acre mill pond. Job will last late in the fall. One camp. Fifty men employed. Sentiment fair. Wages, $4.25 wagon skinners, $4.50 plow shakers, $4.50 four-up Fresno, $4.50 dumping wagons, $4.50 dumping and loading Fresnos. Two cats and two machines. Work eight hours. Board in town. Apply on job. Fare $2.05 from Portland.—**(GC-267).**

**Fennimore, Wis., 7-21-23.**—Burch Bros. Machine and steam shovel work. Job will last three weeks. One camp. Fifty men employed. Sentiment good. All monthly men, board included. Wages, teamsters 45 cents per hour, board $1; plow holder $175, wagon dumper $150, and machine driver $150, gig $4.50 and beans, push teamster $5, $1 out for board. Ten hours. Board good at $1. Sanitary conditions fair. Barnman $90. Ship from Claps, Chicago, Ill. Chance of going to work.—**(Card No. 444734).**

**Miles City, Mont., 7-18-23.**—J. Sweency. Fourty-five miles south on new railroad. One machine outfit, also Fresnoes. Twenty-three men employed. Wages, bossman $200 per month, cook and flunkey together $200 per month, blacksmith $150, corral bug $100, plow holder $175, high seat $150, dumpman $150, push and gig $3.25 per day, Fresno skinners $3 per day, wagon skinners and laborers $2.50 per day. All wages include board, which is fair. Sentiment good. Job will last about two months. —**(GC-13).**

**Ostrander, Wash., 7-6-23.**—Grant Smith Co. Railroad track for logging company. Two company camps, the rest are subbing from Grant Smith Co. Work will last about five months. Five camps. Three hundred and fifty men employed. Sentiment fair. Wages, $4 for laborers, $4.50 for team hands. Work eight hours. Board, $1.20 per day, poor. Sanitary conditions poor. The sleeping conditions are rotten. Shower baths in two camps. Chances of going to work. You can hire on job from paymaster's office, he sends you to different camps. There are seven camps out of Ostrander.—**(GC-271).**

**Martinez, Cal., 7-14-23.**—Associated Oil Company is hiring construction laborers and team hands. Wages, $4 low, $5 high. Operation Department is also short-handed. Wages, $4 low, $6.50 high. 2,500 men employed. Sentiment poor. Good field for live delegates.—**(GC-623).**

**Cordova, Alaska., 7-7-23.**—Siems & Carlson, contractors, building automobile road. Wages, $5.50 for eight hours. Board, average at $1.50 per day. Accomodations rotten. Double-decker bunks, mattresses look as if they were picked off some dumping ground. Bunkhouses crowded and dirty. No baths nor hot water. If you want to keep clean you must hustle an old gasoline can and boil up outside. Furnish your own blankets same as on all other jobs in Alaska. About 25 men working by the day. Two station gangs working on this job. One bunch jumped their rock claim. Siems & Carlson is also doing road work near Juneau and Anchorage. The government is doing some road work out here. Wages $4 per day and board.—**(GC-1197).**

**Kalama, Wash., 7-16-23.**—U. S. Engineering Department is changing channel of river. Twenty-six men employed. Work consists of shoveling and wheeling rock. Work will last three years or more, but shuts down during the winter time. Wages, rock shovelers $3.50 per day, cook $150 per month, flunkey $60 per month, board and lodging, soap and towels, free. Blankets, sheets and pillow slips furnished and changed once a week. Not much chance to get on, as this is a good job and everybody sticks to it. Sentiment good.—**(GC-378).**

**Bishop, Cal., 7-16-23.**—The Pine Creek Tungsten out of Bishop is still unfair to miners. The two scabs were in Bishop for the 4th; they went back again. Now one of them is in town again. His name is Thomas Burke, better known as "Blackie." This bird Watkins is also down with two more scabs that went up.—**Card No. 738,-430).**

**Sheridan, Wyoming, 7-21-23.**—Dowd & Paulsens camp. Taking out 76 feet of rock cut. One machine, five or six wagons. Machine pulled by cat. Wages, plow holder $175, dumpman $125, blacksmith $125, cook $150. All of these include board. Wagon skinners 40 cents per hour, three-ups. Board $1.05 per day. Chuck fairly scarce. Sixteen men in one bunk tent. Four double bunks, also four double-deckers. Sentiment don't care. This job will probably last till it freezes up.—**(Card No. 748538).**

**Sheridan, Wyoming, 7-21-23.**—Nels Roman. One machine pulled by gas, also some Fresnoes, four-ups, two-up wagons. Fresno crew all red Indians. Wagon drivers Mexicans and White. Skinners 40 cents per hour. Bunk, $1.20 per day.—**(Card No. 748538).**

**Worthing, S. D., 7-24-23**—Canton Block and Tile Co. Plow holder $150, machine driver $125, wagon dumper $6 and board, gig $5 and $1.05 a day out, three-up wagons $4.50 per day, $1.05 out for board, two-ups fifty cents less, barnman $100 per month. These wages were paid up to the 21st. Sunday the fellows got together, held out for $175 for plow holder, $150 for driving, which is hardly enough. These wages were paid for a half-day Monday, when they changed foremans. They cut the wagon dumper to $5 and board. He quit. The fellow worker that was driving the machine went holding plow for $6 and board. Another came out with the new boss and went driving for $125 per month. They cut the barman's wages to $75. He took out. I would call these two parties scabs.—**(X-9613).**

**Grand Marias, Minn., 7-23-23.**—Campbell and Ames Construction Company has two camps running. Camp 1 has about 28 men working. This camp has two steam shovels running loading cars. Wages, teamsters $60 per month, dumpman 40 cents per hour. Board, $1 per day. Sanitary conditions rotten. Board is fair at present, but the cook is going down hill because he cannot get anything to cook. Camp 2 has 20 men. All team work in this camp. Wheeler and pigs. Old hay beds to sleep in. Wages are same as in Camp 1. No bull cook in either of these camps, but you are near the lake, and the boss said that that is a good bath house for the slaves. This outfit is 150 miles off the railroad, but can be reached by boat from Duluth, or by bus. Fare is $5.50 by boat and same by bus. Can hire on job or from free office in Duluth.—**(GC-382).**

**Kenmore, N. D., 7-23-23.**—There is a shovel outfit working here. Working six wagons. Wages are $45 per month and board, and $55 if you stay until it freezes. —**(GC-705).**

**Prairie, Oregon, 7-18-23.**—High camp. Bowers & Bowers. Sub out to gyppos. Twenty-five miles south of Prairie towards Condon. Costs around $10 to get there from Baker, and the camps are sure unsanitary. Furnish own bedding. Cookhouse and dining room combined. No bath house. Wages, $4.50, and $1.20 for board. Eight hours. Cut, shuffle and deal. Short-handed in this part of the country. Work will last three months.—**(GC-507).**

**Mellette, S. D., 7-17-23.**—Bridge work. Wages, 80 cents an hour for steel workers, ten hours. Helper, 50 cents. The job employs about ten men. Board is $1.25 per day. Work being done by the I. W. Bridge Construction Co. This outfit is three miles from town, east on the county road.—**(GC-919).**

**Illco, Wyoming, 7-2-23.**—Fred Peterson. Nearest postoffice, Casper. Building new North and South railroad. Mostly homeguards, homesteaders and kids. Perfectly satisfied. Dirt movers are not so bad. Job will last one month. One camp. About 25 men employed. Sentiment toward the I. W. W. hostile. No bath. Drinking water hauled out of pond. Sheep and all kind of stock drink out of the pond. Wages plow holder, $200 and chuck, dumpman $175 and board, blacksmith $150 and board, wagon skinners $5, board $1.50. One machine. Work ten hours. Board

# CONSTRUCTION WORKERS BULLETIN

"An Injury to One Is An Injury to All."

ONE UNION No. 5 ONE ENEMY

Published Monthly by I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W.
Address all communications to
2 SO. MORGAN ST. CHICAGO, ILL.
MATTHEW TRISLER, Chairman
J. KENNEDY, Sec'y-Treas.


fair at $1.50. Sanitary conditions rotten. These camps can be organized if we only keep on trying. Chances of going to work. Hire out on job. All of these outfits are short-handed all the time. Come on, 310, let's get $6 and eight hours! Can put Wyoming on the I. W. W. map, but it can't be done in the jungles.—(GC-269).

**Imbler, Oregon, 7-21-23.** — Sloans Construction Company. Sixty cents per hour. Ten hours. Board, $1.25. Rotten conditions. Men sleeping in power house, 75 cans of black powder, ten boxes of T.N.T. Lousy horse blankets on boards. Lady blacksmith in the kitchen. Fink crew. Poker game every night. Ship from Portland or Spokane, Wash., or hire on job.—(GC-169).

**Los Angeles, Cal., 7-21-23.**—Real Estate. Allen Hancock. Street work. Job will last one year. Two camps; 100 men employed. Sentiment good. This is wagon work and concrete work. Wages, teamsters $4.50, wagon dumper $5, cat skinner $8, plow holder $8, muckers $4, and $1.25 board. Work eight hours. Board fair. Sanitary conditions good. Hire on job when they are short-handed.—(GC-279).

**Kenwood, Calif., July 23.**—Grant Smith Co. Constructing state highway. Grading and paving. 100 men on job. 70 head of Fresno stock. Job will last three or four months. Eight hours. Go one way company time. Wages $4.00, $4.50 and $5.00 for labor, skinners $4.50 and $5.00, truck drivers $6.00, rollermen $8.00 and $9.00. Board $1.25 and rotten. Greaseball cook and kitchen crew. Tents and bath house fair. Furnish your own bed. Gambling and wine recreation. This crowd is broke all the time and a broke slave is a willing one. Sentiment poor.—(GC-388.)

**Mineral, Calif., July 21.**—Redmond Page & Pond. State highway. Grading with two steam shovels and Fresnos. Board rotten at $1.25 No floor in tents. Old and leaky. No bull cook. No bath. Some men are sleeping under the trees. 80 men employed. Sentiment good in camp 1. Camp 2. employs from eight to ten men. Steam shovel runners. Wages $245.00; firemen $165.00; drillers, $5.00 per day skinners and laborers, $4.50. Work 8 hours. Two hours going in and out. Ship from Sacramento and San Francisco. Fare from Sacramento $5.50. There are three state camps on this road. Conditions are fair. Board at $120 per day. Laborers in state camps $4; drillers $4.50; teamsters $4.25; truck drivers $5.00; cook $150.00; flunkey $4.00; bull cook $4.00. Eight hours work. Camp 1 employs about 40 men. Camp 2 thirty and camp 3 from eight to ten. Sentiment no good in the state camps. Shower baths. Springs and mattresses are furnished by state. You carry your own baloon. Hire on the job in state camps. Take stage or state highway trucks from Red Bluff to Mineral. State camps about three to six miles east of Mineral—(GC-492).

**Iron Mountain, Mich., July 26.**—Stone and Webster are building a dam for the Ford Motor Co. The job is about three miles out of town. Hire on the job. Wages are $4.50 for ten hours. Some good slave drivers here. $1.00 a day board in camp. Grub poor. The job will last for quite awhile yet and most of the slaves are unorganized. About 100 in camp. Good chance for a live wire organizer here—(J. S.)

**Akron, Ohio, July 26.**—Station highway between Akron and Cleveland. Stroman & Kidder. Dirt job. This job is on a new race track and will last two months. Wages, cook $200.00; flunkey $90.00; stableman $100.00 and board; cat skinner $150.00 and board; dumpman $7,50. $1.25 board, three-up wagon skinners $5.00. Board good. Sleeping conditions fair. Plowholder $200 and board. This is Dirt Hungry Indiana Bailey's camp. All blocks.—(837220).

**Gladbrook, Iowa, June 11.**—The Parquette Construction Co., is working two machines six miles east. Cat pull. Two months work. Wages for drivers $3.75 per day and $1.00 out. Sloper $4.50 per day and board. Cat skinners $125.00 a month, plow holder $150.00 a month. Cook $125. Forty men employed. Chuck is very scant, not so good. Man and wife cooking. Between them both they get $100 per month and $25.00 bonus if they stay. Isn't that good? It's time we were organized. Sentiment is good for organization. This place is 25 miles north of Tama, Iowa, on a branch of C. and N. W., also of the K. C. line of the C. & G. R. R. 18 miles east of Marshalltown, Ia. (Card No. 785009).

In accordance with ruling of I. U. 310 Convention, all delegates are to report into Main Office of I. U. 310 at least once a month.

**Portola, Cal., June 14.**—Ratto contractor. Building concentrate plant for Walker mine. This work is not on the bull system. No hit-the-ball. Men are sticking pretty well. Work will last all summer. One camp. About 100 men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. very good. Chance for organizing the unorganized pretty good. Wages, labor $4.25 eight hours, concrete men, $6.00 nine hours teamsters $4.75 eight hours, flunkeys $70.00 per month and found, cook $150.00 and found Fink carpenters working nine hours straight time. Work eight and nine hours. Board very good at $1.25. Sanitary conditions quite good. Chances of going to work. Apply on job or ship from Liberty at Sacramento. Fee $2.50, fare $8.10. Also ship from Reno at stage office. Fee $2.00, fare $6.75. Ship from Portola no fee, fare $3.25. (GC 202)

A DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION IS BUILT FROM THE GROUND UP. WHAT ARE YOU DOING?

### DELEGATES WANTED IN MONTANA AND WYOMING.

Thermopolis, Wyoming
June 20, 1923

To 310 Members and Delegates:—

There is a lot of construction work in the states of Montana and Wyoming this summer and not enough active delegates. I ask every 310 memberr who is qualified to take out credentials, to do so.

We want a perfect organization this summer and to build up a powerful Construction Workers Union. We can't afford to have the few delegates and members do all the work. Now Fellow Workers, if you come in this state, see a traveling delegate or G. O. C. member and take out the rigging.

GC 8, G. O. member

## JOIN GEN. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION, NO. 310, I. W. W.

## Where to Get Supplies and Literature

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Thos. Smith | Box 754, | Stockton, Cal. |
| B. Kelso | Box 4063 | Reno, Nevada. |
| Elmer Anderson | Box 421, | Tacoma, Wash. |
| W. H. Boyd | Box 827, | Pasco, Wash. |
| Chas. Humphreys | Box 365, | Seattle, Wash. |
| A. Vacelio | Box 1689, | Spokane, Wash. |
| A. McKinnon | Box 91, | Eureka, Cal. |
| Al Frane | Box 107, | Omaha, Nebr. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 No. Nicolett Ave. | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| W. L. Gillespie | Box 451, | Casper, Wyoming. |
| A. Vernon | 1219 Fourth St., | Sioux City, Iowa. |
| Oil Workers I. U 230 | Box 212, | Taft, Cal. |
| John McSlarrow | Box 641, | Everett, Wash. |
| Lee Tulin | 318 N. Wyoming St., | Butte, Mont. |
| Albert R. Graham | Box 486 | Whitefish, Montana. |
| J. MacAnally | Box 3001, | Portland, Oregon. |
| Sam Healey. | Box 3291, | Portland, Oregon. |
| E. H. Hannon | Box 730, | Missoula, Montana |
| Geo. Wenger | 431 Prairie Ave. | Milwaukee, Wis. |
| Jas. P. Sullivan | Box 1504, | Salt Lake, Utah. |
| John Shuskie | Box 69, Station D | New York, N. Y. |
| Wm. Morreau | 110 Front St., | Fargo, N. D. |
| Fred Carr | 8 N. Sixth St., W., | Duluth, Minn. |
| Geo. VanDusen | Box 501, | LaGrange, Oregon. |
| Wm. Randall | Box 653, | Aberdeen, Wash. |
| R. Seefeldt | Box 366 | Kelso, Wash. |

**Bellevue, Iowa, June 26.**—Ed. Sash and Roy Snell. Construction. Grading. Work will last all summer. Two camps. Sixteen men in each. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. fair. Wages, plow holder $175 and board, cat skinner $150, dumpman $150, stableman $90, skinners 40 cents an hour, and $1 for board. Ten hours. Board good at $1. Sanitary conditions fair. Chances of going to work. (GC-761.)

**Merced, Cal., June 22.**—Merced Irrigation district. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. not very good. Wages, labor $4, skinner $4, plow skinner $4.50, plow holder $4.50. Board $1.25 per day, fair. Sanitary conditions rotten. No bath house. Can go to work most any time. Hire men in Merced almost every day. (GC-649.)

**Dubuque, Iowa, June 26.**—Groves and Son, contractors. Have four steam shovel camps working on highway, work which will last all summer. Camp 1 is at Rockdale, Camp 2 at Durango, Camp 3 at Holy Cross. Wages for teamsters, $2.50 per day and board, which is good. Can always set in. Hire out at the office in Dubuque. Sentiment in most of these outfits is indifferent. Two gyppos on this job, Dan Condon and Forbes. (GC-705.)

**Boysen, Wyoming, June 19.**—U. C. Construction Co. State highway. Nearest Postoffice Thermopolis. Rock work. Jackhammer men needed on this work. Work will last three months. Camps 1-2-3. About 100 men employed. Sentiment toward I. W. W. fair. Chance of a delegate doing good here. Wages cook from $100.00 to $150.00, shovel runner $150.00, fireman $90.00, Jackhammer men $4.50 to $5.00 a day, eight hours. Sanitary conditions rotten. No shower baths, no accomodations to wash clothes. Hire on job Board good at $1.20 per day. Charge 10c per day for blankets which are filthy. Short handed. (Del).

**Niles, Cal., June 22.**—Spring Valley Water Company. Constructing concrete flume. Very good bosses to work for. A few natives working, mostly stiffs. Three camps. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. pretty good Wages common labor $4.00, steel gang $4.50, concrete $4.50, carpenters $7.00. There is a 5c bonus if you stay 30 days, 10c bonus if you stay 60 days. Eight hours. Board not very good at $1.25. Sanitary conditions none. Sleep in tents. No floors or stoves. Chances to go to work. Apply at job. No shipments. There was a few laid off a few days ago but they get short handed. (G. C. 486).

**Niles, Cal., June 18.**—Spring Valley Water Co. Work will last all summer. Two camps. 175 or 200 men employed. Labor $4.00, helpers $4.50. no lights in tents. Members should make this camp, good climate and good water. (GC 368).

**Iowa, Tama, 5-22-23.**—J. O'Neil is working one stock machine. Wages for skinners $3.75 and $1.00 out, all two-ups. Machine driver $135.00 per month, plow holder $150.00 month and board. Most all old time dirt hands. This outfit is two miles east of town, also has an oufit four miles east.—Del. GC-705.

# FINANCIAL STATEMENT

## JULY, 1923

### RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiations | $ 1,948.00 |
| Dues | 3,376.50 |
| Initiations, other unions | 782.00 |
| Dues, other unions | 1,409.00 |
| Organization assessments | 269.00 |
| General Defense stamps | 730.50 |
| Papers | 299.06 |
| Card cases | 87.00 |
| Buttons and pins | 76.25 |
| Literature | 94.19 |
| On account, supply clerks, G. O. C.'s and traveling delegates | 1,537.25 |
| Duplicate cards | 28.50 |
| Pioneer | 69.80 |
| Donations to Defense | 3.50 |
| Bail and Bond stamps | 1,304.00 |
| Special I. U. No. 520 stamps | 10.50 |
| Education stamps | 64.50 |
| Donation to No. 310 | 5.20 |
| Refunds from strikes | 9.96 |
| On list for Portland Hall | 25.75 |
| Convention stamps (310) | 11.00 |
| **Total** | **$12,141.46** |

### EXPENSES

| | |
|---|---|
| Per capita | $ 2,412.95 |
| Commissions on initiations and literature | 340.03 |
| Field wages | 1,600.20 |
| Mileage | 204.12 |
| Allowance to other unions | 1,093.70 |
| Held on account by G. O. C.'s, traveling delegates, supply clerks and delegates | 1,584.89 |
| Defense stamps and donations | 733.50 |
| Magazines and papers | 373.34 |
| Remit to other unions | 1,010.00 |
| Main Office wages | 420.00 |
| Rent, light and heat | 560.97 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 72.70 |
| Postage, express and wires | 192.18 |
| Education stamps | 64.50 |
| Bail and Bond stamps | 1,304.00 |
| I. U. No. 520 Special stamps | 10.50 |
| Card cases | 31.00 |
| Printing | 69.59 |
| Craft card | 2.00 |
| Sub | 1.00 |
| **Total** | **$12,081.17** |

### SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Total Receipts | $12,141.46 |
| Cash on hand July 1st | 526.40 |
| Total | $12,667.86 |
| Total Expenses for July | $12,081.17 |
| Cash on hand August 1st | $586.69 |

**Indebtednes to I. W. W. Headquarters**

| | |
|---|---|
| Due Books | $1,500.40 |
| Per capita | 2,089.17 |
| Literature | 1,184.86 |
| Organization supplies | 1,447.53 |
| Total | $6,221.96 |

Cash Expenses—B. F.

**July 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| Acc't office supplies | $ 3.15 |
| John Graham, G. O. C. adv. | 50.00 |
| Charge of wiring to Graham | 2.01 |

**July 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| Golos Truzenika, Russian paper | 3.55 |
| Industrial Worker, bundle orders | 178.50 |
| Matthew Trisler, G. O. C. adv. & postage | 50.18 |
| Main Office postage | 23.50 |

**July 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Elmer Swanson, G. O. C. & pstg | 50.18 |
| A. McMillan, trav. del. & pstg | 77.71 |

**July 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| Postage Main Office | 19.00 |
| North West Def., for card cases | 31.00 |
| Guarantee Typewriter Ex. | 45.00 |
| Underwood Type. Co. for adjusting machine | 1.10 |

**July 12**

| | |
|---|---|
| Express on package literature from Seattle | 1.76 |

**July 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Thos. F. Ryan, G. O. C. & pstg | 25.12 |

**July 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| Sam Healey, for Workers issued to I. U. No. 310 | 4.50 |
| Matthew Trisler, for the Casper strike fund | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to Trisler | 1.42 |

**July 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| Postage for Main Office | 20.00 |
| Office supplies | 7.00 |

**July 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| Elmer Swanson, G. O. C. & pstg | 50.18 |
| John Graham, G. O. C. & pstg | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to Graham | 1.65 |
| Workers' Soc. Pub. Co. Bdl. Ord'rs. | 3.75 |
| Postage for Main Office | 13.00 |

**July 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Tom McMahon, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| M. J. Dillon, Trav. Del & pstg | 50.18 |
| Thos. F. Ryan, G.O. C. | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to Ryan | 1.42 |

**July 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| Matthew Trisler, G. O. C. & pstg | 50.18 |
| John Naredo, Trav. Del. & pst | 50.18 |

**July 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| Harry Feinberg, adv., Gen. Defense July 28—B. F. | 200.00 |
| Postage Main Office | 20.00 |
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Matthew Trisler, G. O. C. | 75.00 |
| Charges on wire to Trisler | 1.90 |

**July 31**

| | |
|---|---|
| Industrial Solidarity, July bundle orders | 74.55 |
| Industrial Pioneer, July B. O. | 88.44 |
| Equity Printing Co. Bulletins and ballots | 65.34 |
| I. U. No. 120 business on July rep. | 292.60 |
| I. L. No. 110 business on July rep. | 250.35 |
| I. U. No. 140 business on July rep. | 1.55 |
| I. U. No. 210 business on July rep. | 97.40 |
| I. U. No. 220 business on July rep. | 17.85 |
| I. U. No. 230 business on July rep. | 20.25 |
| I. U. No. 330 business on July rep. | 58.00 |
| I. U. No. 410 business on July rep. | 3.80 |
| I. U. No. 420 business on July rep. | 2.35 |
| I. U No 440 business on July rep. | 34.45 |
| I. U. No. 450 business on July rep. | 2.50 |

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 460 business on July rep. | 69.70 |
| I. U. No. 470 business on July rep. | 5.70 |
| I. U. No. 480 business on July rep. | 3.10 |
| I. U. No. 510 business on July rep. | 43.00 |
| I. U. No. 520 business on July rep. | 81.30 |
| I. U. No. 530 business on July rep. | 9.40 |
| I. U. No. 540 business on July rep. | 3.40 |
| I. U. No. 610 business on July rep. | 1.00 |
| I. U. No. 620 business on July rep. | 1.05 |
| I. U. No. 630 business on July rep. | 2.85 |
| I. U. No. 640 business on July rep. | 2.80 |
| I. U. No. 650 business on July rep. | 2.80 |
| I. U. No. 660 business on July rep. | 2.80 |
| Harry Feinberg, Def. stamps and donaions | 533.50 |
| I. U. No. 520 Special Ass'mt stmps | 10.50 |
| Educational Spec. Assmt stamps | 64.50 |
| Bond Special Ass'mt stamps | 1,304.00 |
| Per capita | 2,412.95 |
| Main Office rent | 500.00 |
| Sub. for Solidarity | 1.00 |
| Total | $7,746.90 |

**CASH SUMMARY**

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash receipts for July | $7,807.19 |
| Cash on hand July 1st | 526.40 |
| Total | $8,333.59 |
| Cash expenses for July | 7,746.90 |
| Cash on hand August 1st, 1923 | $ 586.69 |

**CASH RECEIPTS**

**District No. 1**

**July 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-512 | $ 25.00 |
| GC-660 | 4.60 |
| GC-591 | 2.50 |
| GC-124 | 5.00 |
| GC-144 | 34.14 |
| GC-88 | 4.00 |
| GC-258 | 59.00 |
| GC-258 | 30.10 |
| GC-550 | 120.00 |

**July 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-263 | 9.50 |

**July 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-508 | 7.40 |
| GC-679 | 38.50 |
| R-369 | 20.50 |
| GC-673 | 75.00 |

**July 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-439 | 33.50 |
| GC-691 | 18.00 |
| GC-689 | 19.75 |
| GC-689 | 16.75 |
| GC-131 | 9.40 |
| GC-687 | 9.50 |
| GC-695 | 37.50 |
| GC-695 | 36.25 |
| GC-591 | 15.00 |

**July 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-477 | 1.75 |
| GC-170 | 18.00 |
| GC-217 | 24.50 |
| GC-263 | 13.50 |
| GC-10 | 14.25 |
| GC-267 | 65.70 |
| GC-356 | 30.00 |
| GC-16 | 85.25 |
| GC-378 | 41.20 |
| GC-651 | 18.70 |

**July 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-525 | 30.25 |
| GC-412 | 5.50 |
| GC-100 | 24.75 |
| GC-513 | 40.00 |

**July 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-381 | 20.00 |
| GC-44 | 91.95 |
| GC-550 | 350.00 |
| GC-271 | 7.50 |
| GC-550, donation | 7.00 |

**July 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-365 | 34.00 |
| GC-365 | 49.00 |
| GC-683 | 10.00 |

**July 12**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-695 | 31.00 |
| GC-124 | 6.50 |
| 13—B. F. | |
| GC-591 | 90.58 |

**July 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-482 | 2.00 |
| GC-590 | 64.16 |
| GC-550 | 150.00 |
| GC-599 | 36.00 |

**July 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-689 | 3.10 |

**July 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-338 | 5.50 |
| GC-121 | 28.00 |
| GC-121 | 12.00 |
| GC-738 | 22.00 |
| GC-131 | 16.85 |
| Refund from Guthrie strike by A. Graham | 7.96 |

**July 20**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-378 | 5.00 |
| GC-861 | 10.00 |
| GC-88 | 55.60 |

**July 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-591 | 34.95 |
| GC-590 | 21.75 |
| GC-948 | 20.00 |
| GC-690 | 3.00 |
| GC-507 | 36.85 |
| R-526 | 6.00 |
| GC-284 | 8.50 |

**July 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-356 | 20.00 |
| GC-230 | 65.00 |
| GC-548 | 6.00 |
| GC-211 | 9.50 |
| GC-149 | 18.50 |
| GC-659 | 11.00 |

**July 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-517 | 36.75 |
| GC-169 | 14.00 |
| GC-117 | 18.50 |

**July 27**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-689 | 18.65 |
| GC-421 | 8.00 |
| GC-1006 | 14.45 |

**July 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-590 | 17.85 |
| GC-145 | 4.00 |
| GC-550 | 50.00 |

**July 30**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-589 | 13.00 |
| GC-689 | 10.00 |
| GC-591 | 48.80 |
| GC-550 | 130.00 |
| GC-521 | 31.10 |
| GC-267 | 69.00 |
| GC-519 | 20.00 |
| Total | $2,925.09 |

**District No. 2**

**July 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-205 | 19.50 |
| GC-265 | 6.50 |
| GC-58 | 1.20 |
| GC-500 | 11.90 |

**July 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-626 | 79.00 |
| GC-61 | 10.00 |
| GC-512 | 28.75 |
| GC-68 | 4.00 |
| GC-278 | 1.50 |
| GC-463 | 8.50 |
| GC-276 | 6.00 |
| GC-198 | 18.30 |
| GC-368 | 9.09 |
| GC-487 | 20.00 |
| GC-731 | 31.70 |

**July 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1075 | 77.70 |
| July 6—B. F. | |
| GC-448 | 9.00 |
| GC-637 | 7.50 |
| GC-251 | 28.70 |
| GC-492 | 18.00 |
| GC-287 | 12.38 |

**July 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-479 | 20.00 |
| GC-146 | 11.50 |
| GC-279 | 57.70 |
| GC-650 | 7.50 |
| GC-2 | 24.00 |
| GC-487 | 25.00 |
| GC-104 | 57.50 |
| GC-426 | 5.00 |
| GC-281 | 38.50 |

**July 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1078 | 16.00 |
| GC-694 | 12.00 |

**July 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-322 | 5.00 |

**July 12**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-368 | 39.50 |
| GC-48 | 10.00 |
| GC-264 | 42.00 |
| GC-1075 | 74.00 |
| GC-384 | 35.00 |

**July 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-685 | 10.00 |
| GC-40 | 8.35 |
| GC-259 | 8.13 |
| GC-573 | 25.00 |

**July 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-627 | 8.50 |
| July 16B. F. | |
| GC-845 | 3.00 |
| GC-386 | 17.00 |
| GC-386 | 9.50 |
| GC-1078 | 21.50 |
| GC-614 | 8.00 |
| GC-46 | 32.00 |

**July 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-623 | .80 |
| GC-352 | 15.00 |
| GC-666 | 9.00 |
| GC-265 | 11.88 |

**July 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-623 | 18.00 |

**July 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| R-533 | 18.00 |
| GC-731 | 34.00 |
| GC-574 | 6.15 |
| GC-463 | 9.50 |
| GC-1079 | 14.75 |
| GC-1075 | 83.70 |

**July 20**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-367 | 15.00 |
| GC-573 | 38.00 |

**July 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-674 | 26.00 |
| GC-386 | 25.00 |
| GC-22 | 12.90 |
| GC-361 | 28.00 |
| GC-277 | 20.00 |
| GC-368 | 17.00 |
| GC-205 | 28.00 |
| GC-799 | 26.00 |

GC-20 ..... 1.00
GC-796 ..... 15.00
GC-492 ..... 68.00
GC-55 ..... 10.00
GC-46 ..... 7.50

**July 23**

GC-791 ..... 13.00

**July 24**

GC-632 ..... 11.00
GC-470 ..... 10.75
GC-342 ..... 34.00
GC-463 ..... 10.00

**July 26**

GC-55 ..... 10.00
GC-61 ..... 10.00
GC-1075 ..... 41.22

**July 27**

GC-207 ..... 19.00
GC-6 ..... 30.00
GC-876 ..... 10.00
GC-38 ..... 19.50
GC-322 ..... 5.00

**July 28**

GC-621 ..... 15.50

**July 30**

GC-251 ..... 25.00
GC-372 ..... 30.00
GC-790 ..... 8.00
GC-649 ..... 1.00
GC-668 ..... 6.00
GC-55 ..... 10.00
GC-5 ..... 4.00
GC-259 ..... 11.10
GC-55 ..... 20.00
GC-2 ..... 18.50

Total ..... $1,971.15

**District No. 3**

**July 2**

GC-874 ..... $ 49.20
GC-177 ..... 7.50
GC-756 ..... 23.00
GC-1124 ..... 40.50
GC-923 ..... 4.00

**July 3**

GC-105 ..... 6.50
GC-813 ..... 5.00

**July 5**

GC-723 ..... 15.88
GC-342 ..... 42.50
GC-269 ..... 60.00

**July 6**

GC-677 ..... 4.90
GC-915 ..... 13.50

**July 9**

GC-732 ..... 11.25
GC-369 ..... 64.00
GC-756 ..... 14.00
GC-634 ..... 42.70

**July 10**

GC-423 ..... 7.00

**July 11**

GC-874 ..... 22.50

**July 12**

GC-722 ..... 25.75
GC-740 ..... 1.00
GC-169 ..... 18.50

**July 13**

GC-914 ..... 10.00
GC-757 ..... 12.50

**July 14**

GC-512 ..... 32.00

**July 16**

GC-762 ..... 10.80
GC-919 ..... 6.00
GC-921 ..... 22.00
GC-762 ..... 13.40
GC-914 ..... 36.50

**July 18**

GC-812 ..... 19.00
GC-914 ..... 21.50

**July 19**

GC-683 ..... 9.00
GC-739 ..... 2.00
Geo. Boyd, papers ..... .66
GC-1125 ..... 7.50

**July 20**

GC-920 ..... 4.50
GC-268 ..... 10.00
Geo. Boyd, papers ..... .75
GC-215 ..... 11.50

**July 21**

GC-739 ..... 6.50
GC-723 ..... 10.15
GC-13 ..... 78.00

**July 22**

GC-683 ..... 12.25
GC-811 ..... 19.50
GC-724 ..... 4.50
GC-683 ..... 8.00
GC-763 ..... 20.50
GC-705 ..... 14.00

**July 26**

GC-1124 ..... 34.00
GC-518 ..... 14.50
GC-369 ..... 50.00

**July 27**

GC-13 ..... 17.00
GC-765 ..... 44.00

**July 28**

GC-760 ..... 5.00

**July 30**

GC-472 ..... 41.40

Total ..... $1,088.09

**District No. 4**

**July 2**

GC-414 ..... $ 2.20
GC-720 ..... 6.00
GC-918 ..... 4.00
GC-975 ..... 6.00

**July 3**

GC-358 ..... 12.87
GC-709 ..... 2.00

**July 5**

GC-187 ..... 14.10
GC-261 ..... 11.50
GC-762 ..... 15.90
GC-468 ..... 7.00
GC-420 ..... 6.80

**July 6**

GC-515 ..... 15.00
GC-753 ..... 4.50
GC-816 ..... 8.75
GC-177 ..... 13.20

**July 9**

GC-755 ..... 5.00
GC-215 ..... 15.00
GC-708 ..... 21.00
GC-886 ..... 15.50

**July 11**

GC-764 ..... 5.45

**July 12**

GC-967 ..... 4.00
GC-759 ..... 13.50
GC-710 ..... 8.50

**July 16**

GC-620 ..... 5.00

**July 17**

GC-215 ..... 13.50
GC-720 ..... 11.00

**July 18**

GC-215 ..... 38.00
C. H. Carr, paper ..... 1.00

**July 21**

GC-752 ..... 47.45
GC-490 ..... 4.00

**July 25**

GC-515 ..... 15.00
GC-382 ..... 15.00

**July 26**

GC-506 ..... 32.50
GC-813 ..... 46.00

**July 28**

GC-815 ..... 8.00

**July 30**

GC-707 ..... 22.85

Total ..... $1,477.07

**District No. 5**

**July 2**

I. U. No. 110 June reports ..... $ 273.35
GC-290 ..... 14.00
GC-65 ..... 5.00
GC-433 ..... 9.00

**July 3**

I. U. No. 520 June reports ..... 88.45
I. U. No. 230 June reports ..... 44.35
GC-21 ..... 2.45
I. U. No. 460 ..... 7.25
I. U. No. 330 ..... 20.55
I. U. No. 650 ..... .75
I. U. No. 450 ..... 7.15
I. U. No. 410 ..... 1.50
GC-226 ..... 30.00
I. U. No. 120 ..... 381.05

**July 5**

I. U. Nos. 210 & 220 ..... 56.10

**July 7**

GC-967 ..... 10.00
Office report ..... 32.45
GC-490 ..... 21.50
I. U. No. 440 ..... 2.55

**July 9**

GC-967 ..... 20.00
GC-978 ..... 9.00
GC-370 ..... 16.50

**July 11**

GC-467 ..... 3.00

**July 14**

GC-817 ..... 16.85
Office report ..... 49.20
GC-25 ..... 8.00
GC-913 ..... 5.00

**July 19**

GC-272 ..... 7.50

**July 20**

I. U. No. 510 June reports ..... 58.25
I. U. No. 520 refund on typewriter. 22.50

**July 21**

GC-24 ..... 17.05
GC-875 ..... 1.00
GC-37 ..... 1.00
GC-260 ..... 35.50

**July 27**

GC-392 ..... 27.00
GC-177 ..... 12.50

**July 30**

GC-105 ..... 5.50
GC-65 ..... 2.86
Office report ..... 5.75
GC-914 (Emil Gero) ..... 8.88
GC-467 ..... 5.50

Total ..... $1,345.79

**CASH RECEIPTS**

District No. 1 ..... $2,925.09
District No. 2 ..... 1,971.15
District No. 3 ..... 1,088.09
District No. 4 ..... 477.07
District No. 5 ..... 1,345.79

Total ..... $7,807.19

IGNORANCE IS THE ENEMY OF THE WORKERS. PUSH THE LITERATURE.

# General Construction Workers Bulletin

CHICAGO, ILL. | G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W. | No. 6. SEPT. 10, 1923.

# A Year of Big Growth for the I. W. W.

This is the year of growth for the Industrial Workers of the World. Despite wholesale villification and persecution, the organization is increasing in membership and expanding into new territory. The Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120 has trebled its membershp during the past year. Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 announces a gain of 60 per cent. Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440, is having the boom of its life in the steel drive. It is building the I. W. W. eastward. Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510 is also booming, and is making numerous new foreign connections through port delegates. Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 460 tells the same tale of more members and expansion. And so it goes all along the line.

Last but not least is General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310. It, too, has an encouraging story to unfold. It has increased its membership nearly fifty per cent during the past year, and has entered Canada and Alaska for the first time in its existence. It also has more live delegates in the Mid-West territory now than ever before. On the whole, it is hitting the pace in a manner that is a credit to its membership.

But I. U. No. 310 isn't content with this showing. As the other industrial unions are making preparations to surpass even their best records, 310 is going to do likewise. It's going to keep up with the procession, and, what's more, it's going to endeavor to lead it. I. U. 310, though it moves everybody's dirt, cannot afford to take anybody's dust.

So, let's go to it! Let's show these other guys that when it comes to boosting the I. W. W. they haven't got anything on us! So, get after the unorganized next to you on the job. Get his application. Organize the job. Take out job credentials. Co-operate with the job delegate. Co-operate with the main office. Get up steam and we'll leave the record-breakers in the industrial unions with broken records, and we'll break them.

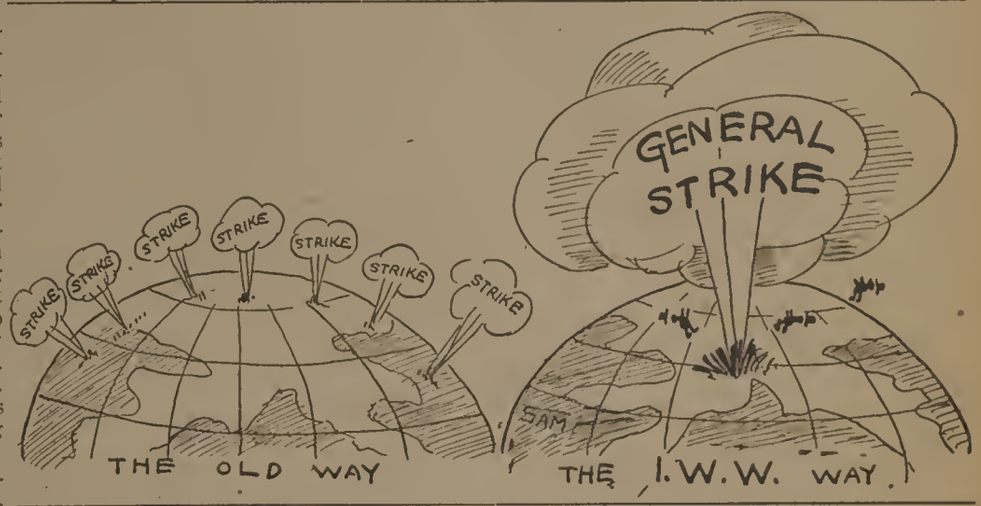
There's plenty of work and opportunity. General construction is still going good, and the camps sure need improvement. So do the wages, too. Great Scott, they sure do. "And the hours must come down." None of these things are possible without organization and then some more organization, and then still some more organization.

Don't let anybody tell you that anything is impossible with a well organized body of workers. In proportion as we organize, do we acquire strength and become able to achieve results. So, the first thing to do is to organize. In so doing, use all the organization means at your command. Use your press. Get the slaves interested in reading that 310 Bulletin, Industrial Worker and Industrial Pioneer. If they are foreigners, we have Spanish, Hungarian, Croatian, Bulgarian, Finnish, Italian and other language publications, leaflets and literature.

Let's go! Let's break the record!

Yours for a bigger and better I. W. W.,

**Card No. 331378.**




## A POWERFUL PRESS

Every day in every way, the I. W. W. is getting bigger and better. This is especially true of its press. The Industrial Worker now appears twice a week instead of once, and is twice as well edited in addition. Industrial Solidarity is doubling its circulation and getting out special industrial issues that are a credit to the industrial unions they represent. And Industrial Pioneer is improving so in appearance and contents that even its old friends find it hard to realize that it's the same old Pioneer.

We all should feel proud of **our press,** the I. W. W. press, and get behind all the plans to push it with a vim. Let us not rest until our press has a circulation that will make it a power in the land. It can be done, for we are already heading that way.

Push the press and you build up the power of the I. W. W. among the workers.

### NOTICE

Regular business meetings of I. U. No. 310 are held every Sunday evening at 7 p. m., at 601 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

**BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS—KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS (AND THAT MEANS PRACTICALLY ALL OF THEM).**

**All I. W. W. papers and bulletins please copy.**

### WHY THE STRIKE!

Regardless of the labor planks in their platform, and the promises before they were elected, the law-makers of the Republican Party have defeated every proposal that would tend to give the wage workers a little more of what they produce.

On the other hand, their members in the government of the U. S., have passed much anti-labor legislation over the protest of the workers.

A little thought about the struggles of even the past two years should be enough to convince any wage worker that the strike is the only answer to it. In this short length of time, organized workers have in many instances through a strike or the threat of a strike, prevented their masters from taking away from them many of the gains they have obtained after years of struggle.

The general strike of the I. W. W. in the early summer of this year (upwards of 100,000 workers were involved,) was beneficial in many ways. In the industries affected general conditions were improved. Much more remains to be done.

**The general strike is the result of general misery!**

At this time the anthracite coal miners are threatening to strike. Some of the soft coal miners are considering going out with them, as well as many of the railroad workers.

The general strike is the answer to general industry!

The employing class has the law-makers with them, but the wage workers, with their folded arms, are more powerful than all their lawyers, judges, officials, armies and navies.

**GC-23.**

### WHAT THE I. W. W. TEACHES

"I wouldn't wonder if industry would eventually absorb the political government."—HENRY FORD. (Collier's.)

# CONFERENCES

## CASPER, WYO., CONFERENCE

There will be a G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 conference held in Casper, Wyoming, Oct. 1, 1923.

Delegates will be elected from this conference to the convention of I. U. No. 310. Draw up resolutions and send them in to Box 451, Casper, Wyoming. All members are urged to attend.

**V. De Tourville,** G. O. C. Member.

## TAMA, IOWA, CONFERENCE

There will be a G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 conference in District No. 4, held at Tama, Iowa, on October 1, 1923. District No. 4 takes in Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma and Eastern Colorado.

This conference will be held to elect delegates to the I. U. 310 convention and to devise ways of organizing the slaves in the Middle Western states.

Hold business meetings and draw up resolutions. Send them in to J. Kennedy, 2 South Morgan St., Chicago, Ill. This is important. All members in District No. 4 are urged to attend this conference.

**Thos. F. Ryan,** G. O. C. Member.

## CHICAGO, ILL., CONFERENCE

There will be a G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 conference in District No. 5, held in Chicago, Ill., on October 1, 1923. District No. 5 takes in Central and Eastern states.

This conference will be held to elect delegates to the I. U. 310 convention and to devise ways of organizing the slaves in the Central and Eastern states.

Hold business meetings and draw up resolutions. Send them in to Mathew Trisler, 2 South Morgan St., Chicago, Ill. This is important. All members in District No. 5 are urged to attend this conference.

**Mathew Trisler,** G. O. C. Member.

## PORTLAND CONFERENCE

There will be a conference held in Portland, Oregon, October 1, 1923, to elect delegates to the Convention from District No. 1, which includes Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana.

It will also be held for devising ways and means of building up the organization of I. U. 310 in this district. Members are invited to attend. If they are not in a position to do so, send in resolutions and suggestions on all matters concerning the organization.

There are many vital questions to be brought up at this conference, so it is up to all members of I. U. 310 in this district to hold business meetings and all members at meetings to sign name and card number on minutes, as all resolutions sent in from job meetings will be given so many votes in favor of resolutions sent in.

**Elmer Swanson,** G. O. C. Member.

WANTED: FIFTY DELEGATES to take out supplies and credentials for I. U. 310 on the Canadian side. There is a good field for construction workers in the vicinity of Cranbrook, B. C., and along the Canadian Pacific, also an enormous amount of highway work in this vicinity.

## "Amnesty by Christmas" Pamphlet

The first "Amnesty by Christmas" pamphlet of the General Defense Committee is on the press. It is called "PUBLIC OPINION—WHERE DOES IT STAND ON THE QUESTION OF AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS."

This pamphlet is conceded to be the most important publication of recent date on this subject. It is absolutely unanswerable because it presents the arguments for the unconditional release of political prisoners from the viewpoint of the very men who helped send them to Leavenworth — the editors of the big capitalist papers and magazines. It is bound to impress or convince the most bitter opponent of amnesty.

Many fellow workers and others in different parts of the country have seen occasional editorials in favor of amnesty, but few realize how wide-spread, powerful and insistent this demand really is.

Friend and foe alike will be surprised at the cumulative FORCE these editorials have when grouped together and presented as an amnesty document. It will have a tremendous influence UPON State as well as Federal I. W. W. cases.

**Public Opinion** is the first of a series of pamphlets to be used in the present campaign. These should be distributed in huge numbers. Big meetings are being arranged in all parts of the country as a part of the spectacular and intensive Christmas drive for amnesty.

It has been decided to distribute PUBLIC OPINION free of charge. But, money is badly needed to cover cost of publication and the expenses of the present campaign.

Fellow workers, dig down in your pockets—and dig down deep. Let's get the federal prisoners out by Christmas, and then concentrate **all** our energies and resources upon the California and other cases.

**Ed Anderson,** Secretary,
**General Defense Committee.**

## STOCKTON CONFERENCE

There will be a G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 Conference held in Stockton, California, October 1, 1923.

It will be held for the purpose of devising ways and means of building up a bigger and better organization of I. U. 310 in that district; to thrash out some important questions such as what form of organization is best for I. U. 310 to function under (the present form or branch form on per capita basis); the best tactics to use to get organization on jobs and into territory where there is no organization at present; how to lower the indebtedness of I. U. 310 and other important questions. There will also have to be delegates elected for the I. U. 310 Convention, which will be held in Chicago, November 1, 1923.

Now, fellow workers, it is up to all members of I. U. 310 in this district: Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico, to hold business meetings and draw up resolutions and suggestions and send them in to Box 754, Stockton, California. Individual members should also send in suggestions.

All members of I. U. 310 in this district should make it their business to attend this conference.

**John Graham,** G. O. C. Member.

# BETTERING CONDITIONS ON THE JOB

RENO, Nev., Aug. 9.—Industrial Union No. 310, pulled a 100 per cent strike at Patna, Nevada, on July 30, 1923, which had the kick of a young army mule, as every worker walked out.

This was a force account job, of shouldering up for the S. P. R. R. Co.

The conditions at this camp were the same that the worker will find in most camps of this kind. As usual, the contractor got mad when the workers demanded a more sanitary camp in which to live, and told them that anyone who did not enjoy eating a few flies, etc., with their meals, could go and get their time. The result was that they all went and got it.

After throwing a fit when he saw they were all organized men, he cooled off a bit and tried to imitate a jellyfish, which all of his kind will do when organized effort is brought to bear, and tried to tell them that he **was going** to fix the camp up in **fine** shape in a few weeks.

We immediately got in touch with the labor commissioner, with the result that he sent the state health officer to the camp to see if he could find whether the demands were **justified.** I presume the labor commissioner and this contractor do not belong to the same lodge or something, as this took us workers completely by surprise. We generally get thrown into the can for daring to protest against bad conditions.

The health officer closed down the camp with instructions that it could not be opened up until the demands were complied with. And it still remains closed at this writing.

The local paper had the courage to give us our just dues this time. It announced that this was an I. W. W. strike. Of course, they did not infer that they agreed to this action, oh, no! They ran true to form, and tried to insinuate that the strike was not pulled just right; I presume that they were a bit surprised that no workers stayed to scab. But we must thank them for saying that it was an I. W. W. strike, as we would have had a lot of trouble in convincing many unconscious wobblies—workers that will squawk and rebel unknowingly—that the I. W. W. **did** pull this strike.

Come on, fellow workers, let's get out of the Stone Age that we are living under and cast off the **bonds of slavery. It can be done!**

## NOTICE

When sending in job news, etc., to be published in the bulletin, be careful to state things as they are. Do not exaggerate. All members of I. U. No. 310 are expected to use this bulletin to express their views on any and all matters of interest to the organization. Let's hear from all!

**Mathew Trisler,** Chairman, I. U. 310.
**J. Kennedy,** Sec'y-Treas., I. U. 310.

## NOTICE

Fellow Worker Fred Hiller had his card stolen from him. The card number is X-9709. Anyone seeing this card, take up on sight. It was taken at U. C. Job Camp No. 1, at Chalk, Idaho.

There is mail for Fellow Worker Ed. J. Fahey at Watertown, Wisconsin.

## THE SINEWS OF WAR

Are you aware, fellow worker, that in the state of California alone we have nearly one hundred men in prison serving time, and nearly the same number in the county jails awaiting trial under the criminal syndicalism law? Do you know how the fund for the relief of these men is secured? Do you know who subscribes to this fund? Or, have you ever given this matter any thought? Did you think that because the state of California furnished food, clothing and shelter of a sort, that this was all that is necessary for their maintenance? They need far more than merely food, clothing and shelter.

Efficiency experts have found, after close observation, that it is absolutely essential that workers in industry, to be efficient and healthy, must have amusement, leisure and a change of diet. How much more necessary is it that men in prison should have a few of these things if they are to keep up their spirits and maintain good health? If they are to preserve their morale, they must be provided with money enough to supply a few simple luxuries.

There are not a great many articles that one can buy in prison, but what one can buy, he should have sufficient funds to enable him to procure. It does not cost a great deal to supply him with candy, fruit, chewing gum, tooth paste and brush, bath towel, soap, a pipe, tobacco, base-ball and glove, books and magazines. And yet, if one has no money, each article might cost a million dollars so far as he is concerned.

We who are on the outside cannot afford to let these men who are behind the prison walls want for anything that it is in our power to procure for them. They are hidden away from the fresh air and the golden sunshine, away from friends, have no social intercourse, scarcely any amusement, and, what is harder for them, they are not able to propagate Industrial Unionism so dear to the heart of every rebel. Because they fought for us, because they were brave enough to protest against the high-handed methods of a boss class, drunk with power, they have been compelled to pay the price that all men with a social vision, throughout the ages, were compelled to pay. Surely we should do what we can to make their lot a little easier.

The California branch of the General Defense Committee is allowing these men three dollars per month. Heretofore we have managed to raise this amount, but now we are compelled to ask you to contribute as liberally as possible, in order that we may continue to issue this amount regularly every month. There are sixty-three men in San Quentin prison, thirteen men in Folsom prison, one in Preston Reform School, ten more who will soon be in San Quentin and sixty-seven men in jail awaiting trial.

Read this message carefully, fellow workers, and ask yourselves if you do not think that it is your duty to subscribe to this fund for the relief of our criminal syndicalism victims. Send all funds to **Tom Connors, 226 Russ Bldg., San Francisco, California. Do it NOW!**

**GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,**

**California Branch.**

### NOTICE TO NON-MEMBERS

This bulletin is published by the membership of I. U. 310 of the I. W. W., for the benefit of the I. W. W., and is paid for by the membership of I. U. 310. Therefore, if you are not supporting us by being a dues-paying member of the I. W. W., you should become one and be a help to your class, not a burden.

**"The Immediate Demands of the I. W. W." has been translated into Spanish. Same is now ready to be sent into the field. Any members or delegates who can distribute this pamphlet among the Spanish workers should write in and get a bundle of it, which is for free distribution.**

## TO FELLOW CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

CASPER, Wyo., Aug. 29.—I was hired on August 11, to work for W. H. Collins, contractor, as a blacksmith. Wages, $7.30 for 10 hours. Worker 11 days and got paid off at $150 per month.

One day I was asked to work overtime, and did so. Got into an argument with the boss over an article for his machine and quit at 8 p. m. He told me to go to the office, get my time, and get out of the camp. I went to the office, they gave me a time slip; I could not read it in the dark so I handed it back to him. He told me that if I stayed in camp until morning I would be a dead blacksmith. I stayed in camp until morning, and got beaten up. The boss told the timekeeper to give me my time check whether I wanted it or not.

I came to Casper and went to see the sheriff. He told me to go and see the prosecuting attorney. I explained the case to him and that I wanted to have Collins arrested. He told me to go and see the labor commissioner.

**Mike Kruger, 7157.**

P. S. We wonder what the almighty sheriff would do if Kruger the blacksmith had beaten up Collins the contractor.

## READ THE I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

**Working class education demands that you read and subscribe for the following publications:**

The Industrial Worker, Industrial Solidarity and the Industrial Pioneer should be read by every wage worker. Receipt books are on hand for the sub-getters. You can have bundle orders of these publications mailed to you; also magazines, papers and leaflets in various foreign languages.

For further information, get in touch with the General Construction Worker's Industrial Union No. 310, of the I. W. W., 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

### WORKERS NEED HELP

Fellow Worker Fred Allen is in a Mobridge, South Dakota, hospital, with his back broken and other injuries which may prove fatal, according to a letter received from Dr. E. V. Rock, of Mobridge, S. D.

* * *

Fellow Worker Charles Lundgren is in the Mercy Hospital, Mason City, Iowa, with a broken collar bone and other injuries. He is destitute and needs aid immediately, according to a letter from Dr. B. Raymond Weston, 200 First National Bank Bldg., Mason City, Iowa.

## BEWARE OF RUMORS

A rumor is like a cancer on a healthy body. It is mysterious, seems to come from nowhere and soon grows if left alone, eating its way tearing down and destroying healthy tissues. The surgeon uses the knife, cuts it out at its roots, and if caught in time, no harm results; but if neglected it either disfigures or destroys the body.

The same holds true with the organization. Never spread a rumor; if it refers to an individual member ignore it. If it pertains to the organization or any of the officials of G. C. W. I. U. No. 310, hold a meeting at once, and if that is not possible, get the name and card number of the member who started it, or who is spreading it, and then hold a meeting as soon as possible and get the facts.

### TAKE NOTICE

The General Construction Workers' I. U. No. 310 will hold a convention in Chicago, just prior to the general convention which convenes the second Monday in November. The I. U. No. 310 convention will convene Thursday, November 1, at 9 a. m.

In order to defray expenses of delegates to this convention, a $1 Convention Stamp has been placed in the field. Every member of I. U. No. 310 should have at least one of these stamps in his card, as important matters pertaining to the organization are to be thrashed out at this convention.

Fellow Worker Peter Henderson, member of I. U. No. 310, died at the Selwood Hospital, near Portland, Oregon. Anyone knowing any of his relatives kindly notify the Main Office of I. U. No. 310.

The cards of Fellow Workers O. Callan, X-68685, I. U. No. 120, and Mathew Mack Inerney, X-78602, are being held in Stockton, Cal. Same can be had by writing to Box 754, Stockton, Cal. There is also a duplicate card there for C. Hannigan, No. X-64449, I. U. No. 120.

## PREAMBLE

—of the—

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

# Job News From Active Delegates

**Kenwood, Cal., June 14.**—Grant Smith One mile north. Highway. Fresno and Rocking road. Work will last all summer. One camp. About 50 men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. fair. Mexican, Negroes and Whites employed. Wages teamsters $4.50. Am not sure but I think the Rock gang gets $4.50 and laborers $4.00. Work eight hours. Board very poor at $1.25. Sanitary conditions poor. Bath house but no hot water. Chances of going to work. Hire on job and don't know but they ship men from Frisco. This job is eleven miles east of Santa Rosa and they are putting on more stock as this work should have been finished by July. There are ten miles to do. Delegates could do good work. (GC 368).

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**Ostrander, Wash., 7-6-23.**—Grant Smith Co. Railroad track for logging company. Two company camps, the rest are subbing from Grant Smith Co. Work will last about five months. Five camps. Three hundred and fifty men employed. Sentiment fair. Wages, $4 for laborers, $4.50 for team hands. Work eight hours. Board $1.20 per day, poor. Sanitary conditions poor. The sleeping conditions are rotten. Shower baths in two camps. Chances of going to work. You can hire on job from paymaster's office, he sends you to different camps. There are seven camps out of Ostrander.—**(GC-271).**

**Martinez, Cal., 7-14-23.**—Associated Oil Company is hiring construction laborers and team hands. Wages, $4 low, $5 high. Operation Department is also short-handed. Wages, $4 low, $6.50 high. 2,500 men employed. Sentiment poor. Good field for live delegates.—**(GC-623).**

**Cordova, Alaska, 7-7-23.**—Siems & Carlson, contractors, building automobile road. Wages, $5.50 for eight hours. Board, average at $1.50 per day. Accomodations rotten. Double-decker bunks, mattresses look as if they were picked off some dumping ground. Bunkhouses crowded and dirty. No baths nor hot water. If you want to keep clean you must hustle an old gasoline can and boil up outside. Furnish your own blankets same as on all other jobs in Alaska. About 25 men working by the day. Two station gangs working on this job. One bunch jumped their rock claim. Siems & Carlson is also doing road work near Juneau and Anchorage. The government is doing some road work out here. Wages $4 per day and board.—**(GC-1197).**

**Kalama, Wash., 7-16-23.**—U. S. Engineering Department is changing channel of river. Twenty-six men employed. Work consists of shoveling and wheeling rock. Work will last three years or more, but shuts down during the winter time. Wages, rock shovelers $3.50 per day, cook $150 per month, flunkey $60 per month, board and lodging, soap and towels, free. Blankets, sheets and pillow slips furnished and changed once a week. Not much chance to get on, as this is a good job and everybody sticks to it. Sentiment good.—**(GC-378).**

**Bishop, Cal., 7-16-23.**—The Pine Creek Tungsten out of Bishop is still unfair to miners. The two scabs were in Bishop for the 4th; they went back again. Now one of them is in town again. His name is Thomas Burke, better known as "Blackie." This bird Watkins is also down with two more scabs that went up.—**Card No. 738,-430).**

**Sheridan, Wyoming, 7-21-23.**—Dowd & Paulsens camp. Taking out 76 feet of rock cut. One machine, five or six wagons. Machine pulled by cat. Wages, plow holder $175, dumpman $125, blacksmith $125, cook $150. All of these include board. Wagon skinners 40 cents per hour, three-ups. Board $1.05 per day. Chuck fairly scarce. Sixteen men in one bunk tent. Four double bunks, also four double-deckers. Sentiment don't care. This job will probably last till it freezes up.—**(Card No. 748538).**

**Los Angeles, Cal., 7-21-23.**—Real Estate. Allen Hancock. Street work. Job will last one year. Two camps; 100 men employed. Sentiment good. This is wagon work and concrete work. Wages, teamsters $4.50, wagon dumper $5, cat skinner $8, plow holder $8, muckers $4, and $1.25 board. Work eight hours. Board fair. Sanitary conditions good. Hire on job when they are short-handed.—**(GC-279).**

**Kenwood, Calif., July 23.**—Grant Smith Co. constructing state highway. Grading and paving. 100 men on job. 70 head of Fresno stock. Job will last three or four months. Eight hours. Go one way company time. Wages $4.00, $4.50 and $5.00 for labor, skinners $4.50 and $5.00, truck drivers $6.00, rollermen $8.00 and $9.00. Board $1.25 and rotten. Greaseball cook and kitchen crew. Tents and bath house fair. Furnish your own bed. Gambling and wine recreation. This crowd is broke all the time and a broke slave is a willing one. Sentiment poor.—**(GC-388).**

**Mineral, Cal., July 21.**—Redmond Page & Pond. State highway. Grading with two steam shovels and Fresnos. Board rotten at $1.25. No floor in tents. Old and leaky. No bull cook. No bath. Some men are sleeping under the trees. 80 men employed. Sentiment good at Camp 1. Camp 2 employs from eight to ten men. Steam shovel runners wages $245.00; firemen $165.00; drillers, $5.00 per day skinners and laborers, $4.50. Work 8 hours. Two hours going in and out. Ship from Sacramento and San Francisco. Fare from Sacramento $5.50. There are three state camps on this road. Conditions are fair. Board at $1.20 per day. Laborers in state camps $4; drillers $4.50; teamsters $4.25; truck drivers $5.00; cook $150.00; flunkey $4.00; bull cook $4.00. Eight hours work. Camp 1 employs about 40 men. Camp 2 thirty, and Camp 3 from eight to ten. Sentiment no good in the state camps. Shower baths. Spring and mattresses are furnished by state. You carry your own balloon. Hire on the job in state camps. Take stage or state highway trucks from Red Bluff to Mineral. State camps about three to six miles east of Mineral.—**GC-492).**

**Metz, California, 8-25-23.**—A. J. Sartoris gyppoing for Utah Construction Co. Tunnel on Southern Pacific R. R. Tunnel work to last one month and concrete work two months longer. Job will last three months. One camp. About 75 men. Sentiment indifferent. Mostly Mexicans employed here. Mexican delegate might do some good. Wages miners $5.00 and muckers $4.50. Eight hours. Lots of overtime. They work ten to twelve hours per shift and straight time for overtime. Board $1.25, rotten. Sanitary conditions rotten. Bath house and hot and cold water. Chances of going to work. Hire on job or ship from Murray & Ready, Empt. Office, San Francisco. Fee $2.50 fare free.—**(GC-614)**

**Benton, Montana, 8-26-23.**—Government job. Wages $5.00 eight hour day. Board good at 1.50 a day. Sentiment good. Blankets and mattresses furnished. Hire on job. Siems & Carlson construction Co. Government highway Glacier National Park. This contractor has two camps. No. 1 is a steam shovel, drillers and muckers. No. 2 is steam shovel, grading and mucking. Sentiment good in both camps.—**(GC-635)**

**Rodgers, N. D., 8-5-23.**—Midwest Construction Co. State highway work. Machine pulled by horses. 12 wagons when full handed. Work will last all summer. One camp about 15 or 20 men. Sentiment good. Anyone going there take Soo Line or N. P. railroad. Wages machine driver $6.00 and board, two up wagon $3.00 and board. Work ten hours. Board average. Sanitary conditions bad. Hire on job. Short handed at present—**GC-677)**

**Forsyth, Montana, 8-19-23.**—Nelsons Camp. About 80 per cent organized. 40 miles south of Forsyth on the new coal road. R. R. work. One machine outfit, employs about 40 men. Sentiment good. Wages plow holder $200.00, dumpman $150.00, machine skinner $140.00, push $80.00, gig $80.00, wagon skinners $60.00. Short handed at present. Contractor is in town most any day.—**(GC-518)**

**Java, Montana, 8-20-23.**—Grant Smith Co. Work will last two months. Nearest P. O. Essex. Seven camps. Sentiment good. 50 to 60 men. Wages steam shovel $6.00. No bath house or wash room. Board not good at $1.25. Work ten hours. Sanitary conditions fair. Hire at Cascade Labor Agency, Great Falls. Fee $2.00—**(GC-874.)**

**Leon, Iowa, 8-21-23.**—Bob Scroggie. Barnes Outfit. St. Joe Line on the C. B. & Q. Dirt work. Two machine outfit. Fifteen three-ups or more. Twenty men. Sentiment indifferent. Wages team hands $4.00, $1.00 out. Ten hours. $150.00 plow holders, $125.00 machine skinner, $250.00 dumpman.—**(GC-490.)**

**Bloomfield, Iowa, 8-21-23.**—Byers & Wilson. Road work. County highway. 15 men. Sentiment none. Wages laborers $3.00 and board. One camp. Ten hours. Sanitary conditions rotten. Job will last two months.—**GC-490.)**

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A SUBSCRIPTION TO AN I. W. W. PAPER IS A GOOD INVESTMENT FOR EVERY WORKER

# CONSTRUCTION WORKERS BULLETIN

"An Injury to One Is An Injury to All."

ONE UNION No. 6 ONE ENEMY

Published Monthly by I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W.
Address all communications to
2 SO. MORGAN ST. CHICAGO, ILL.
MATTHEW TRISLER, Chairman
J. KENNEDY, Sec'y-Treas.


**Toledo, Ohio, 8-22-23**—Ferguson & Edmonson Const. Co. Michigan Central yards. Wages, plow holder $200 per month and board. Two big Western machines running. Wagon skinners—three-ups $4.50, $8.00 per week for board. Ten hour day. $4.00 for slipping, $5.00 for Fresno four-ups, flunkey $4.50 per day, $8.00 out for board, wagon dumper $6.00 and chuck, Fresno dumper $5.00 and chuck, cat skinner $150.00 and board, cook $175.00, corral boss $125.00, helper $90.00, gandys $4.00. Camp employes 120 men. Two steam shovels working. Two camps. Sleeping good. Eight men to a bunk house. Hot and cold water, also shower baths. Good work and good wagons and stock. Absolutely nothing to eat.—**(837220.)**

**Redwood City, Cal., 8-20-23**—Grant Smith Co. Driving tunnel. East Portal camp three miles and West Portal Seven miles out of Redwood City. Miners $5.00, chucktenders $4.50 and muckers $4.50, outside labor $4.00 and $4.50. Board $1.25. Board fair. Bunkhouses two men to a room. Electric lights and good bath house. Drilling will last six weeks or two months and then concreting will start and last all winter. Hire on job or ship from any shark in Frisco. 50c fare to Redwood City. Company trucks in town twice a day. 50 to 100 men employed in each camp. Three shift outfit. One crew going out, one working and one going, as tunnel is wet and bad ground and highball Swede shifters.—**GC-388.)**

**Inglewood, Cal., 8-20-23.**—Oswald Bros. Camp. One machine, nine wagons outfit. Teamsters $4.00 eight hours, boss man, plow holder, cat skinner $1.00 per hour, dumpman $5.00 per day. Tents to sleep in. Furnish your own blankets and mattresses. Sleeping accommodations rotten. Sentiment fair. Board in town, some are batching on job. Ten cents car fare from Los.—**(GC-796.)**

**Matfield Green, Kansas, 8-19-23.**—Sentiment fair. Wages cook $150.00 and board, flunkey $70.00 and board, plowers $175.00 and board, dumpers $150.00 and board, cat skinners $150.00 and board, stable dog $100.00 and board, wagon skinners three-ups $4.00, $1.00 out for board, Morman skinners $4.00, $1.00 for board. Two machine outfit. Chuck good. Sleeping quarters poor. Ten hours on the job. Three months work at Bazarr then will move to Cassaday. Sante Fe railroad comes into Bazarr.—**(T. P. K.)**.

**Cisco, Cal., 8-6-23.**—P. G. & E. Company. Elevation 8,000 feet. Two camps working full blast. Camp 3 employs about 70 men and camp 4 about 60 Seven months work. The boss comes here four or five times a day. He is like Napoleon Bonaparte. Three stools in camp. Board is rotten.**(GC-280.)**

**Washburn, Iowa, 8-25-23**—Jensen & Son. County road work. This is a two machine outfit. 30 men. Sentiment good. Wages team hands $3.00 and board, plow holders $175.00 per month, machine skinner $150.00, gig and push skinners $3.50 a day and board, cook $175.00, flunkey $85.00. Work ten hours from barn to barn. One camp. Dumpman $150.00. Sanitary conditions good. Board good. This outfit is a four-up outfit and they do not charge anything for board. Hire on job.—**(GC-255.)**

**Bozeman, Montana, 8-23-23.**—Browns highway camp 34 miles from Salesville, Montana. No bedding and canvas and some hay near the corral for bed. Wages $5.00 for eight hours. Board $1.25. Chuck good but scarce. Lundgren's camp six miles further up. Wages the same. This work is highway surfacing and rock crusher, auto trucks and four-up Fresnos. Working two eight hour shifts, one from four to twelve noon, the other one to nine in the evening. —**(GC-1124.)**

**Chariton, Iowa, 8-24-23.**—About fifteen blocks of street work. Will last for a couple of months. They are paying 35c an hour. Board in town for about $10.00 a week. Hire on job.—**(GC-490.)**

**Murray, Iowa, 8-24-23.**—C. B. & Q. extra gang. 38c an hour. 90c board. About two months work.—**(GC-490.)**

**McPherson, Iowa, 8-24-23.**—Extra gang. 38c an hour, 90c board. All box car outfits. Ship from any C. B. & Q. office in Chicago or Omaha. All ten hour work.—**(GC-490.)**

**Red Oak, Iowa, 8-24-23.**—Street work 35 and 40c. About two weeks work here. Hire on job. Board in town.—**(GC-490.)**

**Mineral, Cal., 8-22-23.**—State highway camp 1. Highway & quarry. Truck driven. 70 men. Sentiment no good. Wages team hands $4.25, laborers $4.00, truck drivers $5.00, cook $150.00, flunkey $4.00, bull cook $4.00. Work eight hours. Two camps. Sanitary conditions poor. Board fair. Ship from Redding or Red Bluff. Trucks run to Red Bluff and candy truck takes out the men. Chances of going to work. Pick & shovel work. Job will last until snow comes. Stump ranchers and poison oakers. No floor in tents. Board for 40c a meal.—**(GC-1182.)**

**Portola, Cal., June 14.**—Ratto contrctor. Building concentrate plant for Walker mine. This work is not on the bull system. No hit-the-ball. Men are sticking pretty well. Work will last all summer. One camp. About 100 men employed. Sentiment towards the I. W. W. very good. Chance for organizing the unorganized pretty good. Wages, labor 4.25, eight hours; concrete men $6.00, nine hours; teamsters $4.75, eight hours; flunkeys $70 per month and found; cook $150 and found; fink carpenters working nine hours straight time. Work eight and nine hours. Board very good at $1.25. Sanitary conditions quite good. Chances of going to work. Apply on job or ship from Liberty at Sacramento. Fee $2.50, fre $8.10. Also ship from Reno at stage office. Fee $2, fare $6.75. Ship from Portola no fee, fare $3.25. **(GC-202).**

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A DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION IS BUILT FROM THE GROUND UP. WHAT ARE YOU DOING?

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## DELEGATES WANTED IN MONTANA AND WYOMING

Thermopolis, Wyoming,
June 20, 1923.

To 310 Members and Delegates:—

There is a lot of construction work in the states of Montana and Wyoming this summer and not enough active delegates. I ask every 310 member who is qualified to take out credentials, to do so.

We want a perfect organization this summer, and to build up a powerful Construction Workers' Union. We can't afford to have the few delegates and members do all the work. Now, Fellow Workers, if you come in this state, see a traveling delegate or G. O. C. member and take out the rigging.

GC-8, G. O. C. Member.

## Where to Get Supplies and Literature

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Thos. Smith | Box 754, | Stockton, Cal. |
| Harry Wilson | Box 4063, | Reno, Nevada. |
| Elmer Anderson | Box 421, | Tacoma, Wash. |
| W. H. Boyd | Box 827, | Pasco, Wash. |
| Chas. Humphreys | Box 365, | Seattle, Wash. |
| A. Vecellio | Box 1689, | Spokane, Wash. |
| A. McKinnon | Box 91, | Eureka, Cal. |
| Al Frane | Box 107, | Omaha, Neb. |
| Chas. Gray | 115 No. Nicolett Ave., | Minneapolis, Minn. |
| W. L. Gillespie | Box 451, | Casper, Wyoming. |
| A. Vernon | 1219 Fourth St., , | Sioux City, Iowa. |
| Oil Workers' I. U. 230 | Box 212, | Taft, Cal. |
| John McSlarrow | Box 641, | Everett, Wash. |
| Lee Tulin | 318 N. Wyoming St., | Butte, Mont. |
| Albert R. Graham | Box 486, | Whitefish, Mont. |
| J. MacAnally | Box 3001, | Portland, Ore. |
| Sam Healey | Box 3291, | Portland, Ore. |
| E. H. Hannon | Box 730, | Missoula, Mont. |
| Geo. Wenger | 431 Prairie Ave., | Milwaukee, Wis. |
| Jas. P. Sullivan | Box 1504, | Salt Lake, Utah. |
| John Shuskie | Box 69, Station D, | New York, N. Y. |
| Wm. Morreau | 110 Front St., | Fargo,, N. D. |
| Fred Carr | 8 N. Sixth St., W., | Duluth, Minn. |
| Geo. VanDusen | Box 501, | LaGrange, Ore. |
| Wm. Randall | Box 653, | Aberdeen, Wash. |
| R. Seefeldt | Box 366, | Kelso, Wash. |

**San Francisco, Cal., 8-14-23**—I left the Hetch Hetchy. Was working in Camp 8-9. Chuck was rotten. Sentiment good only they are afraid to join on account of the C. S. Law and the Injunction. There are about 75 men working. Concrete work. Wages from $5.00 to $6.00 per eight hours. Camp 5-6. Chuck rotten. Most of the men scabbed last strike. It is wet. You have to carry a nose bag. They have a bonus after they break five feet each shift. They never made more than from $10.00 to $20.-00 during the whole month but the slaves sure dig for it. This is a fink and home guard camp.—**(GC-799.)**

**Sacramento, Calif.,8-4-23.** — Southern California Edison Co. Headquarters camp. Those camps are surely rotten. K. K. K. are organizing up there, also the American Legion.. In this camp there are about 300 family men and about 300 single men working. Speed up system. Camp 60 is a tunnel camp. This tunnel is about two miles in and you stand in water up to your knees. Gas and smoke from the steam shovel. Shipped up here as trackman. It cost $12.-30 from Sacramento including board, $2.00 for the job here in the National Employment Office, $1.00 hospital fee. Wages $5.50 miners, muckers $4.50, electrical motor men $4.50, trackmen $4.00 and laborers $3.75 per day. $1.15 goes out for board and bedding.—**(E. F.)**

# FINANCIAL STATEMENT

## AUGUST, 1923

### RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiations | $ 1,550.00 |
| Dues | 2,965.50 |
| Initiations other unions | 858.00 |
| Dues other unions | 1,335.00 |
| Organization assessments | 225.00 |
| General Defense stamps | 486.50 |
| Papers | 325.29 |
| Card cases | 41.00 |
| Buttons and Pins | 64.75 |
| Literature | 98.63 |
| On Acct supply clerks, G. O. C.'s Traveling Del., and Del. | 1,467.06 |
| Pioneer | 68.90 |
| Bail and Bond stamps | 1,562.00 |
| Special I. U. No. 520 stamps | 35.00 |
| Education stamps | 69.00 |
| Refunds from hall expenses | 20.50 |
| Convention stamps | 156.00 |
| Donations to I. U. No. 310 | 8.50 |
| Donations to Defense | 4.00 |
| Collection for Hall, Portland | 25.50 |
| I. U. No. 120 Delegate | 15.50 |
| Duplicate cards | 34.00 |
| **Total** | **$11,417.63** |

### EXPENSES

| | |
|---|---|
| Per capita | $ 1,507.09 |
| Commissions on initiations and literature | 347.20 |
| Field wages | 1,521.00 |
| Mileage | 235.09 |
| Allowance to other unions | 1,085.15 |
| Held on acc't by G. O. C.'s, traveling delegates, supply clks and delegates | 1,560.43 |
| Defense stamps and donations | 490.50 |
| Magazines and papers | 415.21 |
| Remitted to other unions | 1,014.35 |
| Main Office wages | 436.00 |
| Rent, Light and Heat | 209.87 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 65.35 |
| Postage, Express and Wires | 144.95 |
| Education stamps | 69.00 |
| Bail and bond stamps | 1,562.00 |
| I. U. No. 520 Special stamps | 35.00 |
| Printing | 56.69 |
| Craft cards | 14.00 |
| I. U. No. 120 Delegate | 15.50 |
| Literature | 7.60 |
| **Total** | **$10,791.98** |

### SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Total Receipts | $11,417.63 |
| Cash on hand Aug. 1st | 586.69 |
| Grand total | $12,004.32 |
| Total Expenses for Aug. | 10,791.98 |
| Cash on hand Sept. 1st, 1923 | $ 1,212.34 |

**Indebtedness to I. W. W. Headquarters**

| | |
|---|---|
| Due books | $ 1,666.07 |
| Per capita | 1,441.73 |
| Literature | 1,318.33 |
| Organization supplies | 1,693.72 |
| Total | $ 6,119.85 |

### CASH EXPENSES

| | |
|---|---|
| Acc't John Graham, G. O. C. adv. and postage | $ 50.18 |
| Acc't Italian paper, Il Proletario | 5.25 |
| Acc't. John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Acc't. Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Acc't. Mathew Trisler, Main Office wages | 16.00 |
| Acc't. J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Acc't. North-West Defense, Lit. to No. 310 delegates | 5.05 |
| Acct. Geo. Warwick, Trav. Delegate, advanced | 50.00 |
| Acct. charges on wire to Warwick | 1.65 |
| Acc't Industrial Worker, July bundlle order | 151.04 |
| **August 6** | |
| Acc't I. U. No. 510, balance due on July report | 5.00 |
| **July 7** | |
| Acc't M. J. Dillon, Trav. Del. and postage | 50.18 |
| Acc't Main office postage | 25.00 |
| Acc't office chair, Main office | 7.50 |
| **August 9** | |
| Acc't John Graham, G. O. C. adv. and postage | 50.18 |
| Acc't Main office supplies | 3.30 |
| **August 11** | |
| Acc't Emily Kaiyla, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Acc't John Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Acc't Matthew Trisler, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Acc't J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| **August 13** | |
| Acc't Thos. F. Ryan, G. O. C. advanced | 25.00 |
| Acc't P. Silverman, Office supplies | 1.10 |
| Acc't P. J. Welinder, Pioneers issued to No. 310 | 2.88 |
| **August 16** | |
| Acc't Main office postage | 32.00 |
| Acc't Elmer Swanson, G. O. C. adv. | 50.00 |
| Acc't Charges of wiring to Swanson | 1.65 |
| **August 18** | |
| Acc't John Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Acc't Emily Kaiyala, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Acc't Matthew Trisler, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Acc't J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Acc't P. Silverman, office supplies | 2.50 |
| **August 20** | |
| Acc't John Naredo, Trav. Delegate, adv. | 69.46 |
| Acc't S. Healy, literature issued to No. 310 delegates | 2.55 |
| Acc't Albert Peter, counting No. 310 G. E. B. ballots | 3.00 |
| Acc't C. C. Watkins, counting No. 310 G. E. B. ballots | 3.00 |
| Acc't Bernard Shapers, counting No. 310 G. E. B. ballots | 3.00 |
| **August 21** | |
| Guarantee Typewriter Co., for repairs on machine | 15.00 |
| **August 24** | |
| Acc't M. J. Dillon, Trav. Delegate adv. and postage | 50.18 |
| **August 25** | |
| Acc't J. Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Acc't Emily Kaiyala, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Acc't Matthew Trisler, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Acc't J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Acc't Postage, Main office | 16.20 |
| Acc't Workers Socialist Pub. Co., Finnish papers | 1.00 |
| **August 27** | |
| Acc't V. DeTourville—acc't G. O. | 175.00 |
| Acc't Thos. F. Ryan—acc't G. O. C. and postage | 25.12 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 120 Delegate report | 15.50 |
| Acc't Charge for wring to De Tourvillle | 2.40 |
| Acc't Adv. to General Defense | 400.00 |
| Acc't Industrial Solidarity, for August papers | 90.03 |
| Acc't Industrial Pioneer, for August Magazines | 157.21 |
| Acc't Equity Printing Co., bulletins and convention stamps | 56.69 |
| Acc't Il Proletario, Italian paper | 5.40 |
| **August 31** | |
| Acc't I. U. No. 110, acc't August reports | 286.40 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 120, acc't August reports | 226.00 |
| Acct I. U. No. 130, acc't August reports | 4.85 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 210, acc't August reports | 109.80 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 220, acc't August reports | 17.10 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 320, acc't August reports | .50 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 330, acc't August reports | 49.30 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 410, acc't August reports | 4.15 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 420, acc't August reports | 3.60 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 430, acc't August reports | 1.25 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 440, acc't August reports | 40.60 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 450, acc't August reports | 2.85 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Acc't I. U. No. 460, acc't August reports | 55.05 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 470, acc't August reports | 5.05 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 480, acc't August reports | .50 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 230, acc't August reports | 18.40 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 510, acc't August reports | 67.70 |
| Acc't General Defense Stamps and donations | 90.50 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 520, acc't August reports | 92.95 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 530, acc't August reports | 8.95 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 540, acc't August reports | 5.15 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 610, acc't August reports | .75 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 640, acc't August reports | 1.30 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 650, acc't August reports | 3.55 |
| Acc't I. U. No. 660, acc't August reports | 3.10 |
| Acc't Education Stamps | 69.00 |
| Acc't Bond Stamps | 1,562.00 |
| Acc't R. R. Special Ass'mt | 35.00 |
| Acc't Main office rent to date | 164.40 |
| Acc't Per Capita | 1,507.09 |
| Total | $6,483.54 |

CASH SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash receipts | $7,109.19 |
| Cash on hand August 1st | 586.69 |
| Total | $7,695.88 |
| Cash expenses for August | 6,483.54 |
| Cash on hand September 1st | $1,212.34 |

## CASH RECEIPTS

### District No. 1. Wash., Idaho, Oregon

**August 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-874 | $ 15.45 |
| GC-787 | 5.00 |
| GC-412 | 26.90 |
| GC-19 | 8.50 |

**August 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-879 | 10.20 |
| GC-918 | 10.00 |
| GC-698 | 5.00 |

**August 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-258 | 47.00 |
| GC-171 | 26.00 |
| GC-590 | 24.50 |

**August 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-948 | 15.00 |
| GC-1024 | 4.00 |
| GC-82 | 10.00 |
| GC-599 | 10.50 |
| GC-110 | 17.00 |
| GC-673 | 14.00 |
| GC-591 | 53.25 |
| GC-550 | 160.00 |
| GC-580 | 1.00 |
| GC-112 | .50 |
| GC-592 | 5.00 |
| GC-109 | 21.31 |
| GC-919 | 1.00 |
| GC-589 | 24.50 |
| GC-376 | 33.23 |

**August 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-965 | 22.00 |
| GC-144 | 3.00 |
| GC-10 | 15.00 |

**August 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-365 | 77.50 |
| GC-365 | 35.00 |
| GC-439 | 20.00 |
| GC-730 | 3.00 |
| GC-519 | 3.20 |
| GC-1027 | 9.50 |

**August 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-755 | 8.00 |
| GC-226 | 48.00 |
| GC-590 | 28.06 |

**August 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-679 | 11.40 |
| GC-477 | 34.00 |
| GC-16 | 36.00 |
| GC-550 | 130.00 |
| GC-591 | 47.11 |
| GC-879 | 3.00 |
| GC-695 | 46.00 |
| GC-792 | 12.50 |
| GC-44 | 5.50 |
| GC-452 | 10.00 |

**August 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1196 | 71.50 |
| GC-1197 | 36.00 |
| GC-356 | 7.50 |
| R-460 | 8.50 |

**August 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-263 | 30.00 |
| GC-730 | .50 |
| GC-1201 | 8.00 |

**August 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-659 | 1.00 |
| GC-591 | 45.40 |
| GC-316 | 36.50 |

**August 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-117 | 8.00 |
| GC-526 | 6.50 |
| GC-507 | 38.60 |
| GC-137 | 5.50 |
| GC-1197 | 15.50 |
| GC-376 | 51.87 |
| GC-590 | 215.17 |

**August 20**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1049 | 13.50 |
| C-728 | 1.00 |
| GC-124 | 21.00 |
| GC-687 | 19.00 |
| GC-230 | 59.50 |
| GC-732 | 1.50 |
| GC-550 | 140.00 |

**August 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1125 | 21.00 |

**August 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1125 | 10.50 |
| GC-211 | 25.10 |
| GC-173 | 16.00 |
| GC-115 | 5.00 |

**August 25**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-680 | 14.50 |
| GC-590 | 54.86 |

**August 27**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-592 | 8.00 |
| GC-9 | 4.16 |
| GC-376 | 43.10 |
| GC-513 | 15.00 |
| GC-513 | 40.75 |
| GC-869 | 23.50 |

**August 27**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-591 | 67.25 |
| GC-145 | 1.00 |

**August 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-217 | 20.50 |
| GC-267 | 43.25 |
| GC-176 | 29.50 |
| GC-550 | 140.00 |

**August 30**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-382 | 27.54 |
| Total | $2,608.66 |

### District No. 2: Nevada, California, Arizona and New Mexico.

**August 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-278 | $ 25.75 |
| GC-639 | 5.00 |
| GC-40 | 39.95 |
| GC-898 | 5.50 |
| GC-128 | 2.50 |
| GC-463 | 10.75 |

**August 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-469 | 2.50 |
| GC-100 | 5.50 |
| GC-38 | 6.00 |
| GC-202 | 47.50 |
| GC-202 | 4.00 |
| GC-1198 | 13.00 |
| P. Steger, literature | 2.00 |

**August 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1101 | 7.50 |
| GC-1099 | 2.00 |
| GC-1075 | 69.05 |
| GC-46 | 3.50 |
| GC-55 | 20.00 |

**August 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-429 | 3.50 |
| GC-277 | 40.00 |
| GC-367 | 13.50 |
| GC-59 | 5.50 |
| GC-426 | 6.00 |
| GC-39 | 17.45 |
| GC-104 | 10.00 |
| GC-279 | 29.25 |
| GC-71 | 14.00 |
| GC-487 | 50.00 |
| GC-479 | 20.50 |
| Tom Connors, Cal. Defense | 9.00 |

**August 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-278 | 3.45 |
| GC-517 | 20.25 |
| R. S. Nila, literature | 3.00 |
| GC-851 | 7.00 |
| GC-325 | 20.50 |
| GC-55 | 20.00 |
| GC-386 | 12.00 |

**August 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-463 | 7.00 |
| GC-493 | 5.00 |
| GC-642 | 10.50 |
| GC-278 | 6.00 |
| GC-573 | 3.00 |
| R-616 | 2.50 |
| GC-623 | 28.15 |
| R-533 | .50 |
| GC-55 | 20.00 |
| GC-1075 | 85.82 |
| GC-685 | 5.25 |

**August 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-280 | 10.00 |
| GC-637 | 13.00 |
| GC-61 | 10.50 |
| GC-900 | 2.50 |
| GC-278 | 9.00 |

**August 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-791 | 8.00 |
| GC-377 | 4.50 |
| GC-694 | 10.00 |
| GC-300 | 26.00 |
| GC-325 | 17.50 |
| GC-276 | 52.50 |
| Peter Steger, literature | 2.50 |
| GC-55 | 35.00 |
| GC-209 | 6.00 |
| GC-48 | 10.00 |

**August 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-470 | 10.50 |
| GC-794 | 6.00 |
| GC-259 | 5.05 |
| GC-41 | 5.00 |
| GC-207 | 10.06 |

**August 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-265 | 12.00 |
| GC-55 | 20.00 |

**August 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1075 | 65.40 |
| GC-551 | .75 |
| GC-1183 | 4.00 |
| GC-498 | 9.70 |

**August 20**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-479 | 11.00 |
| GC-799 | 20.62 |
| GC-85 | 9.00 |
| GC-650 | 52.50 |
| GC-55 | 30.00 |

**August 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-442 | 3.50 |
| GC-22 | 5.00 |
| GC-795 | 5.00 |
| GC-463 | 11.75 |
| GC-202 | 13.00 |

**August 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-202 | 9.00 |
| GC-500 | 89.10 |
| GC-573 | 10.00 |
| GC-508 | 6.50 |
| GC-1079 | 51.50 |
| GC-259 | 7.40 |
| GC-1075 | 56.28 |

**August 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-648 | 12.50 |
| GC-796 | 1.00 |
| GC-796 | 46.50 |
| GC-1079 | 25.50 |
| GC-683 | 27.00 |
| GC-14 | 18.00 |
| GC-55 | 10.92 |

**August 27**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-665 | 20.00 |
| GC-59 | 10.00 |
| GC-632 | 11.00 |
| GC-624 | 15.50 |
| GC-1180 | 13.50 |
| GC-639 | 35.00 |
| Includes LU-01118 | $15.50 |
| GC-650 | 40.00 |
| GC-668 | 6.00 |
| GC-219 | 21.50 |
| GC-280 | 4.00 |
| GC-492 | 67.65 |
| GC-366 | 41.33 |
| GC-14 | 20.50 |

**August 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1182 | 37.00 |
| GC-372 | 25.00 |

**August 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1096 | 15.00 |
| GC-609 | 11.50 |

**August 30**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-704 | 47.85 |
| **Total** | **$ 2,090.92** |

**District No. 3: Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and North and South Dakota.**

**August 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-131 | $ 14.15 |
| GC-758 | 28.00 |
| GC-512 | 20.00 |
| GC-926 | 4.00 |
| GC-363 | 60.10 |
| GC-762 | 15.30 |

**August 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-886 | 21.50 |

**August 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-635 | 13.00 |
| GC-921 | 14.75 |

**August 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-95 | 3.00 |
| GC-707 | 13.60 |
| GC-763 | 19.50 |
| GC-650 | 55.50 |
| GC-518 | 9.50 |
| GC-369 | 16.00 |
| R-157 | 6.00 |

**August 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-925 | 9.00 |

**August 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-363 | 6.00 |
| GC-363 | 20.00 |
| GC-512 | 11.50 |
| GC-1125 | 18.00 |

**August 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-922 | 7.00 |
| GC-382 | 21.04 |

**August 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-472 | 19.00 |
| GC-40 | 6.85 |
| GC-923 | 7.00 |
| GC-1127 | 21.50 |
| GC-518 | 11.00 |
| GC-1126 | 37.00 |

**August 15**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-812 | 17.00 |
| GC-707 | 9.35 |
| GC-1118 | 14.50 |
| GC-512 | 5.00 |

**August 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-677 | 9.25 |
| GC-306 | 19.00 |

**August 20**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-40 | 1.00 |
| GC-925 | 9.40 |

**August 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-763 | 20.50 |
| GC-1124 | 50.50 |
| GC-1138 | 12.00 |
| GC-458 | 7.00 |

**August 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-926 | 7.00 |
| GC-758 | 15.50 |
| GC-762 | 17.25 |

**August 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-131 | 10.85 |
| GC-369 | 111.76 |
| GC-770 | 10.00 |

**August 27**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-922 | 12.50 |
| GC-925 | 11.40 |

**August 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-13 | 29.00 |

**August 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-812 | 9.20 |
| GC-1250 | 2.50 |

**August 30**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-926 | 11.50 |
| GC-17 | 3.00 |
| **Total** | **$ 934.75** |

**District No. 4: Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma.**

**August 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-183 | $ 18.50 |
| GC-823 | 2.30 |
| GC-186 | 6.00 |

**August 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-358 | 13.37 |

**August 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-261 | 18.40 |
| GC-767 | 4.35 |
| GC-468 | 2.00 |

**August 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-813 | 24.75 |

**August 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-7 | 1.00 |
| GC-757 | 11.50 |
| GC-977 | 20.50 |
| F-1222 | 5.00 |

**August 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-183 | 15.00 |

**August 15**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-183 | 15.00 |
| GC-261 | 4.50 |

**August 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-815 | 6.50 |
| GC-769 | 18.00 |

**August 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-506 | 20.00 |
| C. H. Carr, literature | 1.00 |
| GC-815 | 15.00 |

**August 30**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-183 | 20.00 |
| **Total** | **$ 242.67** |

**District No. 5: Middle and Eastern States.**

**August 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-290 | $ 21.50 |
| GC-8 | 7.76 |
| I. U. No. 120 | 318.95 |
| I. U. No. 510 | 34.30 |

**August 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 230 | 48.80 |
| GC-551 | 4.50 |
| GC-1143 | 6.00 |
| I. U. No. 110 | 306.50 |
| I. U. No. 520 | 83.85 |
| Office report | 15.50 |
| GC-24 | 6.30 |

**August 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 460 | 12.50 |
| I. U. Nos. 210 and 220 | 63.80 |
| I. U. No. 320 | 2.00 |
| I. U. No. 440 | 10.60 |

**August 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-684 | 10.00 |
| Office report | 25.90 |
| GC-8 | 5.00 |

**August 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-642 | 7.00 |
| GC-284 | 2.50 |
| GC-467 | 3.00 |
| GC-21 | 3.43 |

**August 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-572 | 5.00 |
| GC-913 | 7.00 |

**August 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 24.20 |

**August 20**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-284 | 2.50 |
| GC-467 | 7.00 |
| GC-875 | 1.50 |

**August 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-290 | 17.50 |
| GC-490 | 24.00 |
| I. U. No. 530 | .25 |
| I. U. No. 410 | 10.55 |
| I. U. No. 330 | 18.00 |

**August 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-452 | 20.20 |
| Office report | 28.65 |

**August 27**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-914 | 7.90 |
| GC-8 | 5.00 |

**August 30**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 510, August business | 40.75 |
| GC-292 | 12.50 |
| **Total** | **$1,232.19** |

**CASH RECEIPTS**

| | |
|---|---|
| District No. 1 | $2,608.66 |
| District No. 2 | 2,090.92 |
| District No. 3 | 934.75 |
| District No. 4 | 242.67 |
| District No. 5 | 1,232.19 |
| **Total** | **$7,109.19** |

# General Construction Workers Bulletin

CHICAGO, ILL. G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W. No. 7, OCTOBER 10, 1923

# DO YOU WANT TO BE A ROBOT?

When the individual worker first awakens to the helplessness of his position as an isolated unit in industry, it is usually after experiencing some flagrant injustice or abuse unredressed. The stifled protest against wrong rankles in his breast in that most bitter of realizations—the wrath of outraged weakness. It is at this point that he turns away from his ingrained individualism and catches his first intellectual glimpse of the real meaning of the word, "solidarity." Arrayed against him is the solidarity of capitalist organization. The hollowness of so-called justice administered by class interests antagonistic to his own becomes for the first time apparent. If he is intelligent, he turns to organization as the only recourse.

It is more than likely that his only idea of unionism is derived from his observations of craft unions, the union of the Victorian period, surviving now in a fossilized state but quite extinct as a living species. The craft union was a very simple and very primitive form of organization. It sprung quite naturally from the needs of the worker in the era of individual capitalism—the era when each employer of labor competed freely with other employers and sought neither help nor co-operation from his competitor in dealing with his workers. Isolated crafts acted locally against isolated employers and there was some degree of equality in the struggle.

That era has passed. Capitalism is a unit. It has agglomerated its scattered units and presents a united front to the workers of the world. It has changed as warfare has changed, from small mobile groups to immense aggregations acting like the nations in arms in France, along a solid line of trenches from sea to sea.

How are you going to resist its almost irresistible solidarity? By uniting in isolated groups called crafts? Or are you going to "dig in" and present to the irresistible array of the capitalist an immutable front of class interest as solid as his own?

**That is the only way. One Big Union of your class.**

The only organization presenting this form of practical solidarity is the Industrial Workers of the World. It ignores craft lines and organizes you into the industry with which you are aligned, without regard to the tool you use or the function you perform. From the job branch which may be composed of as low as seven members up through the industry, to the department of allied industries, to the united departments, the organization in its complete structure presents the ideal of One Big Union with the slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all". It is a democratic organization responsive directly to the will of the rank and file; for no executive action affecting the workers' interests, either in the matter of strikes or the settlement of strikes can be taken without referendum of the membership.

The I. W. W. enters into no contracts. It doesn't commit one part of the industrial body to separate itself in point of time and action from the other parts. When a strike is called by a group, its purpose is to extend the action to a wider and wider scope until sufficient pressure is brought to bear to force the workers' demands—if necesary, the General Strike of all workers.

The I. W. W. is not a cut and dried scheme, sprung from the imaginative mind of the intellectual dreamer. It is the natural growth and reflex of the economic development of this era. It has faced the utmost persecution and has proven its fitness by surviving. It is here to stay for the simple reason that in no other force can the needs of the workers of this time find expression. The only other recourse is to sink into industrial fuedalism. That is the tendency of the times under the influence of the Garys, the Rockefellers, and the Fords.

Do you know that in certain camps of the Ford interests, the workers are not allowed to talk on the job, not allowed to smoke, not allowed to enter their sleeping quarters until bed-time? Do you favor this form of convict discipline? Do you want to be a robot?

Maybe you don't know what a robot is? Well, it is a new form of animal life, anthropoid in form, recently proposed, to be developed with a specialized organic structure to fill the labor needs of the present industrial epoch. It is a soulless creature, with only a functional existence that works without reasoning, stolid and stunned and brother to the ox. Don't be a robot. Join the union of your class and be a man. Not for your own interest only but for the freedom of your kind; the heritage of the race that is in your keeping.

## DEFENSE NOTES

Fellow Workers:

The big drive for "Amnesty by Christmas" cannot be neglected. We have never had an opportunity as good as the present to drive home to official Washington the outstanding facts in favor of the release of political prisoners.

ALSO the General Defense Committee MUST have funds to hire lawyers to defend cases of active members arrested in the field. Then there are the wives and children of class-war prisoners who must be looked after, and the two fellow workers who are down with tuberculosis in western sanitariums. All these bills must be met promptly.

The state cases too, call for attention. This committee is doing its best for all of these. We have on the press two hundred thousand stickers in two colors for the California boycott. These will be ready for delivery in a short time.

All of these responsibilities must be met and it takes money to meet them. The sale of bond stamps has cut down considerably our income from the Industrial Unions. We are trying hard to raise money from other sources and we shall continue to do so. Funds are needed for defense work as never before. That is why we are appealing to YOU.

Something must be done and done soon or the work of the General Defense Committee will be badly crippled for lack of funds. Fellow Workers, this is a serious matter. Take it to heart and show by your actions WITHOUT DELAY what you are willing to do for the boys in jail.

Yours for the release of class-war prisoners. **EDW. E. ANDERSON, Sec'y Gen. Def. Com.**

### FELLOW WORKERS KILLED

Fellow Workers James Kelly, George A. King and H. P. Jones were killed at Reno, Nevada, while riding to work in a stage, which was struck by a train.

### NOTICE

The card of Fellow Worker D. T. McCarrity, 310, was found at Swaynes Camp out of Oroville. The card of Fellow Worker Peter J. Burns was found. There is also a duplicate card for James Gordon here. Same can be had by writing to Thos. Smith, Box 754, Stockton, Calif.

**BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS—KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS (AND THAT MEANS PRACTICALLY ALL OF THEM).**

**All I. W. W. papers and bulletins please copy.**

## ON THE PAST AND PRESENT FORM OF ORGANIZATION

For some time back there has been more or less discussion in I. U. 310 on the form of organization. In the middle of the present season there were those who demanded a complete change, that branches be set up. This action did much harm. To get the best results we should agree on a program at our convention and live up to it until the next one.

That many improvements are needed none can deny, but going back to the branch form does not seem to be a step in advance. The branches were abolished after being tried for the first eleven years of the existence of the I. W. W. Without going into reasons or details, it is a fact that when the present form was established the I. W. W. was in the most hopeless period of its existence, no finances, and but a few scattered members. It looked as if we had reached the end. The change to the present form gave us a new lease of life. It meant that our efforts would be centralized and that our funds would be used so that our aims and ideas would reach the greatest possible number.

As long as we preserve the one year clause pertaining to our officials there is not much danger of the Headquarters becoming top heavy. But whether we have branches or stay as we are, the fact remains that we must have something to guide the organization between conventions.

That the present form does away with incentive or initiative of the individual or groups of individuals is not in line with much of what is going on in different parts of the country. We have members of the I. W. W. establishing halls, getting out local propaganda and at the same time advocating that the job delegate report to the office of his industrial union. Some members have taken extreme stands on the proposed change. One group states that they will not be active unless branches are established, another that they will take no part in it if the change is made. This is hardly the right attitude. It is possible to improve what we have without tearing it down.

Among the things that handicapped No. 310 this year is the debt to the I. W. W. Headquarters. This debt was accumulated while we had a remnant of the branches. It should be the duty of the coming convention to cancel this debt of several years standing. I. U. 310 is now able to pay its way and if we did not have this burden we could use the money to good advantage to carry on organization. We handle a lot of money. It may be that we have not learned to spend it wisely. It might help if the G. O. C. was cut to three. (It seems that we should have at least that many in case of emergency.) That all paid organizers be recalled as soon as they cease to get results.

Maybe some time in the future the duties of the General Executive Board will be outlined for us, in the meantime they could function as an honorary body.

We could avoid in the future the publishing of pamphlets on economics, labor history, etc., that can be duplicated by established publishing houses. This would mean that thousands of dollars could be used in other ways. That there be no raise in dues until we learn to spend what we have; that a standard rate of wages be set by the convention and that there be no departure from this ruling. It does not cost one any more to live than another.

That all editors and writers employed by the I. W. W. take a trip in the field once a year so they can get in closer touch with the activity and viewpoints of the members.

If these changes in the spending of the money were adopted, a fund could be set aside so the members in any district would have it at their command; to get halls started, to get out local propaganda, which it sometimes needed quickly. This would be especially effective in the Eastern part of the country, where the industrial unions are weaker.

It is to be seen that I. U. No. 310 has an active membership. The attendance at meetings, the number interested in the appointing of officials, as well as general activities is greater than ever. To continue on will be only possible by outlining a plan of action at the convention and carrying it out until the next one.

**Card No. 195417.**

## ON HARMONY

The General Construction Workers' Industrial Union has now struck its stride and is moving along steady as old Ned or **Nick** working out the taxes in front of the county's mud-hook. The officials of the G. C. W. I. U., who go in heavy for 'rithmetic, fractions and multiplication, tell me that I've got a new bunch of fellow workers that I never knew I had . . that is as it should be.

I figure that we are now taking a toehold on the construction industry. Why shouldn't we? Look about you — every place you look you see the product of the construction workers' hands. We can prove to the world how we have spent our time. We can take anybody out and show them what we have given to society. Can society or anybody else show us what they have given us in return for the good things we have done? I guess not. What they do for us doesn't seem to have the staying qualities that our's has. There must be something phoney about the wages we have been getting—the money has been handed to us—but where is it? Our work will stand long after we are dead.

Yes, we of the Construction Workers are in a hurry organizing—if we are to get anything from life it will require the united effort of the working class and the G. C. W. I. U. must be there at the finish abreast with the best and no see-sawing—

Give a thought to your I. U. Convention.

**Card No. 253598**

### NOTICE

TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE G. C. W. I. U. 310:

Fellow Workers:

Owing to the fact that I. U. 310 will hold their Sixth Annual Delegate Convention on the 1st day of November, we call the attention of every member of I. U. 310 to send in resolutions and suggestions to this Convention. **MATHEW TRISLER, Chairman G. O. C. No. 310, 2 S. Morgan St., Chicago, Ill.**

## STRIKE AT GERLACH, NEVADA

**There is a strike in camps at Gerlach, Nevada.**

**OPEN MEETING CALLED TO ORDER SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1923, AT 8:10 A. M., AT CAHILL BROS. CAMP No. 1, GERLACH, NEVADA.**

Chairman, Card No. 211805; Recording Secretary, Card No. X-65683.

M. & S. For release of all class-war prisoners.—Carried.

M. & S. A strict eight-hour day.—Carried.

M. & S. That double time be paid for all Sunday work and overtime.—Carried.

M. & S. For installation of enclosed bath house and wash room with plenty of hot water.—Carried.

M. & S. That $5 be minimum wage for labor, and price of board remain $1.25 per day.—Carried.

M. & S. Better grade of food and more variety be served in a way fit for human consumption.—Carried.

M. & S. Heat and illumination to be furnished in all tents and bunk houses.—Carried.

M. & S. That tents, bunk houses and toilets be kept in sanitary condition by scrubbing same with boiling lye water.—Carried.

M. & S. That all bedding be furnished free of charge.—Carried.

M. & S. That one tent be reserved for men in case of illness or physical disability.—Carried.

M. & S. That a doctor be stationed in camp and that hospital fee be charged at the rate of ten cents per day for the first ten days, and not to exceed $1 per month.—Carried.

M. & S. That in the event of any employe being discharged for attending this or any other meeting, a general strike be called immediately.—Carried.

M. & S. That a committee of one from laborers be appointed to present these minutes to structural iron workers and carpenters.—Carried.

Fellow Worker O. J. volunteered to present minutes of meeting to crafts.

Meeting adjourned at 9:53 a. m.

**Chairman,** Card No. 211805.
**Rec. Sec'y,** Card No. X-65683.
**Strike called at 2:20 p. m., Sept. 24.**

### NOTICE

When sending in job news, etc., to be published in the bulletin, be careful to state things as they are. Do not exaggerate. All members of I. U. No. 310 are expected to use this bulletin to express their views on any and all matters of interest to the organization. Let's hear from all!

**Mathew Trisler,** Chairman, I. U. 310.
**J. Kennedy,** Sec'y-Treas., I. U. 310.

### TAKE UP ON SIGHT!

Fellow Worker Chas. Johnson **has lost his supplies and credentials, also his card.** Credential No. GC-614, Card No. 842301. Any member seeing same, take up on sight and return to Main Office of I. U. No. 310.

**IGNORANCE IS THE ENEMY OF THE WORKERS. PUSH THE LITERATURE.**

## JOB NEWS

**Warland, Montana, 9-21-23.**—Gates and Solebury, contractors. Three miles out on the T. R. Trail. Working about 25 men. Fresnos and Wheelers. Eight hours per day. Go and come on your own time. Wages are 55c to 65c per hour. Board is fair at $1.25 per day. Sleeping quarters are fair. Tents with stoves, but you have to rustle your wood. No baths. Hire on job or catch truck in town.—**(GC-13.)**

**Ural, Montana, 9-26-23.**—Siems & Carlson. Two miles up and across the river. Cross by boat at camp. This outfit employs about fifty men. Building highway. Teamsters and muckers, also some right-of-way men. Wages are $5 per day. Board is fair at $1.50 per day. Sleeping quarters are poor. Eight hours. Go one way on company's time. Can go to work most any time by going to job. Sentiment is good.—**(GC-13.)**

**Gerlach, Nevada, 9-19-23.** — Portland Cement Co. Five miles south-east of Gerlach. 300 men employed. Wages, $4.25. Bad conditions. Nine hours. Board, $1.25 per day. Ship from Gerlach. Worked a day and a half and was sick for three days from board.—**(GC-636.)**

**Kelso, Wash., 9-26-23.** — Twohy Bros. About 5 miles from Kelso. This outfit is working two shifts. Day shift starts at 7:30 a. m., and stops at 4 p. m. Board is fair at $1.20. Sleeping quarters good. No bath. Night shift starts any time between 4:30 and 5 p. m., and stops at 2 a. m. No overtime. Supper at 4 p. m. Cold lunch at 10 p. m., and nothing to eat then until noon next day. Wages, $4.50 low. Sentiment is good.—**(GC-1009.)**

**Wells, Nevada, 9-28-23.** — Brown Stafford, contractors. Highway work, gradiug and granite. Job will last 40 to 50 days. Job at Wells, 200 feet from the depot of W. P. About 25 men employed. Wages, $4.50 and $5. Board is fair. Sleeping quarters, bad. Five tents.—**(X-10184.)**

**Kelso, Wash., 9-26-23.** — Knapps Construction Co. Subbing for Twohy Bros. Five miles from Kelso. Steam shovel work. Work will last about three months. About 18 men working. Horses are used to pull dump cars about a mile to work from camp. Sometimes you ride to work in a wagon, but most of the time you walk. Iron beds. Clean blankets. Chuck is about the average. No bath house. If you wish to wash, you use a powder can. Sentiment is good for organization.—**(GC-109.)**

### NOTICE

Fellow Worker T. Dimond, Card No. 787137, Delegate R-605, whose name was on the delinquent list, has now been issued a clearance. His supplies were turned over to an I. U. 520 delegate on October 22, 1922, and through some error, the supply bill covering this transaction did not reach Main Office of I. U. No. 310.

A DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION IS BUILT FROM THE GROUND UP. WHAT ARE YOU DOING?

### NOTICE TO NON-MEMBERS

This bulletin is published by the membership of I. U. 310 of the I. W. W., for the benefit of the I. W. W., and is paid for by the membership of I. U. 310. Therefore, if you are not supporting us by being a dues-paying member of the I. W. W., you should become one and be a help to your class, not a burden.

**"The Immediate Demands of the I. W. W." has been translated into Spanish. Same is now ready to be sent into the field. Any members or delegates who can distribute this pamphlet among the Spanish workers should write in and get a bundle of it, which is for free distribution.**

### CONFERENCES

Conferences were held in five districts on October 1, 1923, at which delegates to the Industrial Union No. 310 convention were elected.

The I. U. No. 310 convention will convene Thursday, November 1, 1923, at 9 a. m., in Chicago, Ill.

In order to help defray expenses of the delegates to the I. U. No. 310 convention, a Convention stamp of $1 denomination has been placed in the field. It is important that delegates push the sale of this stamp, also the Industrial Union stamp.

Every member of I. U. No. 310 should have at least one Convention stamp in his card.

### WANTED: FIFTY DELEGATES

to take out supplies and credentials for I. U. 310 on the Canadian side. There is a good field for construction workers in the vicinity of Cranbrook, B. C., and along the Canadian Pacific, also an enormous amount of highway work in this vicinity.

### DELEGATES WANTED IN MONTANA AND WYOMING

Thermopolis, Wyoming,
June 20, 1923.

To 310 Members and Delegates:—

There is a lot of construction work in the states of Montana and Wyoming this summer and not enough active delegates. I ask every 310 member who is qualified to take out credentials, to do so.

We want a perfect organization this summer, and to build up a powerful Construction Workers' Union. We can't afford to have the few delegates and members do all the work. Now, Fellow Workers, if you come in this state, see a traveling delegate or G. O. C. member and take out the rigging.

GC-8, G. O. C. Member.

### NOTICE

Regular business meetings of I. U. No. 310 are held every Sunday evening at 7 p. m., at 601 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

A SUBSCRIPTION TO AN I. W. W. PAPER IS A GOOD INVESTMENT FOR EVERY WORKER

## BEWARE OF RUMORS

A rumor is like a cancer on a healthy body. It is mysterious, seems to come from nowhere and soon grows if left alone, eating its way tearing down and destroying healthy tissues. The surgeon uses the knife, cuts it out at its roots, and if caught in time, no harm results; but if neglected it either disfigures or destroys the body.

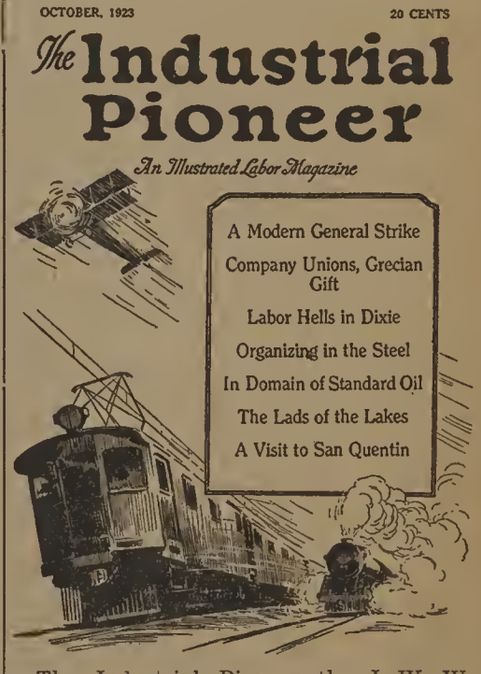
The same holds true with the organization. Never spread a rumor; if it refers to an individual member ignore it. If it pertains to the organization or any of the officials of G. C. W. I. U. No. 310, hold a meeting at once, and if that is not possible, get the name and card number of the member who started it, or who is spreading it, and then hold a meeting as soon as possible and get the facts.

### NOTICE

There are duplicate cards in this office for Mike Varmega, Card 789835; Will Buckley, X25450 and C. H. Carson, X77511.

The original cards of Edman Mack, X146676; E. M. Champange, No. 65667 and Louis Martin, X138139, are in this office.

Same can be had by writing in to James Kennedy, 2 S. Morgan St., Chicago, Ill.




The Industrial Pioneer, the I. W. W. monthly magazine, for October is the best ever. The above is a reproduction of its cover design.

Read the Industrial Pioneer and get your fellow workers on the job and in your neighborhood to do likewise. Or better still, subscribe for it and get them to do the same. Six months, $1.00; one year, $2.00.

Address The Industrial Pioneer, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

A PAMPHLET CAN BE READ BY LANTERN LIGHT AS EASILY AS THE SPOTS ON A PAIR OF DICE

# Job News From Active Delegates

**Sisson, California, 9-9-23.**—Job outside of Sisson, between Sisson and Dunsmuir. The U. C. are doing the work. They are filling in a big railroad trestle. It will be about a six months' job. Eight hour day. Board $1.25 per day. Must have your own bed. Wages from $4.00 up. You can hire on the job or ship through Murray and Ready at Sacramento. **(GC-1)**

**Alexander, Idaho, 9-9-23.**—Phoenix Utility Co. Power house and dam. 500 men. Sentiment fair. Wages, teamhands 40c per hour, laborers 45 and 50c per hour, carpenters 70 and 62½c, helpers 50c, dinky skinners 62½, machists 62½ per hour. Work eight hours. One camp. Sanitary conditions fair. Board fair at $1.25. Ship from Salt Lake; P. U. Co. Fare $6.05 advanced. Fare refunded after 30 days. Chances to go to work. Pick and shovel. Job will last two years. **(GC-459)**

**Nyack, Montana, 9-6-23.**—Siems & Carlson Co. Team work and steam shovel. Work in Camp 2, there is two and three up. Work will last about two months. Two camps. 40 to 50 men. Sentiment good. Wages, team work $5.00, bullcook $70.00, flunkey $70.00 and cook $150.00. Work eight hours. Board $1.50 day. Sanitary conditions good. Chances to go to work. ..**(GC-874)**

**Martinez, Cal., 7-14-23.**—Associated Oil Company is hiring construction laborers and team hands. Wages, $4 low, $5 high. Operation Department is also short-handed. Wages, $4 low, $6.50 high. 2,500 men employed. Sentiment poor. Good field for live delegates.—**(GC-623).**

**Cordova, Alaska, 7-7-23.**—Siems & Carlson, contractors, building automobile road. Wages, $5.50 for eight hours. Board, average at $1.50 per day. Accomodations rotten. Double-decker bunks, mattresses look as if they were picked off some dumping ground. Bunkhouses crowded and dirty. No baths nor hot water. If you want to keep clean you must hustle an old gasoline can and boil up outside. Furnish your own blankets same as on all other jobs in Alaska. About 25 men working by the day. Two station gangs working on this job. One bunch jumped their rock claim. Siems & Carlson are also doing road work near Juneau and Anchorage. The government is doing some road work out here. Wages $4 per day and board.—**(GC-1197).**

**Rawlins, Wyoming, 9-16-23.** — White, Hammond and Janie R. R. Cont. oil refinery. The White puts in lots of overtime. Job will last four of five months yet. Three camps. 1,000 to 1,200 men. The main topic is gambling and moonshine. All dry landers. Very few floaters. Wages, laborers 56c hour, nine hours; pipe fitters 80 to 88c, helpers 62 to 70c, carpenters $1.00 hour nine hours; iron workers 70 to 90c. Laborers work straight time for overtime. All over 70c get time and half overtime and Sundays. Work nine to ten hours. Board $1.50, blankets furnished. Sanitary conditions rotten. Good grub but poor cooks. Hire on job. If you talk about organizing they say, "Oh, we will get fired." Some of these men have been here for about eight to ten months and they are money mad. They are paying the best wages here any place in this part of the country and I am surprised to see them paying it as they could get these men that are here a lot cheaper. **(GC-922)**

**Sheridan, Wyoming, 7-21-23.**—Dowd & Paulsens camp. Taking out 76 feet of rock cut. One machine, five or six wagons. Machine pulled by cat. Wages, plow holder $175, dumpman $125, blacksmith $125, cook $150. All of these include board. Wagon skinners 40 cents per hour, three-ups. Board $1.05 per day. Chuck fairly scarce. Sixteen men in one bunk tent. Four double bunks, also four double-deckers. Sentiment don't care. This job will probably last till it freezes up.—**(Card No. 748538).**

**Los Angeles, Cal., 7-21-23.**—Real Estate. Allen Hancock. Street work. Job will last one year. Two camps; 100 men employed. Sentiment good. This is wagon work and concrete work. Wages, teamsters $4.50, wagon dumper $5, cat skinner $8, plow holder $8, muckers $4, and $1.25 board. Work eight hours. Board fair. Sanitary conditions good. Hire on job when they are short-handed.—**(GC-279).**

**Kenwood, Calif., July 23.**—Grant Smith Co. constructing state highway. Grading and paving. 100 men on job. 70 head of Fresno stock. Job will last three or four months. Eight hours. Go one way company time. Wages $4.00, $4.50 and $5.00 for labor, skinners $4.50 and $5.00, truck drivers $6.00, rollermen $8.00 and $9.00. Board $1.25 and rotten. Greaseball cook and kitchen crew. Tents and bath house fair. Furnish your own bed. Gambling and wine recreation. This crowd is broke all the time and a broke slave is a willing one. Sentiment poor.—**(GC-388).**

**Mineral, Cal., July 21.**—Redmond Page & Pond. State highway. Grading with two steam shovels and Fresnos. Board rotten at $1.25. No floor in tents. Old and leaky. No bull cook. No bath. Some men are sleeping under the trees. 80 men employed. Sentiment good at Camp 1. Camp 2 employs from eight to ten men. Steam shovel runners wages $245.00; firemen $165.00; drillers, $5.00 per day skinners and laborers, $4.50. Work 8 hours. Two hours going in and out. Ship from Sacramento and San Francisco. Fare from Sacramento $5.50. There are three state camps on this road. Conditions are fair. Board at $1.20 per day. Laborers in state camps $4; drillers $4.50; teamsters $4.25; truck drivers $5.00; cook $150.00; flunkey $4.00; bull cook $4.00. Eight hours work. Camp 1 employs about 40 men. Camp 2 thirty, and Camp 3 from eight to ten. Sentiment no good in the state camps. Shower baths. Spring and mattresses are furnished by state. You carry your own balloon. Hire on the job in state camps. Take stage or state highway trucks from Red Bluff to Mineral. State camps about three to six miles east of Mineral.—**GC-492).**

**Metz, California, 8-25-23.**—A. J. Sartoris gyppoing for Utah Construction Co. Tunnel on Southern Pacific R. R. Tunnel work to last one month and concrete work two months longer. Job will last three months. One camp. About 75 men. Sentiment indifferent. Mostly Mexicans employed here. Mexican delegate might do some good. Wages miners $5.00 and muckers $4.50. Eight hours. Lots of overtime. They work ten to twelve hours per shift and straight time for overtime. Board $1.25, rotten. Sanitary conditions rotten. Bath house and hot and cold water. Chances of going to work. Hire on job or ship from Murray & Ready, Empt. Office, San Francisco. Fee $2.50 fare free.—**(GC-614)**

**Benton, Montana, 8-26-23.**—Government job. Wages $5.00 eight hour day. Board good at 1.50 a day. Sentiment good. Blankets and mattresses furnished. Hire on job. Siems & Carlson construction Co. Government highway Glacier National Park. This contractor has two camps. No. 1 is a steam shovel, drillers and muckers. No. 2 is steam shovel, grading and mucking. Sentiment good in both camps.—**(GC-635)**

**Rodgers, N. D., 8-5-23.**—Midwest Construction Co. State highway work. Machine pulled by horses. 12 wagons when full handed. Work will last all summer. One camp about 15 or 20 men. Sentiment good. Anyone going there take Soo Line or N. P. railroad. Wages machine driver $6.00 and board, two up wagon $3.00 and board. Work ten hours. Board average. Sanitary conditions bad. Hire on job. Short handed at present—**GC-677)**

**Clayton, Wyoming, 9-20-23.**—The Sinclair Oil Co. are building ninety 80,000 gal. tanks and fire walls. Sprague and Neisley have the contract. They have Blackie Allen, Arnett, Mickey McMann and Babe Grell subbing. Sprague and Neisley set the wages $4.25 for wagon skinners, $4.50 for Fresno skinners (cut, shuffle and deal). Supposed to be on the job nine hours but at that they fudge on you. A very dense bunch of dehorns and wicks to contend withh. **(GC-925)**

**Duluth, Minn, 9-21-23.**—Shipped out of Duluth to Silica, Minn. for Phoenix Utility Co. Construction power line. Work 84 miles west of Duluth. Wages, grunts 42½c per hour, linemen 70c and 60c per hour. Board $1.25 a day. Towel and soap furnished. This camp away behind work as other camps near by are stringing wire. Camp conditions rotten. Sentiment fair. While I was on the job, 10 days, they seemed to have a hard time getting men from Duluth, so on the 14th and 15th they shipped 38 men from Fedder Brothers, Employment sharks, Minneapolis, Minnesota, stating that there were electric lights, steam heat, shower baths, etc. When the 38 men arrived just at midnight and found what they had come to, they changed their minds. I only saw about six out of the 38 stay. This job is raising towers in swamps. Wear hip top rubber boots. This company had eight camps between Nashwauk and Duluth. All same kind of work. At Fond du Lac, Minn., 14 miles east of Duluth, is the construction of a dam for the same company. **LU-0333)**

# CONSTRUCTION WORKERS BULLETIN

"An Injury to One Is An Injury to All."

ONE UNION No. 7 ONE ENEMY

Published Monthly by I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W.
Address all communications to
2 SO. MORGAN ST. CHICAGO, ILL.
MATTHEW TRISLER, Chairman
J. KENNEDY, Sec'y-Treas.


**Toledo, Ohio, 8-22-23**—Ferguson & Edmonson Const. Co. Michigan Central yards. Wages, plow holder $200 per month and board. Two big Western machines running. Wagon skinners—three-ups $4.50, $8.00 per week for board. Ten hour day. $4.00 for slipping, $5.00 for Fresno four-ups, flunkey $4.50 per day, $8.00 out for board, wagon dumper $6.00 and chuck, Fresno dumper $5.00 and chuck, cat skinner $150.00 and board, cook $175.00, corral boss $125.00, helper $90.00, gandys $4.00. Camp employes 120 men. Two steam shovels working. Two camps. Sleeping good. Eight men to a bunk house. Hot and cold water, also shower baths. Good work and good wagons and stock. Absolutely nothing to eat.—**(837220.)**

**Redwood City, Cal., 8-20-23**—Grant Smith Co. Driving tunnel. East Portal camp three miles and West Portal Seven miles out of Redwood City. Miners $5.00, chucktenders $4.50 and muckers $4.50, outside labor $4.00 and $4.50. Board $1.25. Board fair. Bunkhouses two men to a room. Electric lights and good bath house. Drilling will last six weeks or two months and then concreting will start and last all winter. Hire on job or ship from any shark in Frisco. 50c fare to Redwood City. Company trucks in town twice a day. 50 to 100 men employed in each camp. Three shift outfit. One crew going out, one working and one going, as tunnel is wet and bad ground and highball Swede shifters.—**GC-388.)**

**Cokeville, Wyoming, 9-11-23.**—U. C. Construction Co. Dirt work. Sleep at hotel, eat at restaurant. Nine men employed. Sentiment none. There is chance for a good live delegate to organize this camp. Wages 45c per hour. Nine hours. Job will last two weeks. Moving to Shelley, Idaho. **(789726)**

**Matfield Green, Kansas, 8-19-23.**—Sentiment fair. Wages cook $150.00 and board, flunkey $70.00 and board, plowers $175.00 and board, dumpers $150.00 and board, cat skinners $150.00 and board, stable dog $100.00 and board, wagon skinners three-ups $4.00, $1.00 out for board, Morman skinners $4.00, $1.00 for board. Two machine outfit. Chuck good. Sleeping quarters poor. Ten hours on the job. Three months work at Bazarr then will move to Cassaday. Sante Fe railroad comes into Bazarr.—**(T. P. K.)**

**Jefferson, Iowa, 9-19-23.**—Martin Larson. Eight miles north. One machine outfit. Three up skinners $3.00 and chuck. Chance to go to work. Ship from Omaha or hire on job. Work will last until snow flies. Chuck not much. Sleeping accomodations good. **(GC-813)**

**Baker, Oregon, 9-19-23.**—Triangle Con. Co. 40 men. Wages 50c per hour. Conditions haywire. Work ten hours. Board yourself. Ship from Al. Jones. Fee $1.00. Hire on job. Sentiment good. **(LU-0452)**

**Cisco, Cal., 9-15-23.**—P. G. & E. This job is called the Fordyce Dam. Making private company roads, raising the Fordyce dam 35 feet. Work for two years. There will be lots of snow in thirty days. Five camps in nine miles. 600 men. Sentiment no good. Wages, teamsters, laborers, Fresno loader and dumpman, concrete men, carpenters' helpers 50c an hour, rigger 60c, carpenters 80c, plow skinner and shaker 60c. Fare Reno $3.06, Sacramento $4.00. Bring your balloon. Work nine hours. Board $1.25. Sanitary conditions no good. Camp No. 4 has shower bath. No. 5 is worst of all. Chances of going to work. Fare refunded after 60 days. Come up and back in trucks. This is a good place to organize. Plenty of stools in all the camps. Beware of a fellow they call Clancy, the water boy. **(GC-523)**

**Riverton, Oregon, 9-16-23.**—Gauger & McKinzie. Wagon and Fresno. Seven wagons, four Fresnos at Camp 2. Camp 1 at Riverton, plow team and three Fresnos. Several small outfits between Coquille and Bondon. 30 men in Camp 2 and 15 in Camp 1. Sentiment good. Team work. Wages, teamhands $5.00, laborers $5.00, wagon dumper $5.00, machine driver $125.00, plow holder $150.00, flunkey $70.00. Work eight hours. About six camps. Sanitary conditions fair. Board fair. Ship from Portland. Fare $11.00. You can hire on job. Job will last until November. Men are scarce. **(GC-108)**

**Mineral, Cal., 8-22-23.**—State highway camp 1. Highway & quarry. Truck driven. 70 men. Sentiment no good. Wages team hands $4.25, laborers $4.00, truck drivers $5.00, cook $150.00, flunkey $4.00, bull cook $4.00. Work eight hours. Two camps. Sanitary conditions poor. Board fair. Ship from Redding or Red Bluff. Trucks run to Red Bluff and candy truck takes out the men. Chances of going to work. Pick & shovel work. Job will last until snow comes. Stump ranchers and poison oakers. No floor in tents. Board for 40c a meal.—**(GC-1182.)**

**Whitefish, Montana, 9-22-23.**—Perdue Trans. This is a come and go job. Wages are 50c per hour for loading sand in a Rogers ballast car. This is a highball job as he expects two men to load one of these cars in a day with an Irish buggy also pick out the rock by hand. This highball demon swears that he will not pay the next guy if he does not hit the ball and you are taking a chance on losing your money if you go to work there as we understand he is absolutely no good as everything is plastered up with a mortgage. **(RR-735)**

**Missoula, Montana, 9-14-23.**—Missoula Light and Water Works. Lake Const. Rattlesnake Creek location of camps, 10 miles from Missoula. About 20 men. Wages, $4.50 common labor, $5.00 for teamsters. Conditions very poor. Double bunks. Lots of flies. Cut your own wood. Seven sleep in tents. Work nine hours from camp, about eight hours twenty minutes on job. Board $8.40 per week. Chuck fairly good. They have started to eat lunch out. Very poor lunch. Ship from Missoula Light and Water Works. Sentiment very good. Building a dam at foot of lake. 20 feet high, 200 feet long. Dirt fill, all scraper work and rock hauling. **(X103460)**

**Rawlins, Wyoming, 9-23-23.**—Mills Grading Outfit. Fresno work. Putting in tank bottoms for Bair Oil Co. Poor stock. Haywire outfit. This is a fink outfit. Short handed all the time. Job will last two months. One camp. Twelve to 15 men. Sentiment none. Wages 50c hour all around. There is also some highway work out of here. $3.00, board, bed. Nine and ten hours. Same as Mills outfit, haywire all around. Board $1.50 a day. Board rotten. Eat in sheep wagons, sleep on ground. There is also a pipe line being built out of wood to supply Rawlins with water. 50c hour. Nine hours. $1.40 board. Blankets furnished. Sleeping quarters fair. Sentiment good. Board fair. This job has to be finished by first of year. 16 or 17 miles to go yet. Shorthanded all the time. **(GC-922)**

## JOIN GEN. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION, NO. 310, I.W.W.

## Where to Get Supplies and Literature

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## VIEWS OF A MEMBER OF I. U. NO. 310

The I. U. No. 310 Bulletin has been asking for suggestions from members for the coming conferences and convention. Here is the view of one, on some of the issues that it is evident will be considered:

Recently many meetings of No. 310 rejected and supported motions regarding the employing of Fellow Worker Ralph Chaplin by the General Defense Committee. At some of these meetings feelings ran high. These are motions that should not be acted on hastily. If we go back to the time when some of the class-war prisoners were out on bond, it will be remembered that both the prisoners and all interested in the outcome of the appeal were of many different opinions. Some had hopes of a favorable decision. When the appeal was denied, the possibility of any of them ever getting out looked slim. Many of the prisoners were influenced by friends and other organizations, that the only way they would ever get out would be to apply individually for clemency. Many of the members of the I. W. W. agreed, saying "Get out if you can without compromise, as you are helpless on the inside."

In the meantime a few jumped their bond. Then the organization got together with friends and formed the "General Amnesty Committee." Believing that the only way to help those who were on the inside and who had no particular influence that could be of benefit to them, was that they must all come out together.

In the meantime the campaign for individual clemency was carried on with great vigor. In some cities the whole labor movement was aroused by speakers of national reputation. As a result the first ones to be released were those who applied individually. The prisoners had been pictured to those who attended the meetings as men who had been imprisoned only for their activities in the Labor movement. Then came the general convention of the I. W. W. and recommended that because they came out, they be expelled. The General Executive Board reversed this, but the individuals were well advertised; outlawed by the government, blacklisted by the employers and taboo in the I. W. W.

Then came the result of the General Amnesty campaign. More of the prisoners were released. The decision of the closed door session of the general convention (by the way, this is the second attempt of a general convention to guide us in secret session and both have ended disastrously and hope that there will be no repetition) has reacted on us to the extent that those who came out in the last group are being condemned in turn.

These, and many other things are to be considered when such a motion is put. Let us not forget that if any of the fellow workers, when they were arrested, wished to be a traitor or show cowardice, they could, like some, have avoided going to the pen right then; more than many who are being condemned were the pioneers of the I. W. W., and that their membership was anything but a bed of roses.

If, in the future, when the question of expelling a member is the issue, we adhere to the custom of the I. W. W. and bring the matter before the industrial union interested, we will avoid issues of this kind.

## PREAMBLE

—of the—

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Tha working class and the employing class hava nothing in common. There can he no peace as long as hunger and want ars found among millions of the working psopis and the fsw, who maka up the employing ciass, havs all ths good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until ths workers of the world organiza as a class, take possession of the earth and tha machinsry of production, and aholish the wags system.

We find that the cantering of the management of industries into fswer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unahle to cope with the ever-growing power of ths employing class. Ths trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to he pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to dsfeat one another in wage wars. Moreovsr, tha trade unions ald the employing class to misiead the workers into the heiief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can he changed and the interest of the working class uphsld only hy an organization formsd in anch a way that all its msmbers in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to ons an injury to all.

Instead of ths consarvative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," wa must inscrihs on our hanner the ravolutionary watchword, "Aholition of tha waga system."

It is the historic mission of tha working class to do away with capitalism. The army of prodnction mnst he organizsd, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, hut also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the sheli of the oid.

## JOIN GEN. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION, NO. 310, I.W.W.

### TAKE NOTICE

The General Construction Workers' I. U. No. 310 will hold a convention in Chicago, just prior to the general convention which convenes the second Monday in November. The I. U. No. 310 convention will convene Thursday, November 1, at 9 a. m.

In order to defray expenses of delegates to this convention, a $1 Convention Stamp has been placed in the field. Every member of I. U. No. 310 should have at least one of these stamps in his card, as important matters pertaining to the organization are to be thrashed out at this convention.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

### SEPTEMBER, 1923

### RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiations | $1,418.00 |
| Dues | 2,735.00 |
| Initiations for other unions | 628.00 |
| Dues for other unions | 1,236.00 |
| Organization assessments | 191.50 |
| General Defense assessments | 531.50 |
| Papers | 346.76 |
| Card cases | 33.00 |
| Buttons and pins | 59.50 |
| Literature | 129.13 |
| On account, Supply Clerks, G. O. C.'s and Traveling Delegates | 1,298.44 |
| Duplicate cards | 27.00 |
| Pioneer | 73.13 |
| Donations to Defense | 3.00 |
| Donations to strikes | 62.00 |
| Bail and Bond stamps | 1,041.00 |
| I. U. No. 520 stamps | 14.00 |
| I. U. No. 440 stamps | 12.00 |
| Education stamps | 50.50 |
| Refunds from strikes | 134.43 |
| I. U. No. 310 Convention stamps | 207.00 |
| I. U. No. 510 Special stamps | 1.00 |
| Donation to the Portland Hall | 27.30 |
| **Total** | **$10,259.19** |

### EXPENSES

| | |
|---|---|
| Bank exchange | $ .50 |
| Personal deposits withdrawn | 130.00 |
| Commission on initiations and literature | 294.00 |
| Field wages | 1,437.00 |
| Mileage | 165.95 |
| Allowance to other unions | 975.05 |
| Advanced and held on account by G. O. C.'s, Traveling Delegates, Supply Clerks and Delegates | 2,188.87 |
| Defense stamps and donations | 534.50 |
| Magazines and papers | 467.17 |
| Remitted to other unions | 895.35 |
| Main Office wages | 576.00 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 43.75 |
| Postage, express and wires | 196.55 |
| Education stamps | 50.50 |
| Bail and Bond stamps | 1,041.00 |
| Literature | 6.75 |
| Printing | 97.56 |
| Rent, light and heat | 67.76 |
| Joint account No. 310, and 110 Mimeograph supplies | 75.34 |
| I. U. No. 510 Special stamp | 1.00 |
| One craft card | 2.00 |
| One No. 110 duplicate card receipt | 3.00 |
| Account contested money order | .50 |
| Hall rent, Portland (donation) | 27.30 |
| **Total** | **$9,277.40** |

### SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Total Receipts | $10,259.19 |
| Cash on hand Sept. 1 | $ 1,212.34 |
| **Grand Total** | **$11,471.53** |
| Total Expenses | $ 9,277.40 |
| Cash on hand October 1 | $ 2,194.13 |

### Indebtedness to Headquarters

| | |
|---|---|
| Due books | $1,720.17 |
| Per capita | 2,289.38 |
| Literature | 1,400.66 |
| Organization supplies | 1,783.04 |
| Telegrams | 20.92 |
| **Total** | **$7,214.17** |

### CASH EXPENSES

| | |
|---|---|
| **Sepember 1** | |
| John Russell, Main Office wages | $ 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| M. Trisler, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Elmer Swanson, Account G. O. C. advanced | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to Swanson | 1.65 |
| R. Seefeldt, Account Kelso strike | 100.00 |
| Charges for wiring to Seefeldt | 2.45 |
| Thos. F. Ryan, Account G. O. C. adv. and postage | 25.12 |
| **September 4** | |
| Industrial Worker, Account Aug. bundle order | 166.65 |
| Golos Truzenika, Russian paper | 2.55 |
| Industrial Solidarity, Balance on August account | 42.00 |
| **September 6** | |
| John Graham, Account G. O. C. adv. and postage | 75.25 |
| C. Humphreys, Account Seattle | |

| | |
|---|---|
| strike comm. | 100.00 |
| B. Kelso, Account Portland strike comm. | 100.00 |
| Charges for wiring to Humphreys | 2.15 |
| Charges for wiring to Kelso | 2.15 |
| **September 7** | |
| John Graham, Account G. O. C. | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to Graham | 1.65 |
| V. De Tourville, Acc't G. O. C. | 50.00 |
| Geo. Warwick, Acc't Trav. Del. | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to De Tourville and Warwick | 2.39 |
| **September 8** | |
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| M. Trisler, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| L. Handler, Main Office wages | 12.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Main Office postage | 23.00 |
| **September 10** | |
| John Naredo, Trav. Delegate | 63.43 |
| L. Handler, Main Office wages | 4.00 |
| **September 11** | |
| Wm. Buchwald, Portland Strike Committee | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to Buchwald | 1.83 |
| **September 12** | |
| S. Healey, I. U. No. 120, for literature issued to 310 | 8.75 |
| J. Weight, personal deposit withdrawn | 80.00 |
| Elmer Swanson, Acc't G. O. C. and postage | 50.18 |
| **September 15** | |
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| M. Trisler, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Thos. F. Tyan, G. O. C. adv. and postage | 25.12 |
| Main Office postage | 30.30 |
| General Defense Committee, adv. | 325.00 |
| V. De Tourville, G. O. C. adv. | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to De Tourville | 1.65 |
| **September 17** | |
| M. J. Dillon, Trav. Delegate, adv. and postage | 50.18 |
| **September 20** | |
| For "Workers Thought" B. O. | 3.00 |
| **September 22** | |
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| M. Trisler, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| M. J. Dllon, Trav. Delegate, adv. | 7.41 |
| Main Office postage | 20.00 |
| **September 25** | |
| V. De Tourville, G. O. C. | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to De Tourville | 1.52 |
| **September 26** | |
| Thos. F. Ryan, G. O. C. and postage | 50.18 |
| Industrial Pioneer, Sept. B. O. | 73.77 |
| Industrial Solidarity, Sept. B. O. | 156.20 |
| Equity Printing Co., for Bulletins to date | 97.56 |
| Joint Account, No. 110 and No. 310; Mimeograph supplies | 75.34 |
| **September 27** | |
| Main Office supplies | 20.50 |
| Geo. Warwick, Trav. Delegate | 25.00 |
| On account contested M. O. | .50 |
| On account personal deposit | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to Warwick | 1.55 |
| Charges for wiring to Kelso | 2.19 |
| Bank exchange | .50 |

| | |
|---|---|
| **September 29** | |
| I. U. 110, Business on Sept. Reports | 218.90 |
| I. U. 120, " " " " | 237.50 |
| I. U. 210, " " " " | 94.60 |
| I. U. 220, " " " " | 23.85 |
| I. U. 230, " " " " | 28.50 |
| I. U. 320, " " " " | 1.50 |
| I. U. 130, " " " " | 3.55 |
| I. U. 330, " " " " | 36.40 |
| I. U. 410, " " " " | 3.80 |
| I. U. 420, " " " " | 1.80 |
| I. U. 440, " " " " | 25.50 |
| I. U. 450, " " " " | 1.55 |
| I. U. 460, " " " " | 47.40 |
| I. U. 470, " " " " | 1.00 |
| I. U. 510, " " " " | 54.70 |
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| M. Trisler, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Elmer Swanson, G.O.C. and postage | 50.18 |
| Education stamps | 50.50 |
| I. U. No. 510 Special stamp | 1.00 |
| Bond stamps | 1,041.00 |
| I. U. No. 530 | 5.15 |
| General Defense stamps and donations | 209.50 |
| I. U. No. 440 Special stamps | 12.00 |
| I. U. No. 520 on reports and special stamps | 80.95 |
| I. U. No. 660, on reports | 4.65 |
| I. U. No. 650, on reports | 8.00 |
| I. U. No. 630, on reports | 1.25 |
| I. U. No. 610, on reports | .75 |
| I. U. No. 540, on reports | 2.05 |
| Main Office rent | 35.00 |
| **Total** | **$5,072.20** |

## CASH RECEIPTS

### District No. 1: Washington, Idaho and Oregon.

| | |
|---|---|
| **September 1** | |
| GC-263 | $ 16.00 |
| GC-708 | 8.00 |
| GC-100 | 40.00 |
| GC-578 | 16.00 |
| GC-590 | 49.80 |
| **September 3** | |
| GC-277 | 40.00 |
| GC-316 | 28.00 |
| GC-356 | 5.00 |
| GC-340 | 8.50 |
| GC-19 | 23.00 |
| GC-673 | 32.00 |
| **September 4** | |
| GC-550 | 140.00 |
| GC-591 | 45.75 |
| GC-599 | 35.00 |
| **September 5** | |
| GC-109 | 20.05 |
| GC-211 | 20.00 |
| GC-365 | 38.10 |
| GC-365 | 59.50 |
| **September 7** | |
| GC-898 | 4.50 |
| GC-363 | 26.25 |
| GC-543 | 7.00 |
| **September 9** | |
| GC-452 | 29.00 |
| GC-376 | 38.70 |
| GC-267 | 14.50 |
| GC-1075 | 44.00 |
| GC-117 | 5.00 |
| GC-1024 | 25.80 |
| GC-477 | 1.00 |
| **September 10** | |
| GC-337 | 12.50 |
| GC-1027 | 8.50 |
| GC-124 | 5.50 |
| GC-412 | 24.50 |
| GC-267 | 104.92 |
| GC-590 | 131.99 |
| GC-679 | 13.50 |
| GC-695 | 23.50 |
| GC-591 | 69.45 |
| **September 12** | |
| GC-341 | 10.00 |
| GC-687 | 7.00 |
| GC-873 | 5.00 |
| GC-1196 | 12.50 |
| GC-131 | 22.65 |
| GC-755 | 14.50 |
| GC-1188 | 16.00 |
| GC-173 | 4.50 |
| GC-124 | 7.00 |
| GC-482 | 4.50 |
| **September 15** | |
| GC-590 | 74.50 |
| **September 17** | |
| GC-507 | 15.00 |
| GC-589 | 10.00 |
| GC-122 | 17.25 |
| GC-131 | 18.40 |
| GC-591 | 13.30 |
| Refund from Kelso strike, by R. Seefeldt | 48.20 |
| GC-267 | 370.00 |
| **September 18** | |
| GC-270 | 2.50 |
| GC-356 | 18.50 |
| GC-691 | 4.00 |
| GC-691 | 34.00 |
| **September 19** | |
| GC-115 | 3.80 |
| GC-591 | 5.00 |
| **September 20** | |
| GC-263 | 16.00 |
| GC-1091 | 8.00 |
| **September 21** | |
| GC-755 | 13.00 |
| **September 24** | |
| GC-1197 | 20.00 |
| GC-382 | 19.42 |
| GC-598 | 11.00 |
| GC-484 | 8.50 |
| GC-267 | 57.92 |
| Refund, Seattle Strike Committee, by C. Humphreys | 84.43 |
| GC-590 | 79.95 |
| GC-271 | 7.35 |
| **September 25** | |
| GC-171 | 5.50 |
| GC-559 | 6.00 |
| GC-591 | 15.35 |
| GC-120 | 10.00 |
| GC-667 | 27.50 |
| **September 26** | |
| GC-544 | 6.00 |
| GC-13 | 15.00 |
| **Total** | **$2,363.83** |

### District No. 2: Nevada, California, Arizona and New Mexico

| | |
|---|---|
| **September 1** | |
| GC-573 | $ 20.50 |
| GC-1077 | 23.00 |
| GC-1075 | 78.70 |
| GC-488 | 9.00 |
| GC-623 | 30.00 |
| GC-251 | 43.00 |
| GC-2 | 17.50 |
| GC-55 | 30.00 |
| GC-14 | 35.00 |
| GC-574 | 3.50 |

**September 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-278 | 67.54 |
| GC-46 | 4.00 |
| GC-1093 | 2.00 |
| GC-52 | 1.50 |
| GC-1183 | 15.00 |
| GC-517 | 20.20 |
| GC-378 | 21.80 |

**September 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-366 | 22.85 |
| R-94 | 11.00 |
| GC-457 | 6.00 |
| GC-14 | 32.75 |
| GC-352 | 25.00 |
| GC-1099 | 4.00 |
| GC-1101 | 2.50 |
| GC-470 | 6.00 |
| GC-367 | 3.50 |
| GC-279 | 12.00 |

**September 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-637 | 6.50 |
| GC-361 | 17.60 |
| GC-795 | 14.00 |
| GC-377 | 3.00 |
| GC-669 | 6.50 |
| GC-433 | 3.00 |
| GC-351 | 10.00 |
| GC-14 | 48.25 |
| GC-523 | 19.00 |

**September 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1093 | 3.00 |
| GC-431 | 2.00 |
| GC-479 | 27.00 |
| GC-1079 | 16.85 |
| GC-48 | 10.00 |
| GC-799 | 7.00 |

**Sepember 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-731 | 12.20 |
| GC-378 | 3.50 |
| GC-868 | 10.00 |
| GC-488 | 6.00 |
| GC-372 | 70.00 |

**September 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-280 | 13.50 |
| GC-104 | 5.00 |

**September 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1093 | 2.00 |
| GC-487 | 41.00 |
| GC-281 | 83.95 |
| GC-1006 | 69.00 |
| GC-479 | 13.50 |
| GC-481 | 12.00 |
| GC-6 | 10.00 |
| GC-14 | 58.50 |

**September 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-55 | 32.96 |
| GC-961 | 3.48 |
| GC-698 | 5.00 |
| GC-278 | 21.36 |

**September 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-59 | 13.00 |
| GC-632 | 9.65 |
| GC-41 | 3.50 |
| GC-639 | 15.00 |

**September 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-448 | 10.00 |
| GC-1093 | 4.50 |
| GC-1119 | 1.50 |
| GC-278 | 24.07 |
| GC-796 | 5.00 |
| GC-500 | 54.50 |
| GC-1182 | 10.00 |
| GC-1183 | 41.95 |

**September 25**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-316 | 49.50 |
| GC-2 | 23.00 |
| GC-14 | 65.50 |
| GC-1096 | 22.20 |
| GC-50 | 2.00 |
| GC-479 | 8.70 |
| **Total** | **$1,578.06** |

**District No. 3: Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and North and South Dakota.**

**September 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-886 | $ 24.00 |

**September 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-131 | 15.85 |
| GC-578 | 22.50 |
| GC-707 | 15.35 |
| GC-874 | 24.50 |
| GC-10 | 51.50 |
| GC-921 | 15.00 |
| GC-369 | 60.80 |
| GC-736 | 15.00 |

**September 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-635 | 50.00 |
| GC-1091 | 6.50 |
| GC-131 | 22.00 |
| GC-1138 | 15.00 |

**September 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-126 | 10.00 |
| GC-516 | 28.00 |

**September 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1118 | 34.25 |
| GC-1126 | 20.00 |
| GC-707 | 10.35 |

**September 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-183 | 15.00 |
| GC-763 | 19.50 |
| GC-923 | 15.50 |

**September 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-677 | 5.95 |
| GC-11 | 14.50 |
| GC-459 | 37.85 |
| GC-743 | 27.50 |

**September 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1118 | 18.00 |
| GC-342 | 14.00 |
| GC-518 | 7.50 |
| GC-922 | 4.50 |
| GC-183 | 5.00 |
| GC-874 | 21.00 |

**September 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-400 | 13.50 |
| GC-1118 | 16.50 |

**September 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-459 | 16.50 |

**September 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1092 | 14.15 |
| GC-922 | 8.00 |
| GC-10 | 22.50 |
| GC-10 | 16.50 |
| GC-763 | 10.00 |

**September 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1414 | 15.00 |
| GC-369 | 9.00 |
| GC-261 | 6.75 |
| **Total** | **$ 794.80** |

**District No. 4: Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma.**

**September 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-752 | $ 16.00 |
| GC-814 | 6.00 |
| GC-7 | 1.00 |
| GC-358 | 14.67 |
| GC-187 | 21.80 |

**September 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-188 | 11.00 |
| GC-710 | 1.72 |
| GC-1120 | 14.50 |

**September 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-757 | 4.00 |
| GC-757 | 2.00 |
| GC-811 | 3.25 |
| GC-707 | 5.50 |
| GC-752 | 1.00 |
| GC-429 | 20.00 |

**September 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 230 | 32.85 |
| **Total** | **$ 155.29** |

**District No. 5: Middle and Eastern States.**

**September 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-293 | $ 3.00 |
| Office report | 25.85 |
| From No. 110 report | 281.25 |
| GC-285 | 2.00 |
| I. U. Nos. 210-220 | 65.80 |
| I. U. No. 230 | 73.45 |

**September 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 520 report | 59.85 |
| I. U. No. 650 report | 1.25 |
| I. U. No. 530 report | 4.20 |
| I. U. No. 450 report | 3.30 |
| I. U. No. 410 report | 4.05 |
| I. U. No. 330 report | 25.55 |
| GC-8 | 5.00 |
| I. U. No. 120 report | 298.05 |
| I. U. No. 440 | 4.35 |
| I. U. No. 460 | 6.50 |
| GC-636 | 6.50 |
| J. Weight, personal deposit | 90.00 |

**September 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 19.65 |
| GC-392 | 9.00 |
| GC-551 | 2.50 |

**September 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-260 | 26.00 |
| GC-877 | 17.00 |

**September 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-913 | 2.00 |
| I. U. No. 110, balance on report | 6.00 |
| Office report | 20.40 |

**September 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| From Detroit members to Seattle strike | 50.00 |

**September 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-209 | 8.86 |
| GC-551 | 1.50 |
| Office report | 29.25 |
| GC-572 | 2.00 |

**September 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-914 | 7.90 |
| **Total** | **$1,162.01** |

**CASH RECEIPTS**

| | |
|---|---|
| District No. 1 | $2,363.83 |
| District No. 2 | 1,578.06 |
| District No. 3 | 794.80 |
| District No. 4 | 155.29 |
| District No. 5 | 1,162.01 |
| **Total** | **$6,053.99** |

**CASH SUMMARY**

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash Receipts, Sept. | $6,053.99 |
| Cash Expenses, Sept. | $5,072.20 |
| Total | $ 981.79 |
| Cash on hand Sept. 1st | $1,212.34 |
| Cash on hand October 1st | $2,194.13 |

**THE MAN WORKING NEXT TO YOU OUGHT TO BE IN THE UNION. IF YOU HAVE NOT TRIED TO GET HIM IN BEFORE, DO IT NOW!**

# General Construction Workers Bulletin

CHICAGO, ILL. | G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W. | No. 8, NOVEMBER 10, 1923

# DELEGATES ARRIVE for CONVENTION

On November 1st. at 9 A. M., the General Construction Workers, Industrial Union No. 310, will meet in Annual Convention at No. 2 North Sangamon St., Chicago, Illinois. The Convention promises to be well attended and important. Delegates will be present from Portland, Stockton, Ogden, Tama and Chicago Districts. Matters pertaining to I.U. No. 310 and the General Organization will be taken up and considered. Delegates to the General Convention will be elected from the floor of the I. U. No. 310 Convention.

Interest in the No. 310 Convention is reflected by the early arrival of delegates from distant points. At this writing, some delegates ARE ALREADY in Chicago informing themselves on Conditions and preparing to make the No. 310 Convention the best ever.

A great opportunity awaits No. 310 and the I.W.W. in General. The American Federation of Labor has lost over a million members in the midst of the greatest number of unorganized workers ever known before. It stands repudiated and distrusted by the Working Class of this Country. Its threat to Organize the migratory Workers, where ever possible should be met by a more aggressive I. W. W. Campaign among the great Army of unorganized in all of the Basic Industries.

Industrial Union No. 310 may be counted on to do its part.

One of the many things the Convention will consider is the extension of No. 310 into New Territory, especially in Canada and the Mid-West.

CONDITIONS ARE FAVORABLE TO SUCH A DEVELOPMENT.

LETS GO FOR A BIGGER AND BETTER I.W.W.

## RECALLING AN OLD SONG

There's an old song, "It's Not What You Were, But What You Are Today." This old song applies to the I. W. W. It's not what the I. W. W. was when founded, but what it is today, as the industrial union organizer of the entire working class, that counts.

The A. F. of L. has "fallen down" as a working class organization. Here's the I. W. W. opportunity. Will it rise equal to it? In all our convention deliberations let us not overlook the great numbers of workmen and women outside of our ranks who look to the I. W. W. for leadership in industrial unionism. Let us look up and about us. Let us broaden out. so as to embrace all of the workers in our final plans.

If we do this, we can sing another, a new song, in answer to the old. We can sing "The Morrow Cometh; It Is Ours." For we not only were, but also are. and, what is more, WILL BE.

## TO THE MEMBERS OF THE I. W. W.

DO NOT READ THIS, unless you are really interested in the cessation of the persecution of union men in California.

DO YOU KNOW THAT THERE ARE EIGHTY-SEVEN MEMBERS OF YOUR ORGANIZATION SERVING SENTENCES FROM ONE TO TWENTY-EIGHT YEARS FOR ORGANIZING THE WORKING CLASS?

DO YOU KNOW THAT THERE ARE FORTY-FIVE MEMBERS OF YOUR ORGANIZATION AWAITING TRIAL FOR VIOLATION OF THE CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAW IN CALIFORNIA?

DO YOU KNOW THAT THERE ARE THREE IN THE COUNTY JAILS AND FIVE OUT ON BAIL, ALREADY CONVICTED AND AWAITING OUTCOME OF APPEAL?

DO YOU KNOW THAT IT COSTS HUNDREDS OF DOLLARS EACH MONTH TO SUPPLY THESE MEN WITH RELIEF?

DO YOU KNOW WHERE THIS MONEY COMES FROM?

DO YOU KNOW THAT WE CAN CELEBRATE THE FUNERAL OF THE DREADED CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAW IF WE CAN SECURE FUNDS TO CIRCULARIZE THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA WITH PUBLICITY REGARDING THIS BARBAROUS LAW?

DO YOU KNOW THAT ACQUITTALS HAVE BEEN SECURED IN CALIFORNIA WHERE SUFFICIENT PUBLICITY WAS CARRIED ON?

DO YOU WISH TO SEE THE END OF PERSECUTION IN THE EARTHQUAKE STATE?

DO YOU WANT TO SEE THE MANACLES STRUCK FROM THE WRISTS OF YOUR IMPRISONED FELLOW WERKERS?

DO YOU WANT TO HELP THE CALIFORNIA DEFENSE TO CARRY ON A PROGRAM THAT IS TAKING THE TEETH OUT OF THE CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAW?

DO YOU WANT TO SEE THE I. W. W. LIVE AND THRIVE AND FLOURISH IN CALIFORNIA?

DO YOU KNOW THAT THE NEXT SIX WEEKS MAY DECIDE THE FATE OF THE CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAW IN CALIFORNIA IF EACH MEMBER OF THE I. W. W. DOES HIS BIT BY AGITATION ON THE JOB, CONTRIBUTING TO THE RELIEF AND DEFENSE FUND, BY AIDING IN THE PUBLICITY WORK?

ARE YOU DOING YOUR SHARE TO HELP IN THE GREATEST FIGHT THAT THE I. W. W. HAS EVER ENGAGED IN?

ARE YOU HELPING TO DEFRAY THE EXPENSES OF THE CALIFORNIA DEFENSE? ARE YOU INTERESTED IN THE BATTLE NOW RAGING IN THE GOLDEN STATE?

HAVE YOU WRITTEN TO THE BOYS IN PRISON LATELY; IF NOT, WHY NOT?

HAVE YOU TOLD YOUR BOSS OF THE TERRIBLE PERSECUTION IN CALIFORNIA?

If you can answer these questions as they should be answered, you will write for further information to the Secretary of the California Branch of the General Defense Committee. The crisis is here. The moment to decide has come. If we can secure funds for defense, relief and publicity, we can sweep the most vicious and inhuman criminal syndicalism law into the limbo of forgotten. Send that remittance today! Remember, six weeks of concerted action means victory!

**Tom Connors,**
226 Russ Building,
San Francisco, California.

## WANTED FOR ILLINOIS: CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

**50 I. U. 310 DELEGATES**

**For this winter. George has been busy all summer and he wants to lay off this winter, so it is up to you.**

**LET'S GO!!!**

### TO ALL STRIKE COMMITTEES

We wish to issue a warning, which should be called to the attention of all members as well as to all strike committees, that every one should be on the lookout for those who advocate destruction of property or violence, or anything detrimental to the organization. We have everything to lose by hasty and unplanned action.

**IGNORANCE IS THE ENEMY OF THE WORKERS. PUSH THE LITERATURE.**

## THERE IS NO MERRY CHRISTMAS IN JAIL

Scores of men, both old and young, are doing time in prison, not because they have committed any crime, but because they have attempted to improve the working class, by means of a labor organization.

It is claimed that some, or all of them, are guilty of the "CRIME" of talking. Suppose that they are! What of it? The American People did not always regard talking as "CRIME". We insist that talking is a "Human Right" and not merely a privilege, or despot's prerogative. It has not always been a "CRIME" to hold membership in a Labor organization; but the State Prisons of the West are full of men convicted of the "CRIME" of holding membership in the I.W.W., a labor organization which aims to Unite the Workers in Industry, on the basis of Industry and for the purpose of changing Industrial Conditions.

All of these men, whether in State or Federal Prisons, sincerely believed that their efforts to Unite the Working Class, were necessary, and that they would bring a little more sunshine into the homes of the millions of over-worked and underpaid toilers. Right or wrong in their views, their motives were unselfish and that gives their status as convicts a different complection than that of the general run of Prisoners.

Unless released before, many of these men will see their seventh Christmas in Prison. Men scarcely serve so much time even when their crime is both vicious and revolting in character. We hope to obtain the release of them all by Christmas, but even should we succeed in this, the large Christmas fund that we ask you to help make up, will be far too small when we consider the pressing needs of so many men released from prison in the dead of winter.

Jails are very dreary places, even under the best of circumstances. We urge you to send to your Industrial Union and get one of the receipt books issued by the General Defense Committee for this purpose. Remember that it is not so much the small package of good things that we send into the prison that counts, but it is the spirit of Solidarity symbolized by these gifts—we never forget—that touches the heart and makes one feel that he is not forgotten. Thanking you in advance for your co-operation, I am

Yours for Amnesty By Christmas.

**Edw. E. Andersen.**

Sec'y Treas'r of the General Defense.

## THE JOB—THAT'S THE PLACE

Why not hold what we have gained and reach out for more, or in other words, stay on the job? Take in the Kelso District, the work will last all winter. Can we afford to waste what we have gained there by leaving it? All summer a number of fellow workers have gone from job to job. They have been fired a number of times from their jobs but the point I wish to make is this; when the strike came they were able to close down the camps and the Contractors are well aware that they can do so again.

Now, in Oregon there is a big job commencing. Why not get in and organize and control it from the first? Do not wait until it is half finished. We claim we are out for a principle; the unorganized are out for the money. Well, the Class War Prisoners are in for a principle so if we wish to help them we will have to do it on the job, not on the skid-road. There are a number of Class Conscious Fellow Workers that claim the conditions on some jobs are unbearable and they cannot stand them. Did they ever stop to think of the fellow workers in jail? They have to stand them, so let's get out on these jobs and organize them. We cannot do it in the halls or on the skid-road.

**J. A. Griffith.**

## OUR PRESS AND MAGAZINES PLAY GREAT PART IN BUILDING UP OUR ORGANIZATION

Don't forget, the printed word is one of our greatest means for building up organization. Look at the way the bosses use the newspapers and magazines against us, in order to prevent our growth and development. Let's take a leaf from their little book. Let's push our press, our leaflets, pamphlets, weekly newspapers and monthly magazines, wherever we can, and the results will be good. Once the workers read our side they won't be fooled by the other.

We have got thirteen publications in ten different languages. What are you doing to get the workers to read them? If nothing, start now. If something, keep it up, you're doing good. A splendid means of organization up-building is our monthly magazine, the Industrial Pioneer. This has sixty-four pages of good material and about 40 pictures. It is written by workers in the field and shows what is actually being done there, not in theory but in practice.

In the November issue, for instance, there's an article entitled "The Great New Orleans Strike" with illustrations, all showing what part the M. T. W., I.W.W. took in that strike and just how it did so. Then there's another interesting article on the packing house workers; and one called "Tacoma, the Lumber Capital of America".

But, why say more? Get a copy and if you like it, pass it along. Let others read it. Get them interested; they'll read it of their own accord, later on. The same thing applies to every phase of our press. Get the workers to read it and then watch our organization grow, both in number and power.

**Card No. 331378**

## MINUTES OF MEETING HELD AT PERRY, OREGON

Oct. 5, 1923.

Morrison & Knudson Construction Co., Camp 3.

Job meeting called to order at 1 p. m.

Fellow Worker 224486 elected Chairman.

Fellow Worker X-141520, elected Recording Secretary.

Fifty-five members in good standing.

M. & S. That floor be thrown open for discussion on the discharge of four fellow workers.—Carried.

M. & S. That discussion be closed.—Carried.

M. & S. That we elect a committee of three to present demands to the boss to put fellow workers back to work.—Carried.

Fellow Workers L., S., and J. elected on committee.

M. & S. That floor be thrown open for discussion on report of committee.—Carried.

M. & S. That discussion be closed.—Carried.

M. & S. That under present circumstances we do not declare a strike but that we walk out in support of fellow workers.—Carried.

M. & S. That we adjourn.—Carried.

Meeting adjourned at 3 p. m.

Camp walked out 90 per cent.

NOTE—Sixty-three men out of 75 walked out. Most of those that stayed were bosses or old time dope-hops.

**X-141520,** Rec.-Sec'y.
**224486,** Chairman,

## CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM

The General Defense Committee is doing all possible to clear away the Federal cases by Christmas so that the entire machinery of the organization now being used in an effort to free the Federal Prisoners, may be used in the campaign for the release of State Prisoners. Moreover, the ground work for the big Drive in Oregon, Washington, Idaho and California, as well as other states, is being laid so that no time will be lost between the ending of one campaign and the beginning of the other.

The California Boycott stickers are off the press, and other details are being prepared. The Criminal Syndicalism Law of California is unlike any other similar law. It makes the mere membership in the I.W.W. a crime. Let us consider this piece of legal sophistry. What Constitutes a Crime? Suppose we consider this phase of the question indpendent of this law.

Before any act can properly be considered a Crime, it must rise to the importance of violating the Public Interest. The question then arises, "What is the Public Interest?" The Majority of the People in California are working People. The Public interest then, is the "Working Class Interest." Membership in the I.W.W. clearly implies that those members hope to improve the conditions of the Working Class. They unite for that purpose. For this they are branded as Criminals by a Freak Law passed during the period of War Hysteria. Who are the real Criminals? Those who attempt, by means of legal (?) form, to prevent the advancement of what is clearly the best interest of California, or those who by joining the only organization not controlled by special selfish interest, hope to improve the Social Condition of that State.

The General Defense Committee looks forward eagerly to the day when it can concentrate the whole force of the organization on the State Cases. In the meantime there is much work to be done on all fronts. Funds are needed. Rally to the Defense.

Yours for Amnesty by Christmas.

**Secretary.**

**BUY A CONVENTION STAMP!**

## JOB NEWS

**Oakridge, Oregon, 9-29-23.**—Western Lumber Co. Building new mill out. Logging road also laying track for the S. P. R. R. Work will last ten months. One camp. 250 men. Sentiment indifferent. This company is also known as Western Const. Co. Wages, general laborers, $4.50 drillers, $5.00; wages vary from $4.50 to $6.00 for carpenters and other mechanics. Hospital charge is 1.00 per month and no compensation rejected. Work eight hours. Board $8.40 per week. Sanitary conditions poor. No bath house as yet, men are crowded in bunk house. Chances of going to work. Apply at U. S. free empt. office at Eugene. Fare $1.84. This job is located where the S. P. R. R. is going to build cutoff to Cal. This job is on the Natron cutoff where fifteen million dollars will be spent in construction, so get busy. **(333030.)**

**Caryhurst, Wyoming, 10-6.**—Nearest p. o. Welsh. Mickey McMann. Building fire walls. Job will last sixty days. One camp. 16 men. Sentiment good. Wages wagon skinners $4.50, Fresno skinner $5.00 dumpman $5.50, straw boss $6.50, machine skinner $125.00, plow holder $ 150.00, cook $125.00. Nine hours. Board good at $1.50. Sanitary conditions rotten. (GC 925).

**Thermopolis, Wyoming, 10-1.**—Utah Const. Co. Building a highway Thermopolis to Bonneville. Job is 16 miles south of Thermopolis. There are two camps. Wages are: steam shovel engineers $150.00 month and board, cranemen $125 month and board, firemen $90.00 and board, watchman $75.00 and board, cook $125.00, flunkey $60, muckers & skinners 50c an hour for nine hour day. Walk in and out on your own time. Job is one and a half miles from camp. This Co. does not have a bull cook so the slaves have to pack their own coal and water and bring their own coal oil with them when they come to the job. About 30 men at each camp. Grub is fair at $1.20 per day. Other conditions are of the worst kind. They charge $1.00 per month for the use of some crummy old blankets. Bed bugs by the thousands. Camp one is a highball job. They have push there by the name of Barney Overtime. This guy is a highball demon. He thinks he is driving mules. The work at camp two is fair. (X 105894).

**Champaign, Ill., 10-20-23.** — Building subway and starting new depot for the I. C. R. R. Ferral Const. Co. Wages, laborers, 45 and 50c an hour, ten hour day. Board in town. Structural iron workers, $1.25 hour eight hour day, five and one-half days week, 50c hour ten hour day on cement gang. **(RR-532.)**

**Champaign, Ill., 10-20-23.**—Building subway. Bates and Rogers Const. Co. Wages 45c per hour, ten hour day. Board in town. $8.00 per week.

### WANTED: FIFTY DELEGATES

to take out supplies and credentials for I. U. 310 on the Canadian side. There is a good field for construction workers in the vicinity of Cranbrook, B. C., and along the Canadian Pacific, also an enormous amount of highway work in this vicinity.

**Missoula, Montana, 10-20-23.**—There is a big construction job starting up forty-eight miles out of here on the Bitter Root Branch of the N. P. This is a three or four million dollar job and will last quite a while. Here is a chance to put the G. C. W. I. U. 310 on the map around this neck of the woods. **(P. W.)**

**Caribou, Cal., 10-27-23.**—Schulz Const. Co. Building dam. Hydraulic. Team and concrete work. 150 men. Sentiment n-different. Wages, teamhands, $5.00; laborers $4.50 to $5.00; concrete mixer men $7.00; concrete men, $5.00; carpenters, $8.00; hydraulic nozzle men, $6.50. Work eight and ten hours. One camp. Sanitary conditions need improving. Board rotten. Hire at Murray and Ready Emp. offiee at Sacramento. Shipping fee $2.00. fare $5.28. Also hire on job. Job will last first of January. Shorthanded. Take W. P. railroad to Howells and take company truck to Caribou. **(GC-500.)**

**Coquille, Oregon, 10-15-23.** — John Hampshire Const. Co. Seven camps. Two of them station outfits. Two gyppo camps, one shovel camp, two camps machine outfits. Wages, $5.00, slopers; Fresno skinners, $5.50; wheeler, $5.50; dumpmen, $6.50; Fresno holders, $6.00; wheeler holder, $6.00. Board $1.25 per day, not very good. Sleeping quarters bum. Poker game every night. About month's work yet. Hire on job or in office. **(GC-169)**

**Fond du Lac, Minn., 10-5-23.**—Fourteen miles from Duluth. Ten hours, 42½c an hour. Board 1.10, rotten. Double bunks. Bed bugs and lice hold control. Slaves won't listen to organization but if you talk "de-horn" you can get a good crowd. Come and go on your own time. Pay twice a month. $5.00 stage fare from Minneapolis. Stay 30 days free. A good place to stay away from. Hot water on pay day only. **(X5278.)**

**Cle Elum, Wash., 10-2-23.**—Grant Smith Co. Job may last three months. 3 or 4 camps. Between 200 and 300 men. Bad conditions. Wages 40c per hour. Work eight hours. Board $1.25. Conditions: There is a bath house and wash room. Chances of going to work. Hire at Hanley empt. office, Seattle. **(GC-874.)**

**Kelso, Wash., 9-26-23.**—Knapp Contractor. Subbing under Twohy Bros. Five miles from Kelso. Steam shovel work. Will last about three months. Horses are used to pull dump cars. Skinners, $4.50; laborers, $4.50. Eight hours on the job. One mile to work from camp. Sometimes you ride to work in wagon but most of time you walk. Board is average at $1.20 a day. Sleep in tents. Five to eight men to a tent at present. Eighteen men working. No bath. Use powder cans to bathe in. There are three scabs here who worked during last strike. Good chance for wobs to get on here so let's go. **(GC-109.)**

**Mlwaukee, Wis., 10-4-23.**—M. E. White paving contractor has about three months' work here. It is for the C. & N. W. R. R. Co. putting in retaining walls and street work for the city. Wages are 50 to 75c. This camp is against organization. Board $1.20. There is a squawk now here against chuck. There are 16 men to a bunk house. **(GC-490.)**

### BUY A CONVENTION STAMP!

**Aron, Cal., 10-14-23.**—Assocated Oil Co. Oil refinery. Big const. job, building tanks, steel, for oil. 1,500 men. Sentiment bad. This camp is full of stools and a delegate going in here must use the best of judgment if he wants to do any work. Wages, teamhands $4.25 and $4.50; laborers, $4.00. Open shop wages range from $4.00 to $6.00. Work eight hours. One camp. Sanitary conditions good. Board fair at $1.25. Ship from Frisco Co. office. Fare 90c. Steady job. The Shell Oil Co. is just below here and the same applies to them. Board in Martinez or wherever you like. High ball system here. Laborers, $4.00; two-up teamsters, $5.25; four-up, $5.50. **(GC-1452.)**

**Nampa, Idaho, 10-9-23.**—Utah Const. Co. The wages are 45c hour. Board is $1.20 per day Work conditions all right. Board is good. Nearest shipping point Ogden or hire on the job. One mile from town on the Boise line of O. S. L. This is a steam shovel camp. Wages for dinky skinner $125.00; laborers 45c per hour for nine hours. **(829791.)**

**Nampa, Idaho, 10-8-23.**—Corey Const. Co. Building railroad for U. P. Building camp. Expect team outfit in later. Will be moving dirt. Job will last three months. One camp. 12 men. In about a week will be a shovel outfit, teams and trestle work. Wages 45c per hour. Nine hour day. This is a sub for U. C. C. and will be their conditions. Nine hours. Board $1.20. $1.00 month for bed. Sanitary conditions none. **(826257.)**

### NOTICE TO NON-MEMBERS

This bulletin is published by the membership of I. U. 310 of the I. W. W., for the benefit of the I. W. W., and is paid for by the membership of I. U. 310. Therefore, if you are not supporting us by being a dues-paying member of the I. W. W., you should become one and be a help to your class, not a burden.

### NOTICE

Regular business meetings of I. U. No. 310 are held every Sunday evening at 7 p. m., at 601 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

## BEWARE OF RUMORS

A rumor is like a cancer on a healthy body. It is mysterious, seems to come from nowhere and soon grows if left alone, eating its way tearing down and destroying healthy tissues. The surgeon uses the knife, cuts it out at its roots, and if caught in time, no harm results; but if neglected it either disfigures or destroys the body.

The same holds true with the organization. Never spread a rumor; if it refers to an individual member ignore it. If it pertains to the organization or any of the officials of G. C. W. I. U. No. 310, hold a meeting at once, and if that is not possible, get the name and card number of the member who started it, or who is spreading it, and then hold a meeting as soon as possible and get the facts.

**A PAMPHLET CAN BE READ BY LANTERN LIGHT AS EASILY AS THE SPOTS ON A PAIR OF DICE**

# Job News From Active Delegates

**Alexander, Idaho, 10-22-23.**—Phoenix Utility Co. building a dam. Camp about one-half mile out of Alexander. About 400 men working. Wages 40 cents per hour. Work eight hours per day. Two shifts working. Board fair at $1.20 per day. Hospital fee $1.00. Bedding $1.00 per month. Clean. The work is not hurry up. The bunk houses are crowded, 44 men to each when fullhanded. Top bunks. There are shower baths with hot and cold water at all times. There is a Sheriff and Deputy in camp. What they are here for is easy to realize. They sure are not here to look after the welfare of the workers because a pair of shoes were stolen from a worker and payday there was some of the slaves drunk and he did not pay any attention. There were also poker games going on without any interference from either the Sheriff or the Deputy. The sentiment for the organization among the men is fair and new members can always be lined up but the company is hostile, so brass band should be left behind. The company is hiring men in Ogden and Salt Lake, the fare is advanced. They are also hiring on the job. Job will last about eighteen months. (GC 297).

**Winona, Arizona, 10-25-23.**—U. S. R. S. 50 men employed. Mostly auto tramps. Wages $3.75 per day. $1.20 board. Conditions fair. Sentiment no good. All winter work. Highway work. (GC 300).

**Merced Falls, Cal. 10-24-23.**—Yosemite Lumber Co. Constructing railroad. Job will last six months. Two camps. Seventy men in this camp. Sentiment poor. Laborers, teamsters 50 cents per hour, riggers 65 cents per hour. Nine hours. Board fair at $1.25 per day. Bath house, no washroom or hot water to wash with. Chances to go to work. Hire at Merced Falls, Cal. Murray and Ready Empt. office. Fee $2.00, fare $2.40 by stage. Murray and Ready ship from Sacramento. Cal., at fee and fare of $13.80. This job is seventy-four miles east of Merced on the Yosemite Val. Railroad. Men can hire out at sawmill at Merced Falls to go to work at this camp. See Superintendent there. (GC 609).

**Caryhurst, Wyoming, 10-11.**—Blackie Allen. Building fire walls for oil tanks. Job will last 60 days. One camp. 15 men. Sentiment none. One machine. Four Fresnos Wages plow holder $150.00. wagon skinners $4.25, Fresno skinners $4.75. Work nine to ten hours. Board poor at $1.50. Sanitary conditions rotten. Woman cook. Hire on job. **(GC-979.)**

**Elkader, Iowa, 10-12-23.**—Empire Con. Co. New highway. This work was being done by Carey and Son but was taken over by the Bonding Co. Job will last six months or more. Three camps. 85 men. Sentiment negligible. There is one stock machine. Wages foreman, $200.00; plow holder, $175.00; powderman, $150.00; shovel runner, $1.00 per hour; cat skinner, $150.00; shovel fireman, $160.00; blacksmith, $150.00; jack hammer, $3.50; skinners, $3.00; dumpers, $150.00. Work ten hours. Board free and damn poor. Sanitary conditions average. Chances of going to work. There is a fair assortment of food but no one to cook it. **(GC-261.)**

**Vader, Wash., 9-29-23.**—Twohy Bros. & Co. Railroad construction for Long Bell Lumber Co. This is a Louisiana outfit, pure and simple. Work will last five months. Seven to ten camps in this district. From 50 to 75 men. Sentiment fair. This is Camp No. 11 and is a Long Bell boarding house. 76 men in one bunkhouse. Wages, teamsters and laborers, $4.50. The Long Bell Co. pays $4.00 low for labor and for mechanics any price. No set rate. Work eight hours. Board rotten at 35c per meal. Beds 15c per night. Sanitary conditions fair—clean. Cold water to wash with but hot and cold shower. Hire in Vader or on job. The Long Bell Co. is hostile toward the I. W. W. and delegates can't last long. Absolutely no literature allowed if the stools find it. Leave the Brass Band behind and let's organize this job. All bossmen on this or these jobs are finks, all remained on job during last strike, also most of the steam shovel crews. **(GC-530.)**

**Casper, Wyoming, 10-23-23.**—Sub contractor Smith Levi Const. Co. 14 miles north. Highway work. Fresno. Board bum at $1.50. Wages for wobs $5.00, wicks $4.50. 7 and a half to 8 hours on job. Bunk house crowded. Short job. (CG 925).

**Huntington, Oregon, 10-23-23.**—Morrison and Knudson contractors on U. P. R. R. between Huntington and Nelson, Oregon. 15 miles west of Huntington. Four camps. 50 men in each camp. Wages for laborers 42 and a half cents per hour. One horse driver 45 cents, drillers 50 cents. Nine hours on work. Board $1.20 per day. Blankets furnished by company. Ship men from Spokane, Tacoma and Seattle, Wash.; Portland; Nampa and Boise, Idaho. Shorthanded all of the time. Job will last until Christmas. Free fare. **(GC 263).**

**Mansfield, Ohio, 10-8-23.** —Subway under Penn. R. R. Co. tracks. All winter work. Also track job. Wages 40c hour. Board in cars. $1.05 per day. Ship from Chicago. Can't hire out here.

**Bend, Oregon, 10-4-23.**—There is street work, Warren Const. Co. is the contractor. About 50 men working. Job will last about two months. Wages $5.00 per day. **(GC-297.)**

**Caryhurst, Wyoming, 10-11.**—Arnett Contractor. Building fire walls for oil tanks. Arnett doing bossing. Working all whites. Job will last sixty days. One camp. 14 or 15 men. Sentiment fair. Wages machine man $125.00, wagon $4.50 per day, Fresno $5.00 plow shaker $150.00. Work nine to ten hours. Board fair at $1.50. Sanitary conditions poor. Double bunks, also dirty blankets. Hire on job. (CG 979).

**Kirk, Oregon, 10-7-23.**—John Hampshire Const. Co. This company has four camps: Camps 1, 4, 7 and 9. Camp 7 is about eight miles east of Kirk. This is a team and right of way camp. Wages, cook, $175.00 and board; flunkey, $75.00; dishwasher, $75.00; laborers, $5.00 per eight hours, and board is $1.25 per day. Team work is by the yard. 7c per yard. Sentiment good. Tents to sleep in with floors in same. No wash room. Water is scarce here. Job will last about two months. Board is fair. **(GC-382.)**

**Groveland, Cal., 10-22-23.**—North American Cont. Co. Tunnel and rock crusher. Concreting the tunnel. Miners four on a shift, three shifts. Twelve miners, carpenters and laborers, rating foreman, muckers in tunnel with mucking wencher. Job will last six months. 150 men. Sentiment fair. The carpenters and their helpers work 9 hours one shift. Wages miners $5.50, chuck tenders $5.00, muckers in the tunnel and on outside get $4.25, carpenters $ 1.00 hour in tunnel, carpenter helpers $5.00, motor men $5.50, laborers around crusher $4.25. Board fair at $1.25 a day. Cook $175.00, (pay board out of that) and flunkeys $70 and board. Ship from Sacramento, Stockton or office at Groveland. Sacramento fare $6.20, Stockton $4.50 fare. This camp has about six or seven families and one of the fathers has a son 16 years old working around the rock crusher. The old man is driving a motor in the tunnel. The boy got tired and wanted a layoff so he got another boy 15 years old to take his place for a few days and told him that when he got his pay on payday, he would pay him for working in his place. He did not have to go to the office to sign up same as the men have to do so you see, anyone can work here from 15 years old to 60. This camp is called Big Creek, six miles out from Groveland on the Hetch Hetchy. (GC 1006).

**Ryderwood, Wash., 10-23-23.**—Twohy Bros. Camp 11. Steam shovel work. About 20 men working at present on dump and section. Dinkey skinner $175.00 and board, teamster $5.05 nine hours. Dumpmen and section $4.40 eight hours. Night shift cut out for present. Board at Long Bell Lumber Co. camp at $1.05 a day. Chuck is on the bum. Beds 15 cents a night. Good beds and bedding. Bunk houses are three hundred feet long by 20 wide. Room for 76 men in a bunk house. Only 50 in a bunk house at present. They don't furnish any lights here; if you want to read you must buy a lamp. The Long Bell Lumber Co. are building a town here. They employ about 250 men. Wages $4.00 a day for laborers, $6.00 a day for rough and finish carpenters. Two bath houses. Coffee and chuck is always cold. You will hear the slaves howl about it but when you talk to them about lining up in the One Big Union of their Class they will look around to see if the boss is watching them. Sentiment for organiztion is poor. Camp is seven miles from Vader. (GC 109).

**Belle Plaine, Iowa, 10-17-23.**—Parquett outfit one mile west and one-half mile north of Belle Plaine. About six weeks here of wagon work. Wagon work wages, $4 and $1 out. Chuck fair. Sleeping quarters are rag outfits. Chances to set in here. Sentiment fair. Wagon dumper $5.00 and chuck. **(GC-490.)**

**Grant, N. M., 10-21-23.**—J. Hall contractor. Road work. Six Three-up Fresno teams and four-up plow. Wages 25 cents per hour, $1.00 board. All fall work. Ten hours. Three White men on job. (GC 300).

**Cassaday, Kansas, 10-8-23.**—There is a two machine outfit. $4.00 per day,$1.00 out for board. Conditions fair. Board good. Two months' work. **(749811.)**

# CONSTRUCTION WORKERS BULLETIN

"An Injury to One Is An Injury to All."

ONE UNION No. 8 ONE ENEMY

Published Monthly by I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W.
Address all communications to
2 SO. MORGAN ST. CHICAGO, ILL.
MATTHEW TRISLER, Chairman
J. KENNEDY, Sec'y-Treas.


**Toledo, Ohio, 8-22-23**—Ferguson & Edmonson Const. Co. Michigan Central yards. Wages, plow holder $200 per month and board. Two big Western machines running. Wagon skinners—three-ups $4.50, $8.00 per week for board. Ten hour day. $4.00 for slipping, $5.00 for Fresno four-ups, flunkey $4.50 per day, $8.00 out for board, wagon dumper $6.00 and chuck, Fresno dumper $5.00 and chuck, cat skinner $150.00 and board, cook $175.00, corral boss $125.00, helper $90.00, gandys $4.00. Camp employes 120 men. Two steam shovels working. Two camps. Sleeping good. Eight men to a bunk house. Hot and cold water, also shower baths. Good work and good wagons and stock. Absolutely nothing to eat.—**(837220.)**

**Milwaukee, Wis., 10-4.**—M. E. White Const. Co. Subway for C. & N. W. and crete work. About 200 men. Sentiment fair. Laborers 50 to 60 cents. Concrete work 60 cents, common labor 50 cents, flunkey $50.00, second cook $90.00 and $10.00 bet on a month. Ten hours. Sanitary conditions overcrowded. Board $1.20 a day. Ship from Chicago, Clapp Riely. Fee $1.00 fare free. Job will last four months. The C. & N. W. is working a gang here on track work. They are paying 48 cents a hour. Ten hours and board at the White Camp for $1.20. (GC 490)..

**Bonneville, Wyoming, 10-10.**— Blackie Allen working on the washout three miles from Bonneville. Catch the truck in town. Shorthanded. Wagon hands $5.00, Fresno $5.50, water hauler 50 cents hour, all the hours you want. This is all steam shovel work in rock cuts. Work eleven hours. Chuck fair at $1.50. Sleeping quarters crowded. Sentiment fair. All highball outfits on this pike. (766278).

**Matfield Green, Kansas, 8-19-23.**—Sentiment fair. Wages cook $150.00 and board, flunkey $70.00 and board, plowers $175.00 and board, dumpers $150.00 and board, cat skinners $150.00 and board, stable dog $100.00 and board, wagon skinners three-ups $4.00, $1.00 out for board, Mormon skinners $4.00, $1.00 for board. Two machine outfit. Chuck good. Sleeping quarters poor. Ten hours on the job. Three months work at Bazarr then will move to Cassaday. Sante Fe railroad comes into Bazarr.—**(T. P. K.)**

**Jefferson, Iowa, 9-19-23.**—Martin Larson. Eight miles north. One machine outfit. Three up skinners $3.00 and chuck. Chance to go to work. Ship from Omaha or hire on job. Work will last until snow flies. Chuck not much. Sleeping accomodations good. **(GC-813)**

### NOTICE

Fellow Worker E. B. O'Donnell died of pneumonia in the County Hospital at Stockton, California. He was a good active rebel who carried the rigging on and off for quite awhile.

**Blue Water, N. M., 10-21-23.**—O. C. Mc Ellrith contractor. Company road work. No whites, only the foreman. Wages 25 cents per hour. Two-up wagons. Board $1. Ten hours. All fall work. (GC 300).

**Cisco, Cal., 9-15-23.**—P. G. & E. This job is called the Fordyce Dam. Making private company roads ,raising the Fordyce dam 35 feet. Work for two years. There will be lots of snow in thirty days. Five camps in nine miles . 600 men. Sentiment no good. Wages, teamsters, laborers, Fresno loader and dumpman, concrete men, carpenters' helpers 50c an hour, rigger 60c, carpenters 80c, plow skinner and shaker 60c. Fare Reno $3.06, Sacramento $4.00. Bring your balloon. Work nine hours. Board $1.25. Sanitary conditions no good. Camp No. 4 has shower bath. No. 5 is worst of all. Chances of going to work. Fare refunded after 60 days. Come up and back in trucks. This is a good place to organize. Plenty of stools in all the camps. Beware of a fellow they call Clancy, the water boy. **(GC-523)**

**Riverton, Oregon, 9-16-23.**—Gauger & McKinzie. Wagon and Fresno. Seven wagons, four Fresnos at Camp 2. Camp 1 at Riverton, plow team and three Fresnos. Several small outfits between Coquille and Bondon. 30 men in Camp 2 and 15 in Camp 1. Sentiment good. Team work. Wages, teamhands $5.00, laborers $5.00, wagon dumper $5.00, machine driver $125.00, plow holder $150.00, flunkey $70.00. Work eight hours. About six camps. Sanitary conditions fair. Board fair. Ship from Portland. Fare $11.00. You can hire on job. Job will last until November. Men are scarce. **(GC-108)**

**Mineral, Cal., 8-22-23.**—State highway camp 1. Highway and quarry. About seventy men. Sentiment no good. Wages, team hands $4.25, laborers $4.00, truck drivers $5.00, cook $150.00, flunkey $4.00, bull cook $4.00. Work eight hours. Two camps. Sanitary conditions poor. Board fair. Ship from Redding or Red Bluff. Trucks run to Red Bluff and candy truck takes out the men. Chances of going to work. Pick & shovel work. Job will last until snow comes. Stump ranchers and poison oakers. No floor in tents. Board for 40c a meal.—**(GC-1182.)**

**Champaign, Ill., 10-20-23.**—Ellington and Miller Gen. Contractors building new depot. Structural iron workers $1.25 per hour, eight hours, five and a half day week, colored cement hands 45c, white cement hands 50c.

**Paxton and Ludlow, Ill., 10-20-23.**—Double tracking I. C. R. R. Smith Bros. Const. Co. Two camps. Team and shovel work. Teamhands 45c hour, laborers 40c hour. Ten hour day. Board in camp. $7.00 per week. Job will last five or six months.

**Missoula, Montana, 9-14-23.**—Missoula Light and Water Works. Lake Const. Rattlesnake Creek location of camps, 10 miles from Missoula. About 20 men. Wages, $4.50 common labor, $5.00 for teamsters. Conditions very poor. Double bunks. Lots of flies. Cut your own wood. Seven sleep in tents. Work nine hours from camp, about eight hours twenty minutes on job. Board $8.40 per week. Chuck fairly good. They have started to eat lunch out. Very poor lunch. Ship from Missoula Light and Water Works. Sentiment very good. Building a dam at foot of lake. 20 feet high, 200 feet long. Dirt fill, all scraper work and rock hauling. **(X103460)**

**Rawlins, Wyoming, 9-23-23.**—Mills Grading Outfit. Fresno work. Putting in tank bottoms for Bair Oil Co. Poor stock. Haywire outfit. This is a fink outfit. Short handed all the time. Job will last two months. One camp. Twelve to 15 men. Sentiment none. Wages 50c hour all around. There is also some highway work out of here. $3.00, board, bed. Nine and ten hours. Same as Mills outfit, haywire all around. Board $1.50 a day. Board rotten. Eat in sheep wagons, sleep on ground. There is also a pipe line being built out of wood to supply Rawlins with water. 50c hour. Nine hours. $1.40 board. Blankets furnished. Sleeping quarters fair. Sentiment good. Board fair. This job has to be finished by first of year. 16 or 17 miles to go yet. Shorthanded all the time. **(GC-922)**

## Where to Get Supplies and Literature

F. L. Cunningham, Box 754, Stockton, Cal.

Harry Wilson, Box 4063, Reno, Nevada.

A. C. Morris, Box 421, Tacoma, Wash.

W. H. Boyd, Box 827, Pasco, Wash.

Chas. Humphreys, Box 365, Seattle, Wash.

Earl Heikkinen, Box 1689, Spokane, Wash.

Henry Powell, Box 91, Eureka, Cal.

Al. Frane, Box 107, Omaha, Nebraska.

Charles Gray, 115 N. Nicolet Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.

E. L. Connelly, Box 451, Casper, Wyoming.

A. Vernon, 1222 Fourth St., Sioux City, Iowa.

O. W. I. U. No. 230, Box 212, Taft, Cal.

John McSlarrow, Box 641, Everett, Wash

Lee Tulin, 318 N. Wyoming St., Butte, Montana.

Wm. Seppla, Box 1413, Great Falls, Montana.

Frank Foster, Box 486, Whitefish, Mont.

Wm. Buchwald, Box 3001, Portland, Oregon.

John J. Ebbesen, Box 3291, Portland, Oregon.

Pat Ward, Box 730, Missoula, Montana.

Geo. Wenger, 431 Prairie Ave., Milwaukee Wis.

Jas. P. Sullivan, Box 1504, Salt Lake, Utah.

John Shuskie, Box 69, Station D, New York, N. Y.

Wm. Morreau, 110 Front St., Fargo, N.D.

W. A. Larson, 8 N. Sixth Ave., W. Duluth Minn.

Chester Gibson, Box 501, La grande, Oregon.

J. N. Johnson, Box 653, Aberdeen, Wash.

R. Seefeldt, Box 366, Kelso, Wash.

W. F. Greeley, Box 911, Ogden, Utah.

# JOB NEWS

**St. Louis, Mo., 10-29-23.**—There are two camps in town. Len Gray, No. 1. Machine outfit. Wages are: plow holder 65c per hour and overtime for repairs. Skinners 42 and a half cents. Stable boss $17.65 and board. Board is $1.05 a day. It is fair and clean. Sleeping quarters are good. Sanitary conditions good. This camp is located on Ferguson Ave. in the county. Take the Hodimont car to Page Ave. and Midland to Ferguson Ave. Fare 14 cents. The other camp is on Southwest Boulevard and Watson Road. The wages are the same as Gray. Sleeping conditions fair. Board is good. This town is full of hands but they are not workways as the bootleggers have control here. All camps are shorthanded. **(X 35901).**

**Peoria, Ill., 10-29-23.**—Roberts Bros. Between Nelson and Peoria, Branch N. W. Canal 18 ship every day or hire on job. $4.25 ten hours. $1.25 chuck, fair. Bunk cars unsanitary. Two surfacing gangs. Steel. Pay when you quit.

**Madisonville, Kentucky, 10-9-23.**—A. Guthrie & Co. Camp one mile from Madisonville. Grub bum. Ten hours. Two shifts. Wages 35c and 37½ per hour, common labor. Men going and coming all the time. The job will end up in January or February. Sentiment good. McGregory has two or three camps out of Midland, Ky. 18 miles from Madisonville. Wages, 30 and 35c hour, common labor. Grub is good. **(X3420.)**

## NOTICE

The following cards are being held in this office:

Jack Runde (duplicate) X 9481; E. D. Ambrosia (duplicate) X 27654 and W. H. Landing (original) X 83334.

Same can be had by writing to J. Kennedy, 2 S. Morgan St., Chicago, Ill.

## NOTICE

Fellow Worker Fred Bamman, GC 445 has lost his credentials. Anyone findng same please return to this office.

## NOTICE

Fellow Worker Chas. Anderson, Card No. 748551, Delegate No. GC-673, was arrested near Barstow, Calif., and was taken to San Bernardino, Calif. After being detained for a short time, he was released, but his supplies were confiscated by the authorities. **Vigorous steps will be taken by the Los Angeles branch of the General Defense Committee for the recovery of the property seized.**

## NOTICE

**Delegates and members are requested to send in Job News for the bulletins, and to notify this office of any jobs in the bulletins which are near completion, so that same can be discontinued.**

**BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS—KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS (AND THAT MEANS PRACTICALLY ALL OF THEM).**

**All I. W. W. papers and bulletins please copy.**

## PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

**The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.**

**Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.**

**We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.**

**These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.**

**Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."**

**It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old**

## NOTICE

The credentials of John Naredo, GC 496, have been lost. Anyone seeing same, pick up on sight and send it into Main Office, as duplicate credentials have been issued to Fellow Worker Naredo.

## NOTICE

Fellow Worker Nick Miller, card No. 442868, 310 member, is in Great Falls, Montana hospital in a serious condition. Financial help is needed. Anyone wishing to help this fellow worker out can send remittances to Wm. Seppla, Box 1413, Great Falls, Montana.

## NOTICE

There is a reading room at 210 First Ave. South Great Falls, Montana. Delegates can get supplies here, also literature. When passing through, call in.

**Wm. Seppla, Secretary.**

## NOTICE

The strike at Malcolm's Camp, Knights Landing, California, has been called back to the job.

## IMPORTANT

The General Defense Receipt books to collect funds for Christmas Relief for the fellow workers in the various prisons throught the country, are ready to be sent into the field. Send in for a receipt book!

**Thos. F. Ryan, G.O.C. Member.**

# FINANCIAL STATEMENT

**October**

**Receipts**

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiations | $1,058.00 |
| Dues | 2,332.00 |
| Initiations Other Unions | 450.00 |
| Dues other Unions | 1,008.00 |
| Organization Assessments | 205.00 |
| Bond Stamps | 849.00 |
| General Defense stamps | 464.50 |
| Papers | 300.70 |
| Card Cases | 12.50 |
| Buttons and Pins | 53.25 |
| Literature | 125.32 |
| On acc't Cash Balance* | 1,588.31 |
| Duplicates | 31.00 |
| Education Stamps | 43.00 |
| Pioneers | 47.32 |
| Convention Stamps | 280.00 |
| I.U. No. 520 Special stamps | 26.00 |
| I.U. No. 440 Special stamps | 9.00 |
| I.U. No. 510 Special stamps | 6.00 |
| Total | **$8,888.90** |

*Notice the Item called Cash Balance s the amount that has been accounted for by anyone to whom money has been advanced. Also money remitted by Delegates who have cash on hand.

**EXPENSES**

| | |
|---|---|
| Commissions on Initition and Literature | $ 213.56 |
| Field Wages | 1,381.00 |
| Mileage | 308.27 |
| Allowance to other Unions | 790.90 |
| Held on acc't by G.O.C's, Delegates & Supply Clerks | 2,071.15 |
| Magazines and Papers | 535.13 |
| Remitted to other Unions | 684.80 |
| General Defense Stamps | 464.50 |
| Main office wages | 460.00 |
| Rent, Light and Heat | 123.24 |
| Stationary and Fixtures | 57.05 |
| Postage, Express and wires | 168.04 |
| Printing | 61.62 |
| Acc't I.U. No. 120 Delegate | 19.00 |
| Bank Exchange | .15 |
| Craft Card | 2.00 |
| Bond Stamps | 849.00 |
| Education Stamps | 43.00 |
| L.U. No. 510 Special Stamps | 6.00 |
| L.U. No. 520 Special Stamps | 26.00 |
| L.U. No. 440 Special Stamps | 9.00 |
| Total | **$8,273.41** |

**SUMMARY**

| | |
|---|---|
| Total Receipts | $8,888.90 |
| Cash on hand Oct. 1, '23 | 2,194.13 |
| Total | **$11,083.03** |
| Total Expenses for Oct. | 8,273.41 |
| Cash on hand Nov. 1,'23 | $2,809.62 |

**CASH RECEIPTS**

**District No. 1: Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Western Montana.**

**October 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-921 | $ 19.00 |
| GC-131 | 25.40 |
| GC-124 | 1.50 |
| GC-590 | 70.56 |
| GC-456 | 5.50 |
| GC-173 | 23.50 |
| GC-1278 | 30.65 |
| GC-267 | 76.45 |
| GC-591 | 3.63 |
| GC-19 | 23.00 |
| GC-695 | 16.00 |
| GC-1416 | 14.50 |

**October 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-131 | 15.40 |
| GC-589 | 2.00 |
| GC-792 | 31.50 |

**October 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-898 | 7.00 |
| GC-154 | 8.00 |
| GC-109 | 22.35 |
| GC-525 | 2.25 |
| GC-226 | 12.00 |

**October 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-592 | 13.00 |
| GC-673 | 8.50 |
| GC-1024 | 32.90 |
| GC-590 | 55.15 |

**October 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-881 | 23.50 |
| GC-543 | 3.70 |
| GC-679 | 22.00 |
| GC-131 | 29.35 |
| GC-886 | 18.00 |
| GC-591 | 52.57 |
| GC-267 | 112.78 |

**October 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-439 | 16.00 |
| GC-171 | 23.00 |
| GC-363 | 28.85 |

**October 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1027 | .50 |
| GC-211 | 3.00 |

**October 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-356 | 10.50 |
| GC-1014 | 3.50 |
| GC-109 | 7.00 |
| GC-1196 | 39.00 |
| GC-1188 | 6.00 |
| R-352 | 20.00 |
| GC-456 | 9.50 |
| GC-13 | 42.50 |
| GC-874 | 11.10 |

**October 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-590 | 43.75 |
| GC-1416 | 26.90 |

**October 15**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1278 | 20.00 |
| GC-507 | 12.00 |
| GC-1138 | 25.50 |
| GC-591 | 21.99 |
| GC-267 | 114.16 |
| R-272 | 16.50 |

**October 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-337 | 11.50 |
| GC-507 | 55.27 |
| GC-1197 | 39.70 |

**October 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-263 | 11.50 |
| GC-965 | 10.00 |

**October 20**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-691 | 12.50 |
| GC-258 | 8.50 |
| GC-258 | 6.00 |
| GC-412 | 1.00 |
| GC-578 | 35.00 |
| GC-711 | 10.50 |

**October 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-921 | 13.50 |
| GC-376 | 8.55 |
| GC-169 | 10.00 |
| GC-591 | 21.10 |
| GC-267 | 140.44 |

**October 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-173 | 12.50 |
| GC-916 | 15.00 |
| GC-689 | 16.50 |

**October 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1416 | 30.55 |
| GC-1009 | 16.00 |
| GC-115 | 5.85 |

**October 27**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-590 | 40.26 |

**October 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-591 | 2.80 |
| GC-267 | 79.31 |
| GC-1001 | 2.50 |
| GC-452 | 35.00 |
| GC-590 | 46.62 |

Total ..... $1,980.84

## District No. 2: Nevada, California, Arizona and New Mexico.

**October 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-265 | $ 20.50 |
| GC-1076 | 9.00 |
| GC-377 | 3.00 |
| GC-251 | 23.00 |
| GC-1093 | 4.50 |
| GC-551 | 1.50 |
| GC-85 | 6.00 |
| GC-492 | 59.00 |
| GC-1088 | 13.00 |

**October 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1024 | 2.50 |
| GC-428 | 7.50 |
| GC-636 | 5.50 |
| R-642 | 17.50 |
| GC-388 | 46.00 |

**October 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-777 | 11.00 |
| GC-551 | 14.50 |
| GC-61 | 17.50 |
| GC-551 | 15.50 |
| GC-659 | 9.50 |

**October 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-108 | 7.00 |
| GC-704 | 15.50 |
| GC-668 | 8.50 |
| GC-458 | 5.00 |
| GC-280 | 27.50 |

**October 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-523 | 9.50 |
| GC-1098 | 27.00 |
| GC-790 | 19.64 |
| GC-229 | 16.00 |

**October 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-488 | 19.00 |
| GC-650 | 25.00 |
| GC-506 | 25.00 |

**October 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-443 | 20.50 |
| GC-361 | 8.50 |
| GC-960 | 4.50 |
| GC-46 | 3.50 |
| GC-1079 | 29.25 |
| GC-551 | 14.00 |
| GC-14 | 95.50 |
| GC-551 | 13.25 |
| GC-366 | 2.18 |
| GC-207 | 6.50 |

**October 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-479 | 13.50 |
| R-698 | 5.00 |
| GC-251 | 10.50 |

**October 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-59 | 18.00 |
| GC-1096 | 20.00 |
| GC-551 | 8.00 |
| Tom Connors, Calif. Def. | 5.00 |

**October 12**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-265 | 8.50 |
| GC-108 | 11.00 |
| GC-492 | 27.00 |
| GC-601 | 13.00 |
| GC-278 | 35.85 |

**October 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-573 | 8.50 |

**October 15**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1092 | 10.50 |
| GC-500 | 44.50 |
| GC-6 | 9.00 |
| GC-351 | 3.65 |
| GC-551 | 3.50 |
| GC-205 | 11.50 |
| GC-1429 | 28.00 |
| GC-621 | 5.00 |

**October 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-335 | 1.00 |
| GC-517 | 23.00 |
| Jack Roth, Literature | 10.00 |
| GC-551 | 4.50 |

**October 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-506 | 54.87 |
| GC-551 | 10.00 |

**October 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-795 | 16.50 |
| GC-443 | 2.50 |

**October 20**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-203 | 4.50 |
| GC-384 | 20.00 |
| GC616 | 13.50 |

**October 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-27 | 9.40 |
| GC-203 | 4.00 |
| **GC-1079** | **13.00** |
| GC-960 | 19.50 |
| GC-551 | 10.25 |
| GC-484 | 8.00 |
| GC-492 | 37.00 |

**October 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-436 | 9.50 |
| GC-551 | 13.75 |

**October 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-470 | 2.50 |
| GC-791 | 5.00 |
| GC-2 | 23.50 |
| GC-448 | 17.00 |
| GC-278 | 15.88 |

**October 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| Jack Roth, literature | 5.12 |
| GC-1427 | 12.50 |
| GC-796 | 16.50 |
| GC-1183 | 10.00 |
| GC-506 | 38.40 |

**October 27**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1024 | 12.75 |
| GC-283 | 1.50 |

**October 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-202 | 10.00 |
| GC-1093 | 1.00 |
| GC-704 | 6.50 |
| GC-731 | 5.50 |
| GC-1180 | 1.00 |
| GC-279 | 10.80 |
| GC-85 | 17.00 |
| GC-1098 | 6.50 |
| GC-526 | 1.00 |
| GC-485 | 22.75 |
| GC-281 | 30.00 |
| GC-368 | 2.00 |
| GC-389 | 12.00 |
| GC-623 | 35.00 |
| GC-280 | 17.50 |

**October 30**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-428 | 6.00 |

Total ..... $1,618.29

## District No. 3: Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, North and South Dakota and Eastern Montana.

**October 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-277 | $ 22.00 |
| GC-261 | 5.00 |
| GC-677 | 7.70 |

**October 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-183 | 10.00 |
| GC-472 | 43.50 |

**October 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-400 | 5.00 |
| GC-925 | 39.90 |

**October 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-979 | 3.50 |

**October 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-242 | 15.00 |

**October 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-922 | 20.00 |

**October 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-472 | 59.45 |
| GC-342 | 16.50 |

**October 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-183 | 10.00 |
| GC-186 | 10.00 |
| GC-472 | 34.15 |

**October 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-183 | 10.00 |
| GC-13 | 10.00 |

**October 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-677 | 7.40 |

**October 30**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-472 | 48.30 |
| Total | $ 377.40 |

**District No. 4: Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma.**

**October 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1418 | $ 11.50 |
| GC-813 | .50 |

**October 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-358 | 12.50 |

**October 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1120 | 23.50 |
| C. H. Carr, papers | 1.00 |

**October 15**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-188 | 3.00 |

**October 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-255 | 20.50 |
| GC-757 | 2.00 |
| GC-710 | 2.68 |

**October 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1418 | .20 |
| Total | $ 77.38 |

**District No. 5: Middle and Eastern states.**

**October 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-21 | $ 2.95 |
| Office report | 31.65 |
| GC-1223 | 6.50 |
| I. U. 440 | 5.55 |
| I. U. 110 | 232.35 |
| I. U. 120 | 260.50 |
| GC-825 | 4.00 |
| GC-1281 | 21.50 |

**October 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. 520 | 123.35 |
| I. U. 530 | 1.50 |
| I. U. 410 | 1.00 |
| I. U. 330 | 17.35 |
| I. U. 110 | 1.00 |
| I. U.s 210-220 | 47.45 |
| Refund on acc't of adv. to Reno accident | 50.00 |

**October 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-756 | 20.00 |
| Office report | 13.05 |

**October 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. 510 | 35.90 |
| I. U. 460 | .75 |

**October 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-877 | 7.00 |
| GC-851 | 3.50 |
| GC-8 | 5.00 |

**October 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 13.20 |
| GC-572 | 3.00 |

**October 15**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-392 | 6.50 |

**October 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-913 | 6.00 |
| Office report | 7.05 |

**October 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-21 | 10.40 |

**October 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-292 | 3.00 |
| Office report | 7.15 |

**October 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-61 | 21.50 |
| GC-914 | 14.88 |
| GC-752 | 4.50 |

**October 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-363 | 34.00 |
| GC-342 | 31.25 |

**October 30**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-261 | 35.00 |
| GC-1281 | 26.50 |
| Total | $1,115.78 |

## CASH RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| District No. 1 | $1,980.84 |
| District No. 2 | 1,618.29 |
| District No. 3 | 377.40 |
| District No. 4 | 77.38 |
| District No. 5 | 1,115.78 |
| Total | $5,169.69 |

## CASH EXPENSES

**October 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| Il Proletario, Italian Paper | $ 9.00 |
| Golos Truzenika, Russian Paper | 1.80 |

**October 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| Geo Warwick, Trav. Delegate | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to Warwick | 1.42 |
| Postage, Main Office | 20.00 |
| Balance due the Italian Paper | 1.50 |
| Elmer Swanson, Acc't the Portland Conference | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to Swanson | 1.65 |
| V. De Tourville, Adv. G.O.C. | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to De Tourville | 1.11 |

**October 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Matthew Trisler, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| R.E. Bennett, Main Office wages | 12.00 |
| Bank Exchange, | .15 |

**October 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| Industrial Worker, Sept Bundle Order | 347.00 |
| John Naredo, Trav. Delegate, adv. & postage | 50.18 |
| One Telegram | 1.00 |

**October 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| Personal Deposit withdrawn In vestigating case at Nampa Idaho, Adv. to A. Morris | 50.00 |
| Postage Main Office | 20.00 |
| Charges for Wiring to A. Morris | 1.23 |

**October 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| Spanish Paper, Sept bundle order | 42.00 |
| Geo. Warwick, Trav. Delegate adv and postage | 25.12 |
| John Graham, G.O.C. Advance | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to John Graham | 2.07 |

**October 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| John Russel Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Matthew Trisler Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| V. de Tourville, G.O.C. Adv. | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to De Tourville | 1.42 |

**October 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| J. A. Griffith, Del. to 310 Convention; adv. and postage | 125.42 |
| O. A. Holmes, Del. to 310 Convention; adv. and postage | 125.42 |
| John Graham, G. O. C. adv. and postage | 50.18 |
| Elmer Swanson, G. O. C. adv. and postage | 50.18 |
| John Hancock, Del. to 310 Convention | 75.25 |
| Postage, Main Office | 18.00 |
| On acc't I. U. 120 Delegate | 19.00 |

**October 20**

| | |
|---|---|
| Emily Kaiyala, M. O. wages | 28.00 |
| Matthew Trisler M. O. wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, M. O. wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, M. O. wages | 28.00 |

**October 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| E. Harris, Del. to 310 Conv. | 125.00 |
| Geo. Warwick, Trav. Del. | 25.12 |
| Charges for wiring to E. Harris | 2.40 |
| John Naredo, Trav. Del. | 100.00 |

**October 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| Advanced to General Defense | 200.00 |
| H. Wilson, Reno Supply Clerk | 27.57 |

**October 25**

| | |
|---|---|
| Industrial Pioneer, Oct. B. O. | 61.40 |
| Industrial Solidarity, Oct. B. O. | 72.43 |
| J. A. Hanbury, Del. to 310 Conv. | 75.00 |
| Wm. Burns, Del. to 310 Conv. | 75.00 |
| V. De Tourville, G. O. C., adv. | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to De Tourville | 1.65 |
| Charges for wiring to Hanbury and Burns | 3.80 |

**October 27**

| | |
|---|---|
| Matthew Trisler, M. O. wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, M. O. wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, M. O. wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, M. O. wages | 28.00 |

**October 31**

| | |
|---|---|
| Wm. Burns, on acc't credit due him | 3.37 |
| Rent for 310 conv. hall | 40.00 |
| P. Ryan, Del. to 310 Conv. | 9.44 |
| Printing Bulletin No. 7 | 49.62 |
| To I. U. 110 for Oct. reports | 169.75 |
| To I. U. 120 for Oct. reports | 172.65 |
| To I. U. 130 for Oct. reports | 7.35 |
| To I. U. 210 for Oct. reports | 59.15 |
| To I. U. 220 for Oct. reports | 20.75 |
| To I. U. 230 for Oct. reports | 14.10 |
| To I. U. 320 for Oct. reports | .75 |
| To I. U. 330 for Oct. reports | 52.70 |
| To I. U.s 410-420 for Oct. reports | 4.05 |
| To I. U.s 610-640 for Oct. reports | 2.05 |
| To I. U. 510 for Oct. reports | 48.55 |
| To I. U. 660 for Oct. reports | 1.30 |
| To I. U. 650 for Oct. reports | 4.10 |
| To I. U. 530 for Oct. reports | 4.15 |
| To I. U. 470 for Oct. reports | 2.00 |
| To I. U. 480 for Oct. reports | 1.05 |
| To I. U. 460 for Oct. reports | 46.60 |
| To I. U. 510 for Special stamps | 6.00 |
| Balance due General Defense | 264.50 |
| Bond stamps | 849.00 |
| I. U. 520, Oct. reports | 53.35 |
| I. U. 440, Oct. reports | 19.10 |
| I. U. 440, Special stamps | 9.00 |
| I. U. 450, Oct. reports | 1.30 |
| I. U. 520, Special stamps | 26.00 |
| Educational stamps | 43.00 |
| Total | $4,554.20 |

## CASH SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash Receipts | $5,169.69 |
| Cash on hand Oct. 1 | 2,194.13 |
| Total | $7,363.82 |
| Cash Expenses for October | $4,554.20 |
| Cash on hand Nov. 1, 1923 | $2,809.62 |

**Indebtedness to I. W. W. Headquarters**

| | |
|---|---|
| Per Capita | $2,988.98 |
| Due books | 1,815.37 |
| Organization supplies | 1,823.67 |
| Literature | 1,377.75 |
| Rent and telegrams | 57.57 |
| Total | $8,063.34 |

# General Construction Workers Bulletin

CHICAGO, ILL. G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W. No. 9, DECEMBER 10, 1923

# General Convention Big Success

## PROTEST IN SAN QUENTIN

On Friday, November 16th, J. B. Childs, one of the twenty-seven members of the I.W.W. convicted on C.S. in Los Angeles, July 12th this year, was assaulted and brutally beaten by two prison guards. From what can be learned, the attack was whole unwarranted and unprovoked.

In a statement given by Childs to a representative of the California Branch of the General Defense Committee in the presence of an attorney, it was learned that the guards beat the fellow worker unmercifully with their clubs. So badly was he beaten that four stiches were taken in his head. Childs told the following story:

"At quitting time Friday, Nov. 16th, I stepped away about twenty feet to turn in my shears at the office, as we are not allowed to take them into our cells, when I returned to the line the guard whose name is Mills, shouted at me and told me to get into line, at the same time giving me a push. I told him that I knew enough to get into line without being pushed. Without further provocation he struck me with his club. I tried to ward off the blows, but did not offer to fight back. He drove me down to the aisle to where another guard stood by the name of McCann, and the two of them beat me unmercifully. They drove me against a partition and one of them got behind it and struck me on the back of the head. Then they ordered me to report to the captain. When I got to the "porch" which is the captain's office where prisoners are sent for violation of prison rules, the captain told me to go to the hospital and have my wounds dressed. My head was so badly cut that four stiches were necessary."

The following Monday morning, seventy-one of the fellow workers in San Quentin struck in protest against the brutal assault. It is the only way in which they can protest. They have no other redress. They are in solitary confinement on bread and water. Twenty two are in the dungeon, the rest would be there, but there is no room. This office will make a thorough investigaton of this case.

### ONE MORE ARREST IN YOSEMITE

Fellow worker Bert Hartley was arrested in the Yosemite National Park on Nov. 19th., taken to San Francisco, after having a hearing before the district commissioner and charged with C. S. His case will come up before the Federal Grand Jury when they meet. Fellow worker Wm. Burns and Wm. Rackle were arrested there last spring and charged with the same offense. The cases of these three fellow workers are rather peculiar. They were arrested on Federal territory, charged with a state offense, and will be tried in a Federal Court. No date has been set for any of the trials. Lumber operators are responsible for the arrests.

### FITFUL LOS ANGELES

The powers that be in the City of Angles, knowing that the Criminal Syndicalism law has failed to stop the growth of the I.W.W. in that section of the country, have begun a campaign of petty persecution. Pettiness is a characteristic of small natures. Last week we told you how they attempted and failed to make the Busick injunction serve as a weapon by which they could curb the activities of the members in that locality.

Now they are trying another tactic. They have arrested two fellow workers and are holding them under a city ordinance and are trying to link this ordinance with the injunction. Fellow Workers Lorier and Livich are the men being held. It was understood that they would try to deport these two fellow workers, but apparently they have decided to postpone that action.

### TWENTY DAYS UNTIL CHRISTMAS

We have no special receipt book in the field for the Xmas donations this year. But all delegates are instructed to accept Xmas donations and to mark the receipt for the Xmas Fund. In this way we hope to send each of the ninety-seven men in prison in California a small sum of money for Christmas. Don't wait for the delegate to ask you—ask him if he is taking Xmas donations.

The lot of the men who trod the road that leads to prison rather than renounce their principles, can be made a little easier if we will but give a few nickles each to the fund. Thank you, Fellow Worker, we knew we could depend on you.

Remember! There are only twenty days left before Xmas and we must have the fund in the next fifteen days in order to have it in to the boys on that day. Think it over and then ask the man who works at your side if he has a Xmas Fund receipt.

Continued on Page 2)

## FIFTEENTH GENERAL CONVENTION MAKES SOME CHANGES

The Fifteenth General Convention after eighteen days of strenuous work adjourned at 2:30 p. m., December 23. This convention was by far the most important that was ever held in the history of the Organization. Policies and tactics that were pursued by the Organization for years have been revised and adjusted to suit the present existing conditions.

Some important changes in our internal structure may take place if the membership ratifies the proposals for the abolishing of the General Executive Board. The proposed measure provides that the chairmen of the Industrial Unions constitute the "New Board." Also a complete reorganization of the Gen. Office by instituting what the Convention called the "General Administration." This to be composed of the General Secretary-Treasurer, an Assistant Secretary and a General Organizer. The duties of the two secretaries are to look after the affairs of the Organization in General Headquarters, while the General Organizer will act as Chairman of the Board while they are in session and take charge of such field work that the G. E. B. may decide upon. All the executive power is to be vested in the Board.

The sliding scale of initiation fees and dues, and financial autonomy of the Industrial Unions was adopted by the Convention.

The provisiion specifies that the initiation fees shall be from one to five dollars and the dues from fifty cents to one dollar.

Resolutions calling for compulsory assessments were declared after a lengthy debate. Some of the delegates came instructed from their Industrial Union conventions in favor of compulsion.

### Yearly Conventions?

One of the vital questions that was adopted by the Convention and to be ratified or rejected by the membership is the abolishing of yearly conventions. Conferences may be held but no constitutional changes can be effected. Constitutional conventions are to be held every two years if the measure receives the endorsement of the general membership.

### Educational Bureau and the Six-Hour Day

A plan under which the entire educational facilities of the present will undergo an entire change was adopted.

The Educational Department shall be placed under the control of one member of the G. E. B. and under the direction of a capable person who will hire such writers, statisticians, etc., as may be necessary. A summarized report covering all industries shall be compiled and printed in special bulletins and regular publications informing the membership what is taking place in the industries.

(Continued on Page 3)

## SPECIAL BUSINESS MEETING 310 HELD AT OGDEN, UTAH. NOV. 29, 1923

Called to order at 7:30 p. m. by W. F. Greeley, Branch Sec'y., I. U. No. 520.

Harry Murray elected chairman; O. Swanson, recording secretary.

Conductors report 16 members of No. 310 and 12 visiting members present.

M. & S. That member without card explain his reason for not having same. Carried.

M. & S. That member without card be seated with no voice or vote. Carried.

M. & S. That minutes of Portland No. 310 Branch meeting of date of Nov. 19, 1923, be taken up under the head of new business. Carried.

M. & S. That report of Wm. Burns, delegate to I. U. No. 310 General Convention be accepted. Carried.

M. & S. That this meeting concurs with resolution of Portland No. 310 Branch meeting minutes of Nov. 19, 1923. Carried.

Resolution:

Whereas, the I. U. 310 Convention at Chicago, Ill., Nov. 1st, 1923, did not take any definite action on the different forms of organization brought before the Convention (branch, district or clearing house form), therefore

Be It Resolved, that we demand these different forms of organization be placed on a referendum ballot for the membership of I. U. No. 310 to vote on what form of organization they desire to have.

M. & S. That the rest of these minutes be placed on file. Carried.

M. & S. That these minutes be printed in the I. U. No. 310 bulletin, also copies be sent to the various No. 310 branches. Carried.

M. & S. That we write to Fellow Worker M. Trisler, Chairman G. O. C. No. 310, asking his reason for sending the Ogden No. 310 Branch charter to Chicago. Carried.

M. & S. That we elect a committee of three to draw up letter to Fellow Worker Trisler. Carried.

M. & S. That floor be thrown open for discussion on charters. Carried.

M. & S. That Industrial Union No. 310 is not under the branch form of organization that we surrender all branch charters to the G. E. B. and no more be issued until we are under the branch form of organization. Carried.

M. & S. That this meeting demand that minutes of I. U. No. 310 Convention be in the field at least 15 days previous to the issuing of the ballots. Carried.

**Nominations and Elections**

On committee to write Trisler: Swanson, Skomo, Allen, elected.

**Good and Welfare**

Several fellow workers gave good talks on matters pertaining to the good and welfare of the I. W. W.

M. & S. That we adjourn. Carried. Time, 9:50 p. m.

**Harry Murray, 826257, Chair.,**
**O. Swanson, 262993, Rec. Sec.**

## SEATTLE — PORTLAND — STOCKTON —CHICAGO

Ogden, Utah, Nov. 30, 1923.

Fellow Workers:

The membership in Ogden wish that you bring these minutes before the members of that district at once so action will be taken at once, before the 310 ballots come out, in regards to the branch charter. The membership here think it about time that we stop kidding ourselves about charters until we get the branch form, as under the present form you have no right to a charter.

**Harry Murray, 826257, Chairman,**
**O. Swanson, 262993, Rec. Sec.**
Ogden, Utah, Nov. 30, 1923.

M. Trisler,
Chicago, Ill.

Fellow Worker:

At the 310 business meeting of the 29th held at Ogden, Utah, we, the undersigned committee, were elected to write you a letter of inquiry as to your reason for sending the Ogden 310 charter into Chicago. The reason for the above action is that during the discussion on our present form of organiaztion a question came up as to why other branches were allowed to retain their charters while Ogden is denied that privilege.

**O. Swanson, 262993,**
**E. J. Allen, X123200,**
**Mark Skomo, 211805,**
**COMMITTEE.**

## AMNESTY PIONEER MAKES BIG HIT

The Special Amnesty number of the "Industrial Pioneer" is already off the press and creating a great hit. Its cover pages are in red and black design and make a striking impression. Its contents have to deal with a large variety of working class matters. Here's what one reader has to say about it:

"About only three times a decade I come to eulogize someone for commendable service and this time the Editor of "Industrial Pioneer" receives my words of appreciation and praise.

"By the December 1923 number I am moved to say that this issue is the most interesting labor magazine that I have read since certain copies of "The Masses" —years ago,— and I consider it an accomplishment of proletarian editorship and education.

"A splendid variety, the careful selection and the high quality of this copy should attract intelligent readers and thinking workers everywhere to the Industrial Pioneer and incidentally to the Organization.

"Trusting that you will maintain this standard of excellence in the future, I remain always.—

"Yours for Working Class Education,
**Harold R. Johnson."**

Chicago, Illinois, Nov. 24, 1923."—

Get a copy and see what you think about the December Industrial Pioneer yourself. If you believe as the above writer does of it, then you will order a bundle and circutate it. An extra large edition has been printed in order to promote Amnesty. Do your bit towards getting them out among the workers where they will do the most good. Single copies 20 cents, five or more copies 12 cents per copy non-returnable, 15 cents returnable. Address "Industrial Pioneer," 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

## NOTICE

Delegates, also members, are requested to send in Job News also articles for the Bulletins, also to notify this office of any Job News being run in bulletins which is near completion, that should be discontinued.

## LETS GET BEHIND THE I.W.W. PRESS

Fellow Workers, when on the point of production make it a practice to get the Worker and Sol the same as you do in town. Papers can be secured at all times either single copies or bundle orders from Supply Stations or Stationary Delegates who are placed in the field to serve you at all times. Write to the nearest office in your locality today and get on the mailing list for the Press. Let's go!—**GC-506.**

## NOTICES

There are duplicate cards in Stockton, Cal, for:—

Frank Cahill, Wm. Peterson, J. T. Lyons, Norman Marcelle, Pete Miller, D. T. McCarrity, T. Halpin, Paul Shine, Joe Maroske, Dan Sullivan, C. W. Farlin, Bert Sanders, W. A. Simpson, John A. Smith.

**Original cards for:—**

Matt Aho, P. J. O'Connell, Gust Hanson, F. L. Wilson, S. J. Mears, Edward Gallhagher, C. Walters, Frank Allen, John Walker M. Lankola.

**Clearances for:—**

Joe Hildon, Chas. R. Froding, Rudolph Vittori.

For the above cards write to F. L. Cunningham, Box 754, Stockton, Cal.

## NOTICE

There are duplicate cards in the Main Office of I.U. 310 for the following:

B. Mitchell, X21185, Hugh Kingsley, 45-1018, Alfred Wolden X133064, E. Peterson, 829068, Philip Mattson X116268, G. Mead 740838.

(Continued from Page 1)

## ERICKSON CASE ON TUESDAY

Oscar Erickson who was arrested at Ukiah, in Mendocino County on September 28th, will go to trial on Tuesday, Nov. 27th on a charge of violating the state criminal syndicalism law.

We are hopeful of an acquittal in this case, even though the lumber companies who do not wish to disgorge their stolen plunder are behind the prosecution.

## HAVE YOU EVER BEEN IN PRISON?

Have you ever been in prison? If so, you know how it feels to receive a letter from some fellow worker on the outside. Just imagine if you were serving a sentence of one to fourteen years, or from two to twenty eight years, how it would seem if you never received a letter. How would you feel? On the other hand, if you were to receive a letter every day or two, would you not feel assured that the fellow workers on the outside had not forgotten you? The fellow workers in San Quentin and Folsom can receive an unlimited amount of mail, even though they can only reply to a limited number. HAVE YOU WRITTEN TO THEM YET?

Do not forget that organization is the lever and education the fulcrum that will pry the jail doors open and release the men who have gone to prison in the interest of us all.

HAVE YOU A RECEIPT BOOK FOR THE XMAS FUND? IF NOT THEN WRITE TO: Tom Connors, 226 Russ Bldg. San Francisco California.

# List of Class War Prisoners

### CLASS WAR PRISONERS

The following are working men who are serving from one to twenty-eight years in the California state prisons for having defended the rights of the working class.

They were trying to improve conditions under which we all must work. They are the victims of the Class-Struggle and this is your fight.

### MEMBERS IN SAN QUENTIN PRISON

| | Number | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| John Golden | 33575 | John Nolan | 37907 |
| Harry Williams | 33441 | Herb. C. White | 37909 |
| Jack Gaveel | 34989 | Paul Ware | 37908 |
| Pat Casey | 35563 | Charles Andrews | 38107 |
| Mickey J. Dunn | 35564 | H. Oederholm | 38108 |
| John Hannon | 35565 | J. B. Childs | 38109 |
| Geo. Ryan | 35567 | Ernst Erickson | 38112 |
| William Baker | 35713 | P. Gordon | 38113 |
| Henry Matlin | 35717 | H. R. Hanson | 38114 |
| James Olson | 35718 | Francis Hart | 38115 |
| Frank Sherman | 35768 | J. C. Hollis | 38116 |
| Jim Roe | 35785 | Pierre Jans | 38117 |
| Ramon J. Sanchez | 35891 | J. J. Johnson | 38118 |
| W. I. Fruit | 35715 | T. O. Kleiberg | 38119 |
| How. D. Welton | 35568 | Walter Kohrs | 38120 |
| Ben Whittling | 35721 | Tom Lyons | 38121 |
| Omar J. Eaton | 36627 | James La Londe | 38122 |
| Edw. R. Peters | 35719 | G. Lindfors | 38123 |
| R. W. Minton | 37492 | Wm. Minton | 38124 |
| C. A. Drew | 37654 | F. McClennigan | 38125 |
| C. F. McGrath | 37702 | J. Pugh | 38126 |
| R. Kuilmen | 37703 | J. C. Robison | 38127 |
| Frank Cox | 37701 | Geo. Roesehlau | 38128 |
| Laurri Mammi | 37704 | Chas. J. Smith | 38131 |
| F. Franklin | 37635 | G. J. Terrill | 38132 |
| James Martin | 37636 | Fox Varella | 38133 |
| P. Mellman | 37637 | A. Erickson | 38223 |
| Frank Bailey | 37647 | H. M. Edwards | 38292 |
| R. A. Gibson | 37648 | Tom O'Mara | 38293 |
| William Joozdeff | 37649 | Jack Nash | 38294 |
| John Orlando | 37650 | Bert Kyler | 38307 |
| Joe Vargo | 37752 | Wm. Rutherford | 38308 |
| Claude Erwin | 37822 | Arthur G. Ross | 38361 |
| Roy Leonard | 37824 | Albin Brantland | 38363 |
| Lawrenee Gross | 37828 | B. Johanson | 38364 |
| Wm. Flanagan | 37897 | Robert Woods | 38362 |
| | | Chris Pederson | 38360 |
| | | A. E. Anderson | 38376 |

### MEMBERS IN FOLSOM PRISON

| | |
|---|---|
| Jas. McLaughlin | John Hiza |
| James Price | Joe Wagner |
| Louis Allen | Joe Clohessy |
| Earl Firey | Albert Stangeland |
| Richard Ford | C. J. Sullivan |
| Herman Suhr | H. C. Duke |
| | Leo Stark |

### AWAITING OUTCOME OF APPEAL

D. C. Russel, County Jail, Sacramento, California.

### AWAITING RE-TRIAL

Felix Thornton, County Jail, Bakersfield, California.
Roscoe Thurman, County Jail, El Centro, California.

The fellow workers who are inside may receive any amount of mail, but are only allowed to write a limited number of lettrs.

Letters to San Quentin must carry prison number on lower left hand corner.

Letters to Folsom should be sent in care of warden.

### REMEMBER THEY ARE INSIDE FOR US CALIFORNIA BRANCH OF THE GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

226 Russ Building, San Francisco, California.

### LEAVENWORTH PRISONERS

**Chicago Cases**

| | |
|---|---|
| James Rowan | Bert Lorton |
| Alexander Cournos | James P. Thompson |
| G. J. Bourg | Harry Lloyd |
| | Charles H. McKinnon |

**Sacramento Cases**

| | |
|---|---|
| Elmer Anderson | Chris Luber |
| Harry Brewer | Philip McLaughlin |
| Robert Connellan | George O'Connell |
| Pete DeBernardi | John Potthast |
| Mortimer Downing | James Quinlan |
| Frank Elliott | Myron Sprague |
| John Graves | J. Lori |
| Harry Gray | George Voetter |
| Henry Hammer | Edward Quigley |
| William Hood | Caesar Tahib |

**Wichita, Kansas, Cases**

Wencil Francik F. J. Gallagher

### CLASS WAR PRISONERS WHO ARE NOT MEMBERS OF THE I. W. W.

Librado Rivera

The addresses of the above are Leavenworth, Kansas, Box 7.

Nicholas M. Zogg, Atlanta, Georgia. (Not member of the I. W. W.)

**FOLSOM**
Warren K. Billings

**SAN QUENTIN**
Tom Mooney

### WALLA WALLA, WASH., PRISONERS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dan Curtin | 9434 | F. G. Brown | 9290 |
| Frank Nash | 9516 | W. F. Mondy | 9432 |
| Tom Nash | 9431 | J. McDonald | 9332 |
| Bert Bland | 9411 | Kali Niemi | 9439 |
| J. Lamb | 9412 | C. O. Bland | 9409 |
| Jas. McInerny | 9410 | Eugene Barnett | 9414 |
| Ray Becker | 9413 | Britt Smith | 9408 |
| | | Loren Roberts | 9100 |

### BOISE, IDAHO, PRISONERS

A. S. Embree, Box 58 H. E. Herd, Box 58
R. Quakenbush, Box 58

### HUNTSVILLE, TEXAS, PRISONERS

Jesus Rangel, Box 32 Chas. Cline, Box 32

### McALESTER, OKLAHOMA, PRISONERS

Homer S. Wear, Box 398 Arthur Berg, Box 398

**MEDICAL LAKE, WASHINGTON**
Anton Karachun, Box 500

**LANSING, KANSAS**
Joe Neil, State Penitenti ary, Lansing, Kansas.

**SIOUX FALLS, SOUTH DAKOTA**
Frank Godladsky, Box 911

**STEILACOOM, WASH.**
Fred Suttle, Insane Asylum, Medical Lake, Wash.

### COUNTY JAILS

**Bonners Ferry, Idaho**

Richard Moore Don R. Smith
F. A. Clevenger George Perring
James Bates

**St. Maries, Idaho**
Edwin Huntington G. J. Macko

**Fargo, North Dakota**
Lee Wosk

**Lyons, Kansas**
George B. Williams

## GETTING GOOD THINGS INTO CAMPS

The workers everywhere need more organization today than ever before. On all sides are Capitalists organizing to lengthen hours and reduce wages. This is especially true in the Northwest, in the State of Washington, where, at Bils Lake, the bosses tried to make the sawmill "hands" work nine hours instead of eight. They were unsuccessful, as these "hands" left the mills at the end of eight hours work.

The employers dare to try to put these moves over because the workers are unorganized. If the workers were organized they would not try stunts. The moral is "Organize"! Organize not only to prevent such attempts to degrade labor, but also to improve conditions generally. Better camp conditions, better grub and more of it, more wages and less hours—all can be secured by organization.

Do you want these things? If you do get into General Construction Workers Industrial Union No. 310, Industrial Workers of the World. They have already got these things, in many camps and will get them in more with your help. Join now!

(Continued from Page 1)

### Educational Features

Special literature on California and the six-hour day shall be prepared as soon as possible. The Duluth College is to work in co-operation in getting out lessons and prepare such educational matter as may be advisable from time to time.

### New Headquarters to be Secured

Instructions were left behind to the G. E. B. that new quarters be secured to house General Headquarters as the present building is too small and unfit for further use. The lack of space and the dilapidated condition of the structure are responsible for the above instructions.

### Back Up Steel Drive

The Convention pledged the support of the Organization behind a drive on the East, especially the Textile and Steel industries. An organizer is to be sent into the East and should finances allow, more will be routed in the future.

### Acts on Commutation Question

After a thorough investigation by the Grievance Committee into the commutation controversy the Convention decided that no Solidarity was broken and that no violation of the cardinal principles of the organization on the part of those who accepted commutation took place. The report in part states that the General Defense Committee and the G. E. B. be empowered to engage any employee they see fit providing they are members in good standing and qualified to fill the positions.

That if any member or members hereafter carry on this or any other controversy outside the regular channels, as laid down by the 1922 General Convention and reaffirmed by this Convention, they shall have their cards taken up and immediately stand suspended from the I. W. W. until the next General Convention."

These are the important things that were adopted and acted upon. The delegates are on their way home to report to the members and to their jobs. It is up to you, the members, to make their efforts at the Convention bear fruit so that the I. W. W. will forge ahead towards the goal—Industrial Democracy.

## FELLOW WORKER HURT AT CARLIN NEVADA

Fellow Worker Wm. Katlin, Card No. X51558, who was employed by the Western Pacific Railroad Company in some repair being done on the ice house in Carlin, Nevada, fell forty feet from a scaffold upon which he was working, to the ground below. He was picked up by fellow workmen and rushed to the doctor's office where it was found that he had broken both arms in the fall, and in addition had fractured three ribs. He was finally taken to the hospital at Elko, Nevada, but gangrene had set in causing his death, which occurred on November 30. Anyone knowing any of Fellow Worker Katlin's relatives is requested to notify Main Office of I. U. No. 310 at once.

## NOTICE

Tom McFarland, Card X18926, Delegate GC-324, is requested to get in touch with Main Office of I. U. 310 at once. This is important.

# Job News From Active Delegates

**Alexander, Idaho, 10-22-23.**—Phoenix Utility Co. building a dam. Camp about one-half mile out of Alexander. About 400 men working. Wages 40 cents per hour. Work eight hours per day. Two shifts working. Board fair at $1.20 per day. Hospital fee $1.00. Bedding $1.00 per month. Clean. The work is not hurry up. The bunk houses are crowded, 44 men to each when fullhanded. Top bunks. There are shower baths with hot and cold water at all times. There is a Sheriff and Deputy in camp. What they are here for is easy to realize. They sure are not here to look after the welfare of the workers because a pair of shoes were stolen from a worker and payday there was some of the slaves drunk and he did not pay any attention. There were also poker games going on without any interference from either the Sheriff or the Deputy. The sentiment for the organization among the men is fair and new members can always be lined up but the company is hostile, so brass band should be left behind. The company is hiring men in Ogden and Salt Lake, the fare is advanced. They are also hiring on the job. Job will last about eighteen months. (GC 297).

**Winona, Arizona, 10-25-23.**—U. S. R. S. 50 men employed. Mostly auto tramps. Wages $3.75 per day. $1.20 board. Conditions fair. Sentiment no good. All winter work. Highway work. (GC 300).

**Merced Falls, Cal. 10-24-23.**—Yosemite Lumber Co. Constructing railroad. Job will last six months. Two camps. Seventy men in this camp. Sentiment poor. Laborers, teamsters 50 cents per hour, riggers 65 cents per hour. Nine hours. Board fair at $1.25 per day. Bath house, no washroom or hot water to wash with. Chances to go to work. Hire at Merced Falls, Cal. Murray and Ready Empt. office. Fee $2.00, fare $2.40 by stage. Murray and Ready ship from Sacramento. Cal., at fee and fare of $13.80. This job is seventy-four miles east of Merced on the Yosemite Val. Railroad. Men can hire out at sawmill at Merced Falls to go to work at this camp. See Superintendent there. (GC 609).

**Milwaukee, Wis., 10-4.**—M. E. White Construction Co. Subway for C. & N. W. Laborers 50 to 60 cents. Concrete work 60 cents, common labor 50 cents, flunkey $50.00, second cook $90.00 and $10.00 bet on a month. Ten hours. Sanitary conditions overcrowded. Board $1.20 a day. Ship from Chicago, Clapp Riely. Fee $1.00 fare free. Job will last four months. The C. & N. W. is working a gang here on track work. They are paying 48 cents a hour. Ten hours and board at the White Camp for $1.20. (GC 490)..

**Vader, Wash., 9-29-23.**—Twohy Bros. & Co. Railroad construction for Long Bell Lumber Co. This is a Louisiana outfit, pure and simple. Work will last five months. Seven to ten camps in this district. From 50 to 75 men. Sentiment fair. This is Camp No. 11 and is a Long Bell boarding house. 76 men in one bunkhouse. Wages, teamsters and laborers, $4.50. The Long Bell Co. pays $4.00 low for labor and for mechanics any price. No set rate. Work eight hours. Board rotten at 35c per meal. Beds 15c per night. Sanitary conditions fair—clean. Cold water to wash with but hot and cold shower. Hire in Vader or on job. The Long Bell Co. is hostile toward the I. W. W. and delegates can't last long. Absolutely no literature allowed if the stools find it. Leave the Brass Band behind and let's organize this job. All bossmen on this or these jobs are finks, all remained on job during last strike, also most of the steam shovel crews. **(GC-530.)**

**Peoria, Ill., 10-29-23.**—Roberts Bros. Between Nelson and Peoria, Branch N. W. Canal 18 ship every day or hire on job. $4.25 ten hours. $1.25 chuck, fair. Bunk cars unsanitary. Two surfacing gangs. Steel. Pay when you quit.

**Madisonville, Kentucky, 10-9-23.**—A. Guthrie & Co. Camp one mile from Madisonville. Grub bum. Ten hours. Two shifts. Wages 35c and 37½ per hour, common labor. Men going and coming all the time. The job will end up in January or February. Sentiment good. McGregory has two or three camps out of Midland, Ky. 18 miles from Madisonville. Wages, 30 and 35c hour, common labor. Grub is good. **(X3420.)**

**Mansfield, Ohio, 10-8-23.** —Subway under Penn. R. R. Co. tracks. All winter work. Also track job. Wages 40c hour. Board in cars. $1.05 per day. Ship from Chicago. Can't hire out here.

**Cisco, Cal., 9-15-23.**—P. G. & E. This job is called the Fordyce Dam. Making private company roads ,raising the Fordyce dam 35 feet. Work for two years. There will be lots of snow in thirty days. Five camps in nine miles . 600 men. Sentiment no good. Wages, teamsters, laborers, Fresno loader and dumpman, concrete men, carpenters' helpers 50c an hour, rigger 60c, carpenters 80c, plow skinner and shaker 60c. Fare Reno $3.06, Sacramento $4.00. Bring your balloon. Work nine hours. Board $1.25. Sanitary conditions no good. Camp No. 4 has shower bath. No. 5 is worst of all. Chances of going to work. Fare refunded after 60 days. Come up and back in trucks. This is a good place to organize. Plenty of stools in all the camps. Beware of a fellow they call Clancy, the water boy. **(GC-523)**

**Alexander, Idaho, 12-3-23.**—One fourth of mile from Alexander there is a power dam under construction by Phoenix Utility Co. This is a winter job and a big part of the summer. About 400 men working. Men are shipping out of Salt Lake City every day. Fare advanced which amounts to $6.05. Wages are different. Day shift, 40c an hour eight hours, night shift 45c an hour for eight hours; graveyard shift, 45-50c for seven to eight hours. Carpenters, 60c for eight hours. Night shift work sometimes from one to fourteen hours a shift for straight time but they call it overtime. The bunk houses are crowded. 40 men, double deckers. Blankets furnished, $1.00 a month; hospital, $1 a month. Bum board, at $1.20 a day. Ship out from Salt Lake City. There is a good chance for 310 delegates to do some good work for the organization. Let's go and organize the slaves. **(GC-173.)**

**Groveland, Cal., 10-22-23.**—North American Const. Co. Tunnel and rock crusher. Concreting the tunnel. Miners four on a shift, three shifts. Twelve miners, carpenters and laborers, rating foreman, muckers in tunnel with mucking wencher. Job will last six months. 150 men. Sentiment fair. The carpenters and their helpers work 9 hours one shift. Wages miners $5.50, chuck tenders $5.00, muckers in the tunnel and on outside get $4.25, carpenters $ 1.00 hour in tunnel, carpenter helpers $5.00, motor men $5.50, laborers around crusher $4.25. Board fair at $1.25 a day. Cook $175.00, (pay board out of that) and flunkeys $70 and board. Ship from Sacramento, Stockton or office at Groveland. Sacramento fare $6.20, Stockton $4.50 fare. This camp has about six or seven families and one of the fathers has a son 16 years old working around the rock crusher. The old man is driving a motor in the tunnel. The boy got tired and wanted a layoff so he got another boy 15 years old to take his place for a few days and told him that when he got his pay on payday, he would pay him for working in his place. He did not have to go to the office to sign up same as the men have to do so you see, anyone can work here from 15 years old to 60. This camp is called Big Creek, six miles out from Groveland on the Hetch Hetchy. (GC 1006).

**Ryderwood, Wash., 10-23-23.**—Twohy Bros. Camp 11. Steam shovel work. About 20 men working at present on dump and section. Dinkey skinner $175.00 and board, teamster $5.05 nine hours. Dumpmen and section $4.40 eight hours. Night shift cut out for present. Board at Long Bell Lumber Co. camp at $1.05 a day. Chuck is on the bum. Beds 15 cents a night. Good beds and bedding. Bunk houses are three hundred feet long by 20 wide. Room for 76 men in a bunk house. Only 50 in a bunk house at present. They don't furnish any lights here; if you want to read you must buy a lamp. The Long Bell Lumber Co. are building a town here. They employ about 250 men. Wages $4.00 a day for laborers, $6.00 a day for rough and finish carpenters. Two bath houses. Coffee and chuck is always cold. You will hear the slaves howl about it but when you talk to them about lining up in the One Big Union of their Class they will look around to see if the boss is watching them. Sentiment for organiztion is poor. Camp is seven miles from Vader. (GC 109).

**Shasta Springs, Cal., 11-19-19.**— The Utah Construction Co., have a steam shovel and dinky outfit here. The wages are $4.00 low and $6.50 high. Laborers $4.00, skinners $4.50, trackmen $4.00, and $4.50, dinky skinners $5.50, pitmen $5.00. About 60 men employed. Job will last until Christmas. Sanitary conditions are good. $1.25 for board and it could be improved a whole lot. First ten days $1.00 for hospital. You must have your own bed to go to work here. This camp is 1.3-4 miles from Shasta Springs on the S.P. There are six men to a tent. Sentiment fair.—**(GC. 490).**

# CONSTRUCTION WORKERS BULLETIN

"An Injury to One Is An Injury to All."

ONE UNION No. 9 ONE ENEMY

Published Monthly by I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W.
Address all communications to
2 SO. MORGAN ST. CHICAGO, ILL.
MATTHEW TRISLER, Chairman
J. KENNEDY, Sec'y-Treas.


**Hammett, Idaho, 11-16-23.**—Christensen Const. Co. Work finishing up here. Little grading and moving camp by December 1st. Steam shovels. Moving towards Boise, Idaho, now. New rails laid part way over Long Bell here, also on East end. This camp will be No. 2 out of Boise about December 5th. or 10th. Make it with literature.—**(No. 267255).**

**Sunol, Cal., 11-9-23.**—Palmer and McBride. Building dirt dam. Spring Valley Co. may start work soon at this camp. 100 men employed. Laborers $4.00. Nine hours. One camp. Board fair. Hire on job, get truck from Sunol about 9 a.m. Sunol is on W.P. and S.P. in Niles Canyon 29 miles from Oakland. Chances to go to work. Job will last six months. Turn over labor coming and going all the time. 4 men in bunk-house. Electric lights. Bring your own blankets.

**Elko, Nevada, 11-15-23.**—J. J. Mining Co. Road building to the mine. Job will last three more weeks. Three camps. 35 to 40 men. Sentiment hostile. Broken down ranchers and cowboys. Wages blacksmith $7.00 and board. The rest is $3.50 and board, the worst kind. Work eight hours. Board fair at $2.00-$3.00. Sanitary conditions unbelievable. Sleep and eat in a 14 by 20 log cabin. Chances to go to work. Hire at Elko. They fired me and seven came down with me.—**(GC. 1079).**

**Champaign, Ill., 10-20-23.**—Ellington and Miller Gen. Contractors building new depot. Structural iron workers $1.25 per hour, eight hours, five and a half day week, colored cement hands 45c, white cement hands 50c.

**Paxton and Ludlow, Ill., 10-20-23.**—Double tracking I. C. R. R. Smith Bros. Const. Co. Two camps, Team and shovel work. Teamhands 45c hour, laborers 40c hour. Ten hour day. Board in camp. $7.00 per week. Job will last five or six months.

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WANTED: FIFTY DELEGATES

to take out supplies and credentials for I. U. 310 on the Canadian side. There is a good field for construction workers in the vicinity of Cranbrook, B. C., and along the Canadian Pacific, also an enormous amount of highway work in this vicinity.

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Fellow Worker Joe Carroll, card No. 82-1306, Delegate GC 572, has lost his supplies and credentials. Anyone seeing same take up and send them into Main Office.

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This bulletin is published by the membership of I. U. 310 of the I. W. W., for the benefit of the I. W. W., and is paid for by the membership of I. U. 310. Therefore, if you are not supporting us by being a dues-paying member of the I. W. W., you should become one and be a help to your class, not a burden.

### NOTICE

The G.C.W.I.U. 310 Supply Station at 248 Couch St., Portland, Oregon will move to 109 Second St. for the duration of the winter nomths. Address all communications to Wm. Buchwald, Box 3001, Portland, Oregon.

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**Have you a Christmas receipt book? If not. Why not?**

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### NOTICE

The G.C.W.I.U. 310 Supply Station at Kelso, Wash., has been closed. Delegates, also members, wishing supplies, credentials or literature write to Wm. Buchwald, Box 3001, Portland, Oregon for same.

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### NOTICE

**Resolution from Portland, Oregon:**

Whereas: The I.U. 310 Convention at Chicago, Ill., November 1, 1923, did not take any definite action on the different forms of organization brought before the Convention, (Branch Form, District Form or Clearing House System); therefore

Be It Resolved: That we demand these different forms of organization be put on the referendum ballot for the membership of I.U. 310 to vote on what form they desire to have.

Fellow Workers:

The General Defense Committee is confronted at present with three big problems, questions that requires the co-ordination of every member of the I.W.W. We need the co-operation of the membrship of the I.W.W. for the next thirty days more than at any other time in the history of the above committee.

Altho there are rumors to the effect that the President will make a favorable announcement in the federal cases, the committee is not going to let it deter it one iota in its efforts to obtain the release of the Leavenworth fellow workers. There has been a rumor to the above effect every year and still the fellow workers are held in custody. THE FIGHT MUST BE KEPT UP UNTIL EVERY FELLOW WORKER IS GIVEN HIS UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE.

The General Defense Committee has opened an office in Seattle, Washington, expressly in behalf of the eight Centralia victims and the criminal syndicalist victims in the Northwest. Our secretary is now busily engaged in laying a foundation for a state wide drive for the release of our members in that state.

At their last meeting the committee voted that half of the recipts of the defense stamps should be sent to our California Office. This will enable the fellow workers there to spend more of their time in publicity and other necessary work and relieve them of a great portion of the financial end.

Last but not least, is our Christmas drive. Owing to the change in secretary-ship we got a late start this year. Unless we are given the whole hearted co-operation of the membership this year the fellow workers in prison will receive an amount far short of that sent them last year. Last Christmas every fellow worker was given $25.00. Can we duplicate it this year, or better yet, can we make it $30.00. WRITE IN FOR A CHRISTMAS RECEIPT BOOK TODAY. Books can be obtained from the following addresses:

Dan Liston, Box 778, Seattle, Washington.

Tom Connors, 226 Russ Bldg., San Francisco, California.

Philip Taft, Room 411, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.

General Defense Committee, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago.

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All fellow workers in the State of Washington interested in the release of the Centralia victims should immediately get in touch with fellow worker Dan Liston, Box 778, Seattle, Washington.

**In Organization There Is Strength.**

Yours for Industrial Freedom.—

**GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTE.**
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

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### NOTICE

Fellow Worker Ed Rohl, Card No. 784-170, Delegate No. GC-500, has lost his supplies, somewhere between Los Angeles and San Pedro, California. Anyone finding same please send to the Main Office of I. U. No. 310.

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## Where to Get Supplies and Literature

F. L. Cunningham, Box 754, Stockton, Cal.

A. C. Morris, Box 421, Tacoma, Wash.

W. H. Boyd, Box 827, Pasco, Wash.

Chas. Humphreys, Box 365, Seattle, Wash.

Earl Heikkinen, Box 1689, Spokane, Wash.

J. J. Morris, Box 91, Eureka, Cal.

Al. Frane, Box 107, Omaha, Nebraska.

Fritz Rudd, 115 N. Nicolet Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.

E. L. Connelly, Box 451, Casper, Wyoming.

A. R. Sail, 1222 Fourth St., Sioux City, Iowa.

O. W. I. U. No. 230, Box 212, Taft, Cal.

John McSlarrow, Box 641, Everett, Wash

Lee Tulin, 318 N. Wyoming St., Butte, Montana.

Wm. Seppla, Box 1413, Great Falls Montana.

Frank Foster, Box 486, Whitefish, Mont.

Wm. Buchwald, Box 3001, Portland Oregon.

John J. Ebbesen, Box 3291, Portland Oregon.

Dan Paul, Box 730, Missoula, Montana.

Miles Sweeney, 602 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.

J. O. Graham, Box 1504, Salt Lake Utah.

John Shuskie, Box 69, Station D, New York, N. Y.

W. A. Larson, 8 N. Sixth Ave., W. Duluth Minn.

J. N. Johnson, Box 653, Aberdeen, Wash

W. F. Greeley, Box 911, Ogden, Utah.

**Helm, Cal., 11-20-23.**—Reagan, contractor. Ditch work. This is a genuine California gyppo, 100 per cent American outfit. Ten men employed. Sentiment none. Nearly all young ranch hands who talk about saving money and getting into the army. Wages, teamhands, $4.00. Work about 8-1-2 hours. Two or three little ranch outfits. Sanitary conditions rotten. Board rotten at $1.25 a day. Contractor picks up men in Hanford or hires on job. Job will last 30 days. **(802408.)**

**Madisonville, Ky., 11-30-23.**—Blattner Const. Co. Camp located 2 miles out of Madisonville. About 60 men on job. About 35 men in camp and the rest homeguards. Wages, donkey skinners, $100 and board; shovelers, 35c an hour. Board $1.05 per day. Camp conditions: board not much, sleeping conditions fair. Sanitary conditions fair. All work is in mud. **(X96906.)**

**Soda Springs, Idaho. 11-28-23.**—Force account Gov. work. 16 miles out. Dike work. 40 men. Sentiment no good. Wages, teamhands, $4.50. Work nine hours. Sanitary conditions rotten. Board $1.05. Hire out on job. Man catcher at Enders Hotel, Soda Springs. Leave Zeppelin behind as bedding is furnished. Chuck fine. Fellow workers making these parts should make this job. Job will last all winter. **(X34522)**

**Corcoran, Cal., 11-27-23.**—Contractor, Salyer. Four horse Fresnoes on ditch work. This is one of California's famous Tulare Lake outfits where there are no conditions. Twelve men. Wages, teamhands, $2.50 and board. Work nine hours. Two camps of Salyer's. Sanitary conditions poor. Board not very good. Ship from Fresno or Corcoran. The natives are the only ones who stay over a week as they don't want any better conditions or food. Salyer has 3 miles of ditch in one camp 2 1-2 miles from Corcoran and another camp of about 12 men about ten miles out. Job will last a month. **(802408.)**

**Casper, Wyoming, 11-28-23.** — Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul R. R. Co. Telephone and tel . Building new line from Casper to Miles City. They are only going to Salt Creek this winter and finish up next summer. Job will last fifteen days. One camp. 20 men. Sentiment none. Haywire, moonshine and big stakes is all these dings talk about. Wages, linemen, 80c hour; groundmen, 50c hour; flunkey, $75.00. Work ten hours. Board $1.50 a day. Sanitary conditions none. 16 men in one bunk. Double deck bunks. This outfit will have three camps next summer and there will be a good chance to make conditions. **(GC-922.)**

**Bingham Canyon, Utah, 11-24-23.**— There is a camp of the Utah Construction Co. Camp No. 1. A steam shovel outfit. They work at night and pay laborers 45c an hour. Mostly Greeks. This camp is run by Tillbury from the Magna Job. They are building a camp No. 2 which will be run on the gyppo plan as they are letting it out by the mile. They are building an office building and some change rooms for the U.S. Mine. The are paying $4.50 and [illegible] for eight hours. The slave markets are kept clean in this town as very bs are listed.—**(826257).**

## PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

**The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.**

**Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.**

**We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.**

**These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.**

**Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."**

**It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.**

**BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS—KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS (AND THAT MEANS PRACTICALLY ALL OF THEM).**

**All I. W. W. papers and bulletins please copy.**

# FINANCIAL STATEMENT

**November**

**Receipts**

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiations | $1,148.00 |
| Dues | 2,237.50 |
| Initiations other Unions | 340.00 |
| Dues other unions | 825.00 |
| Organization Assessments | 140.00 |
| Bond Stamps | 479.00 |
| General Defense Stamps | 440.00 |
| Papers | 237.51 |
| Card Cases | 7.00 |
| Buttons and Pins | 28.25 |
| Literature | 59.80 |
| *On Acc't Cash Balance | 1,217.52 |
| Duplicates | 25.50 |
| Education Stamps | 37.00 |
| Pioneers | 35.84 |
| Convention Stamps | 131.00 |
| I.U. No. 520 Special Stamps | 27.00 |
| I.U. No. 510 Special Stamps | 5.50 |
| I.U. No. 440 Special Stamps | 4.00 |
| Defense receipts books and donations | 29.35 |
| Donation to I.U. No. 310 | 1.00 |
| TOTAL | $7,456.27 |

* The Item called cash balance is the amount that has been accounted for by anyone to whom money has been advanced. Also money remitted by Delegates who hold cash on hand.

**EXPENSES**

| | |
|---|---|
| R. Ransom, Fresno Hospital, Chicago Fund | $ 10.00 |
| Per Capita on acc't | 1,000.00 |
| Commissions on Initiations and Literature | 192.17 |
| Field Wages | 1,725.00 |
| Mileage | 449.70 |
| Allowance to other Unions | 852.20 |
| Remitted to other Unions | 549.25 |
| Held on acc't by Supply Clerks Trav. Delegates and G.O.C. members also Job Delegates | 922.15 |
| Magazines and papers | 479.81 |
| General Defense Stamps and donations and receipt book | 455.85 |
| Main Office Wages | 448.00 |
| Rent, light and heat | 131.67 |
| Stationary and fixtures | 9.91 |
| Postage, Express and wires | 122.82 |
| Bond Stamps | 479.00 |
| Education Stamps | 37.00 |
| I.U. No. 510 Special Stamps | 5.50 |
| I.U. No. 440 Special Stamps | 4.00 |
| I.U. No. 520 Special Stamps | 27.00 |
| Printing Bulletins | 50.81 |
| For Defense on receipt book | 13.50 |
| Total | $7,965.34 |

**Summary:—**

| | |
|---|---|
| Total Receipts Nov. '23 | $ 7,456.27 |
| Cash on hand Nov 1st | 2,810.12 |
| Total | $10,266.39 |
| Total Expenses | 7,965.34 |
| Cash on hand Dec. 1st '23. | $ 2,301.05 |

**Indebtedness to I.W.W. Headquarters:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Per Capita | $2,660.23 |
| Due Books | 1,843.97 |
| Organization Supplies | 1,857.93 |
| Literature | 1,435.35 |
| Rent and Telegrams | 39.18 |
| Total | $7,836.66 |

## CASH RECEIPTS

**Districf No. 1: Washington, Oregon and western Montana**

**November 1.**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 109 | $ 17.50 |
| GC 588 | 1.00 |
| GC 138 | 6.00 |
| GC 217 | 22.00 |
| GC 589 | 16.50 |
| GC 507 | 41.60 |
| GC 439 | 16.50 |

**November 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 1413 | 3.00 |
| GC 590 | 22.72 |

**November 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 1014 | 27.50 |
| GC 154 | 9.50 |
| GC 1125 | 25.00 |
| GC 16 | 21.50 |
| GC 267 | 124.68 |

**November 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 338 | 3.00 |
| GC 1138 | 20.00 |
| GC 965 | 30.50 |
| GC 1049 | 15.50 |

**November 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 277 | 20.00 |
| GC 1416 | 30.25 |
| GC 1257 | 14.50 |
| GC 1048 | 5.00 |

**November 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 269 | 25.00 |
| GC 149 | 11.25 |
| GC 476 | 31.00 |

**November 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 590 | 35.88 |
| GC 755 | 16.00 |

**November 12**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 267 | 165.11 |
| GC 591 | 22.00 |

**November 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 144 | 1.00 |
| GC 452 | 36.50 |
| GC 1008 | 17.50 |
| GC 591 | 7.30 |
| GC 969 | 4.50 |
| GC 131 | 43.00 |
| GC 258 | 6.00 |
| C 218 | 20.00 |
| GC 1416 | 7.00 |
| GC 277 | 37.00 |
| GC 1092 | 35.00 |

**November 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 594 | 2.00 |
| GC 476 | 31.65 |

**November 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 689 | 10.00 |
| GC 590 | 40.04 |

**November 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 545 | 6.00 |
| GC 1188 | 9.00 |
| GC 1092 | 20.00 |
| GC 1196 | 8.50 |
| GC 277 | 10.00 |

**November 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 217 | 15.50 |
| GC 1201 | 13.50 |
| GC 687 | 50.00 |
| GC 267 | 103.81 |

**November 20**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 792 | 9.00 |
| GC 742 | 10.00 |

**November 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 1008 | 13.00 |
| GC 921 | 12.50 |
| GC 1092 | 23.75 |

**November 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 591 | .20 |
| GC 590 | 58.12 |

**November 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 109 | 12.00 |
| GC 173 | 27.85 |
| GC 735 | 3.50 |

**November 27**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 591 | 4.30 |
| GC 439 | 11.50 |

**November 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 589 | 5.00 |

**Total** **$1,525.51**

## District No. 2: Nevada, California, Arizona and New Mexico

**November 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 1450 | $ 20.00 |
| GC 496 | 12.25 |
| GC 281 | 9.00 |
| GC 46 | 7.50 |
| GC 601 | 11.38 |
| GC 551 | 20.25 |
| GC 777 | 14.50 |
| GC 1101 | 6.50 |

**November 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 506 | 52.42 |
| GC 601 | 14.45 |

**November 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 573 | 10.00 |

**November 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 485 | 7.45 |
| GC 448 | 18.00 |
| GC 487 | 15.00 |
| GC 59 | 33.50 |
| GC 669 | 10.00 |

**November 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 609 | 19.00 |
| GC 390 | 19.00 |
| GC 551 | 3.75 |
| GC 506 | 1.77 |
| GC 484 | 10.00 |
| GC 616 | 11.00 |

**November 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 1114 | 9.00 |
| GC 659 | 10.25 |

**November 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 108 | 8.50 |
| GC 1094 | 4.00 |
| GC 1405 | 1.50 |
| GC 482 | 4.50 |
| GC 295 | 8.00 |
| R 793 | 20.00 |

**November 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 316 | 17.00 |
| GC 429 | 12.00 |

**November 12**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 961 | 1.00 |
| GC 383 | 11.00 |
| GC 448 | 15.00 |
| GC 650 | 24.40 |
| GC 85 | 7.40 |
| GC 506 | 36.56 |

**November 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 278 | 5.15 |
| GC 794 | 14.00 |
| GC 1453 | 14.50 |
| GC 1006 | 35.00 |

**November 15**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 9 | 18.34 |
| GC 1180 | 10.50 |

**November 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 601 | 3.00 |
| GC 601 | 33.92 |
| GC 616 | 32.50 |

**November 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 448 | 19.50 |

**November 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 1429 | 40.00 |
| GC 711 | 10.00 |
| GC 458 | 9.10 |
| GC 506 | 11.54 |

**November 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 793 | 9.50 |
| GC 280 | 16.00 |
| GC 679 | 24.50 |
| GC 1453 | 9.00 |
| GC 601 | 18.64 |

**November 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 573 | 11.00 |
| GC 59 | 23.50 |
| GC 1182 | 5.50 |
| GC 795 | 8.50 |
| GC 281 | 13.50 |

**November 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 1268 | 8.00 |
| GC 2 | 7.50 |
| GC 506 | 16.78 |
| GC 970 | 10.50 |
| GC 259 | 9.00 |

**November 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 1427 | 5.50 |
| GC 436 | 6.50 |
| GC 448 | 3.00 |
| GC 1441 | 4.50 |

**Total** **$ 984.80**

## District No. 3: Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, North and South Dakota and Eastern Montana

**November 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 173 | $ 3.00 |
| GC 1124 | 84.65 |

**November 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 927 | 17.00 |
| GC 763 | 10.00 |

**November 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 916 | 33.50 |
| GC 1010 | 15.00 |

**November 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 400 | 5.60 |
| GC 886 | 26.50 |

**November 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 183 | 15.00 |
| GC 263 | 15.50 |

**November 12**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 472 | 41.35 |

**November 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 886 | 30.50 |
| GC 173 | 22.40 |
| GC 484 | 13.50 |
| GC 13 | 26.50 |

**November 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 242 | 10.70 |
| GC 927 | 11.50 |

**November 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 819 | 14.00 |
| GC 980 | 13.00 |

**November 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 925 | 26.60 |
| GC 296 | 15.00 |
| GC 819 | 19.50 |

**November 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 263 | 27.00 |
| GC 980 | 26.00 |
| GC 819 | 30.50 |
| GC 173 | 41.00 |

Total 594.80

## District No. 4: Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma

**November 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 358 | $ 16.37 |

**November 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 1415 | 17.50 |
| GC 765 | 48.50 |

**November 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 823 | 2.50 |

**Total** **$ 84.87**

## District No. 5: Middle and Eastern States

**November 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 293 | $ 1.00 |
| GC 263 | 3.00 |
| I.U. No. 110 Oct. Reports | 191.45 |

**November 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| I.U. No. 230 Oct. Reports | 65.25 |
| Office report | 63.00 |
| GC 61 | 28.86 |
| I.U. No. 650 Oct. Reports | 1.50 |
| I.U. No. 530 Oct. reports | 2.05 |
| I.U. No. 470 Oct. reports | 1.05 |
| I.U. No. 450 Oct. reports | 2.75 |
| I.U. No. 410 Oct. reports | 2.25 |
| I.U. No. 330 Oct. reports | 22.65 |
| I.U. No. 510 Oct. reports | 40.70 |
| GC 825 | 10.40 |

**November 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| I.U. No. 210 & 220 reports | 69.00 |
| I.U. No. 460 reports | 4.25 |
| I.U. No. 120 reports | 211.90 |
| I.U. No. 520 reports | 128.65 |

**November 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 13.80 |
| GC 525 | 5.00 |
| GC 572 | 5.00 |
| GC 271 | 31.57 |

**November 12**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 397 | 5.40 |
| GC 468 | 2.50 |
| I.U. No. 440 Oct. report | 4.35 |
| R 9 | 2.00 |
| I.U. No. 520 | 7.00 |

**November 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 913 | 11.75 |

**November 15**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 285 | 3.50 |

**November 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 20.00 |
| GC 525 | 10.50 |
| GC 276 | 28.86 |

**November 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 1411 | 2.50 |
| GC 825 | 3.00 |

**November 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 1223 | 7.00 |
| R 603 | 42.00 |

**November 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| Office report | 17.80 |

**November 25**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 525 | 14.00 |
| GC 342 | 10.00 |

**November 27**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC 473 | 15.00 |
| **Total** | **$1,112.24** |

## CASH RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| District No. 1 | $1,525.51 |
| District No. 2 | 984.80 |
| District No. 3 | 594.80 |
| District No. 4 | 84.87 |
| District No. 5 | 1,112.24 |
| **Total** | **$4,302.22** |

## CASH EXPENSES

**November 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| Acc't Russian Paper, Golos Truzenka | $ 1.80 |
| Acc't A. McMillan, Delegate to No. 310 Convention, Transportation | 12.89 |

**November 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Matthew Trisler, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages.. | 28.00 |
| E. Emerson, Recording Sec. No. 310 Convention, wages | 12.00 |
| Wm. Burns, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 12.00 |
| P. Ryan, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 12.00 |
| W. H. Westman, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 12.00 |
| A. McMillan, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 12.00 |
| John Hancock, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 12.00 |
| J. A. Griffith, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 12.00 |
| O. A. Holmes, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 12.00 |
| E. Harris, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 12.00 |
| J. A. Hanbury, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 12.00 |
| Main Office postage | 20.00 |

**November 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| Italian Paper, Il Proletario | 4.80 |
| M. J. Dillon, Trav. Delegate, Balance due | 23.93 |
| Finnish Magazine Tie Vaupateen | 1.60 |
| John Graham, G.O.C. advanced | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to Graham.. | 1.65 |
| G. D. Ellis, Recording Sec. No. 310 Convention | 5.00 |

**November 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| Industrial Worker, Bundle order | 253.00 |
| Thos. F. Ryan, G.O.C. balance due | 58.28 |
| G. D. Ellis, Recording Sec. No. 310 Convention | 8.00 |

**November 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main Office, wages | 28.00 |
| Matthew Trisler, Main Office, wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office, wages | 28.00 |
| John Hancock, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 28.00 |
| Wm. Burns, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 28.00 |
| J. A. Hanbury, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 28.00 |
| P. Ryan, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 28.00 |
| A. McMillan, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 28.00 |
| W. H. Westman, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 28.00 |
| J. A. Griffith, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 28.00 |
| Ed. Harris, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 28.00 |
| O. A. Holmes, Delegate to No. 310 Convention | 28.00 |
| W. H. Westman, Delegate to No. 310 Convention, Transportation and Exp. | 13.44 |
| Main Office Postage | 20.00 |
| G. D. Ellis, Rec. Secretary, No. 310 Convention | 8.00 |

**November 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| Rent of Hall Chairs, for Convention | 10.00 |

**November 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| Donations to General Defense on receipt book | 13.50 |
| Office supplies for Main Office.... | .60 |

**November 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| John Russell, Main Office Wages | 28.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Mathew Trisler, Main Office Wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office Wages | 28.00 |
| Wm. Burns, Delegate to Convention and Auditing books.. | 28.00 |
| P. Ryan, Delegate to Convention and Auditing books | 28.00 |
| A. McMillan, Delegate to Convention and Auditing books.. | 28.00 |
| John Hancock, Delegate to General Convention | 28.00 |
| J. A. Griffith, Delegate to General Convention | 28.00 |
| O. A. Holmes, Delegate to General Convention | 28.00 |
| Ed. Harris, Delegate to General Convention | 28.00 |
| W. H. Westman, Delegate to General Convention | 28.00 |
| J. A. Hanbury, Delegate to General Convention | 28.00 |
| Express on package from H. Wilson | 1.41 |
| Charges on wire from John Graham | 1.00 |
| John Graham, G.O.C. advanced | 50.00 |

**November 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| Main Office postage | 20.00 |
| Wm. Burns, Delegate to No. 310 Convention, Mileage and Ex... | 69.75 |

**November 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office, Wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main Office Wages | 28.00 |
| Matthew Trisler, Main Office Wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office, Wages | 28.00 |
| John Hancock, Delegate to General Convention | 28.00 |
| J. A. Griffith, Delegate to General Convention | 28.00 |
| O. A. Holmes, Delegate to General Convention | 28.00 |
| Ed. Harris, Delegate to General Convention | 28.00 |
| J. A. Hanbury, Delegate to General Convention | 28.00 |
| W. H. Westman, Delegate to General Convention | 28.00 |
| P. Ryan, Delegate to 310 Convention Wages | 16.00 |
| A. McMillan, delegate to 310 Convention | 16.00 |
| P. Ryan, Transportation and Ex. | 17.44 |
| A. McMillan, Transportation and Expenses | 20.89 |
| Thomas McMahon, Balance due as G.O.C. Chairman | 16.00 |
| Personal deposit, Chicago branch fund, to R. Ransom | 10.00 |
| Industrial Pioneer, November bundle order | 75.38 |
| Industrial Solidarity, November, bundle order | 80.55 |

**November 30**

| | |
|---|---|
| I.U. No. 110, November reports | 119.65 |
| I.U. No. 120 Nov. reports | 142.40 |
| I.U. No.130 Nov. reports | 5.60 |
| I.U. No. 210 Nov. reports | 52.55 |
| I.U. No. 220 Nov. reports | 18.50 |
| I.U. No. 230 Nov. reports | 13.40 |
| I.U. No. 330 Nov. reports | 29.60 |
| I.U. No. 410 Nov. reports | 6.50 |
| I.U. No. 430 Nov. reports | 1.05 |
| I.U. No. 440 Nov. reports | 11.60 |
| I.U. No. 450 Nov. reports | 2.05 |
| I.U. No. 460 Nov. reports | 22.20 |
| Rent and Telegrams | 57.57 |
| I.U. No. 470 Nov. reports | 2.05 |
| I.U. No. 480 Nov. reports | 1.00 |
| I.U. No. 510 Nov. reports | 30.70 |
| I.U. No. 520 Nov. reports | 56.35 |
| I.U. No. 530 Nov. reports | 17.00 |
| I.U. No. 610 Nov. reports | 6.65 |
| I.U. No. 620 Nov. reports | 2.50 |
| I.U. No. 630 Nov. reports | 4.35 |
| I.U. No. 660 Nov. reports | .75 |
| I.U. No. 650 Nov. reports | .75 |
| Bond Stamps | 479.00 |
| Education Stamps | 37.00 |
| Defense Stamps and donations | 455.85 |
| I.U. No. 510 Special assessments | 5.50 |
| I.U. No. 640 Special assessments | 2.05 |
| I.U. No. 440 Special assessments | 4.00 |
| I.U. No. 520 Special Assessments | 27.00 |
| Equity Printing Co, Bulletins.. | 50.81 |
| Per Capita | 1,000.00 |
| Industrial Solidarity, Balance due | 4.40 |
| **Total** | **$4,811.29** |

**Cash summary:—**

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash receipts | $4,302.22 |
| Cash on acc't error found by auditing committee | .56 |
| Cash on hand, November 1st | 2,809.56 |
| **Total** | **7,112.34** |
| Cash Expenses, November | 4,811.29 |
| Cash on hand December 1st | $2,301.05 |

I.U. No. 310 Convention expenses:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mileage | $ 494.68 |
| Wages | 532.00 |
| Rent, Hall and Chairs | 50.00 |
| Recording Secretary | 40.00 |
| Auditing books, Main Office | 60.00 |
| **Total** | **$1,176.68** |

Note.—Total Convention stamps sold to date. $785.00.

# General Construction Workers Bulletin

CHICAGO, ILL. G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W. No. 10, JANUARY 10, 1924.

## THE UNIVERSAL CLEARING HOUSE

### ITS EFFICIENCY COMPARED WITH OTHER FORMS OF ORGANIZATION

I will try to analyze the universal clearing house and show what efficiency and simplicity it produces over the various forms of organization which have been tried and are in existence up to this present date.

There are some Industrial Unions, such as I. U. 120 and I. U. 510, which adopted a system somewhat similar to the clearing house, insofar as their respective field delegates are concerned. Any branch office of the above mentioned Industrial Unions will accept reports and finances of the respective delegates, issue a receipt for same, and transfer the financial report to the Industrial Union headquarters.

I. U. 310 is functioning under the supply station system, which means that all delegates of I. U. 310, including supply clerks and stationary delegates and branch secretaries, deal directly with the Industrial Union headquarters. This applies practically to all other Industrial Unions and the delegates can get supplies from the supply station without sending to Chicago for them. All delegates, other than I. U. 120 and 510, are compelled to wait approximately from eight to ten days before receiving credit for their transactions. All branch secretaries, supply clerks and job delegates are authorized with their **Industrial Union Credentials** to initiate new members and collect dues for all Industrial Unions. This is carried on on a 50-50 basis, which means, when a delegate of I. U. 120 issues stamps to members of I. U. 310, Industrial Union 120 receives half of the total amount. General Headquarters is the originator of all supplies and if any Industrial Union is in need of supplies, General Headquarters will issue and charge them immediately to the Industrial Union. All branches receive their supplies from their respective I. U. headquarters and will re-issue them to all delegates. A triplicate receipt will be issued: one to the delegate receiving the supplies, one to be kept on file and one to the Industrial Union headquarters of which the suply clerk is a member.

When a marine transport worker wants a duplicate card from an I. U. 310 supply clerk, said supply clerk will send the application blank to his respective I. U. headquarters and they will duplicate the work with additional expenses, such as postage and envelopes and send it to New York City, the I. U. 510 headquarters. The above transactions are full of duplications and such inefficiency can only be eliminated through the adoption of the universal clearing house and its district clearing houses.

Instead of the Industrial Union headquarters receiving supplies from General Headquarters, the district clearing house will receive supplies for all Industrial Unions from General Headuarters, better known as the universal clearing house, and the district to be charged up for same. The credentials would be I. W. W. and not I. U. credentials as they are at present. When a delegate is in need of supplies, said supplies will be charged up to the credential and not to the Industrial Union of which the delegate is a member. When a delegate remits his reports to the district clearing house, said clearing house will issue a receipt for same. Most any delegate's report will show business transactions for more than one Industrial Union and the district clearing house will segregate the reports by Industrial Unions and from then on the various Industrial Unions will be charged up with the supplies issued to their respective membership. Such transactions will make it impossible for any one Industrial Union to be in debt to Headquarters.

All expenses for maintenance of each district clearing house will be paid for on a pro rata basis, actual cost is to be paid for all supplies to General Headquarters, including a sufficient amount of per capita tax to maintain the universal clearing house. All surplus funds above the necessary amount to be used for the benefit of the collecting district, could be maintained in General Headquarters, said surplus funds may be expended by Headquarters for organization drives beneficial to localities in which there is practically no organization in existence. The clearing house form of organization, which would eliminate the 50-50 basis as well as the unnecessary part of our present payroll, will therefore do away with the Industrial Union patriotism so detrimental to the organization as a whole.

It may be understood that the above plan of the clearing house, if inaugurated at once, will not function as it should; it takes time to make a change of this kind but Headquarters can adopt the universal clearing house and all branches remain as they are today. It will only be a matter of time and all Industrial Union branches can be consolidated into a district clearing house.

The question may arise of whether the clearing house system will lead us to a mass form of organization. This is impossible as the change will only affect the payroll, one of the biggest and most expensive items of the organization today. The present form of organization necessitates the maintenance of a secretary-treasurer, chairman of the G. O. C., a stenographer and a certain

(Continued on Page 6)

## THE 1924 ORGANIZATION DRIVE

### MORE DELEGATES NEEDED, MEMBERS MUST GET ON THE JOB

We have up to now heard all about our different forms of organization, with the result of having a chance to express our want on the referendum ballot very soon. As it is now at rest till the ballots are in and the results known, and as we have not much to talk about, let us compare ideas of how we will organize the workers in the I. W. W. or what methods will be best to organize the workers in 1924. I will try to outline briefly my own views on this matter.

First, let us remember that it will take delegates and that all should take out credentials who are eligible to do so. Having now the credentials, let us find a job, no matter where, and try to **stay** on same, whenever possible. Real organizing can only be done at the point of production.

If a member does not or cannot take out credentials, he should give his utmost support to the delegates, as the activity of the delegates is but a reflection of the members on the job.

We should see that there is at least one delegate on each job at all times. This can easily be done by the delegates who are eligible to take out an extra set of supplies and credentials so that when he leaves the job he can give his extra credentials to some fellow worker there. The delegate who does this will be a voluntary traveling delegate. This does not mean that he shall shift away from one job to the other trying to make delegates, but he will get better results for himself if he works in one place as long as possible and uses his extra rigging only to leave another delegate, if there is none when he quits. All delegates should always leave their address with the nearest branch and notify same of their change of address at all times. This is very essential for too many reasons to be mentioned here.

Traveling delegates, appointed or elected ones, will (if above mentioned course is adopted) be able then to go and work in new and unorganized territory, which should not be too big for them. As they organize a territory and place delegates on the jobs, they should keep going on to new places. As we now have supply stations established not too far apart, the traveling delegate should not have to act as a traveling supply station but should be a traveling organizer. Our G. O. C. in the past, also traveling delegates, very seldom got far away from where there were already delegates. This should be eliminated as much as possible in 1924.

The Main Office of the I. U. should right now start in to tabulate all jobs. This can be done by the members sending in clippings of construction or other jobs which they find mentioned in the press and which are going to be done or finished. These could be filed for reference. The I. U. supply station and branch secretary should do the same in their vicinity. All delegates should send in the job news to the nearest

(Continued on Page 2)

# WITH THE MODERN HEAD-HUNTERS

Los Angeles, Cal., Dec. 20, 1923.

Fellow Workers:

While visiting the I. W. W. Defense office in Los Angeles this morning, there came a timid knock at the door. Thinking we were again to be honored with a visit of the "Ill famous Crime Crushers of the 'Pure and Simple' Purity Squad," we opened the door wondering, what now? Lo and behold on opening the door in walked a big fat Walrus. After bidding us the time of day, he immediately proceeded to "business." After inquiring if we were getting in our Christmas wine, he stated that he was representing the Swiss Italian Winery, retailing the false courage beverage at the low dry law price of $3.00 a gallon, delivered to our address in the city.

Just imagine, while the police are making a splurge to the "public" to the effect that they are making a drive on the accursed criminally despised Red, (the Reds are making an effort to sell the I. W. W. publications on the streets of Los Angeles), the bootleggers take advantage of their opportunities and openly start a drive to advertise the sale of "dehorn." No effort is being made by the "Pure and Simple" to stop it. Very characteristic of "Law and Order" as applied in Los Angeles.

What a comparison! Bootleggers running wild and unmolested, while the workers, the real producers of the necessities of life, when advertising their wares (the emancipation from the slave markets), are thrown into the can, without warrant, unjustly abused, starved and sentenced to the penitentiary. This is a sample of Law, Order and Justice in Los Angeles.

What's the answer? Simply that every member of the I. W. W. take credentials and make an effort to organize the unorganized. With organization and education of the workers, this and all other unjust proceedings can be abolished.

Get your 1924 credentials and do your bit for yourself and the I. W. W.

Your Fellow Worker.

### NOTICE TO THE MEMBERSHIP

The General Referendum Ballots are now in the field. Members may secure ballots from branch secretaries, travelling delegates, delegates, supply stations, industrial union headquarters and from headquarters.

These ballots **must** be in general headquarters by February 10, 1924. Send all ballots addressed "General Office Ballot Committee, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill."

### NOTICE

Fellow Worker John Gibson, Card No. 834283, Del. GC-778, is requested to get in touch with Main Office of I. U. 310 at once. This is **important.**

Oscar Lind, Card Number X92640, Delegate GC-172, is requested to get in touch with Main Office of I. U. No. 310 at once. This is important.

## JOIN GEN. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION, NO. 310, I.W.W.

### THE 1924 ORGANIZATION DRIVE

(Continued from Page 1)

branch. Same, after being noted and filed there, can be forwarded to the Main Oöce to be printed in the regular Bulletins.

By the delegates leaving or sending in their addresses to the nearest branches or the Main Office, a regular point of communication will be permanently established, which is necessary to get results. The work of organizing at the point of production will be speeded up, by having at least one delegate on each job in place of five delegates on one job and no delegates on four jobs.

There is no need to lay down rules to hold meetings on the jobs. This depends mostly on the membership itself, as no delegate can force a meeting on the membership. I found that if the **first** meeting can be got together, regular meetings always follow, consequently it is the duty of the membership to help the delegate to get the **first** meeting started.

I will try, in another article, to bring to your attention, what conditions as a member of I. U. 310, I would like to get in 1924.

CARD NO 731731.

### I. U. 310 BALLOT

Below is the list of nominees whose names will appear on the G. C. W. I. U. 310 referendum ballot. Ballots cast in the field should be sent direct to the Main Office, enclosed in a separate envelope and marked "Ballot Committee, I. U. 310," 2 S. Morgan St., Chicago, Ill.

Ballots must be in the Main Office by February 20, 1924, on which date they will be counted. Ballots are in the field and may be obtained from any Main Office, branch or stationary delegate.

**Nominations for Secretary-Treasurer:**

C. A. Walters 802880, Wm. Buchwald 739043, Harry Murray 826257, Ed. Renton 265012.

**Nominations for G. O. C.**

Ed. J. Fahey 803139, Mark Skomo 211,-805, Pat. D. Ryan 250904, Geo. D. Simpson 814274, J. A. Hanbury 260874, Erick Frank 734307, Joe O'Neil 406582.

### NOTICE TO BOND RECEIPT HOLDERS

The General Executive Board has set January 1, 1925, as a time limit for recognition of receipts and application for payment of bond receipts, except receipts for bonds now held by courts.

The objective of this ruling is not to avoid payment of these just claims, but for the purpose of determining the amount of our obligations, in an effort to close up this account as soon as possible.

Send in your receipts on or before the first day of January, 1925, and help us find our standing. We may be unable to pay all donors by the above date, but all receipts in by that time will be recognized and paid as soon as possible.

**Robert Russell,**
Chairman General Executive Board.

### NOTICE

Fellow Worker J. B. Miller, Card No. X-64293, Del. GC-682, is requested to get in touch with Main Office of I. U. 310 at once. This is important.

## HAVE YOUR 1923 CREDENTIALS BEEN RENEWED?

# PIONEER A POPULAR MAGAZINE

"Popular but Sound" is the motto of the Industrial Pioneer. It prints articles on the I. W. W. and its principles in a way that workmen can understand. And it illustrates them with photos, cartoons, sketches, and drawings. It is a real illustrated labor magazine.

Just now there is considerable unemployment in this country. Read all about its cause and cure in the January Industrial Pioneer, in the editorial "Why this Unemployment?" Other notable articles treat of the California situation. One is by Archie Sinclair, entitled, "The Vision of The New Day In California." The other tells how "California Holds the Key" to labor organization in this country.

There are also articles on the Klu Kluxers, the labor movement in Scandinavia, Italian Fascism and India's inconsistent class manifestation. These, together with poems, book reviews, wobbly humor and a couple of good bits of fiction, make the Industrial Pioneer for January one of the best. Subscribe for it now. Or get a bundle order to sell wherever you go. Some Pioneer sellers make quite a bit of change. Send in subscriptions and bundle orders to the Main Office.

### NOTICE

The General Executive Board has taken over the Bond fund and will hereafter handle same through the executive channels of the organization.

The Bond fund will remain, as at present, a separate and independent fund, to be used only for payment of our obligations to those who came so cheerfully to our aid when needed to get the boys released on bail.

All receipts for contributions or loans for bond purposes will be reviewed by the G. E. B., and if found bona fide, be paid in full, 100 per cent, while there are funds in the treasury.

**Robert Russell,**
Chairman General Executive Board.

### NOTICE

The G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 supply station at Portland, Oregon, has moved to 224 Burnside St., Portland, Oregon. Address all communications to **Wm. Buchwald, Box 3001, Portland, Oregon.**

### NOTICE

Fellow Worker Dan Hortnett, Card No. X-126952, lost his card at Sprague and Nicely's camp at Bonneville, Wyoming. any member seeing same take up on sight and send same to Main Office of I. U. 310.

### NOTICE

Tom McFarland, Card X18926, Delegate GC-324, is requested to get in touch with Main Office of I. U. 310 at once. This is important.

### WESTMAN HURT

Fellow Worker W. H. Westman is in St. Mary's Hospital, Cairo, Ill, with a broken leg, having broken his leg in three places. Any members who wish to write, or send funds to him, can address mail to W. H. Westman, St. Mary's Hospital, Cairo, Ill.

**Regular I. U. 310 Business Meeting of Portland Branch, Called to Order by Branch Secretary at 2:30 P. M. on December 25th, 1923**

Fifty-two members present in good standing.

J. A. Griffith elected chairman.

J. C. Muller elected recording secretary.

M. & S. That the minutes of the last meeting be filed. Carried.

M. & S. That the minutes of I. U. 310 Stockton, California, be filed. Carried.

M. & S. That the minutes of I. U. 310 Seattle, December 17, 1923, be filed. Carried.

M. & S. That the minutes of general membership meeting of Astoria, Oregon, December 22, 1923, be filed. Carried.

M. & S. That the minutes of the Portland entertainment committee December 20 be laid over to new business. Carried.

M. & S. That the report of the auditing committee be accepted. Carried.

M. & S. That the report of the hall committee be accepted. Carried.

M. & S. That the report of the resolution committee be laid over to new business. Carried.

M. & S. That charges committee report be laid over to new business. Carried.

M. & S. That the report of the delegate to the entertainment committee be accepted as progress. Carried.

M. & S. That the financial report of secretary be accepted subject to the auditing committee. Carried.

**New Business**

M. & S. That we concur with the entertainment committee.

Amendment. That the minutes of the entertainment committee be taken up seriatim. Carried.

M. & S. That we concur on proceeds of next entertainment. Carried.

M. & S. That we do not concur on check room. Lost.

M. & S. That we concur on check room.

Amendment: That we concur with check room and no charges be made. The amendment lost and the motion carried.

M. & S. That the rest of the entertainment committee minutes be filed. Carried.

M. & S. That we concur with application for the General District Council Charter. Carried.

M. & S. That we concur with the report of the charges committee on charges filed against Fellow Worker W. J. Galyan, Card No. X91116, from I. U. Marshfield Branch. Carried.

M. & S. That a charges committee of five be elected on Fellow Worker W. J. Galyan, Card No. X91116. Carried.

M. & S. That we elect a ballot committee of three. Lost.

M. & S. That the secretary get a ballot box with lock. Lost.

M. & S. That we instruct secretary to have a sign on window, get a mop and fuel. Carried.

M. & S. That we contest the eligibility of Fellow Worker Buchwald as secretary-treasurer of I. U. 310 according to by-law on page 8, section 2 of by-laws of I. U. 310 which reads: Branch secretary shall be elected for a period of six months and shall not again hold office for a period of six months in I. U. 310. Carried.

M. & S. That we go on record to declare the ballot of I. U. 310 unconstitutional and also notify all other I. U. 310 branches. Carried.

M. & S. That all ballot blanks and those voted on be sent back to I. U. 310 headquarters. Carried.

M. & S. That we rescind our former action in returning the ballots. Lost.

M. & S. That we elect a hospital committee. Carried.

M. & S. That Fellow Workers Conway, Smith, Frageberg, Bennett and Nelson be elected on charges committee by acclamation. Carried.

M. & S. That we go back to new business. Carried.

M. & S. That Fellow Worker Moore's resignation from entertainment committee be accepted. Carried.

M. & S. That we elect a charges committee on charges preferred by Joe Weight, Card No. 251418. Carried.

M. & S. That Fellow Workers Haiman, Casch, O'Brien, Christianson, McMahon be elected on charges committee by acclamation. Carried.

M. & S. That Fellow Workers Skomo, Casch and Muller be elected by acclamation on hospital committee. Carried.

M. & S. That we elect an entertainment committee of three. Carried.

M. & S. That Frageberg, Smith and Griffith be elected on entertainment committee. Carried.

M. & S. That we adjourn. Carried.

Adjourned at 6:00 p. m.

**J. A. Griffith, Chairman,**
**J. S. Muller, Recording Secy.**

## WE ARE WINNING!

Members of No. 310 in the western states have reason to rejoice at the new interest with which working men are listening to the organization program of the construction workers and other parts of the Industrial Workers of the World. The release of the 30 fellow workers from Leavenworth penitentiary shows the war time hysteria is dying.

Fellow Workers, the moment has come to go ahead full steam in the states where persecutions under the syndicalism laws have been interfering with organization. Since the act of the President in freeing the I. W. W. prisoners in Leavenworth western papers like the San Francisco News are voicing the popular opinion by demanding that persecutions cease under the syndicalism law and that the 97 workingmen held in San Quentin and Folsom under that law shall be freed. The General Defense Committee and its California branch are obtaining publicity in other papers at the same time. The time is right to take advantage of the popular sentiment and to organize.

We urge you to give all possible support to the defense activities in the syndicalism states. We believe that we shall win a complete victory so that we will be as free to organize and educate the workers as we were before 1917.

**Minutes of a Regular Meeting of G. C. W. I. U. 310 of the I. W. W. Advertised on Blackboard December 29, 1923, Held December 30, 1923, at Ogden, Utah**

Meeting called to order by secretary pro tem at 2:30 p. m.

Nominations for chairman: Murray, O'Neill, Golden.

Fellow Worker Golden elected chairman.

Fellow Worker Golden resigns the chair.

Fellow Worker O'Neill elected chairman.

Conductor reports 7 members of 310 in good standing and 8 members of other I. U.s.

M. & S. That we concur with minutes of last meeting. Carried.

M. & S. That minutes of No. 310 meeting at Seattle of December 23rd, 1923, be laid over to new business. Carried.

M. & S. That Seattle minutes of December 17th be filed. Carried.

M. & S. That Seattle minutes of December 24th be filed. Carried.

M. & S. That Portland minutes of December 17th be accepted as read. Carried.

M. & S. That Portland minutes of December 25th be laid over to new business. Carried.

M. & S. That we concur with the motion in the Seattle No. 310 minutes of December 10th which reads, that the ruling of the G. O. C. of 310 not allowing G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 to have halls be put on the ballot asking other branches for seconds and also with the motion that No. 310 branches be not held down to $30.00 for office rent, as there is nothing in the by-laws of 310 pertaining to that. Carried.

M. & S. That the rest of Seattle minutes be filed. Carried.

M. & S. That we concur with the action of Portland of December 25th, which reads that we contest the eligibility of Fellow Worker Buchwald as Secretary-Treasurer of I. U. No. 310 according to the by-laws on page 8, section 2 of I. U. No. 310, which reads: Branch secretaries shall be elected for a period of six months and shall not hold office again in I. U. No. 310 for a period of six months, that we go on record to declare the ballots in the field for I. U. No. 310 unconstitutional and notify all other No. 310 branches and that all ballot blanks and those voted on be sent back to No. 310 headquarters. Carried.

M. & S. That the rest of the Portland minutes be filed. Carried.

M. & S. That a copy of these minutes be sent to the various No. 310 branches and that they be published in the No. 310 bulletin. Carried.

M. & S. That we adjourn. Carried.

Meeting adjourned at 3:45 p. m.

**Joe O'Neill, 406582, Chairman,**
**Harry Murray, 826257, Rec. Secy.**

**ATTENTION DELEGATES**

The new Serial C4— credentials are now being issued and all delegates who have not had their G. C. serial credentials renewed are requested to send in a statement of all supplies on hand including those that you may have on report sheet. As soon as same reaches this office your account, under expired credential, will be closed and transferred over to new serial number, and clearance under expired credential, also new serial credential will be mailed you.

# Job News From Active Delegates

**Alexander, Idaho, 10-22-23.**—Phoenix Utility Co. building a dam. Camp about one-half milc out of Alexander. About 400 men working. Wages 40 cents per hour. Work eight hours per day. Two shifts working. Board fair at $1.20 per day. Hospital fee $1.00. Bedding $1.00 per month. Clean. The work is not hurry up. The bunk houses are crowded, 44 men to each when fullhanded. Top bunks. There are shower baths with hot and cold water at all times. There is a Sheriff and Deputy in camp. What they are here for is easy to realize. They sure are not here to look after the welfare of the workers because a pair of shoes were stolen from a worker and payday there was some of the slaves drunk and he did not pay any attention. There were also poker games going on without any interference from either the Sheriff or the Deputy. The sentiment for the organization among the men is fair and new members can always be lined up but the company is hostile, so brass band should be left behind. The company is hiring men in Ogden and Salt Lake, the fare is advanced. They are also hiring on the job. Job will last about eighteen months. (GC 297).

**Winona, Arizona, 10-25-23.**—U. S. R. S. 50 men employed. Mostly auto tramps. Wages $3.75 per day. $1.20 board. Conditions fair. Sentiment no good. All winter work. Highway work. (GC 300).

**Merced Falls, Cal. 10-24-23.**—Yosemite Lumber Co. Constructing railroad. Job will last six months. Two camps. Seventy men in this camp. Sentiment poor. Laborers, teamsters 50 cents per hour, riggers 65 cents per hour. Nine hours. Board fair at $1.25 per day. Bath house, no washroom or hot water to wash with. Chances to go to work. Hire at Merced Falls, Cal. Murray and Ready Empt. office. Fee $2.00, fare $2.40 by stage. Murray and Ready ship from Sacramento. Cal., at fee and fare of $13.80. This job is seventy-four miles east of Merced on the Yosemite Val. Railroad. Men can hire out at sawmill at Merced Falls to go to work at this camp. See Superintendent there. (GC 609).

**Milwaukee, Wis., 10-4.**—M. E. White Construction Co. Subway for C. & N. W. Laborers 50 to 60 cents. Concrete work 60 cents, common labor 50 cents, flunkey $50.00, second cook $90.00 and $10.00 bet on a month. Ten hours. Sanitary conditions overcrowded. Board $1.20 a day. Ship from Chicago, Clapp Riely. Fee $1.00 fare free. Job will last four months. The C. & N. W. is working a gang here on track work. They are paying 48 cents a hour. Ten hours and board at the White Camp for $1.20. (GC 490)..

**Vader, Wash., 9-29-23.**—Twohy Bros. & Co. Railroad construction for Long Bell Lumber Co. This is a Louisiana outfit, pure and simple. Work will last five months. Seven to ten camps in this district. From 50 to 75 mcn. Sentiment fair. This is Camp No. 11 and is a Long Bell boarding house. 76 men in one bunkhouse. Wages, teamsters and laborers, $4.50. The Long Bell Co. pays $4.00 low for labor and for mechanics any price. No set rate. Work eight hours. Board rotten at 35c per meal. Beds 15c per night. Sanitary conditions fair—clean. Cold water to wash with but hot and cold shower. Hire in Vader or on job. The Long Bell Co. is hostile toward the I. W. W. and delegates can't last long. Absolutely no literature allowed if the stools find it. Leave the Brass Band behind and let's organize this job. All bossmen on this or these jobs are finks, all remained on job during last strike, also most of the steam shovel crews. **(GC-530.)**

**Groveland, Cal., 10-22-23.**—North American Const. Co. Tunnel and rock crusher. Concreting the tunnel. Miners four on a shift, three shifts. Twelve miners, carpenters and laborers, rating foreman, muckers in tunnel with mucking wencher. Job will last six months. 150 men. Sentiment fair. The carpenters and their helpers work 9 hours one shift. Wages miners $5.50, chuck tenders $5.00, muckers in the tunnel and on outside get $4.25, carpenters $ 1.00 hour in tunnel, carpenter helpers $5.00, motor men $5.50, laborers around crusher $4.25. Board fair at $1.25 a day. Cook $175.00, (pay board out of that) and flunkeys $70 and board. Ship from Sacramento, Stockton or office at Groveland. Sacramento fare $6.20, Stockton $4.50 fare. This camp has about six or seven families and one of the fathers has a son 16 years old working around the rock crusher. The old man is driving a motor in the tunnel. The boy got tired and wanted a layoff so he got another boy 15 years old to take his place for a few days and told him that when he got his pay on payday, he would pay him for working in his place. He did not have to go to the office to sign up same as the men have to do so you see, anyone can work here from 15 years old to 60. This camp is called Big Creek, six miles out from Groveland on the Hetch Hetchy. (GC 1006).

**Pendleton, Oregon, 12-10-23.**—McKay, six miles out of Pendleton. U. S. R. G. Long job. About two or three years' work. Sanitary conditions good. Board and room $1.30 per day. Laborers $3.60 cight hours, tunnel muckers $4.40, eight hours, miners jack hammer $5.60, tunnel work. Two shifts. Flunkies $50 per month. There are five donkeys out here, only one works. Sentiment for organization seems fair. Hire on the job. About 16 men to a bunkhouse. Shower baths. Full handed at present. **(GC-601.)**

**Bonneville, Wyo., 12-15-23.** — Sprague and Nicely construction. Job two months. Grub good. Quarters fair. Work fair. Laborers $2.75. 110 men employed. Sentiment good. Wages: teamhands $3, engineers $240, cranemen $200, firemen $165, donkey engineer $125, brakeman $90, hostlcr $90. Work nine hours. Channel camp. Sanitary conditions none. Board good. Hire from Heiser, Denver, Colorado. Shipping fce, $2. Fare free. Bunkhouses crowded but are building more. Double deckers on account of two shifts. Conditions improving. Job will last two months. Weather fair. Men stay about 40 to 60 days. **(GC-980.)**

**Mansfield, Ohio, 10-8-23.** —Subway under Penn. R. R. Co. tracks. All winter work. Also track job. Wages 40c hour. Board in cars. $1.05 per day. Ship from Chicago. Can't hire out here.

**Cisco, Cal., 9-15-23.**—P. G. & E. This job is called the Fordyce Dam. Making private company roads ,raising the Fordyce dam 35 feet. Work for two years. There will be lots of snow in thirty days. Five camps in nine milcs . 600 men. Sentiment no good. Wages, teamsters, laborers, Fresno loader and dumpman, concrete men, carpenters' helpers 50c an hour, rigger 60c, carpenters 80c, plow skinner and shaker 60c. Fare Reno $3.06, Sacramento $4.00. Bring your balloon. Work nine hours. Board $1.25. Sanitary conditions no good. Camp No. 4 has shower bath. No. 5 is worst of all. Chances of going to work. Fare refunded after 60 days. Come up and back in trucks. This is a good place to organize. Plenty of stools in all the camps. Beware of a fellow they call Clancy, the water boy. **(GC-523)**

**Alexander, Idaho, 12-3-23.**—One fourth of mile from Alexander there is a power dam under construction by Phocnix Utility Co. This is a winter job and a big part of the summer. About 400 men working. Men are shipping out of Salt Lake City every day. Fare advanced which amounts to $6.05. Wages are different. Day shift, 40c an hour eight hours, night shift 45c an hour for eight hours; graveyard shift, 45-50c for seven to eight hours. Carpenters, 60c for eight hours. Night shift work sometimes from one to fourteen hours a shift for straight time but they call it overtime. The bunk houses are crowded. 40 men, double deckers. Blankets furnished, $1.00 a month; hospital, $1 a month. Bum board, at $1.20 a day. Ship out from Salt Lake City. There is a good chance for 310 delegates to do some good work for the organization. Let's go and organize the slaves. **(GC-173.)**

**Sunol, Cal., 11-9-23.**—Palmer and McBride. Building dirt dam. Spring Valley Co. may start work soon at this camp. 100 men employed. Laborers $4.00. Nine hours. One camp. Board fair. Hire on job, gct truck from Sunol about 9 a.m. Sunol is on W.P. and S.P. in Niles Canyon 29 miles from Oakland. Chances to go to work. Job will last six months. Turn over labor coming and going all the time. 4 men in bunk-house. Electric lights. Bring your own blankets.

**Santa Maria, Cal.. 12-10-23.**—Hudson, contractor, has got about three months' work here out of Santa Maria. About 20 miles of highway. There are two camps here, one is steam shovel and the other is finishing. $4.00 low, 45c a meal for board. Rag tents. Furnish your own bed. It is mostly Mexican, which Chi Kid prefers. He is against organization. Chuck is not worth $1.35 a day. It is hard to set in on this outfit as they ship you from L. A. **(GC-490)**

**Soda Springs, Idaho. 11-28-23.**—Force account Gov. work. 16 miles out. Dike work. 40 men. Sentiment no good. Wages, teamhands, $4.50. Work nine hours. Sanitary conditions rotten. Board $1.05. Hire out on job. Man catcher at Enders Hotel, Soda Springs. Leave Zeppelin behind as

# CONSTRUCTION WORKERS BULLETIN

"An Injury to One Is An Injury to All."

ONE UNION No. 10 ONE ENEMY

Published Monthly by I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W.
Address all communications to
2 SO. MORGAN ST. CHICAGO, ILL.
MATTHEW TRISLER, Chairman
J. KENNEDY, Sec'y-Treas.


bedding is furnished. Chuck fine. Fellow workers making these parts should make this job. Job will last all winter. **(X34522)**

**Beardstown, Ill., 12-2-23.**—This job is a cut off on the C. B. & Q. Ry. 6 camps running. Mostly skinning, dump wagons and Fresnoes, few muckers. Average wage $4 a day. Ten hours day work. Board $1.20 a day. Not hiring on job when I was there, shipping all men from St. Louis. I left there and went to Champaign, Ill. On the I. C. Ry. there is a job, raising roadbed above streets and putting up new depot. This job was to shut down the 24th of Dec. until after New Year's. Bates & Rodgers, Contractors. I came to South Bend and there's a job here at the Studebaker's plant, building a new part of the factory. It starts up about a day after Christmas. The slaves board in town. Contractor will go good for your board. There's also a job building a dam at Mishawaka, Ind. **(Card 842256)**

**Caliente, Nevada, 12-20-23.**—U. P. tunnel camp, 13 miles from Caliente. Working about 100 men. Accommodations poor. Bunks two high. Board is poor, $1.05 per day. No wash room. Pack your own bed. Machinemen 72 cents hour, muckers 50c. Work is good, no speeding up. **(MM-848.)**

**Dundee, Texas, 12-21-23.**—Camp seven miles from Dundee. Callahan Const. Co. Two months' work. Loading three-up wagons by Whirley shovel. 40 men employed. Wages $3.50 per day, ten hour day. Sleeping quarters good. Sanitary conditions fair. Sentiment none. Most all native labor. Can go to work on job if you are a sure enough team hand. The town of Dundee is on Wichita Valley Railroad, 27 miles S. W. of Wichita Falls. Very few wobs down here. Any fellow worker coming this way stop over. Leave brass band behind. **(245-569.)**

**Burney, Cal., 12-25-23.**—Pit River Power Project. P. G. & E. and Bates & Bowling. Building dam and driving tunnels. Job will last four or five years. Hire on job or ship from Murray & Ready in San Francisco, Stockton and Sacramento. Fee $3.00, fare advanced. Fare from Frisco and Stockton, $15.00; Sacramento, $11.50. Shipping from Redding. Fare $7.75, fee $1.50. Redding 72 miles by stage. P. G. & E. wages: miners, $5.50; muckers, $4.50; jackhammer men, $4.50 and $5.00; outside labor, $4.00 and $4.50; brick drivers, carpenters and linemen, 75 cents per hour. Cooks and bakers $125.00 to $150.00 a month. Board is $1.25 a day. **(X10021.)**

**Burney, Cal., 12-25-23.**—Bates & Bowling, gyppoing. Camps 7 and 9. Miners $6.00, muckers and laborers $5.50. Board $1.35 a day. Furnish your own bed. Bunk houses fairly good. Bath houses on this job. Grub is good in camps where the cooks don't spoil it, as the P. G. & E. furnishes the best. Anyone figuring on rustling this job should come in through Sisson and McCloud. Pit is 35 miles from the end of the McCloud River R. R. **(X10021.)**

**Los Angeles, Cal., 12-17-23.**—Bent Bros. Const. About 50 men. Nine wagons and 12 Fresnoes. Job will last until middle of February. $5.00 a day. Nine hours. Board in town. Take L car on North Main to end of car line, go back of Selig's Zoo over P 2 tracks. Good job. Griffith Paving Co. out E. 9th st. Work 50 cents an hour. Eight hours. Checker board. She is a bombarding outfit. Also some wagon work, out of Plant 9 St. U. P. R. R. Men are plentiful in both places. **(GC-490.)**

**Yuma, Ariz., 12-16-23.**—There is supposed to be a highway start from Prescott to Phoenix. There is a road job going on at Clear Creek, about 26 miles from Clarksdale. Wages, laborers $3.50. All Indians and Mexicans. Truck drivers $150.00 per month, shovel runner $6.00 per day. About 80 men employed, 20 of them white. Job will last over a year. Road job out of Bouise. Out of Phoenix two dams. Roosevelt dam; raising power house on Mormon Flats dam. There will be lots of concrete work this month. Both of these jobs you hire through Phoenix. Eighteen miles west of Gila Bend on Main Line of S. P. two highway camps. Mostly all whites. Lots of tourists trying for jobs there. One camp has just got started and the other moving in. Wages for wagon skinners $3.75 eight hours. I suppose $3.50 is low and $1.25 for board. Must have a bed also. About 150 men will be employed when they get started. 30 miles of road to be built. 310 delegates should make this job. Then in Yuma there is a government job. About 14 miles out. At present there are about 110 men working on it. Wages laborers $3.00 per eight hour day, pump man $4.00 per day, dinkey skinners $5.00 per day, shovel runner $6.00. Board is $1.00 per day and rotten. Bunk houses the worst you ever saw. Mostly all Mexicans. Counting bosses, kitchen help, there are about 35 white men. Conditions in this camp are the rottenest you can find. There will be more men put on this job in about three or four weeks as there is lots of work. Then at Imperial Irrigation Project about nine miles from Yuma there are about 30 men employed, mostly mechanics, at present. Expect more men will be put on in the near future. Right in Yuma there will be a big job. They are going to move the mount where the old pen was and build a new yard and depot. Work will start on this in about another week. There will be a power line job start here in about a month from Yuma. It will be about a four months' job. **(GC-1.)**

**South Bend, Ind., 12-26-23.**—Christensen is the contractor for the concrete and building part of Studebaker's and McClintic Marshall are the steel erectors. The Christensen Co. are hiring men at 45 and 50c per and board on town. Starts January 1st. The McClintic Marshall Co. is paying 65c an hour for ground men or laborers and $1.10 an hour for experienced structural iron men or riveters or buckers. They got a bunch of green hoosiers on the job and want the experienced men or old timers. The Boss was talking to me today. He says that if he could get a good bunch of men who could handle air guns and rivet heaters and all around steel workers, he would run the hoosiers back on the farm. This is a good town for the construction workers. There's several buildings going up here and they are all going to work after New Year's. A few active delegates and few good construction workers distributed on these jobs could do a lot of good. Members going through South Bend are requested not to patronize the Star Restaurant. **(842256.)**

**Oxnard, Cal., 12-13-23.**—Hauser Construction Co. State highway. About two years' work. Steam shovels and rock work. About 60 men. Wages $4.00 low, $6.00 top. $1.25 board. Furnishes camp bedding. Single beds. About six men to a bunk house. You have to ship from Red Cross employment office or see superintendent in Oxnard. Don't hike out to the job for they won't hire you. Sanitary conditions fair. Chuck is good. Fine location for a wobbly camp, along the ocean, alongside of the mountains. **(GC-490.)**

**Oxnard, Cal., 12-13-23.**—John D. Hutchinson Const. Co. About three blocks east of S. P. depot. Land leveling. Fresno work. Four-ups. Seven men, fill and spill your own. $3.00 chuck. Eight hours. Work is indefinite. Men are plentiful right here but it is all white. **(GC-490.)**

### NOTICE

Delegates, also members, are requested to send in Job News also articles for the Bulletins, also to notify this office of any Job News being run in bulletins which is near completion, that should be discontinued.

## Where to Get Supplies and Literature

F. L. Cunningham, Box 754, Stockton, Cal.

A. C. Morris, Box 421, Tacoma, Wash.

Geo. Chitwood, Box 827, Pasco, Wash.

Chas. Humphreys, Box 365, Seattle, Wash.

Earl Heikkinen, Box 1689, Spokane, Wash.

J. J. Morris, Box 91, Eureka, Cal.

Pat Noonan, Box 107, Omaha, Neb.

Fritz Rudd, 115 N. Nicolet Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.

Martin Anderson, Box 451, Casper, Wyoming.

A. R. Sail, 1222 Fourth St., Sioux City, Iowa.

O. W. I. U. No. 230, Box 212, Taft, Cal.

John McSlarrow, Box 641, Everett, Wash

Lee Tulin, 318 N. Wyoming St., Butte, Montana.

Wm. Seppla, Box 1413, Great Falls, Montana.

Frank Foster, Box 486, Whitefish, Mont.

Wm. Buchwald, Box 3001, Portland Oregon.

John J. Ebbesen, Box 3291, Portland, Oregon.

Dan Paul, Box 730, Missoula, Montana.

Miles Sweeney, 602 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.

Joe Oates, Box 1504, Salt Lake, Utah.

John Shuskie, Box 69, Station D, New York, N. Y.

W. A. Larson, 8 N. Sixth Ave., W. Duluth Minn.

J. N. Johnson, Box 653, Aberdeen, Wash

W. F. Greeley, Box 911, Ogden, Utah.

## TO 310 MEMBERSHIP

Fellow Workers:

Referring to the motion passed in the minutes of the business meeting held at Portland, Oregon, December 25, 1923, in regards to the eligibility of Fellow Worker Wm. Buchwald for Secretary-Treasurer of I. U. No. 310, and who at the present time is acting as supply clerk for the G. C. W. I. U. 310 supply station at Portland, Oregon: the meeting contested the eligibility of the fellow worker, according to section 2, page 8, by-laws of I. U. 310.

I. U. 310 Main Office found Fellow Worker Wm. Buchwald eligible for Secretary-Treasurer on the grounds that he does not function at the present time as an official of I. U. 310 and as provided in the I. U. 310 by-laws, page 7, section 14.

Fellow Worker Wm. Buchwald was elected from the floor of a regular business meeting of I. U. 310 members, as supply clerk to function for the Portland supply station, and at a meeting held there October 4, 1923, the following motion was carried:

"Moved and seconded that we reaffirm the election of Fellow Worker Buchwald and change his title to branch secretary. Carried."

This motion is entirely out of order. I. U. 310 is NOT under the branch form of organization so the membership cannot elect a branch secretary, unless the Portland supply station is formed upon a per capita basis and must be a chartered branch of the Industrial Union. I. U. 310 is under the supply station form at the present time so the membership has the right to elect a supply clerk for any supply station, and the title cannot be changed to branch secretary.

In any industrial union in the I. W. W. under the branch form of organization the branch secretary is an official as provided in article 4, section 2, General Constitution, so the branch secretary is not eligible for any official nomination as provided in the 310 by-laws, section 2, page 8. Supply clerks and stationary delegates are NOT elected by a referendum ballot submitted to the entire membership so they are not officials in the I. W. W. There is nothing inserted in the by-laws and General Constitution in regards to supply clerks, that they are not eligible for office in the I. W. W. Fellow Worker Buchwald accepted the nomination for Secretary-Treasurer and his name was put on the ballot and there is no clause in the General Constitution or 310 by-laws to stop his eligibility for Secretary-Treasurer of I. U. 310.

In regards to article 5, section 7B in the General Constitution which reads:

"All candidates and officials must be of the payroll of the organization at least 90 days prior to nomination before they become eligible as delegates to the general convention of the I. W. W."

All candidates and officials must be off the payroll 90 days prior to the nomination is only for the eligibility of delegates to the general convention.

The membership of Portland, Oregon, has sent in a protest to Chicago, that the 310 convention did not take any definite action on the various forms of organization sent to the convention. The branch form of organization was voted down by the delegates. The convention adopted the district form of organization and it is on the referendum ballot. Each of the five districts elected two delegates to represent the membership at the 310 convention and sent them to Chicago to legislate for the membership.

You will note a notice from Fellow Worker A. McMillan, Card No. 243151, delegate representing District 5 to the 310 convention and the minutes of the 310 meeting held at Portland, Oregon and Ogden, Utah.

Yours for the I. W. W.,
**MATTHEW TRISLER,**
**Chairman G. O. C. I. U. 310.**

**(By A. McMILLAN, Delegate to I. U. 310 Convention)**

"The fellow workers of the Portland Branch of G. C. W. I. U. 310 have sent in a protest to Chicago, that the 310 convention did not take any definite action on the various forms of organization sent to the convention.

"I, a delegate to the I. U. 310 convention, say that this is untrue. The convention did act on all resolutions pertaining to various forms of organization. There were no complete plans sent to the convention, but a lot of suggestions and out of the whole the Resolution Committee drew up a plan for the district form of organization. The convention adopted it and it is on the referendum ballot.

"In the future I think it would be well for fellow workers to find out the facts in regards to such matters, instead of taking one individual's word for it and causing a lot of dissension."

**A. McMillan, Card No. 243151.**

## PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

**The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.**

**Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.**

**We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.**

**These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.**

**Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."**

**It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.**

## HAVE YOUR 1923 CREDENTIALS BEEN RENEWED?

## THE UNIVERSAL CLEARING HOUSE

(Continued from Page 1)

amount of G. O. C. members in the field for each Industrial Union headquarters. The various branches in the field are also under the expense not necessary at times, such as maintaining three Industrial Union secretaries in one hall. This expense could be eliminated by having one secretary and one man to do the corresponding and shipping, in other words, both should work in conjunction with each other. It is a conservative statement that 50 per cent of all financial receipts are expended for wages, yet $4.00 per day is the maximum wage paid in the I. W. W. I'm not trying to advocate for a higher or lower wage scale but it is a fact that we cannot produce a sufficient amount of efficient bookkeepers, etc., from our own ranks. It is impossible to hire effiiciency in Chicago for $28.00 per week, although if we could, this present form of organization itself does not call for it as the duplication is too great. The clearing house therefore will make it possible to establish the organization on a sound foundation insofar as the clerical part is concerned. If we want modern efficiency we must pay for it.—**Wm. Buchwald, GC-267.**

All fellow workers in the State of Washington interested in the release of the Centralia victims should immediately get in touch with fellow worker Dan Liston, Box 778, Seattle, Washington.

**In Organization There Is Strength.**
Yours for Industrial Freedom.—
**GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTE.**
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

**DECEMBER, 1923**
**Receipts**

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiations | $ 808.00 |
| Dues | 2,111.50 |
| Initiations other unions | 270.00 |
| Dues other unions | 870.00 |
| Organization stamps | 139.00 |
| Bond stamps | 372.00 |
| General Defense stamps | 389.50 |
| Papers and magazines | 137.02 |
| Card cases | 17.50 |
| Buttons and pins | 35.00 |
| Literature | 58.33 |
| On account Cash Balance* | 634.03 |
| Duplicate cards | 25.00 |
| Pioneers | 21.22 |
| Educational stamps | 52.50 |
| Convention stamps | 65.50 |
| Xmas Relief on receipt books and donations | 88.00 |
| I. U. No. 510 Special stamps | 4.00 |
| I. U. No. 520 Special stamps | 17.00 |
| I. U. No. 440 Special stamps | 4.00 |
| General Defense, Transfer of typewriter | 22.50 |
| Donations to I. U. No. 310 | 14.17 |
| Total | $6,155.77 |

* The item called "Cash Balance" is the amount that has been accounted for by anyone to whom money has been advanced. Also money remitted by delegates who hold cash on hand.

## EXPENSES

| | |
|---|---|
| Personal deposit, withdrawn | $ 34.25 |
| Per Capita for December | 633.45 |
| Literature | 20.00 |
| Commissions on initiations and literature | 161.18 |
| Field wages | 891.54 |
| Mileage | 44.79 |
| Allowance to other unions | 712.05 |
| Held on acc't by supply clerks, travelling delegates, G. O. C. members and job delegates | 785.37 |
| Papers and magazines | 344.85 |
| Remitted to other unions | 562.20 |
| To General Defense | 392.50 |
| Main Office wages | 560.00 |
| Rent, light and heat | 68.00 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 25.60 |
| Postage, express and wires | 112.57 |
| Xmas relief on receipt books and donations | 85.00 |
| Industrial Pioneer | 76.82 |
| Printing | 183.62 |
| Organization supplies to date | 757.36 |
| Due books to date | 813.87 |
| Bond stamps | 372.00 |
| Educational stamps | 52.50 |
| I. U. No. 440 Special stamps | 4.00 |
| Total | $7,693.52 |

## CASH RECEIPTS

### District No. 1: Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Western Montana

**December 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1413 | $ 7.50 |
| GC-258 | 11.50 |
| GC-131 | 20.90 |
| GC-965 | 20.00 |
| GC-13 | 21.50 |
| GC-1092 | 56.00 |
| GC-267 | 184.76 |
| GC-115 | 12.85 |
| GC-590 | 62.68 |
| GC-507 | 35.00 |

**December 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-416 | 43.75 |
| GC-376 | 17.50 |
| GC-591 | 4.15 |
| GC-742 | 15.00 |
| GC-583 | 4.00 |
| GC-1009 | 26.50 |
| GC-921 | 17.00 |

**December 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-410 | 3.00 |

**December 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-154 | 7.50 |
| GC-1125 | 10.00 |
| GC-1092 | 20.00 |

**December 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-691 | 16.00 |
| GC-590 | 8.50 |
| GC-1278 | 11.00 |

**December 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-267 | 27.00 |
| GC-543 | 11.00 |
| GC-1188 | 22.50 |
| GC-19 | 22.50 |
| GC-217 | 29.00 |
| GC-1014 | 12.00 |

**December 12**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-542 | 1.50 |
| GC-476 | .50 |
| GC-13 | 20.00 |
| GC-131 | 15.75 |
| GC-267 | 21.00 |

**December 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1092 | 82.85 |
| GC-590 | 9.17 |

**December 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1196 | 15.00 |
| GC-594 | 5.00 |
| GC-1280 | 46.50 |

**December 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-356 | 10.00 |
| GC-1008 | 28.00 |
| C4-1 | 4.00 |
| GC-450 | 1.00 |
| GC-522 | 5.00 |

**December 20**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-459 | 29.00 |
| GC-363 | 38.75 |
| GC-507 | 21.00 |
| GC-242 | 30.50 |
| GC-267 | 43.25 |
| GC-687 | 48.50 |
| GC-1405 | 11.00 |
| GC-16 | 2.50 |

**December 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-369 | 10.00 |
| GC-590 | 48.87 |

**December 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-263 | 22.50 |
| GC-580 | 2.00 |
| GC-217 | 29.50 |
| GC-928 | 5.00 |
| GC-439 | 12.00 |

**December 27**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-242 | 27.00 |

**December 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-131 | 2.50 |
| GC-19 | 14.50 |
| GC-1419 | 2.00 |
| GC-589 | 3.00 |
| GC-594 | 5.00 |
| Total | $1,434.23 |

### District No. 2: Nevada, California, Arizona and New Mexico

**December 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-279 | $ 43.00 |
| GC-916 | 13.17 |
| GC-1182 | 21.50 |
| GC-470 | 12.00 |
| GC-780 | 2.50 |
| GC-1076 | 23.60 |
| GC-747 | 20.45 |
| GC-523 | 8.00 |

**December 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-361 | 7.50 |
| GC-506 | 66.72 |
| GC-1090 | 1.00 |

**December 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1419 | .50 |
| GC-300 | 23.44 |
| GC-506 | 17.60 |
| GC-1450 | 24.00 |
| GC-1119 | 2.50 |
| GC-1452 | 8.50 |
| GC-1182 | 6.00 |

**December 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1426 | 3.35 |
| GC-961 | 11.88 |
| GC-46 | 1.00 |

**December 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-448 | 5.00 |
| GC-790 | 5.75 |
| GC-2 | 20.50 |

**December 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-613 | 10.50 |
| GC-71 | 3.00 |
| GC-202 | 19.50 |
| GC-485 | .50 |
| GC-1101 | 4.00 |
| GC-573 | 16.50 |
| GC-259 | 6.65 |
| GC-1089 | 2.10 |
| GC-382 | 11.00 |

**December 12**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1098 | 15.50 |
| GC-998 | 12.00 |

**December 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-279 | 30.00 |
| GC-85 | 10.00 |
| GC-280 | 25.00 |
| GC-340 | 19.50 |
| GC-383 | 18.00 |

**December 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-323 | 13.50 |
| GC-1271 | .90 |
| GC-669 | 9.00 |

**December 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-479 | 1.00 |
| GC-506 | 30.65 |
| GC-284 | 5.00 |

**December 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-278 | 1.95 |
| GC-85 | 10.50 |
| GC-384 | 11.00 |
| GC-429 | 10.50 |

**December 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-492 | 10.50 |
| GC-426 | 9.00 |
| GC-1429 | 30.00 |
| GC-494 | 16.00 |
| GC-494 | 4.00 |

**December 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-280 | 35.50 |
| GC-205 | 6.00 |
| GC-1452 | 3.50 |
| GC-506 | 8.72 |
| GC-970 | 34.80 |
| GC-573 | 75.00 |
| GC-492 | 50.50 |

**December 27**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1079 | 30.00 |

**December 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-506 | 7.47 |
| GC-290 | 8.50 |
| GC-695 | 41.00 |
| GC-960 | 11.00 |

**December 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-998 | 20.00 |
| C4-12 | 1.38 |
| Total | $1,050.08 |

### District No. 3: Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, North and South Dakota.

**December 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-472 | $ 39.95 |
| GC-686 | 5.50 |
| GC-922 | 35.00 |
| GC-980 | 62.50 |

**December 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-922 | 10.00 |
| GC-173 | 8.00 |

**December 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-601 | 7.36 |
| GC-173 | 19.00 |
| GC-973 | 4.50 |

**December 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-819 | 17.00 |

**December 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-601 | 8.14 |
| GC-1092 | 59.50 |

**December 20**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1124 | 38.25 |
| GC-980 | 29.50 |
| GC-747 | 17.30 |
| GC-742 | 32.80 |

**December 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-819 | 11.50 |

**December 27**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1124 | 34.00 |

**December 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-491 | 7.00 |
| Total | $ 446.80 |

**District No. 4: Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma**

**December 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-7 | $ 3.00 |
| GC-358 | 12.87 |

**December 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-752 | 1.00 |

**December 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-752 | 20.50 |

**December 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-14 | 8.00 |
| Total | $ 45.37 |

**District No. 5: Middle and Eastern States**

**December 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-817 | $ 10.50 |
| Main Office report | 23.45 |

**December 3**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 230 Nov. reports | 55.70 |
| GC-1281 | 35.50 |
| I. U. No. 110 Nov. reports | 158.45 |
| GC-914 | 13.88 |
| GC-572 | 9.00 |
| I. U. No. 460 Nov. reports | 3.60 |
| I. U. No. 210-220 Nov. reports | 24.95 |
| I. U. No. 520 Nov. reports | 116.05 |
| I. U. No. 120 Nov. reports | 209.35 |
| I. U. No. 510 Nov. reports | 23.85 |
| I. U. No. 230 Nov. reports | .25 |

**December 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-370 | 12.50 |
| I. U. No. 440 Nov. reports | 12.50 |
| GC-851 | 1.00 |
| I. U. No. 650 Nov. reports | .25 |
| I. U. No. 470 Nov. reports | .25 |
| I. U. No. 420 Nov. reports | 1.25 |
| I. U. No. 330 Nov. reports | 27.00 |
| Main Office report | 18.80 |

**December 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-21 | 5.40 |
| C. J. Gushwa | 1.50 |
| GC-825 | 6.45 |
| I. U. No. 520, Convention stamps | 5.00 |

**December 15**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-913 | 3.00 |
| Main Office report | 15.55 |
| Main Office report | 15.40 |

**December 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-1281 | 10.00 |
| GC-825 | 5.82 |
| Wm. Dwyer, Donation | 5.00 |
| From General Defense for transfer of typewriter | 22.50 |

**December 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| Main Office report | 13.05 |
| Total | $ 866.75 |

## CASH RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| District No. 1 | $1,434.23 |
| District No. 2 | 1,050.08 |
| District No. 3 | 446.80 |
| District No. 4 | 45.37 |
| District No. 5 | 866.75 |
| Total | $3,843.23 |

## CASH SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash Receipts for December | $3,843.23 |
| Cash on hand December 1 | $2,301.05 |
| Total | $6,144.28 |
| Cash Expenses for December | $5,380.98 |
| Cash on hand January 1 | $ 763.30 |

## CASH EXPENSES

**December 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| J. A. Griffith, Delegate to the General Convention | $ 28.00 |
| Ed. Harris, Delegate to the General Convention | 28.00 |
| John Hancock, Delegate to the General Convention | 28.00 |
| J. A. Hanbury, Delegate to the General Convention | 28.00 |
| O. A. Holmes, Delegate to the General Convention | 28.00 |
| W. H. Westman, Delegate to the General Convention | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Emiyl Kaiyala, Main Office wgs | 28.00 |
| Matthew Trisler, Main Office wgs | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Postage, Main Office | 30.00 |
| Joe Miller, Personal deposit withdrawn | 34.25 |
| Charges on telegram | 1.00 |
| Finnish magazine B. O. | .90 |
| John Hancock, Delegate to the General Convention | 16.00 |
| Ed. Harris, Delegate to the General Convention | 16.00 |
| Ed. Harris, Delegate to the Gen- | |
| O. A. Holmes, Delegate to the General Convention | 16.00 |
| Italian paper, Il Proletario, B. O. | 2.40 |
| Industrial Worker B. O. | 209.35 |
| W. H. Westman, Delegate to the General Convention | 8.00 |
| J. A. Hanbury, Delegate to the General Convention | 12.00 |
| Solidaridad, Spanish paper, B. O. | 62.45 |
| Golos Truzenika, Russian paper | 2.30 |

**December 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| John Naredo, Travelling Delegate, wages and expenses to date | 95.54 |
| J. A. Griffith, General Convention wages | 16.00 |

**December 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wgs | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Matthew Trisler, Main Office wgs | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| General Defense, acc't receipts on Xmas relief | 45.65 |

**December 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| John Graham, G. O. C., advanced | 50.00 |
| Charges for wire from Graham | 1.00 |
| Charges for wiring money to Graham | 1.65 |
| Charges on wire from F. Forth | 1.00 |
| Main Office supplies | 3.80 |
| Credit due to A. Lancaster | 3.00 |

**December 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| Main Office supplies | 5.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wgs | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Matthew Trisler, Main Office wgs | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |

**December 15**

| | |
|---|---|
| Main Office supplies | 1.75 |
| Main Office postage | 13.00 |
| Repairs for typewriter, Main Office | 1.00 |

**December 17**

| | |
|---|---|
| Charges on wire from Geo. H. Simpson | 1.00 |
| General Defense, acc't receipts for Exmas relief | 39.35 |

**December 22**

| | |
|---|---|
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wgs | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Matthew Trisler, Main Office wgs | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Main Office postage | 15.00 |
| Main Office stationery | 1.50 |

**December 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| Industrial Pioneer, Dec. B. O. | 76.82 |

**December 29**

| | |
|---|---|
| Equity Printing Co., Ballots, Convention minutes and Bulletin | 183.62 |
| Industrial Solidarity, Dec. B. O. | 66.45 |
| Literature to date, Hdqts | 20.00 |
| Organization supplies to date | 757.36 |
| Telegrams to date | 12.32 |
| Due books to date | 813.87 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wgs | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Matthew Trisler, Main Office wgs | 28.00 |

**December 31**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 110, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 90.80 |
| I. U. No. 120, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 168.45 |
| I. U. No. 210, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 63.90 |
| I. U. No. 220, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 10.95 |
| I. U. No. 230, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 7.50 |
| I. U. No. 320, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 2.50 |
| I. U. No. 330, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 43.70 |
| I. U. No. 410, 50 per cent Dec. reports | .75 |
| I. U. No. 440, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 25.80 |
| I. U. No. 460, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 41.25 |
| I. U. No. 470, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 1.55 |
| I. U. No. 480, 50 per cent Dec. reports | .50 |
| I. U. No. 510, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 22.60 |
| I. U. No. 520, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 71.80 |
| I. U. No. 530, 50 per cent Dec. reports | .75 |
| I. U. No. 540, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 2.60 |
| I. U. No. 610, 50 per cent Dec. reports | .25 |
| I. U. No. 620, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 1.55 |
| I. U. No. 530, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 1.00 |
| I. U. No. 640, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 1.00 |
| I. U. No. 650, 50 per cent Dec. reports | 2.50 |
| I. U. No. 660, 50 per cent Dec. reports | .50 |
| Bond stamps for December | 372.00 |
| Educational stamps for Dec. | 52.50 |
| General Defense stamps, receipt books and donations | 392.50 |
| I. U. No. 440 Special stamps | 4.00 |
| Per Capita for December | 633.45 |
| Total | $5,380.98 |

## SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Receipts | $6,155.77 |
| Cash on hand Dec. 1 | 2,301.05 |
| Total | $8,456.82 |
| Expenses | 7,693.52 |
| Cash on hand January 1, 1924 | 763.30 |

Indebtedness: None.

**J. KENNEDY,**
Secretary-Treasurer I. U. No. 310.

# General Construction Workers Bulletin

CHICAGO, ILL. | G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W. | No. 11. FEBRUARY 10, 1924.

# THE B. C. LUMBER STRIKE MUST WIN!

The lumber workers' strike in B. C., Canada is one of the biggest strikes ever pulled in the lumber industry for some time. This is the twenty-fifth day of the strike and the lumber tie-up is nearly complete with very few men working and the pickets have succeeded in getting most of these off from the job in the last few days. The estimated number of men out is between twelve and fifteen thousand.

**Strike! Strike! Strike!**

**All camps in the Cranbrook district are out on strike for—**

**The Eight-Hour Day; $4.00 Minimum Wage; Release of All Class War Prisoners; No Censoring of our Literature; No Discrimination against Members of the I. W. W.; Blankets to be Furnished by the Company.**

These are the demands that the lumber workers are making upon the lumber companies of British Columbia. They have struck and stuck for twenty-five days now and they are fighting against great odds, but they are still sticking and will stick until the above demands are granted. They have tied up the camps at an opportune time, right at the time when the sleigh haul should have been in full swing, when every day lost means a great loss in profit for the companies.

The lumber magnates are yielding. They will soon give up and grant all the demands. But right now is the time for every member of the I. W. W. as well as unorganized workers everywhere to do their share in making the strike a success.

It has cost thousands of dollars to carry on this strike to date. It will cost thousands of dollars more to carry it on to a successful finish. What if this strike should be lost? What would it mean to the workers in other lumbering regions? What would it mean to the workers of all other industries? It would mean defeat for one and for all. It would mean a set-back in organization in Canada, as well as in the U. S. A. This strike has a direcet bearing upon all workers everywhere. If we lose now it will mean a tremendous victory for the organized lumber companies. It will mean that their power shall remain supreme in the lumber industry.

**This strike must not be lost. It will not be lost if every worker will do his share in supplying the necessary funds to carry it on to victory. Money is all that is needed now, but it must be rushed to the strikers at once.**

Workers everywhere should take up collections for this strike. All funds received are handled by a committee and will be properly accounted for. **Send all funds to James. L. Peterson, Box 761, Cranbrook, B. C., Canada,** who is chairman of the strike committee. Money must be rushed there at once. Every moment counts. If sufficient funds are supplied within the next few days the strike is won. Give what you can, Fellow Workers, and then give some more. This is your fight as well as theirs. **We must all rally to the aid of these heroic strikers. Right now, with dollars, that is what is needed.** They are holding the fort patiently and are depending on you for assistance. Many of them are broke and they must have aid. **Let's go, Fellow Workers, THE B. C. STRIKE MUST BE WON.**

## THE SHADOW IS LIFTING

The fight against the powers of darkness in California has been a long and bitter one. A large number of members of the I. W. W. have been sent to prison under the Criminal Syndicalism law. For almost five years the persecution under cloak of law has been unrelenting. But now the shadow is lifting. The Criminal Syndicalism law as a weapon of intimidation and revenge is no longer the terrible thing it was a few months ago. The reason for the cessation of persecution under this inhuman law is easily found. It is due to the publicity given to the people of California. The truth is at last becoming known to everyone.

There have been seventy-nine trials under the Criminal Syndicalism law. Two hundred and ninety-two men have been arrested and charged with violation of this barbarous law. Approximately one hundred and eighty men have been convicted. There are at the present writing, ninety seven men in San Quentin and Folsom serving from one to fourteen years and in some cases from two to twenty-eight years.

The methods used by the prosecution in railroading men to prison in these cases have made California a byword among the legal fraternity in other states. The total disregard for legal ethics and judicial fairness is unparalleled anywhere else in the world. The prosecuting attorneys and the judges have been at the beck and call of the industrial owners and have served the interests of their masters.

So unfair have they been that the third appellate court in a recent decision reversed the judgment of Judge Charles O. Busick of Sacramento on the ground of prejudicial misconduct towards the defendants in the Flanagan-Stangeland case, and for wrong instructions to the jury. The appellate court also ruled that the defendants must know of the criminality of the organization—providing, of course, that criminality exists—at the time of initiation. This ruling of the appellate court will have a far-reaching effect and we expect to have many more reversals on the same grounds. Slowly but surely the prosecution is having the ground cut out from under their feet. District Attorney Henderson of Sacramento is quoted as saying that the latest ruling of the appellate court has taken the teeth out of the Criminal Syndicalism law. No doubt the honorable gentleman is somewhat angry that the fangs have been extracted. He would like to see the vicious prosecution of workers continue indefinitely. And Judge Busick also is peeved that members of the I. W. W. are at last receiving some measure of justice in the courts at this late hour. Judge Busick is also quoted as saying that the ruling has killed the injunction that he at the behest of the ruling class has foisted on the people of Sacramento County.

(Continued on page 3)

## CAUSE FOR ENTHUSIASM

Three Ten now has four conferences on its calender. One in Chicago, Ill., on April 2; another in Omaha, Neb., on March 15; a third in Portland, Ore., on Feb. 20, and a fourth at Stockton, Calif., also on April 2. These conferences are called to consider ways and means to carry on extensive organization plans this year.

This is as it should be. Only extensive organization will get us anywhere, and this can only be secured through well-planned campaigns. We can't get more wages and better working conditions, such as hours, housing and food, unless we get together, build an organization and go after them as an organized body. The day of individual or small group action is long gone. This is the day of big contractors' organizations, from which we should take a few lessons.

Let us also be inspired by the success of the I. W. W. lumberjacks. They are pushing organization into the Central West, Eastern and Canadian territories and have gained 2,000 recruits in the Maine woods alone, while the Lumberworkers' Unit of the O. B. U. of Canada is taking a referendum vote on joining them in a body. That should arouse us to renewed enthusiasm! Let's go!

**HAVE YOUR 1923 CREDENTIALS BEEN RENEWED?**

## THE 1924 ORGANIZATION DRIVE

This is a continuation of "The 1924 Organization Drive" article which appeared in the monthly bulletin of January 10th.

* * *

As previously stated, our real organization work must be done at the point of production; in other words, we should try to stay as long as it is possible if we want to organize the workers on the job we happen to be on. Perhaps we **think** no worker can put up with the conditions or wages, as we can often read in the job news sent in by the members. If we **think** so, how are we going to get the workers in such a place organized?

Can that be done by just spreading literature or by staying on the job just long enough to make a "road-stake?" I maintain that what we think should be done, should be superseded by what we **will** do!

Supposing there are ten or twelve fellow workers on a "dirt" job, or in any other industry; their conditions are the worst, etc. The whole crew consists of about sixty workers. These twelve fellow workers make up their mind to organize these workers so as to get better conditions, etc.; can they do so by **thinking** that the job is only good for a "road-stake" on account of its rotten conditions; or by spreading our literature no matter how logical the same would be? Or must they have to put up with the conditions till organized action and demands will improve the conditions? What is your opinion and what is your action on this?

My idea is that by staying on the job, if we intend to organize these workers, we get acquainted with them; our work of agitation will become easier; the ones we are trying to organize will have greater confidence in us and the ideas we are putting forward; seeing that active delegates and members are not trying to organize them to pull them off the jobs as soon as some minor grievance comes up. If we once get the confidence of the workers on a certain job, which we have made up our minds to organize, to improve conditions, wages, etc., it will be an easy matter to organize them for action and results will follow.

I would like to see in all construction jobs white bedsheets and pillow cases. This can be done. Why wages on construction jobs for common labor should be below the scale in the lumber industry for instance (as I am certain the profits of the Masters are the same percentage), is more than I can figure out.

Now, Fellow Workers, if you do not agree with my suggestion for the 1924 organization drive, let's hear from you and compare notes. Perhaps you can work out some real program and no matter if the form of organization is supply stations, branches or districts, or what not, let's all put our shoulder to the wheel, to make the year 1924 the banner year for 310 and the I. W. W. as far as building same up goes. We claim that only economic action will open the prison doors. Let us prove so by organizing at the point of production.

**—Card No. 731731.**

### A CORRECTION

In December financial statement on page 7, under heading of "District No. 3, December 20, Delegate GC-742, Remittance $32.-80," this should have been "Delegate GC-472, remittance $32.80."

## CENTRALIA VICTIMS MUST BE FREED! ARE YOU WITH OR AGAINST THEM?

Eight of our fellow workers are now on their fifth year in Washington prisons because they did what every other red-blooded person would have done had they been in their places the day of the tragedy. Who can tell but what the Centralia victims nipped in the bud a national conspiracy of the masters to terrorize the I. W. W. out of existence.

Had the fellow workers allowed the mob to wreck their hall and lynch them without resistance, there is little doubt but it would have encouraged mobs in other localities to follow the same procedure that received judicial sanction in the state of Washington.

It was proven by witnesses at the trial that the whole plot was hatched by agents of the lumber trusts and that it was their intention to raid the hall and that two prominent persons marching in the parade carried ropes presumably to lynch several of the fellow workers. Moreover, it was brought out at the trial by a member of the parade that the mob was at the door of the hall and attempting to enter when they were resisted.

Their action in defending their hall against this lawless element has been of inestimable service to the working class in general and to you in particular. They have made it easy for you to keep your hall open against agents of the masters. They averted what might have been a wholesale slaughter of the active members of all labor organizations.

Is their thanks to be twenty-five or forty years behind prison bars? Shall we give the master an opportunity to say to the fellow workers, "You claim you stood your ground on working class principles. Let us suppose you were right in your stand, but on the other hand, what is the working class doing for you? Are they even co-operating with the General Defense Committee to effect your freedom?"

And the question is, Are you?

The General Defense Committee has now on the press a 16-page pamphlet containing facts of the Centralia conspiracy. We want to get this pamphlet in the hands of every worker in the state of Washington and if possible in the hands of the whole American working class. You can help us by distributing literature and raising funds. The pamphlet will be circulated free. Can we enlist your aid for the fight?

Yours for Concentrated Action,

**GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,**
**1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.**

### PHONE COMPANY PLANS BIG EXPANSION IN CALIFORNIA

Additional services and construction to entail a cost of $40,000,000 during 1924 is contemplated by the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co., according to announcements.

About 110,000 new stations will be erected, additional toll lines costing $2,500,000 will be laid and central office equipment will be purchased at a cost of $8,400,000, it is said.

### NOTICE

Fellow Worker A. B. Dollar, a member of I. U. 310, died at Taft, Cal., December 19, 1923.

## ANOTHER CLASS-WAR VICTIM

Fellow Worker Harry Lindsay (Scotty Lindsay), Card No. 820993, a member of I. U. No. 310, who was in the Los Angeles jail last summer, being held under C. S. law and while confined there contracted a disease, owing to the jail being insanitary, overcrowded and not fit for habitation, died in Los Angeles last week. A collection of over $300 was taken up by members around Los Angeles for his burial.

The jail was built originally for 400 prisoners and the number of persons incarcerated there varied from 750 to 850. It is said that members of the grand jury, who visited this jail recently, found that in one room, 25x32 feet in size, were confined 109 prisoners, a large portion of whom were forced to sleep on the floor. The air space is one-third of the minimum required by the state law for penal institutions, the grand jury revealed. In this room the sewers frequently overflowed, spreading over the floor of the room and making such a condition as virtually to render habitation impossible and for the prisoners to remain there is almost condemnation to disease and possible death. Lack of sewage facilities, air space, bathing accommodations and other provisions for caring for the health of the inmates were set forth by the grand jurors as creating a condition which makes this jail virtually a pest house.

## HOW CAN WE ORGANIZE THEM?

Los Angeles, Calif., Jan. 15, 1924.

In Bulletin No. 20, January 9, 1924, is an article on organization work in 1924 by Card No. 731731. His idea is to stay stay on the job until he is well acquainted and has gained the men's confidence.

In California there are some 310 delegates who follow dirt work who know nearly all the men who do that kind of work, and still they cannot organize them. Why? Selfishness, I guess, must be the cause. The dirt movers only think of getting a little more pay than his fellow worker so he can have more money to play poker with.

The word "hoosier" appears in 310 job reports every little while and that word in my opinion should never be used. There is some excuse for a hoosier through his ignorance in not being organized, but for the old time skinner who has followed that work all his life there is none whatever and he is, I think, the worst enemy.

The old timer twenty years ago worked about twelve hours a day, got nothing to eat, no place to sleep and sometimes had to give notice when he wanted to quit. In some places they would not let him quit until another man came along. They must have liked it that way as they are very hard to do anything with. They will read the papers but when it comes to taking out a card they won't do it.

If somebody would suggest some way to line up that kind of men it would be appreciated. The only delegate who will ever organize them is the Grim Reaper, Death, in my opinion.

There must be some way to organize these men but we have not found the way yet. Hoping somebody will offer a good suggestion, I remain,

Yours for the O. B. U.,

**Delegate C4-7.**

## BEST LABOR MAGAZINE PRINTED

The Industrial Pioneer, the illustrated monthly magazine published by the I. W. W. is now acclaimed "the best labor magazine printed." It is growing in circulation right along.

The February number is an exceptionally good one. It has a new feature in the shape of "A Migratory Worker's Diary." This is a record of jobs for a year, together with reasons for leaving them, with location and names of employers. Many of the items will interest general construction workers. Don't fail to read "A Migratory Worker's Diary."

There are a score or more other articles that will also appeal to the working class reader. These articles are of interest to marine transport workers, lumber workers, railroaders, electric, metal and machinery, steel and other workers, homeguard as well as migratory.

The February Pioneer is well illustrated with photos, cartoons, decorative designs and other artistic features. The cover design in two colors is especially striking.

Price is 20 cents a copy. Bundles of five or more, 12 cents a copy, non-returnable. Subscriptions, $2 a year; $1 six months. Address 'The Industrial Pioneer,' 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill., or the Main Headquarters of General Construction Workers Industrial Union No. 310, at the same address.

## STRIKE

Kansas City, Kans., Jan. 25, 1924.
I. U. No. 310, Chicago, Ill.
Fellow Worker:

Am writing you in regard to a strike which was pulled in F. Seabury's team camp this morning. Seabury is doing day work for the Union Pacific Ry. We had been working nine hours until yesterday when he stretched the hours to ten per day and would only pay the skinners for nine hours; and the U. P. Ry. Co. is paying him for ten hours. Every man left the job with the exception of the plow holder, cat skinner, wagon dumper and the barn man. This is a one-machine outfit located two miles north of Kansas City, Kansas.

**Card X-96340.**

## CALIFORNIA CONTRACTS AWARDED

Contracts totaling $1,312,874 for construction of the first unit of the Truckee River Highway, for the widening and thickening of existing trunk highways in San Diego and Sacramento counties and for construction work in Sonoma county and other work, were awarded by the state highway commission at a meeting held at San Francisco.

The largest contract was for the grading and widening of the Pacific highway in Shasta county from Bayha to Halfway Creek, ten miles, for $480,862 and was awarded to the Nevada Constructing Co. of Fallon, Nevada.

The widening and thickening of sixteen miles of the Coast highway from San Diego to Oceanside was contracted for $436,045. Jahn & Bressi of Los Angeles were awarded this contract.

Contracts were also awarded for the

(Continued from page 1.)

There will probably be a few more Criminal Syndicalism cases in California before the end of the persecution but they will be very few. The days of the Criminal Syndicalism law are numbered. Los Angeles, for a long time the most vicious of all the counties, has ceased prosecution under it. There is a C. S. trial going on at the present time in Sacramento, but regardless of the verdict, and we are very optimistic of the outcome, it will be the last case in that county. The lumber country is still striving to send men to prison under this law but they too will soon be forced to see the error of their ways. It is becoming increasingly hard for the prosecution to secure verdicts of conviction. Juries are loath to convict when they learn that the question is an industrial one and should be fought out in industry. The people of the whole state are beginning to realize that the lies sent broadcast about the I. W. W. and its membership are but propaganda of the exploiters who live off the labor of the workers. They are beginning to see that the struggle is between the ones who own and control the industries and the wage workers who want a higher standard of living.

But we must not become too optimistic and relax our vigilance. The fight is not ever in California. "But half of our heavy task is done." Even if there is not another prosecution under the criminal syndicalism law, we are only started on our campaign. The men in the prison camps must be released. There are ninety-seven victims of the cruel, inhuman law in San Quentin and Folsom and they must be given their freedom. Ours is the task to bring the truth to the people, not only of California but the people of the whole country and to the peoples of the world.

Almost one hundred of our valiant fighters in the Cause of Freedom are buried alive in the dungeons of the Oligarchy. They have gone to prison with the love of Freedom in their hearts and songs on their lips. Their adherence to the principles of the I. W. W. is sublime, almost fanatical.

If you want to see their spirits unbroken and their ideals unsullied and unquenched, you will fight for their release.

**California Branch of General Defense Committee, 226 Russ Building, San Francisco, California.**

## TAKE NOTICE

All delegates who have not had their 1923 credentials renewed should get in touch with Main Office of I. U. No. 310 at once. All 310 Serial G. C. credentials have expired, and delegates should send in a statement of all supplies on hand, including any you may have on report sheet. As soon as statement of supplies on hand arrive, your account under expired credential will be closed and transferred over to 1924 Serial C4- credential number, a clearance under expired credential, also a new serial C4-, 1924, credential will be mailed you.

grading and paving of four miles of the state highway between Beltano and Shellyville, (Sonoma county), Calif., to Galbraith & James (San Mateo county), Calif., for $274.760, and the paving of approximately two miles in the vicinity of Galt to the Kaiser Paving Company of Oakland, Cal., for $53,354.

## OAKLAND 310 MEETING

Meeting called to order at Oakland, California, January 12, 1924, by John Graham, G. O. C. Card No. 194486 elected Chairman; Card No. 443878, elected Rec · Sec'y.

Conductor reports 12 members present.

M. & S. That communication from Fellow Worker Swanson be laid over to New Business. Carried.

M. & S That communication in regards to the Joint conference in Sacramento be laid over to New Business. Carried.

**New Business**

M. & S. That the floor be thrown open for discussion on communication from Swanson in regards to charges against Kennedy and Trisler. Carried.

M. & S. That the discussion be closed. Carried.

M. & S. That we concur with Portland in regards to declaring the I. U. 310 ballot null and void. Carried. 4 for, 3 against.

M. & S. That we concur with letter of Jan. 11th from Oakland I. U. 330 branch in regards to Joint conference in Sacramento. Carried.

M. & S. That these minutes be sent to I. U. 310 regular business meeting at San Francisco, Sunday, Jan. 13th. Carried.

M. & S That we demand a copy from Portland supply station of the charges against Kennedy and Trisler. Carried.

M.& S. That we adjourn. Carried.

Adjourned at 6:30 p. m.

**Card No. 194486, Chairman,**
**Card No. 443878, Rec.-Sec'y.**

## CONFERENCES

**Chicago, Illinois**

The I. U. 310 membership went on record to call a Mass Conference at Chicago, Illinois, April 2, 1924.

Send resolutions and suggestions to the main office of I. U. 310, 2 So. Morgan St., Chicago, Illinois.

**Omaha, Nebraska**

As per ruling of the convention, a mass conference of construction workers will be held at Omaha, Nebraska, March 15, 1924, to outline a program of working conditions, such as hours, housing and food, and each district to legislate for its own district only.

All 310 members should attend this conference if possible.

**Portland, Oregon**

A district conference of G.C.W.I.U. 310 is to be held at Portland, Oregon on February 20, 1924, to start at 10 a. m., to devise ways and means for the coming year on all cases pertaining to organization.

**Elmer Swanson. G.O.C. Member.**

**Stockton, California**

There will be an I.U. 310 Conference held in Stockton, Cal., on Wednesday, April 2, 1924, for the purpose of devising ways and means to carry on an extensive organization campaign this coming year. All members that can should attend this conference.

Resolutions and suggestions should be sent to F.L. Cunningham, Box 754, Stockton, California.

**John Graham, G.O.C. Member.**

# Job News From Active Delegates

**Oxnard, Cal., 12-13-23.** — Hauser Construction Co. State highway. About two years' work. Steam shovels and rock work. About 60 men. Wages $4.00 low, $6.00 top. $1.25 board. Furnishes camp bedding. Single beds. About six men to a bunk house. You have to ship from Red Cross employment office or see superintendent in Oxnard. Don't hike out to the job for they won't hire you. Sanitary conditions fair. Chuck is good. Fine location for a wobbly camp, along the ocean, alongside of the mountains. **(GC-490.)**

**Oxnard, Cal., 12-13-23.**—John D. Hutchinson Const. Co. About three blocks east of S. P. depot. Land leveling. Fresno work. Four-ups. Seven men, fill and spill your own. $3.00 chuck. Eight hours. Work is indefinite. Men are plentiful right here but it is all white. **(GC-490.)**

**Burney, Cal., 12-25-23.**—Pit River Power Project. P. G. & E. and Bates & Bowling. Building dam and driving tunnels. Job will last four or five years. Hire on job or ship from Murray & Ready in San Francisco, Stockton and Sacramento. Fee $3.00, fare advanced. Fare from Frisco and Stockton, $15.00; Sacramento, $11.50. Shipping from Redding. Fare $7.75, fee $1.50. Redding 72 miles by stage. P. G. & E. wages: miners, $5.50; muckers, $4.50; jackhammer men, $4.50 and $5.00; outside labor, $4.00 and $4.50; brick drivers, carpenters and linemen, 75 cents per hour. Cooks and bakers $125.00 to $150.00 a month. Board is $1.25 a day. **(X10021.)**

**Burney, Cal., 12-25-23.**—Bates & Bowling, gyppoing. Camps 7 and 9. Miners $6.00, muckers and laborers $5.50. Board $1.35 a day. Furnish your own bed. Bunk houses fairly good. Bath houses on this job. Grub is good in camps where the cooks don't spoil it, as the P. G. & E. furnishes the best. Anyone figuring on rustling this job should come in through Sisson and McCloud. Pit is 35 miles from the end of the McCloud River R. R. **(X10021.)**

**Yuma, Ariz., 12-16-23.**—There is supposed to be a highway started from Prescott to Phoenix. There is a road job going on at Clear Creek, about 26 miles from Clarksdale. Wages, laborers $3.50. All Indians and Mexicans. Truck drivers $150.00 per month, shovel runner $6.00 per day. About 80 men employed, 20 of them white. Job will last over a year. Road job out of Bouise. Out of Phoenix two dams. Roosevelt dam; raising power house on Mormon Flats dam. There will be lots of concrete work this month. Both of these jobs you hire through Phoenix. Eighteen miles west of Gila Bend on Main Line of S. P. two highway camps. Mostly all whites. Lots of tourists trying for jobs there. One camp has just got started and the other moving in. Wages for wagon skinners $3.75 eight hours. I suppose $3.50 is low and $1.25 for board. Must have a bed also. About 150 men will be employed when they get started. 30 miles of road to be built. 310 delegates should make this job. Then in Yuma there is a government job. About 14 miles out. At present there are about 110 men working on it. Wages laborers $3.00 per eight hour day, pump man $4.00 per day, dinkey skinners $5.00 per day, shovel runner $6.00. Board is $1.00 per day and rotten. Bunk houses the worst you ever saw. Mostly all Mexicans. Counting bosses, kitchen help, there are about 35 white men. Conditions in this camp are the rottenest you can find. There will be more men put on this job in about three or four weeks as there is lots of work. Then at Imperial Irrigation Project about nine miles from Yuma there are about 30 men employed, mostly mechanics, at present. Expect more men will be put on in the near future. Right in Yuma there will be a big job. They are going to move the mount where the old pen was and build a new yard and depot. Work will start on this in about another week. There will be a power line job start here in about a month from Yuma. It will be about a four months' job. **(GC-1.)**

**Cisco, Cal., 9-15-23.**—P. G. & E. This job is called the Fordyce Dam. Making private company roads ,raising the Fordyce dam 35 feet. Work for two years. There will be lots of snow in thirty days. Five camps in nine miles . 600 men. Sentiment no good. Wages, teamsters, laborers, Fresno loader and dumpman, concrete men, carpenters' helpers 50c an hour, rigger 60c, carpenters 80c, plow skinner and shaker 60c. Fare Reno $3.06, Sacramento $4.00. Bring your balloon. Work nine hours. Board $1.25. Sanitary conditions no good. Camp No. 4 has shower bath. No. 5 is worst of all. Chances of going to work. Fare refunded after 60 days. Come up and back in trucks. This is a good place to organize. Plenty of stools in all the camps. Beware of a fellow they call Clancy, the water boy. **(GC-523)**

**Alexander, Idaho, 12-3-23.**—One fourth of mile from Alexander there is a power dam under construction by Phoenix Utility Co. This is a winter job and a big part of the summer. About 400 men working. Men are shipping out of Salt Lake City every day. Fare advanced which amounts to $6.05. Wages are different. Day shift, 40c an hour eight hours, night shift 45c an hour for eight hours; graveyard shift, 45-50c for seven to eight hours. Carpenters, 60c for eight hours. Night shift work sometimes from one to fourteen hours a shift for straight time but they call it overtime. The bunk houses are crowded. 40 men, double deckers. Blankets furnished, $1.00 a month; hospital, $1 a month. Bum board, at $1.20 a day. Ship out from Salt Lake City. There is a good chance for 310 delegates to do some good work for the organization. Let's go and organize the slaves. **(GC-173.)**

**Sunol, Cal., 11-9-23.**—Palmer and McBride. Building dirt dam. Spring Valley Co. may start work soon at this camp. 100 men employed. Laborers $4.00. Nine hours. One camp. Board fair. Hire on job, get truck from Sunol about 9 a.m. Sunol is on W.P. and S.P. in Niles Canyon 29 miles from Oakland. Chances to go to work. Job will last six months. Turn over labor coming and going all the time. 4 men in bunk-house. Electric lights. Bring your own blankets.

**Santa Maria, Cal.. 12-10-23.**—Hudson, contractor, has got about three months' work here out of Santa Maria. About 20 miles of highway. There are two camps here, one is steam shovel and the other is finishing. $4.00 low, 45c a meal for board. Rag tents. Furnish your own bed. It is mostly Mexican, which Chi Kid prefers. He is against organization. Chuck is not worth $1.35 a day. It is hard to set in on this outfit as they ship you from L. A. **(GC-490)**

**Soda Springs, Idaho. 11-28-23.**—Force account Gov. work. 16 miles out. Dike work. 40 men. Sentiment no good. Wages, teamhands, $4.50. Work nine hours. Sanitary conditions rotten. Board $1.05. Hire out on job. Man catcher at Enders Hotel, Soda Springs. Leave Zeppelin behind as bedding is furnished. Chuck fine. Fellow workers making these parts should make this job. Job will last all winter. **(X34522)**

**Alexander, Idaho, 10-22-23.**—Phoenix Utility Co. building a dam. Camp about one-half mile out of Alexander. About 400 men working. Wages 40 cents per hour. Work eight hours per day. Two shifts working. Board fair at $1.20 per day. Hospital fee $1.00. Bedding $1.00 per month. Clean. The work is not hurry up. The bunk houses are crowded, 44 men to each when fullhanded. Top bunks. There are shower baths with hot and cold water at all times. There is a Sheriff and Deputy in camp. What they are here for is easy to realize. They sure are not here to look after the welfare of the workers because a pair of shoes were stolen from a worker and payday there was some of the slaves drunk and he did not pay any attention. There were also poker games going on without any interference from either the Sheriff or the Deputy. The sentiment for the organization among the men is fair and new members can always be lined up but the company is hostile, so brass band should be left behind. The company is hiring men in Ogden and Salt Lake, the fare is advanced. They are also hiring on the job. Job will last about eighteen months. (GC 297).

**Winona, Arizona, 10-25-23.**—U. S. R. S. 50 men employed. Mostly auto tramps. Wages $3.75 per day. $1.20 board. Conditions fair. Sentiment no good. All winter work. Highway work. (GC 300).

**Merced Falls, Cal. 10-24-23.**—Yosemite Lumber Co. Constructing railroad. Job will last six months. Two camps. Seventy men in this camp. Sentiment poor. Laborers, teamsters 50 cents per hour, riggers 65 cents per hour. Nine hours. Board fair at $1.25 per day. Bath house, no washroom or hot water to wash with. Chances to go to work. Hire at Merced Falls, Cal. Murray and Ready Empt. office. Fee $2.00, fare $2.40 by stage. Murray and Ready ship from Sacramento. Cal., at fee and fare of $13.80. This job is seventy-four miles east of Merced on the Yosemite Val. Railroad. Men can hire out at sawmill at Merced Falls to go to work at this camp. See Superintendent there. (GC 609).

**Pendleton, Oregon, 12-10-23.**—McKay, six miles out of Pendleton. U. S. R. G. Long job. About two or three years' work. Sanitary conditions good. Board and room $1.30 per day. Laborers $3.60 eight hours,

# CONSTRUCTION WORKERS BULLETIN

"An Injury to One Is An Injury to All."

ONE UNION No. 11 ONE ENEMY

Published Monthly by I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W.
Address all communications to
2 SO. MORGAN ST. CHICAGO, ILL.
MATTHEW TRISLER, Chairman
J. KENNEDY, Sec'y-Treas.


tunnel muckers $4.40, eight hours, miners jack hammer $5.60, tunnel work. Two shifts. Flunkies $50 per month. There are five donkey's out here, only one works. Sentiment for organization seems fair. Hire on the job. About 16 men to a bunkhouse. Shower baths. Full handed at present. **(GC-601.)**

**Colton, Cal., 1-22-24.**—Hall and Johnson. Street work. About three months work. One cat, two machines. About 18 men. Nine hours at $5. Sentiment fair at present. They have no camp here at present, but are figuring on putting one in. Fresno work right now. They are unloading cat and machine today, about seven wagons.—**(C4-59.)**

**Bowie, Arizona, 1-14-24.**—Wages paid here are 66c an hour for bridge carpenters and 50c an hour for carpenters' helpers. Supposed to be eight hours a day but in all it is nearly nine hours a day. You can apply at Tucson, Ariz., R. R. office for employment. There are generally ten to twelve in a gang. **(C4-61.)**

**Santa Cruz, Calif., 1-14-24.**—Reservoir city water. Two caterpillars, two steam shovels, also fresno and blade and rollers. About 70 men. Sentiment poor. Put up bathhouse shower but connected to cold water pipe. Wages teamhands $4.50, laborers $4.00, machine work from $4.50 to $5.00. Work eight hours. One camp. Sanitary conditions poor. Board fair. You can hire on job if they need men. Job will last sixty to ninty days. **(742484.)**

**Caliente, Nevada, 1-1-24.**—Dahl Const. Co. One mile from Pioche. Highway construction. Sentiment good. Wages teamhands 50c per hour, laborers same, carpenters 75c an hour. Work eight hours. Two camps. Pack your own bed. Board fair at times. Job will last two or three months. **(M4-63.)**

**Burney, Calif., 1-9-24.**—Bates and Borland. Tunnel work. Two portals working here, three shifts. 130 men. Sentiment fair. Wages teamhands $5.00 and $5.50, laborers $5.00 and $5.50, miners $6.00, muckers $5.50, compress men $6.00, electricians $1.00 per hour. Work eight hours. Two camps. Sanitary conditions average. Ship from Sparks & Walters, Redding, Cal. Shipping fee $1.50 and $2.00; fare $7.80 by stage. Redding road is the best way to get up there. Board is $1.35 a day, hospital $1.00. Hire on job. Job will last two years. Miners do their own timbering. This job is in a mountain country. Furnish your own balloon. **(C4-85.)**

**Los Angeles, Calif., 1-1-24.**—Los Angeles Water Dept. Stone Canyon. Building a dam. About 120 men employed. Board $1.20 per day. Wooden bunkhouses, four men to a house. Hot and cold water, shower baths. Board good. Wages laborers $4.00 eight hours, teamsters $4.00. Two-up wagons, steam shovel work. Best way to get work is to apply on job. Men are not leaving job very fast at present. Best way to get on job is to take Santa Monica car at Hill St. station, Los Angeles, get off at Soldiers' Home at Sawtelle, then walk 4 1-2 miles up Stone Canyon to dam. Work will last all winter. **(C4-59.)**

**Paducah, Ky., 1-9-24.**—John Marsh Construction Co. Two camps. Board fair at $1.00. Wages 35c an hour. Sentiment poor. Work nine hours. **(X163308.)**

**Manchester, Calif., 1-15-24.**—Nearest P. O. Los Angeles. Garrison with Potter Smith Real Estate. Wagon work and fresnoes. This is a machine outfit, about nine two-up wagons, two four-up fresnoes, and one two-up fresno. About 20 men. This job is in Los Angeles outskirts. Wages teamhands $5.62 1-2. Work nine hours. Sanitary conditions, no camp. Live in town. Take F car, Third St., turns south on Main. Get off at Manchester Ave. and walk toward Western Ave, about ten minutes walk. Hire on the job. Team work. Job will last two months. Los Angeles seems to have all the skinners in California as there is a lot of real estate work here. **(C4-7.)**

**Caliente, Nevada, 1-18-24.**—Ryburg's Const. Building a new roundhouse and R. R. yards. R. R. company also has a large gang of Mexicans here. 30 men employed. Sentiment good. Laborers 50c an hour, brickmasons 72c an hour. Work eight hours. One camp. Board good if you want to pay for it. Ship from Salt Lake. Fee $2.00 and up. Anytime you get fired you get a pass to Salt Lake. Job will last two or three months. **(M4-63.)**

**Alta, Calif., 1-21-24.**—P. G. & E. Camp 1. 70 men working. Building road to power house. There will be two more camps as soon as road is built. Wages 50c and 55c an hour. Board $1.25. Rag houses, no bath. Bring your own bed. Board fair. Hire on job. One and one-half mile from town. John Martin, Supt. No highball. **(C4-58.)**

**Andover and Lakeview, Calif., 1-21-24.**—Utah Const. Co. Tunnel construction. Two camps. Wages miners $6.00, muckers $5. Eight hours, outside labor nine hours, 45c an hour, carpenters 80c. Board $1.25 and rotten. Bunkhouses poor. No bathhouse. Pack your own bed. Hire on job. **(C4-58.)**

**Summit, Calif., 1-21-24.**—Erickson & Peterson. Building tunnel. Wages miners $6.00, chucktenders $5.25, muckers $5.00, outside labor 50c an hour. Nine hours. Board $1.25. E. &. P. Standard. Bunkhouses fair. Bathhouse on job. Hire on job. Force acount at present. Driving pioneer tunnel 8-8. Job will last two years. **C4-58.)**

### ATTENTION TO 310 NOMINEES

All nominees on the I. U. 310 ballot should send their address to the Main Office of I. U. 310.

Send in your present address and don't fail to give new address in case you move.

### NOTICE

The I. U. 310 convention went on record that continuation cards be issued only from the Main Office.

All delegates, supply clerks, G. O. C. members, traveling delegates, shall send in the blank continuation cards to the Main Office at once.

### NOTICE TO DELEGATES

Delegates shall not issue numbered cards as continuation cards, as they can only be issued by the Main Office of I. U. 310.

### NOTICE

Fellow Worker Fred Vailter, Card No. 804145, delegate number GC-385, last heard from at Ketchikan, Alaska, is requested to get in touch with Main Office of I. U. 310 at once. This is important.

### NOTICE TO 310 MEMBERS

Fellow Worker Ed. Renton, a nominee of I. U. 310 Referendum ballot for Sec'y-Treas. of I. U. 310, has tranferred to I. U. 120.

### TRUCKEE RIVER ROUTE STARTS

The grading of a section of the highway between Truckee and Boca, 7 miles, was awarded to Irey & Hilden of Lodi for $67,-852.

This work will be on the Auburn-Verdi stretch of this transcontinental highway, and definitely commits the State to the building of the Truckee River route as a connection with Nevada instead of the Dog Valley grade, which was also strongly proposed.

### NOTICE

Delegates, also members, are requested to send in Job News also articles for the Bulletins, also to notify this office of any Job News being run in bulletins which is near completion, that should be discontinued.

Fellow Worker Dan Hortnett, Card No. X-126952, lost his card at Sprague and Nicely's camp at Bonneville, Wyoming. any member seeing same take up on sight and send same to Main Office of I. U. 310.

## Where to Get Supplies and Literature

F. Cunningham, Box 754, Stockton, Cal.
A. C. Morris, Box 421, Tacoma, Wash.
Geo. Chitwood, Box 827, Pasco, Wash.
Pete Anderson, Box 365, Seattle, Wash.
Earl Heikkinen, Box 1689, Spokane, Wash.
Ed. Wells, Box 91, Eureka, Calif.
Pat Noonan, Box 107, Omaha, Nebr.
Fritz Rudd, 115 Nicollet Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
Martin Anderson, Box 451, Casper, Wyo.
A. R. Sail, 1222 Fourth St., Sioux City, Ia.
O. W. I. U. 230, Box 212, Taft, Calif.
John McSlarrow, Box 641, Everett, Wash.
Lee Tulin, 318 N. Wyoming St., Butte, Mont.
Wm. Goldsmith, Box 1413, Great Falls, Mont.
Frank Foster, Box 486, Whitefish, Mont.
Wm. Buchwald, Box 3001, Portland, Ore.
J, J. Ebbeson, Box 3291, Portland, Ore.
Dan Paul, Box 730, Missoula, Mont.
Miles Sweeney, 367 Sixth St., 3rd floor, Milwaukee, Wis.
Joe Oates, Box 1504, Salt Lake, Utah.
John Aron, Box 69, Sta. D, New York, N. Y.
Joe McCarthy, 8 N. 6th Ave. W., Duluth, Minn.
J. N. Johnson, Box 653, Aberdeen, Wash.
Wm. F. Greeley, Box 911, Ogden, Utah.
E. Youngberg, 157 Cordova St., Vancouver, B. C.

# MINUTES OF SPECIAL MEETING

### G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 Meeting Held At Chicago, Jan. 17, 1924

Special meeting called to order by Stationary Delegate of I. U. 110, Fellow Worker Kolar, at 7:30 p. m..

Fellow Worker Kolar calls for nominations for chairman.

McNeir, Rempfler, T. Bone Slim, Tom Hazlewood, nominated. Fellow Worker Rempfler, No. 813914, elected chairman.

Chairman appoints Fellow Worker M. Trisler, No. 432463, recording secretary.

McNeir, No. 394920, conductor. Conductor report 14 members present, 13 in good standing, one in bad standing.

M. & S. That Fellow Worker T. Bone Slim be seated with voice but no vote as he is at the present time in bad standing. Carried.

M. & S. That minutes of Portland No. 310 meeting of January 1, 1924, be filed. Carried.

M. & S. That we take up the minutes of Portland No. 310 meetings of December 25, 1923 and January 4, 1924, seriatim and lay the same over to New Business. Carried.

M. & S. That minutes of Stockton, Cal., No. 310 meeting, January 6, 1924, be laid over to New Business. Carried.

M. & S. That minutes of Seattle No. 310 meetings of December 31, 1923, and January 7, 1924, be taken up seriatim and laid over to New Business. Carried.

M. & S. That minutes of Ogden, Utah, No. 310 special meeting be taken up seriatim and laid over to New Business. Carried.

M. & S. That Los Angeles minutes of No. 310 meeting be filed. Carried.

M. & S. That resolution from the A. W. I. U. No. 110 Chicago Branch be turned over to New Business. Carried.

#### Reports of Delegates and Officials

M. & S. That report of Fellow Worker M. Trisler, G. O. C. chairman, be accepted as progress. Carried.

G. E. B. member, Thomas Smith, present.

#### New Business

M. & S. That we do not concur with the motion in regards to contesting the eligibility of Fellow Worker Wm. Buchwald nominated for Secretary-Treasurer I. U. 310, Portland minutes, Dec. 25, 1923. Carried.

M. & S. That we do not concur with the motion of Portland Meeting, Dec. 25, 1923, declaring the G. C. W. I. U. 310 referendum ballot submitted by the Sixth Annual Convention, unconstitutional. Carried.

M. & S. That we concur with motion of Stockton No. 310 meeting, January 6, 1924, in regards to sending back the minutes of Portland meetings and not recognize the same signed "Branch Secretary" and Branch Seal. Carried.

M. & S. That we do not concur with motion of Seattle No. 310 meeting, of Dec. 31, 1923, contesting the eligibility of Wm. Buchwald for Secretary-Treasurer of I. U. 310. Carried.

M. & S. That we do not concur with motion of Seattle meeting of Dec. 31, 1923, in regards to calling a mass and delegate convention Feb. 4, 1924, at Portland, Ore. (See No. 310 By-Laws, Page 10, under the heading "Conventions," Section 1.) Carried.

M. & S. That we do not concur with motion of Ogden, Utah, special meeting of Dec. 31, 1923, pertaining to hall rent. Carried.

M. & S. That we do not concur with motion of Ogden, Utah, special meeting, Dec. 31, 1923, contesting the eligibility of Fellow Worker Buchwald for Secretary Treasurer of I. U. 310, and do not concur with action taken to recall the 310 Referendum ballot. Carried.

M. & S. That floor be thrown open for discussion in regards to the General Referendum ballot. Carried.

M. & S. That discussion be closed. Carried.

M. & S. That we do not concur with resolution from A. W. I. U. 110 Chicago branch in regards to contesting the General ballot. Carried.

M. & S. That we instruct the Chairman of the G. O. C. and Secretary-Treasurer of I. U. 310 to live up to the ruling of the G. O. C. meeting, calling in the G. O. C. member in case the new form carries on the Referendum ballot. The five elected under the old form shall elect one, by mail, the four remaining alternates. Carried.

M. & S. That we call a Special meeting February 11, 1924, to elect a Ballot committee of three to count the 310 ballots February 20, 1924. Carried.

M. & S. That we call a Mass conference April 2, 1924, at Chicago, Ill. Carried.

M. & S. That we instruct the G. O. C. Chairman and Secretary-Treasurer of 310 to publish these minutes in the monthly bulletin and send copies to the various 310 supply stations at once. Carried.

M. & S. That minutes be accepted as read. Carried.

Chair rules "Good and Welfare."

M. & S. That we adjourn.

Adjourned at 11:10 p. m.

**Joe Rempfler,** 813914, Chairman.
**M. Trisler,** 432463, Rec.-Sec'y.

### NOTICE

Card belonging to Fellow Worker A. O. Wallace has been found and sent in to the Main Office of I. U. 310. Same can be had by writing to Main Office of I. U. 310.

### PREAMBLE

—of the—
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

# LOS ANGELES MEETING

I. U. 310 business meeting called to order at 7 p. m., Jan. 2, 1924, by G. O. C. member, John Graham. Twelve members present.

Willis elected chairman; Green elected recording secretary.

M. & S. That minutes of 310 meeting held at San Pedro be laid over to New Business. Carried.

M. & S. That report of G. O. C. member be accepted as progress. Carried.

M &. S. That we concur with the resolution of Fellow Worker Simpson regarding the bail and bond for misdemeanor cases. Carried.

M. & S. That we concur with action taken by Stockton on resolution to warden at San Quentin regarding treatment of class war prisoners. Carried.

M. & S. That we concur with the minutes of I. U. 310 meeting held at San Pedro regarding the credentialing of speakers. Carried.

M. & S. That minutes of 310 meeting held at Los Angeles January 2nd be published in 310 bulletin. Carried.

M. & S. That we go back to New Business. Carried.

M. & S. That we hold a meeting Wednesday night. Carried.

**M. Willis, Chairman C. Green, Rec. Sec.**

### IMPORTANT NOTICE

The following delegates are requested to get in touch with I. U. 310 Main Office. This is IMPORTANT.

| Name | Del. No. | Card No. |
|---|---|---|
| Breeding, Samuel B. | GC-870 | X-101506 |
| Blair, Jack | GC-49 | X-112065 |
| Cash, W. L. | GC-504 | X-95371 |
| Lavison, Chester | GC-1001 | X-75450 |
| DeMers, Albert | GC-335 | X-92348 |
| Farley, Pat | GC-1407 | X-28882 |
| Fenetta, D. | GC-617 | X-46948 |
| Garrison, George | GC-593 | 732269 |
| Horstman, Carl | GC-600 | 822723 |
| Keller, Julius | GC-1224 | X-78546 |
| Kenyon, Geo. | GC-425 | X-52549 |
| Lind, Oscar | GC-172 | X-92640 |
| Long, W. H. | GC-604 | X-72084 |
| Martignoni, L. | GC-962 | 176567 |
| Maxwell, Ritchie | GC-289 | X-37808 |
| Miller, W. E. | GC-67 | X-53225 |
| Munson, L. A. | GC-779 | X-22070 |
| Murphy, R. J. | GC-789 | X-3824 |
| Ostovich, Mitchel | GC-511 | X-57012 |
| O'Brien, Roy | GC-768 | X-42396 |
| O'Neil, Geo. | GC-584 | |
| Pierpont, A. J. | GC-118 | X-7623 |
| Pratt, Clifford | GC-462 | X-69159 |
| Quinn, V. | GC-1417 | X-83308 |
| Reed, John | GC-740 | X-10182 |
| Rego, Chas. | GC-45 | 111868 |
| Rhodes, C. A. | GC-667 | 772134 |
| Rose, Joseph | GC-714 | X-4997 |
| Sheehan, James | GC-912 | X-44767 |
| Stine, John | GC-1044 | 232043 |
| Van Camp, James | GC-586 | 742095 |
| Vande Mork, E. H. | GC-972 | X-49615 |
| Webster, Eugene | GC-1046 | X-20106 |

### NOTICE!

Card belonging to W. J. Stephens, No. 767191, has been found. Same can be had by writing to Main Office of I. U. 310, 2 S. Morgan St., Chicago, Ill.

**JOIN G. C. W. I. U. No. 310**

### NOTICE I. U. 310 MEMBERS

In case the By-Law No. 1 will be sustained (the old form), the General Organization Committee of five members will hold their meeting March 1, 1924. Every member of I.U. 310 should send in resolutions and suggestions for the G.O.C. meeting.

If the amendment to By-Law No. 1 (new form) will carry on the referendum ballot, there will be no G.O.C. meeting. The newly elected Secretary-Treasurer and one G.O.C. member, who will act as General Organizer, will be called in for the 1st day of March to take the places of the outgoing Secretary-Treasurer and G.O.C. chairman. Under the new form, the nominee receiving the second highest number of votes is the alternate for Secretary-Treasurer. The five G. O. C. members elected under the old form will elect one member, by mail, to act as G. O. C. Chairman (General Organizer), the four remaining will be the alternates.

In case the district form will carry, as outlined on the referendum ballot, the conferences will find ways and means to establish districts. Each district will elect their district secretary and district organization committee.

**Mathew Trisler, Chairman G.O.C.**

### NOTICE

Fellow Worker Tom Sullivan, a member of I. U. 310, is confined in the hospital in Los Angeles, Calif., and would be very glad to hear from any of the fellow workers.

His address is: Tom Sullivan, Los Angeles General Hospital, Ward No. 230, Los Angeles, Cal.

## Buy an Organization Stamp Help to Spread the Idea of Industrial Unionism

### NOTICE

The following motion was passed by the Portland I. U. 310 membership meeting held there January 14, 1924, with forty members present:

"M. & S. That we rescind our previous motion regarding ballots being sent back to Chicago. Carried."

**W. Moore,** Chrmn., **E. Hayman,** Rec.-Sec'y.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

**January, 1924**

**RECEIPTS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Personal deposit | $ 146.75 |
| Initiations | 524.00 |
| Dues | 1,991.00 |
| Initiations, other unions | 156.00 |
| Dues other unions | 791.00 |
| Organization stamps | 134.50 |
| Bond stamps | 203.00 |
| General Defense stamps | 332.00 |
| Papers and magazines | 70.63 |
| Card cases | 15.50 |
| Buttons and pins | 13.25 |
| Literature | 47.50 |
| *On account Cash Balance | 383.78 |
| Duplicate cards | 13.50 |
| Pioneers | 37.07 |
| Educational stamps | 44.00 |
| Convention stamps | 39.00 |
| Donations, jail relief and defense | 1.50 |
| I. U. No. 520, special stamps | 8.00 |
| I. U. No. 440, special stamps | 2.00 |
| Donation to bond debt | 20.27 |
| Total | $4,974.25 |

* The item called "Cash Balance" is the amount that has been accounted for by anyone to whom money has been advanced. Also money remitted by delegates who hold cash on hand.

**EXPENSES**

| | |
|---|---|
| Literature | $ 6.42 |
| Commission on initiation and lit. | 131.94 |
| Field wages | 538.60 |
| Mileage | 43.66 |
| Allowance to other unions | 532.10 |
| Held on acct. by Supply Clerks, Traveling Delegates, G. O. C. Members and Job Delegates | 811.73 |
| Papers and magazines | 269.55 |
| Remitted to other unions | 457.10 |
| To the General Defense | 333.50 |
| Main office wages | 448.00 |
| Rent, light and heat | 96.00 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 15.10 |
| Postage, express and Wires | 103.52 |
| Printing | 70.76 |
| Organization supplies to headqts. | 76.58 |
| Due books to headqts. | 7.60 |
| Bond stamps to headqts. | 203.00 |
| Education stamps to headqts. | 44.00 |
| I. U. No. 440 special stamps | 2.00 |
| I. U. No. 520 special stamps | 8.00 |
| Craft cards | 4.00 |
| Donation to bond debt by Finnish Workers Society | 20.13 |
| Joint acct. No. 310 and No. 110 | 26.72 |
| Rent and telegrams | 43.41 |
| Total | $4,293.42 |

**CASH RECEIPTS**

**District No. 1: Washington, Idaho, Oregon and Western Montana.**

| | |
|---|---|
| **January 1** | |
| GC-117 | $ 2.00 |
| GC-13 | 7.00 |
| GC-217 | 35.50 |
| GC-590 | 52.87 |
| GC-267 | 44.57 |
| **January 2** | |
| GC-1413 | 19.00 |
| C4-1 | 12.40 |
| GC-382 | 3.00 |
| **January 4** | |
| C4-56 | 5.00 |
| C4-18 | 21.35 |
| **January 7** | |
| GC-633 | 13.50 |
| GC-527 | 19.00 |
| GC-755 | 47.00 |
| GC-242 | 22.00 |
| GC-691 | 8.50 |
| C4-17 | 36.01 |
| C4-65 | 34.95 |
| **January 9** | |
| C4-73 | 20.50 |
| GC-339 | 38.00 |
| GC-755 | 14.00 |
| **January 10** | |
| GC-731 | 54.00 |
| C4-18 | 59.23 |
| GC-131 | 130.46 |
| **January 12** | |
| GC-1278 | 7.50 |
| C4-290 | 2.00 |
| **January 14** | |
| GC-755 | 5.00 |
| C4-73 | 2.00 |
| GC-1196 | 19.00 |
| **January 17** | |
| C4-317 | 16.00 |
| C4-122 | 10.00 |
| C4-18 | 53.85 |
| C4-69 | 70.61 |
| C4-10 | 6.75 |
| C4-317 | 3.50 |
| **January 21** | |
| GC-741 | 19.00 |
| GC-730 | 5.00 |
| C4-22 | 40.75 |
| **January 25** | |
| C4-18 | 24.89 |
| C4-69 | 23.35 |
| **January 29** | |
| C4-73 | 8.50 |
| C4-56 | 4.00 |
| C4-83 | 12.50 |
| C4-73 | 6.50 |
| C4-88 | 3.50 |
| C4-19 | 3.50 |
| Total | $1,047.54 |

**District No. 2: Nevada, California, Arizona and New Mexico.**

| | |
|---|---|
| **January 1** | |
| GC-108 | $ 15.00 |
| GC-259 | 6.00 |
| GC-1094 | 6.50 |
| GC-500 | 30.00 |
| C4-6 | 10.00 |
| GC-492 | 16.50 |
| GC-59 | 38.00 |
| GC-1095 | 3.00 |
| GC-27 | 15.00 |
| GC-523 | 1.50 |
| GC-1449 | 2.00 |
| GC-377 | 3.00 |
| C4-25 | 19.50 |
| **January 3** | |
| C4-85 | 13.00 |
| C4-15 | 10.72 |
| GC-470 | 4.00 |
| **January 5** | |
| C4-12 | 1.87 |
| GC-998 | 11.50 |
| **January 7** | |
| C4-25 | 15.50 |
| GC-1273 | 4.50 |
| GC-1006 | 8.00 |
| GC-792 | 3.50 |
| GC.329 | 6.90 |
| **January 8** | |
| GC-1182 | 15.50 |
| C4-40 | 40.00 |
| **January 9** | |
| F-141 | 10.00 |
| GC-616 | 15.00 |
| C4-59 | 15.00 |
| **January 10** | |
| C4-79 | 45.00 |
| C4-25 | 30.50 |
| C4-27 | 9.00 |
| **January 11** | |
| C4-59 | 10.00 |
| GC-428 | 10.00 |
| C4-15 | 16.97 |
| GC-882 | 3.00 |
| **January 14** | |
| C4-213 | 13.50 |
| GC-1273 | 3.00 |
| C4-12 | 11.34 |
| C4-25 | 19.00 |
| GC-380 | 15.50 |
| C4-6 | 11.00 |
| C4-91 | 15.50 |
| **January 16** | |
| C4-30 | 10.00 |
| GC-500 | 30.00 |
| GC-390 | 11.00 |
| **January 17** | |
| GC-203 | 17.00 |
| C4-15 | 16.31 |

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-201 | 17.50 |
| C4-127 | 10.00 |
| **January 21** | |
| C4-12 | 2.63 |
| C4-211 | 22.00 |
| C4-33 | 12.25 |
| **January 22** | |
| C4-25 | 1.75 |
| C4-88 | 10.00 |
| **January 23** | |
| C4-87 | 14.00 |
| C4-285 | 6.00 |
| C4-6 | 9.10 |
| GC-251 | 5.00 |
| **January 25** | |
| C4-62 | 6.00 |
| C4-50 | 52.00 |
| C4-15 | 28.59 |
| C4-96 | 19.45 |
| R-881 | 2.50 |
| C4-32 | 30.00 |
| C4-209 | 17.00 |
| GC-265 | 6.00 |
| **January 26** | |
| C4-210 | 24.00 |
| **January 28** | |
| C4-89 | 18.00 |
| GC-383 | 4.00 |
| C4-112 | 1.00 |
| Total | $957.38 |

**District No. 3: Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, North and South Dakota.**

| | |
|---|---|
| **January 1** | |
| C4-35 | $ 8.00 |
| GC-472 | 26.40 |
| **January 7** | |
| GC-747 | 22.00 |
| GC-819 | 10.50 |
| **January 9** | |
| GC-1127 | 11.50 |
| **January 10** | |
| C4-24 | 25.22 |
| **January 15** | |
| C4-314 | 9.00 |
| **January 21** | |
| C4-314 | 13.00 |
| C4-26 | 8.50 |
| Total | $134.12 |

**District No. 4: Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma.**

| | |
|---|---|
| **January 2** | |
| GC-358 | $ 11.38 |
| C4-66 | 1.00 |
| **January 5** | |
| GC-260 | 3.00 |
| **January 7** | |
| C4-97 Bond debt | 20.13 |
| **January 11** | |
| C4-14 | 1.00 |
| **January 14** | |
| C4-66 | 1.00 |
| **January 18** | |
| C4-110 | 11.50 |
| **January 21** | |
| C4-66 | 1.00 |
| C4-14 | 9.00 |
| Total | $59.01 |

**District No. 5: Middle and Eastern states.**

| | |
|---|---|
| **January 1** | |
| GC-255 | $ 10.00 |
| I. U. No. 110, Dec. reports | 146.90 |
| GC-370 | 5.92 |
| GC-292 | 9.00 |
| GC-397 | 4.50 |
| I. U. No. 120, Dec. report | 144.45 |
| I. U. No. 230, Dec. report | 30.00 |
| I. U. No. 520, Dec. report | 49.10 |
| **January 5** | |
| Main office report | 31.50 |
| **January 7** | |
| GC-285 | 1.00 |
| W. H. Westman, personal deposit | 56.50 |
| I. U. No. 210 and 220, Dec. rep. | 35.95 |
| W. H. Westman, personal deposit | 13.00 |
| I. U. No. 130, Dec. report | 2.25 |
| I. U. No. 330, " " | 19.55 |
| I. U. No. 410, " " | 2.75 |
| I. U. No. 420, " " | .50 |
| I. U. No. 450, " " | 2.00 |
| I. U. No. 470, " " | .25 |
| W. H. Westman, personal deposit | 17.00 |
| **January 9** | |
| I. U. No. 440, Dec. report | 8.40 |
| I. U. No. 460, " " | 6.10 |
| W. H. Westman, personal deposit | 4.75 |
| **January 12** | |
| C4-76 | 2.00 |
| W. H. Westman, personal deposit | 12.00 |
| Main office report | 13.55 |
| **January 14** | |
| I. U. No. 510, Dec. report | 34.75 |
| W. H. Westman, personal deposit | 28.00 |
| W. H. Westman, personal deposit | 6.00 |
| **January 19** | |
| Main office report | 22.00 |
| W. H. Westman, personal deposit | 9.50 |
| **January 25** | |
| C4-53 | 29.75 |
| GC-21 | 1.95 |
| Main office report | 10.40 |
| **January 28** | |
| C4-2 | 2.00 |
| Total | $773.27 |

## CASH RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| District No. 1 | $1,047.54 |
| District No. 2 | 957.38 |
| District No. 3 | 134.12 |
| District No. 4 | 59.01 |
| District No. 5 | 773.27 |
| Total | $2,971.32 |

## CASH SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash receipts for January | $2,971.32 |
| Cash on hand January 1, 1924 | 763.30 |
| Total | $3,734.62 |
| Cash Expenses for January, 1924 | 2,290.49 |
| Cash on hand, Feb. 1, 1924 | $1,444.13 |

## CASH EXPENSES

| | |
|---|---|
| **January 1** | |
| John Graham, G. O. C. advanced and postage | $ 100.30 |
| Golos Truzenika, Russian paper, Jan. bundle orders | .60 |
| Il Proletario, Italian paper, Jan. bundle orders | 4.20 |
| Solidaridad, Spanish paper, Jan. bundle orders | 17.55 |
| Main office, postage | 20.00 |
| **January 4** | |
| Tic Vapauteen, Finnish Magazine | 1.50 |
| **January 5** | |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main office, wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Mat Trisler, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| **January 7** | |
| Industrial Worker, Jan. bundle order | 135.75 |
| Main office postage | 6.00 |
| Ex. chge. package from Stockton | .52 |
| Donation from Finnish Workers Society to Bond debt | 20.13 |
| **January 12** | |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Mat Trisler, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| **January 15** | |
| Elmer Swanson, adv. G. O. C. | 50.00 |
| Charges for wiring to Swanson | 1.65 |
| **January 17** | |
| Main office, postage | 20.00 |
| **January 19** | |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Mat Trisler, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| **January 23** | |
| John Graham, G. O. C. adv. and postage | 75.25 |
| Industrial Pioneer, Jan. bundle orders | 56.40 |
| Joint acct. No. 110 and No. 310 Sept. to Jan. office supplies | 26.72 |
| **January 25** | |
| Printing Bulletins and ballots | 70.76 |
| **January 26** | |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| Mat Trisler, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main office wages | 28.00 |
| **January 29** | |
| Industrial Solidarity, Jan. bundle orders | 53.55 |
| I. U. No. 110, Jan. rep. 50% allow. | 56.40 |
| I. U. No. 120, " " 50% " | 159.30 |
| I. U. No. 130, " " 50% " | .50 |
| I. U. No. 210, " " 50% " | 59.05 |
| I. U. No. 220, " " 50% " | 9.45 |
| I. U. No. 230, " " 50% " | 9.50 |
| I. U. No. 320, " " 50% " | .50 |
| I. U. No. 330, " " 50% " | 18.80 |
| I. U. No. 410, " " 50% " | .50 |
| I. U. No. 420, " " 50% " | 4.50 |
| I. U. No. 430, " " 50% " | .75 |
| I. U. No. 440, " " 50% " | 13.15 |
| I. U. No. 450, " " 50% " | 1.50 |
| I. U. No. 460, " " 50% " | 29.25 |
| I. U. No. 470, " " 50% " | 2.55 |
| I. U. No. 510, " " 50% " | 24.35 |
| I. U. No. 520, " " 50% " | 42.95 |
| I. U. No. 530, " " 50% " | 13.25 |
| I. U. No. 610, " " 50% " | 2.00 |
| I. U. No. 630, " " 50% " | 3.00 |
| I. U. No. 640, " " 50% " | 1.00 |
| I. U. No. 650, " " 50% " | .50 |
| I. U. No. 660, " " 50% " | 4.35 |
| I. U. No. 440, special stamps | 2.00 |
| I. U. No. 520, special stamps | 8.00 |
| Gen. Defense, stamps and donat. | 333.50 |
| Bond stamps | 203.00 |
| Due books, Headqts., to date | 7.60 |
| Literature, Headqts., to date | 6.42 |
| Org. supplies, to date | 76.58 |
| Rent and telegrams, to date | 43.41 |
| Educational stamps, to date | 44.00 |
| Total | $2,290.49 |

## SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Receipts for January, 1924 | $4,974.25 |
| Cash on hand, Jan. 1st | 763.30 |
| Total | $5,737.55 |
| Expenses for January | 4,293.42 |
| Cash on hand, February 1, 1924 | $1,444.13 |

**Distributed as follows:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Personal deposit | $ 146.75 |
| January per capita | 597.30 |
| I. U. No. 310 cash balance | 700.08 |

J. KENNEDY,
Secretary-Treasurer, I. U. No. 310.

# General Construction Workers Bulletin

CHICAGO, ILL. | G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W. | No. 12. MARCH 10, 1924.

# 310 STRIKE ON NATRON CUTOFF

**A TELEGRAM HAS JUST BEEN RECEIVED IN MAIN OFFICE OF I. U. NO. 310 STATING THAT A STRIKE IS NOW ON IN THE CAMPS ON THE NATRON CUT OFF BUILDING INTO KLAMATH FALLS, OREGON.**

****

**NOTICES HAD BEEN POSTED THAT ALL WAGES WOULD BE REDUCED TEN CENTS AN HOUR, AND THAT TEN CENTS WOULD BE CHARGED FOR BEDS. THE STRIKERS' DEMANDS ARE THAT THERE SHALL BE NO REDUCTION IN WAGES, AND NO CHARGES FOR BEDS AND BATHS.**

**(Signed) STRIKE COMMITTEE.**

## HOW TO STRIKE

The chairman of a strike committee serving against the master on one of the California Construction Co. jobs has, as a result of his experience in this strike and others like it, tabulated the procedure in calling and winning a strike. He states that failure to observe rules has cost the workers ten thousand dollars recently in lack of efficiency. This is his manual:

### HOW TO STRIKE

Call a meeting.

Throw the floor open for grievances.

Recorder will note kicks on a slip of paper.

Close discussion.

Recorder and chairman will revise kicks and put them in order:

1—Hours of labor.
2—Wages.
3—Food.
4—Sanitary conditions.
5—Living quarters, etc.
Lastly, discriminations.

When drawing up demands, place on top, "That all class-war prisoners be released."

Put demands to vote. If carried, appoint Grievance Committee.

Give them power to present demands to boss and call next meeting if demands are not granted:

1—Strike on the job.

2—If you have to go off the job, use intermittent strike tactics. 1—Slow up etc. 2—Send members with scabs, etc., writing postcards to scabs.

If you decide to strike on the job, appoint two members of each department to supervise and plan tactics, and meet at every opportunity.

If you decide to strike off the job, impress upon all: Don't booze or gamble. Don't talk important matters outside meetings. Don't allow individual interviews.

Appoint a strike committee of at least twenty members, who will subdivide into finance, picket, comfort and welfare, information and publicity sub-committees.

Register names and card numbers of strikers. Don't let them run around to other jobs.

Members doing committee and picket duties should make a statement in meeting that they will do their best to fill job and stay with it until relieved.

Take up collection; try to finance for at least two weeks the upkeep of pickets, feeding and other expenses.

Make charges against anyone advocating violence or destruction of property at meetings.

Give all committeemen and pickets collection lists.

Use indelible pencil and carbon paper for copying minutes and general letters, etc.

When spending money, get receipts.

Hold a strikers' meeting every day.

Get as many good writers as possible for duty as copyists.

**Editor's Note**—This is a very important subject, about which there cannot be too much education. If any of the fellow workers care to write articles on the same subject, either to emphasize some of the points in the above regulations or to argue against them and substitute others, their articles will be gladly received.

**BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS—KEEP AWAY FROM MOVING PICTURES PRODUCED BY CALIFORNIA CONCERNS (AND THAT MEANS PRACTICALLY ALL OF THEM)**

**All I. W. W. papers and bulletins, please copy.**

## THE POWER OF THE STRIKE

Fellow Worker James Rowan, recently released from Leavenworth Penitentiary, and author of the book entitled "The Lumber Industry and Its Workers," is now speaking under the auspices of the Centralia Publicity Committee. He has outlined a plan that will, if put into effect, result in the release of all class-war prisoners who are confined in the various penitentiaries in this country.

The keys to these jails are in the Workers' hands, and the workers, by the use of their economic power can **release** their fellow workers who are now confined in the various prisons, whenever they desire to do so.

By all the workers getting together with a common understanding and a common end in view (the release of all class-war prisoners who are now confined in the various prisons) and working systematically for the attainment of that end, their release will be brought about without any petitions being circulated in their behalf.

In 1922 a petition with 500,000 signatures attached thereto for the release of the Leavenworth fellow workers was presented at the White House, and the committee presenting same was promised that the cases would be reviewed inside of sixty days.

The cases were not reviewed inside of sixty days and the petitions became a dead issue. The workers, especially on the West Coast, seeing that nothing could be gained by petitioning, decided that the only way these workingmen could ever be released from Leavenworth was by a general strike or by intermittent strikes, and as soon as the workers in the various camps presented their demands to their employers, the employers, whose eyes are keen, readily saw that they meant business.

The first demand, the release of all class-war prisoners, was not to their liking; nevertheless, they would tell the strikers that if they would return to work, they would do everything in their power to see that the men in Leavenworth were released.

During the year 1923, one strike after another took place, and now all of the fellow workers are out of Leavenworth.

By the workers on the job using their economic power, they will force open the prison gates in the states of California, Washington, Idaho and all the others, and let all the class-war prisoners out.

## NEW 310 OFFICIALS

Fellow Worker Wm. Buchwald has been elected Secretary-Treasurer of I. U. No. 310, and Fellow Worker Joe O'Neill was elected Chairman of the Organization Committee. All communications pertaining to organization work **shall** be addressed to Joe O'Neill, 2 So. Morgan St., Chicago Ill.

The District form of organization has carried, and all I. U. No. 310 delegates **shall** remit direct to the Main Office of I. U. No. 310. Make all remittances payable to Wm. Buchwald, 2 So. Morgan St., Chicago, Ill.

**HAVE YOUR 1923 CREDENTIALS BEEN RENEWED?**

# The Following Article is Part of a Pamphlet to be Published by G. C. W. I. U. 310

BOYCOTT CALIFORNIA PRODUCTS

The structure of civilization, such as it is, has been erected bit by bit through the use of the muscles and the brains of construction workers. It was the toil of construction workers which made it possible to build those first crude irrigation projects on the Nile, the Euphrates and the Tigris. These projects made possible the development of agriculture on a vast scale in the ancient empires of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria; made possible increased production by supplanting the ancient system of bucket and pole irrigation in the last named countries and in Egypt supplementing the natural overflow upon which all previous production depended.

Exploitation of the slaves of the soil and of the slaves of the construction industry afterwards made it possible to build up the mighty cities, temples and tombs which still stand as monuments to a form of slave exploitation that has long since been replaced.

## WITHOUT CONSTRUCTION ALL INDUSTRY REMAINS PRIMITIVE

It was the construction workers of Greece and Rome who laid the foundations for the advance in progress which marked those times. The roads, aqueducts, drainage projects, docks and harbors were necessarily built long before the philosophers and poets could sit in their leisure and dream of the world about them. Agriculture is the basic industry of production, but without construction it must ever remain a primitive process producing but the bare necessities of life in return for long, hard days of back-breaking toil. Today the farmer produces enough on his land to feed not only himself but hundreds of millions who are gathered in the cities, engaged both in productive labor and in parasitical business. Today in the United States 41 per cent of the population are on the farms where they produce enough to feed the 59 per cent who are gathered in the cities, produce enough to export hundreds of millions of tons of products abroad and still have so much of their foodstuffs left on hand that the very volume of unsold material weighs them down, cuts the market values and makes paupers of the producers.

It was the labor of the construction workers which made this super-production possible. Without railroads, bridges, highways, canals, waterways, dams, power plants, drainage and irrigation works agriculture could not exist on such a vast productive scale.

## CONSTRUCTION IS THE MOST BASIC OF ALL CREATIVE EFFORT

All industry is likewise dependent upon the productive effort of the construction workers. Without transportation the Empire of Rome, the Kingdom of Great Britain, and the United States of America would have remained wildernesses occupied by shifting villages of primitive woodsmen and farmers. All civilization waits upon the development of transportation.

It is the construction worker who builds the roads and the railways, dredges the streams, digs the canals and dams, bridges the rivers and tunnels the mountains. Without the efforts of the entire construction industry from the engineer to the pick and shovel expert there would be no industrial development, no great mines, smelters, steel mills, textile factories, automobiles, skyscrapers, schools, libraries.

The construction industry and its workers stand first as the most necessary and productive element in the social life of any people, whether they live under slavery, feudalism, capitalism, or industrial communism. Upon our efforts depend the forward steps of industrial efficiency, in fact of all social progress. Without our work constantly applied civilizations slip backward, institutions decay and social laziness descends to install festering caste systems, and the abolition of rebellion and progress.

## EXPLOITATION IS GREATEST ON CONSTRUCTION JOBS

Throughout the ages the construction worker has been the outcast and the homeless one. Unorganized, undisciplined, lacking in the vision of his true importance to society he has ever been the worst exploited of all workers. Whether as a slave in the pens of Egyptian lash-masters, as prisoner in the cordons of Roman legions or as wage earner in the camps of American contractors it has been the lot of the construction worker to get the worst that the prevailing mode of exploitation has to offer.

Yet in his own hands lies the key to the betterment of his lot. There is no reason why the construction worker of today should not be the best paid of wage earners, the best housed of employes, the best fed and best clothed of any worker in any of the industries. Upon his own ability to organize and fight for the good things of life depends his condition. He works in Capitalism's basic industry. He has skill, experience and training as a class which has only been developed through thousands of years of practical struggle with problems involved in the building up of nations, empires and civilizations.

## SECOND IN SIZE TO THE AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY ONLY

In the United States the combined building and general construction industries stand second in size. Only agriculture exceeds construction in the money value of its finished products. In 1923 the total value of all construction and building projects erected in the nation amounted to $6,000,000,000. Of this amount fully $2,500,000,000 was expended on general construction work.

A million general construction workers were employed, when they could get a job, in the production of this tremendous addition to the permanent wealth of the vested interests of this country. Some of them worked on construction jobs but a few weeks or months. Others managed to stay employed in the industry as steadily as the vagaries of employers allowed. But statistics show a million workers in the upbuilding of engineering triumphs, in the digging of commonplace sewers, in the moving of dirt and the placing of heaven scraping towers of steel and stone and concrete.

The individuals in our industry have been isolated in camps or segregated in out-of-the-way towns to a large extent. Few have known of the tremendous numbers which comprise our productive force. We are still mostly unorganized and uninspired with the vision of the great deeds which we can perform for ourselves if we become lined up camp by camp and job by job, organized in one great general construction workers' industrial union of a million strong and united with the rest of the industrial workers in one big union.

## THE RAILWAY: ONE OF OUR GREATEST PRODUCTS

To the development of its tremendous railway system, America owes its industrial efficiency. In 1830 there were only 40 miles of railroad track in the United States. Today the network of railways comprise 275,000 miles of track. This is two-thirds of the entire railway trackage of the world. The system is constantly growing due to the efforts of construction workers. Double tracks are being laid where single ones once were sufficient. New branches are being built, main line cut-offs constructed, new areas opened up.

The great buccaneers of finance who envisioned the scheme for exploiting the undeveloped resources of the west, of hiring the services of hundreds of thousands of job-seeking workers, laid the foundations of gigantic fortunes by shrewd manipulation. They secured billions of dollars of national wealth in the form of cash subsidies, land grants and timber claims through clever lobbying and promoting. They and their successors played with the market, juggling stocks up and down, alternatively inveigling investors to put their money into railroad investments and then squeezing them out by engineering financial crashes. **(To Be Continued)**

## BOYCOTT CALIFORNIA

Land frauds. Moving picture scandals. Earthquakes. Peonage. Persecution. Prostitution of courts to big business. Criminal syndicalism laws. This is California. A land gone mad with hate against labor organizations. A land gone money-mad. A land where child labor flourishes, despite the boast of the real estate boosters who tell us of the wonderful opportunities afforded all who come to this state. A land wherein two hundred thousand women have been kidnaped and shipped across the line into Mexico, there to become white slaves. A land that deals more extensively in the narcotic trade than any other state in the Union. A land that has a slave law more harsh and cruel than any enforced in Tsarist Russia. This is the Golden State famed for its riches and salubrious climate. California, the Beautiful and Damned!

California has sent one hundred and thirty members of the I. W. W. to prison under the criminal syndicalism law. At the present time there are ninety-nine members of that organization in prison for their loyalty to the working class. They are there because they were not content to allow the masters to exploit and rob the workers. They refused to allow the masters to take the right of the workers to organize away from them.

The masters of California depend on the people of other states and countries to buy products produced by the workers of this state. Their profits depend on the sale of California products to people outside the Earthquake State. There are several reasons why the people of other states and countries should refuse to buy California products. First: every dollar you spend on California products is helping the white slave traffic between California and Mexico. Second: you are helping the narcotic trade by buying California products. Third: the moving picture industry of California is a den of corruption, where bad booze, narcotics and prostitution flourish openly. Fourth: the real estate dealers of California are the most criminal of a bad lot. Land frauds in California have made the state notorious the world over. But these are only contributory reasons why you should boycott all products coming from the Earthquake State.

**The One Big Reason why every member of the I. W. W. and all persons interested in Justice should boycott California, is that there are ninety-nine men imprisoned unjustly in that state. While there are working men sent to prison for belonging to a labor union no one should aid in any way the men who are responsible for sending them there. When you spend a dollar for California products you are helping the parasites who have sent our fellow workers to a living death. You are equally guilty with the Bosses when you patronize California movies, buy California fruit or canned goods, or in any way help the savage plutocrats of Darkest California.**

While the criminal syndicalism law is being enforced, while the victims of this barbaric law are confined in the Twin Hells —San Quentin and Folsom—we should boycott every article that comes from California. The boycott is making itself felt in California. Already the masters are beginning to "squeal" about the lack of trade in other sections of the country and in other lands. Keep it up and they will release the men in their hell holes. It only means a little co-operation by all class-conscious workers and our fellow workers will be released and the criminal syndicalism law annulled. Surely we can give our imprisoned fellow workers this much assistance.

Blue band sacks are made by prison labor in the jute mill at San Quentin. The men in the jute mill are compelled to toil at the looms because we have not protested against this method of torture. They are compelled to compete against so-called free labor. It is not their fault. The fault lies with us. Refuse to handle Blue band sacks. They are prison-made. It is easy to recognize these sacks. They have a blue band or seam running through them.

Florida fruit is sweeter and preferable to California. In fact, any eastern fruit is preferable to California fruit, apart from the fact that we should boycott the latter.

**Ninety-nine members of the I. W. W. are in prison in the Earthquake State. Others will undoubtedly follow. Boycott all products from that state until the prison doors are opened. And when in that dirt camp this summer, tell the boss you are not eating California canned or dried foods.**

### DISTRICT COUNCILS

In regard to establishing District councils at this time in the I. W. W., it is wrong for they cannot function now and will be a dead weight and cause dissension. What the I. W. W. needs is job delegates and not two or three politicians set up on a **throne** to tell the **workers** what to do. I think the fellow workers who want to set up District councils should get out on some job with credentials, there is where they can help make the I. W. W. grow.

I have read the answers to the question of "What Is Wrong With the I. W. W." There is nothing wrong with the I. W. W. but there is a whole lot wrong with the fellow worker who thinks he can change conditions by sitting down and philosophying; telling the workers on the jobs what they should do. To establish District councils now would be like trying to put the roof on a house before you had the walls up.

Yours for 20,000 job delegates, not boxcar delegates or skid road delegates, but job delegates.—**Card No. 243151.**

## TAKE NOTICE

All delegates who have not had their 1923 credentials renewed should get in touch with Main Office of I. U. No. 310 at once. All 310 Serial G. C. credentials have expired, and delegates should send in a statement of all supplies on hand, including any you may have on report sheet. As soon as statement of supplies on hand arrive, your account under expired credential will be closed and transferred over to 1924 Serial C4- credential number, a clearance under expired credential, also a new serial C4-, 1924, credential will be mailed you.

### ATTENTION!

Fellow Worker Chas. Kane, card No. 744509, has lost his card; also credentials GC-1278, and new serial Credential C4-111. Any member seeing same, take up on sight and return to main office of I. U. No. 310.

**SUBSCRIBE TO THE PIONEER**

## THE MARCH PIONEER

The members of 310 should not fail to read the March Industrial Pioneer. On the front cover page is an announcement stating that the "General Construction Workers' Campaign Begins." On page 15 is an illustrated article under the same heading, which the cover announcement features!

This illustrated article deals with the many spring conferences of 310, and the better and more extensive organization, wages, conditions, housing, together with less hours, that they aim to secure. It also contains information of interest to the general reader, as it defines the employment of general construction workers in an enlightening way.

In addition to the above, the March Industrial Pioneer has many other articles and photos. One treats of "History and Civics in High Schools," in which "our" public educational system is arraigned by a teacher in a preparatory school in a vigorous and instructive manner.

Another noteworthy feature is a series of three articles under the general head, "On To Workers' Administration." Their titles alone indicate their absorbing contents, namely, "Setting Up an Industrial Corporation," "Lo, The Poor G. E. C. Stockholder!" and "The Fords and Billionairedom." As a study in modern giant industry this series is the best that has appeared in Industrial Pioneer.

The California situation and Centralia case also come in for exceptionally interesting treatment.

Don't fail to get the Industrial Pioneer for March! You'll vote it a good number, one of the best printed! Order through 310 headquarters, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

## CONFERENCES

### Chicago, Illinois

The I. U. 310 membership went on record to call a Mass Conference at Chicago, Illinois, April 2, 1924.

Send resolutions and suggestions to the main office of I. U. 310, 2 So. Morgan St., Chicago, Illinois.

### Omaha, Nebraska

As per ruling of the convention, a mass conference of construction workers will be held at Omaha, Nebraska, March 15, 1924, to outline a program of working conditions, such as hours, housing and food, and each district to legislate for its own district only.

All 310 members should attend this conference if possible.

### Stockton, California

There will be an I.U. 310 Conference held in Stockton, Cal., on Wednesday, April 2, 1924, for the purpose of devising ways and means to carry on an extensive organization campaign this coming year. All members that can should attend this conference.

Resolutions and suggestions should be sent to F.L. Cunningham, Box 754, Stockton, California.

**John Graham, G.O.C. Member.**

**JOIN GENERAL CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 310, OF THE I. W. W.**

# Job News From Active Delegates

**Oxnard, Cal., 12-13-23.** — Hauser Construction Co. State highway. About two years' work. Steam shovels and rock work. About 60 men. Wages $4.00 low, $6.00 top. $1.25 board. Furnishes camp bedding. Single beds. About six men to a bunk house. You have to ship from Red Cross employment office or see superintendent in Oxnard. Don't hike out to the job for they won't hire you. Sanitary conditions fair. Chuck is good. Fine location for a wobbly camp, along the ocean, alongside of the mountains. **(GC-490.)**

**Oxnard, Cal., 12-13-23.**—John D. Hutchinson Const. Co. About three blocks east of S. P. depot. Land leveling. Fresno work. Four-ups. Seven men, fill and spill your own. $3.00 chuck. Eight hours. Work is indefinite. Men are plentiful right here but it is all white. **(GC-490.)**

**Burney, Cal., 12-25-23.**—Pit River Power Project. P. G. & E. and Bates & Bowling. Building dam and driving tunnels. Job will last four or five years. Hire on job or ship from Murray & Ready in San Francisco, Stockton and Sacramento. Fee $3.00, fare advanced. Fare from Frisco and Stockton, $15.00; Sacramento, $11.50. Shipping from Redding. Fare $7.75, fee $1.50. Redding 72 miles by stage. P. G. & E. wages: miners, $5.50; muckers, $4.50; jackhammer men, $4.50 and $5.00; outside labor, $4.00 and $4.50; brick drivers, carpenters and linemen, 75 cents per hour. Cooks and bakers $125.00 to $150.00 a month. Board is $1.25 a day. **(X10021.)**

**Burney, Cal., 12-25-23.**—Bates & Bowling, gyppoing. Camps 7 and 9. Miners $6.00, muckers and laborers $5.50. Board $1.35 a day. Furnish your own bed. Bunk houses fairly good. Bath houses on this job. Grub is good in camps where the cooks don't spoil it, as the P. G. & E. furnishes the best. Anyone figuring on rustling this job should come in through Sisson and McCloud. Pit is 35 miles from the end of the McCloud River R. R. **(X10021.)**

**Alexander, Idaho, 10-22-23.**—Phoenix Utility Co. building a dam. Camp about one-half mile out of Alexander. About 400 men working. Wages 40 cents per hour. Work eight hours per day. Two shifts working. Board fair at $1.20 per day. Hospital fee $1.00. Bedding $1.00 per month. Clean. The work is not hurry up. The bunk houses are crowded, 44 men to each when fullhanded. Top bunks. There are shower baths with hot and cold water at all times. There is a Sheriff and Deputy in camp. What they are here for is easy to realize. They sure are not here to look after the welfare of the workers because a pair of shoes were stolen from a worker and payday there was some of the slaves drunk and he did not pay any attention. There were also poker games going on without any interference from either the Sheriff or the Deputy. The sentiment for the organization among the men is fair and new members can always be lined up but the company is hostile, so brass band should be left behind. The company is hiring men in Ogden and Salt Lake, the fare is advanced. They are also hiring on the job. Job will last about eighteen months. (GC 297).

**Cisco, Cal., 9-15-23.**—P. G. & E. This job is called the Fordyce Dam. Making private company roads ,raising the Fordyce dam 35 feet. Work for two years. There will be lots of snow in thirty days. Five camps in nine miles . 600 men. Sentiment no good. Wages, teamsters, laborers, Fresno loader and dumpman, concrete men, carpenters' helpers 50c an hour, rigger 60c, carpenters 80c, plow skinner and shaker 60c. Fare Reno $3.06, Sacramento $4.00. Bring your balloon. Work nine hours. Board $1.25. Sanitary conditions no good. Camp No. 4 has shower bath. No. 5 is worst of all. Chances of going to work. Fare refunded after 60 days. Come up and back in trucks. This is a good place to organize. Plenty of stools in all the camps. Beware of a fellow they call Clancy, the water boy. **(GC-523)**

**Pendleton, Oregon, 12-10-23.**—McKay, six miles out of Pendleton. U. S. R. G. Long job. About two or three years' work. Sanitary conditions good. Board and room $1.30 per day. Laborers $3.60 eight hours, tunnel muckers $4.40, eight hours, miners jack hammer $5.60, tunnel work. Two shifts. Flunkies $50 per month. There are five donkeys out here, only one works. Sentiment for organization seems fair. Hire on the job. About 16 men to a bunkhouse. Shower baths. Full handed at present. **(GC-601.)**

**Colton, Cal., 1-22-24.**—Hall and Johnson. Street work. About three months work. One cat, two machines. About 18 men. Nine hours at $5. Sentiment fair at present. They have no camp here at present, but are figuring on putting one in. Fresno work right now. They are unloading cat and machine today, about seven wagons.—**(C4-59.)**

**Bowie, Arizona, 1-14-24.**—Wages paid here are 66c an hour for bridge carpenters and 50c an hour for carpenters' helpers. Supposed to be eight hours a day but in all it is nearly nine hours a day. You can apply at Tucson, Ariz., R. R. office for employment. There are generally ten to twelve in a gang. **(C4-61.)**

**Alta, Calif., 1-21-24.**—P. G. & E. Camp 1. 70 men working. Building road to power house. There will be two more camps as soon as road is built. Wages 50c and 55c an hour. Board $1.25. Rag houses, no bath. Bring your own bed. Board fair. Hire on job. One and one-half mile from town. John Martin, Supt. No highball. **(C4-58.)**

**Andover and Lakeview, Calif., 1-21-24.** —Utah Const. Co. Tunnel construction. Two camps. Wages miners $6.00, muckers $5. Eight hours, outside labor nine hours, 45c an hour, carpenters 80c. Board $1.25 and rotten. Bunkhouses poor. No bathhouse. Pack your own bed. Hire on job. **(C4-58.)**

**Summit, Calif., 1-21-24.**—Erickson & Peterson. Building tunnel. Wages miners $6.00, chucktenders $5.25, muckers $5.00, outside labor 50c an hour. Nine hours. Board $1.25. E. &. P. Standard. Bunkhouses fair. Bathhouse on job. Hire on job. Force acount at present. Driving pioneer tunnel 8-8. Job will last two years. **C4-58.)**

**Burney, Calif., 1-9-24.**—Bates and Borland. Tunnel work. Two portals working here, three shifts. 130 men. Sentiment fair. Wages teamhands $5.00 and $5.50, laborers $5.00 and $5.50, miners $6.00, muckers $5.50, compress men $6.00, electricians $1.00 per hour. Work eight hours. Two camps. Sanitary conditions average. Ship from Sparks & Walters, Redding, Cal. Shipping fee $1.50 and $2.00; fare $7.80 by stage. Redding road is the best way to get up there. Board is $1.35 a day, hospital $1.00. Hire on job. Job will last two years. Miners do their own timbering. This job is in a mountain country. Furnish your own balloon. **(C4-85.)**

**Sunol, Cal., 11-9-23.**—Palmer and McBride. Building dirt dam. Spring Valley Co. may start work soon at this camp. 100 men employed. Laborers $4.00. Nine hours. One camp. Board fair. Hire on job, get truck from Sunol about 9 a.m. Sunol is on W.P. and S.P. in Niles Canyon 29 miles from Oakland. Chances to go to work. Job will last six months. Turn over labor coming and going all the time. 4 men in bunk-house. Electric lights. Bring your own blankets.

**Pittsburg, Cal., 1-28-24.**—Great Western Chemical Co. Chemical operating and outside labor also. Construction. 100 or more men. Some laborers work at steel works, one-half mile west. 40 cents per hour and up. Laborers 40 cents per hour, eight hours; carpenters 75 cents per hour, eight hours. Sunday work straight time. Hire on job at 8 a. m. every morning. **(C4-93).**

**San Rafael, Cal., 2-8-24.**—W. A. Bechtal is the contractor's name. They are widening out the tunnel on the N. W. P. Ry. There will be about three to four months' work. The fare from Frisco is 60 cents round trip. Hire on the job. Job is two miles from San Rafael. Two shifts working eight hours each. About 125 men. Wages, $3.60 labor outside, $4.50 muckers, $5.50 miners. $1.25 for board, no doctor fees. Conditions on this job are rotten. We are sleeping in cars and eating in cars. No place to dry up, or wash up. Sentiment fair. Force account work, no hurry up. **(C4-16).**

**Victorville, Cal., 2-1-24.** — The double tracking of W. P. R. and Santa Fe. Hamilton and Sprague. I saw the engineer's cook here today and he said there was an error in the survey of the line which would have to be rectified before this work would start which would be two weeks at the earliest. This job is reported already in Los Angeles as started. **(E. M.)**

**Moapa, Nevada, 1-26-24.**—Dodge and Dudly. Constructing highway. 35 men. Sentiment none. Wages, team hands $4.50, laborers $4.50. Eight hours. One camp. Sanitary conditions fair. Board $1.50 a day and good. Practically all homeguards and auto tramps camping on desert waiting for someone to quit in order to get a job. Job will last all summer. Men are plentiful. **(C4-10).**

**Kelso, Wash., 2-5-24.** — Twohy Bros. Building a railroad for the Long Bell Lumber Co. Camps No. 5 and No. 8 are the only ones working at present. Job will

# CONSTRUCTION WORKERS BULLETIN

"An Injury to One Is An Injury to All."

ONE UNION No. 12 ONE ENEMY

Published Monthly by I. U. No. 310 of the I. W. W.
Address all communications to
2 SO. MORGAN ST. CHICAGO, ILL.
MATTHEW TRISLER, Chairman
J. KENNEDY, Sec'y-Treas.


last five months. Two camps. 150 men. Sentiment good. Wages, muckers, 50 cents an hour, pitmen, $4.50, donkey skinners, watchmen and mechanics, $5.20 per day, shovel crews, international scale. Work 8 hours. Board fair at $1.20. Sanitary conditions fair. Bath houses, single beds and ten men to a bunk house. No chance to go to work at present. Employment office, Hanley's and the West Coast, from Portland and Tacoma. Fee, $2, fare, $2.60. **(C4-129).**

**Stevenson, 2-2-24.**—Moore and McDougal. Road job. $4.50 low. Blankets furnished. All one-story bunks here. No bull cook or wash house. Ship from Portland, or hire on the job. You need hip boots here, as there is lots of mud. This job will last all summer. **(Card No. 24,-435).**

**Vader, Wash., 1-24-24.** — Twohy Bros. Steam shovel. 30 men. Sentiment poor. The boss is hostile to organization. Wages, team hands $4, laborers, $4, firemen, $125, dinky skinner, $120, steam shovel, $120. Eight hours. 5 camps. Sanitary conditions none. Board poor. Ship from Hanley, Portland. Fee $3, fare $2.60. Job will last six months. **(829791).**

**White Salmon, Wash., 2-4-24.**—Job is four miles out. Rojotte Williams Co., better known as "The Yellow Kid's" outfit. The "Howling Swede" is foreman on this job. Ship from Hanley's, at Portland, or hire on job. Wages, $3.20, board $1.20. No old men need apply, as this Swede wants all husky young men. Blankets furnished on this job. Job will last three months. **(Card No. 24435).**

**Marysville, Kansas, 1-16-24.**—A job is going on at Marysville. A contractor from Leavenworth, Kansas, is paving streets in this town, wages 35c per hour. $1.00 a day for board and lodging. Take the Mo. P. R. R. from Atchison, Kansas, to Hiawatha, Kansas, and get off and take the St. J. & G. I., or U. P. out of Hiawatha, Kansas, to Marysville, or from St. Joe, Mo., take the St. J. & G. I. or U. P., or the M. P. R. R. out of Omaha, Neb., to Hiawatha, Kansas, and then take the St. Joe and Grand Island U. P. system out of Hiawatha, Kansas, to Marysville. This is a big job.

**Boise, Idaho, 1-17-24.**—Hunt camp. Ten miles out. Tunnel work and Fresnos. Will start machine when the weather permits. About 40 men employed. Wages, 40 cents low. Nine hours. Board, $1.20 per day, $1.00 per month for bed. Hospital fee, $1.00. Conditions bum. **(C4-83).**

**Boise, Idaho, 1-17-24.**—Heitsel's camp, 12 miles out. One steam shovel, donkey and cars. About 25 men employed. Wages, hours and conditions same as Hunt Baker's camp 14 miles out. Fresno outfit. Wages, hours and conditions same as Hunt's. Not much chance to go to work at present. **(C4-83).**

**Gila Bend, Arizona, 2-7-24.**—The job is bring blankets. Fair sleeping quarters. Sometimes you get a bath. We have a Chinese cook. The chuck is fair. Wages, $4 for helpers; carpenters 66 cents an hour; 75 cents a month for hospital fee and $1 out for the doctor when he passes you for the job. **(C4-61).**

**Hollywood, Cal., 1-25-24.**---Western Construction Co. General construction work. Some building and stone mason work and concrete. Job will last two years. One camp. About 300 men. Sentiment good. Wages, teamsters, $4.50; laborers, $4.00; stone mason, $6; mortar makers, $4.50; quarry work, $4 and $4.50. Work eight hours. Board, $1.20 per day, very good. Sanitary conditions fair. Employment office, Murray and Ready, Los Angeles. Fee, $2; fare, 10 cents. This is an average camp, or a little better than the average. Men are plentiful at present. All 310 cats should try to make it that can get on. **(C4-29).**

**McCloud City, Cal., 1-27-24.**—McCloud Lumber Co. Construction work and also steel gang. 100 men. Sentiment no good. Wages, $4 team hands, only two teams; laborers, 50 cents per hour. Two steel gangs and two grading gangs. Work eight hours. Four camps. Sanitary conditions good. Board fair at times. Ship from McCloud Employment office, McCloud City. **(C4-6).**

**Steubenville, Ohio, 1-24-24.**—Construction work for the LaBelle Iron & Steel Co. This is a two-year job and they are hiring slaves every day. Wages, 44 cents an hour, ten-hour day. Board at camp $1.00 per day. This is a black and white, a checker board. Bosses don't rush slaves. Think it is a percentage job. This is an open shop —no union recognized. Carpenters working ten hours at 97 cents per hour. No overtime. All slaves I spoke to are discontented and in favor of the I. W. W. A few active delegates and workers here could get good results. This is an independent steel company. Board rotten. Sleeping conditions, 55 to 60 men in each bunkhouse. Double deckers. Hot and cold water bath. Lots of other work in steel mill. Hiring men every morning. There's a job of a big power house going up nine miles north of here in Toronto, Ohio, on the Ohio River, and a couple of jobs in Virginia. Come on. you footloose Wobs, these jobs have to be organized. **(842256).**

## IMPORTANT NOTICE

The following delegates are requested to get in touch with I. U. 310 Main Office. **This is important.**

| Name | Del. No. | Card No. |
|---|---|---|
| Atwood, E. B. | GC- 611 | 766461 |
| Breeding, S. B. | GC- 870 | X-101506 |
| Blair, Jack | GC- 49 | X-112065 |
| Cash, W. L. | GC- 504 | X- 95371 |
| DeMers, Albert | GC- 335 | X- 92348 |
| Farley, Pat | GC-1407 | X- 28882 |
| Fenetta, D. | GC- 617 | X- 46948 |
| Garrison, George | GC- 593 | 732269 |
| Gibson, John | GC- 778 | 834283 |
| Horstman, Carl | GC- 600 | 822723 |
| Keller, Julius | GC-1224 | X- 78546 |
| Kenyon, Geo. | GC- 425 | X- 52549 |
| Lavison, Chester | GC-1001 | X- 75450 |
| Lawrence, Al | GC- 264 | 828889 |
| Lind, Oscar | GC- 172 | X- 92640 |
| Long, W. H. | GC- 604 | X- 72084 |
| Martignoni, L. | GC- 962 | 176567 |
| Maxwell, Ritchie | GC- 289 | X- 37808 |
| Miller, W. E. | GC- 67 | X- 53225 |
| Munson, L. A. | GC- 779 | X- 22070 |
| Murphy, R. J. | GC- 789 | X- 3824 |
| Ostovich, Mitchel | GC- 511 | X- 57012 |
| O'Brien, Roy | GC- 768 | X- 42396 |
| Pierpont, A. J. | GC- 118 | X- 7623 |
| Pratt, Clifford | GC- 462 | X- 69159 |
| Quinn, V. | GC-1417 | X- 83308 |
| Reed, John | GC- 740 | X- 10182 |
| Rego, Chas. | GC- 45 | 111868 |
| Rhodes, C. A. | GC- 667 | 772134 |
| Rose, Joseph | GC- 714 | X- 4997 |
| Ross, Mack | GC- 681 | |
| Sheehan, James | GC- 912 | X- 44767 |
| Stine, John | GC-1044 | 232043 |
| Van Camp, James | GC- 586 | 742095 |
| Vande Mork, E. H. | GC- 972 | X- 49615 |
| Webster, Eugene | GC-1046 | X- 20106 |

**Bagby, Cal., 1-19-24.**—Yosemite Valley R. R. Co. contractors. Bridge building and repairing. This work is simply all bull work. Plenty of heavy lifting and a little painting at same price. Eight men. Sentiment bad. There are two bridge outfits, one tricking the other, continually fighting for supremacy. Laborers, $4.50. All wages are 56 1-4 cents per hour. There are no carpenters employed. Work eight hours. One camp. Sanitary conditions bad. Board fair at $1.20 per day. Ship from Merced, Calif., fee and fare free. Some men come through office of Y. V. R. R. at Merced, while others are caught on skid road by foreman or man-catcher. Job indefinite. This is sure some highball outfit. **(X-65683).**

## Where to Get Supplies and Literature

F. Cunningham, Box 754, Stockton, Cal.
Walter Holland, Box 421, Tacoma, Wash.
Geo. Chitwood, Box 827, Pasco, Wash.
Pete Anderson, Box 365, Seattle, Wash.
Jas. Keenan, Box 1689, Spokane, Wash.
Ed. Wells, Box 91, Eureka, Calif.
Jas. M. Dwyer, Box 107, Omaha, Neb.
Fritz Rudd, 115 Nicollet Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
Martin Anderson, Box 451, Casper, Wyo.
Albert Burns, 1222 Fourth St., Sioux City, Iowa.
O. W. I. U. 230, Box 212, Taft, Calif.
John Martin, 318 N. Wyoming St., Butte, Montana.
Wm. Goldsmith, 408 1st Ave., So., Great Falls, Montana.
Frank Foster, Box 486, Whitefish, Mont.
Elmer Swanson, Pro Tem., Box 3001, Portland, Ore.
J. J. Ebbeson, Box 3291, Portland, Ore.
Dan Paul, Box 730, Missoula, Mont.
Miles Sweeney, 367 Sixth St., 3rd floor, Milwaukee, Wis.
Joe Oates, Box 1504, Salt Lake, Utah.
John Aron, Box 69, Sta. D, New York, N. Y.
Joe McCarthy, 8 N. 6th Ave. W., Duluth, Minn.
Chas. Dunbar, Box 653, Aberdeen, Wash.
Ernest McNicol, Box 911, Ogden, Utah.
E. Youngberg, 157 Cordova St., Vancouver, B. C.

## ISSUING CREDENTIALS

The following are a few points pertaining to the issuance of credentials. The purpose is not only to have a delegate system, but to build up an efficient delegate system.

1—Never issue credentials to any member who has carried credentials before in any of the industrial unions, unless he has received a clearance from the industrial union for which he carried them.

2—Do not issue credentials to anybody who cannot write.

3—By-Laws prohibit your from issuing credentials to members who have not been at least six months in the organization.

4—Show the prospective delegate how to make out membership cards and the other forms like reports, transfer, application for membership and application for duplicate cards. In fact, show him everything used in the transaction of the organization's business. Also explain to him what to do when remitting funds to the main office.

5—Impress on his mind the need of taking good care of supplies and other property of the union. Loss of supplies not only means a monetary loss, but if same should fall into wrong hands, could be used to create mischief.

6—Remind the delegate to refrain from carrying in his pockets, for any length of time, any report of actual business done. It is important to have the records in the office as soon as possible. Not being able to remit should not be cause for holding reports.

7—Impress upon him the importance of distributing literature, and remind him that he can get more from any of the stationary delegates or supply stations, as well as from headquarters.

8—Have him get his name and address on headquarters' mailing list for bulletins, etc.

9—The delegates should always notify the main office and give all facts on all matters of importance. By doing so, the main office will be properly informed and in position to give the membership the correct information on questions that may arise.

By observing the above rules at all times the main office will be able to function efficiently.

## KEEP ON TRYING, WE'LL WIN

In regards to article from L. A., Jan. 15, by Delegate C4-7, I wish to state I heartily agree with him when he says he doesn't think staying on the job to get acquainted with the slaves in the hopes of lining them up, gets very good results. I also think that is only an alibi to stay long enough to make a fair sized stake and to keep quiet while doing it, instead of protesting against rotten conditions, so if we have to stay on a rotten job long enough to get some clothes or square up or whatever the reason, let's be frank enough to give the real reason and don't alibi.

In regards to the old-time unorganized dirt mover, he knows what the I. W. W. is and what it stands for. Why he doesn't line up I can't understand, unless he is afraid of queering himself with the boss. He might think if he had a card he would not be able to set in sometime or perhaps queer himself from being able to put the ding on the contractors in town. The Middle West stiffs especially give this a strong play. Another excuse some of them give: they don't like the way so-and-so wears his Levi Strauses or something just as silly, and then some of our aristocratic plowholders and wagon dumpers can't see where they have anything in common with the so-called "common ding" wagon skinner. The surest way to find this out is to start pulling the camps for more money and the eight-hour day, and then see where they are at. You will hear the squawking then, "What are you trying to do, put me on the bum? I am getting mine, I am satisfied." That will be their yell and you will find some of them with cards tearing them up. Then these very same chaps will call a good class-conscious rebel, who can't make the chute with a pair of old knot headed mules, a hoosier, just because he happens to be taking on some strange labor to make a few dollars.

How to line up all the workers and educate them to class-consciousness instead of boss or dollar-consciousness is too deep for me. I am like C4-7: I wish someone would show us how. The only way I can see is for every member to try his best in his own way and keep right at it, and maybe between us all we will have a 100 per cent G. C. W. I. U. There are different elements we come in contact with in various camps that are sure discouraging, but don't give up, put the idea into their heads anyway. Get them to thinking, then maybe the next delegate or the next will get them. The poor yap trying to pay off the mortgage after last year's crop failure will be good timber after he sees he won't make enough working to pay the interest on it. So will the city worker who comes out to make enough to pay the next installment on the home. So if we all keep at the unorganized all of the time, we are bound to get them in the end, and when we have them all lined up, Oh, boy!

Till then, I remain

Yours for Industrial Unionism.

**C4-320.**

### PREAMBLE

—of the—

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can he no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope witb the ever-growing power of tbe employing class. Tbe trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, tbe trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in sny department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, hut also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

## TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF 310

Now that the District form of organization has carried on the G. C. W. I. U. 310 referendum ballot, in order for the industrial union to get out leaflets, pamphlets, and to finance the placing of district organization committee men and traveling delegates in field, it is necessary that steps be taken at this time to raise funds to carry on this work.

Some time ago an educational bureau was installed in General Headquarters at Chicago, and just prior to same being installed, the membership was told that the purpose of the educational bureau was for the getting out of literature, etc.; to lighten the work of the delegates in the field in organizing the workers in the various industries throughout the United States. An Educational stamp of fifty cent denomination was placed in the field to cover cost of maintaining bureau, also the writing of leaflets, pamphlets, etc. All funds derived from the sale of the Educational stamps are remitted monthly to General Headquarters, who in turn shall see that literature, pamphlets, etc., are placed in the field for the various industrial unions in order that they may be able to carry on the work of educating and organizing the workers in all industries into One Big Union of the I. W. W.

The Educational Bureau has not followed out the purpose for which it was created. Such being the case, why should an industrial union help to finance an institution that takes all they can get from the membership of an industrial union and gives nothing in return to those who finance it?

General Construction Workers' Industrial Union 310 derives no benefits whatever from the Educational stamps. At the present time, I. U. No. 310 has a pamphlet which is ready to go to press; why is it not in the field now? During the year 1923 one leaflet was sent into the field which General Headquarters paid cost of printing. This amounted to practically nothing when you take into consideration the amount of money derived from the sales of Educational stamps during 1922 and 1923, and which has all been paid in to General Headquarters.

In order to not be hampered in getting out literature or pamphlets, it is urgent that the sales of the Educational stamps be dispensed with and that the membership of I. U. No. 310 buy industrial union stamps. All delegates are requested to push the I. U. to the front, for by doing this I. U. No. 310 will be able to get out a new leaflet or pamphlet whenever the membership in the field requests that one be published.

Another obstacle that we are confronted with right now is the Bond stamps. How many members know that there is over $26,000 on hand, deposited in a Chicago bank, and practically no bond receipts coming in to be paid off? Such being the fact, would it not be logical to discontinue the sale of the Bond stamps and push the sale of the Industrial Union stamps in their place also, as the funds derived from the sales of the I. U. stamps all goes to the industrial union that sells same?

If I. U. No. 310 is to reach out and grasp the great opportunity that is within its reach this very moment, it is urgent that the sale of Educational stamps, also Bond stamps, be discontinued, and that Industrial union stamps be pushed to the limit.

# LET'S GROW; START NOW

Expansion and growth, new fields and new activities, bigger and better organization with bigger and better results, is the G. C. W. I. U. No. 310 program for 1924.

With the usual spring resumption of work, I. U. 310 is preparing to go into Canada with greater energy and more job delegates. Several thousand lumber workers in Canada have been enrolled as members of the I. W. W., and if delegates can be placed in the construction camps in Canada, G. C. W. I. U. 310 should be able to enroll several thousand more members in the Dominion.

Delegates are needed in the Middle and Eastern states and members in these sections who work on construction jobs are urged to take out credentials and help along the good work.

In the near future, I. U. 310 will hold three conferences in the following districts on the following dates: Omaha, Neb., Mar. 15; Stockton, Calif., and Chicago, Ill., on April 2. Don't fail to attend these conferences and make them a success.

The Omaha conference will outline a program to secure improved working conditions such as wages, hours, housing and food. These are demands that will interest the backing of all construction workers, if properly put to them, and the conference will work out plans for doing this.

The other conferences will do similar work, and, all together, will inaugurate a promising campaign. The indications are that big Capital will try to make another good year of business during 1924. Many big construction projects are either under way or being planned. So let's all go and get something substantial out of this activity for the General Construction Workers. The Chicago district should prove a good center for Mid-Western and Eastern activity and organization, especially.

**SO LET'S GO!**

## TO ALL STRIKE COMMITTEES

We wish to issue a warning, which should be called to the attention of all members as well as to all strike committees, that every one should be on the lookout for those who advocate destruction of property or violence or anything detrimental to the organization. We have everything to lose by hasty and un-planned action.

Duplicate card of Fellow Worker Con Mulligan was returned to main office of I. U. No. 310 and same can be had by writing in to this office.

Fellow Worker J. C. Harris, card No. X-38345, has lost his card, supplies and credentials GC-209. Any member seeing same, take up on sight and return to main office of I. U. No. 310.

**IGNORANCE IS THE ENEMY OF THE WORKERS. PUSH THE LITERATURE!**

**Buy an Organization Stamp**
**Help to Spread the Idea of Industrial Unionism**

## NOTICE TO DELEGATES

Delegates shall not issue numbered cards as continuation cards, as they can only be issued by the Main Office of I. U. 310.

## NOTICE

Delegates, also members, are requested to send in Job News also articles for the Bulletins, also to notify this office of any Job News being run in bulletins which is near completion, that should be discontinued.

**HAVE YOUR 1923 CREDENTIALS BEEN RENEWED?**

# FINANCIAL STATEMENT

## FEBRUARY, 1924

### RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Personal deposit | $ 13.00 |
| Initiations | 388.00 |
| Dues | 1,708.00 |
| Initiations other unions | 226.00 |
| Dues other Unions | 710.50 |
| Organization stamps | 97.00 |
| Bond stamps | 190.00 |
| Defense stamps | 264.00 |
| Papers | 89.85 |
| Card cases | 4.50 |
| Buttons and pins | 19.75 |
| Literature | 12.95 |
| *On acc't cash balance | 701.03 |
| Duplicates | 15.00 |
| Pioneers | 30.62 |
| Education stamps | 26.00 |
| Convention stamps | 24.00 |
| I. U. No. 520 stamps | 24.00 |
| I. U. No. 510 stamps | 12.00 |
| Donations to the Defense | 4.60 |
| Total | $4,560.80 |

*The item called cash balance is the amount that has been accounted for by anyone to whom money has been advanced. Also money remitted by delegates who hold cash on hand.

### EXPENSES

| | |
|---|---|
| Per capita | $1,081.70 |
| Commission on initiations and lit... | 117.69 |
| Field wages | 500.00 |
| Mileage | 39.70 |
| Allowance to other Unions | 526.75 |
| Held on account by supply clerks, traveling delegates and job delegates | 919.55 |
| Papers and magazines | 221.18 |
| To the General Defense | 268.60 |
| Remitted to other Unions | 444.90 |
| Main Office wages | 448.00 |
| Rent, light and heat | 76.00 |
| Stationery and fixtures | 24.30 |
| Postage, express and wires | 74.68 |
| One craft card | 2.00 |
| Writing pamphlet | 20.00 |
| Strike relief | 10.00 |
| Printing | 70.67 |
| M. T. W. special stamps | 12.00 |
| R. R. special stamps | 24.00 |
| Bond stamps | 190.00 |
| Education stamps | 26.00 |
| Rent and telegrams, Main Office | 43.40 |
| Organization suppl's, Main Office | 13.80 |
| Due books, Main Office | 9.30 |
| Literature, Main Office | .30 |
| Thos. Smith No. 310 G. E. B. Member, 1 week's wages to be ch'g'd to Headquarters | 28.00 |
| Total | $5,192.52 |

## CASH RECEIPTS

**District No. 1: Washington, Idaho and Ore.**

**February 2**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-129 | $ 13.50 |
| GC-136 | 60.00 |
| C4-69 | 55.05 |
| C4-18 | 55.58 |

**February 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-1 | 14.10 |
| C4-114 | 2.00 |
| C4-63 | 10.00 |

**February 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-69 | 3.20 |
| C4-321 | 1.95 |

**February 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-18 | 26.60 |

**February 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC1731 | 3.00 |
| C4-68 | 11.00 |
| C4-100 | 2.00 |

**February 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-95 | 14.00 |
| GC-1125 | 23.00 |

**February 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-317 | 3.00 |
| C4-319 | 14.50 |
| C4-69 | 10.85 |

**February 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-63 | 36.00 |
| C4-18 | 15.88 |

**February 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-69 | 15.80 |
| C4-18 | 77.20 |
| C4-85 | 4.00 |

**February 25**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-48 | 41.50 |
| C4-201 | 6.00 |

**February 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-31 | 16.15 |
| C4-26 | 9.50 |
| C4-83 | 25.00 |
| Total | $570.36 |

**District No. 2: Nevada, California, Arizona, and New Mexico**

**February 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-223 | $ 12.85 |
| C4-122 | 38.95 |
| GC-513 | 175.00 |
| C4-112 | 1.50 |
| C4-29 | 35.00 |
| C4-31 | 27.55 |
| C4-60 | 10.50 |
| C4-218 | 1.00 |
| C4-12 | 8.91 |
| C4-25 | 21.50 |
| C4-72 | 24.00 |
| C4-15 | 16.89 |
| C4-80 | 15.50 |
| GC-777 | 9.50 |
| C4-91 | 30.00 |

**February 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-86 | 11.50 |
| C4-219 | 35.00 |
| C4-85 | 53.00 |

**February 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-96 | 27.90 |

**February 5**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-251 | 12.50 |
| GC-614 | 90.00 |
| C4-25 | 39.50 |

**February 8**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-485 | 1.00 |
| C4-30 | 7.50 |
| C4-12 | 6.98 |
| C4-211 | 4.00 |

**February 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-326 | 12.50 |
| C4-61 | 9.00 |
| C4-25 | 30.00 |
| C4-12 | 4.82 |

**February 12**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-78 | 7.00 |
| C4-87 | 14.00 |
| C4-45 | 30.00 |
| C4-331 | 18.30 |

**February 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-316 | 4.00 |
| C4-331 | 5.00 |
| C4-207 | 11.00 |
| C4-6 | 42.08 |

**February 15**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-51 | 23.10 |
| C4-316 | 3.50 |

**February 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-103 | 10.00 |
| C4-216 | 5.00 |
| C4-215 | 4.00 |
| C4-120 | 5.00 |
| C4-25 | 20.85 |
| C4-16 | 42.00 |

**February 19**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-7 | 7.00 |

**February 20**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4 315 | 2.50 |
| C4-12 | 3.44 |

**February 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-285 | 10.00 |
| C4-51 | 9.50 |

**February 25**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-105 | 6.50 |
| C4-29 | 37.00 |
| C4-64 | 8.40 |

**February 26**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-40 | 27.00 |
| Total | $1,130.02 |

**District No. 3: Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, North and South Dakota**

**February 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-90 | $ 23.35 |
| C4-24 | 35.50 |

**February 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-121 | 23.00 |
| Total | $ 81.85 |

**District No. 4: Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma**

**February 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| J. R. Dean | $ 1.00 |
| C4-66 | 1.00 |
| Personal deposit, W. H. Westman.. | 8.00 |

**Februray 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-97 | 9.40 |

**February 6**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-14 | 23.50 |

**February 11**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-66 | 1.00 |
| Total | $ 43.90 |

**District No. 5: Middle and Eastern States**

**February 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 440 Jan'y Reports | $ 10.65 |
| I. U. No. 110 " " | 138.55 |
| I. U. No. 230 " " | 15.85 |
| C4-57 | 4.00 |
| Main Office report | 16.70 |
| I. U. No. 130 | .75 |
| I. U. No. 330 | 61.60 |
| I. U. No. 410 | 3.80 |
| I. U. No. 450 | 1.55 |
| I. U. No. 470 | .25 |
| I. U. No. 650 | .50 |

**February 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-2 | 5.00 |
| I. U. No. 520 | 19.45 |
| I. U. No. 460 | 4.50 |
| I. U. No. 210-220 | 20.20 |
| I. U. No. 120 | 173.80 |

**February 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 510 | 47.30 |
| Fred Wilcox | 1.00 |

**February 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| Main Office report | 9.00 |

**February 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-2 | 25.00 |

**February 14**

| | |
|---|---|
| GC-877 | 10.00 |
| C4-123 | 1.00 |
| C4-54 | 25.00 |

**February 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-128 | 15.00 |
| Main Office report | 8.10 |

**February 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-2 | 10.00 |

**February 21**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-117 | 15.50 |
| C4-115 | 1.00 |
| C4-11 | 25.00 |

**February 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| Personal deposit for W. H.Westman | 5.00 |

**February 25**

| | |
|---|---|
| C4-53 | 22.50 |
| C4-1143 | 8.50 |
| Total | $706.05 |

CASH RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| District No. 1 | $ 570.36 |
| District No. 2 | 1,130.02 |
| District No. 3 | 81.85 |
| District No. 4 | 43.90 |
| District No. 5 | 706.05 |
| Total | $2,532.18 |

CASH SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash on hand Feb. 1 | $1,444.13 |
| Cash receipts for Feb, 1924 | 2,532.18 |
| Total | $3,976.31 |
| Cash expenses for Feb. 1924 | 3,163.90 |
| Cash on hand March 1, 1924 | $ 812.41 |

CASH EXPENSES

**February 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| Il Proletario, Italian paper, Jan. bundle order | $ 3.45 |
| Solidaridad, Spanish paper, Jan. bundle order | 10.05 |
| Main Office postage | 20.00 |
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main Offie wages.... | 28.00 |
| Matthew Trisler, Main Ofc. wgs... | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages.... | 28.00 |

**February 4**

| | |
|---|---|
| Thos. Smith, G. E. B. wages for one week to be charged to Gen. Headquarters | 28.00 |
| Tie Vapauteen, Finnish magazine | .60 |
| Golos Truzenika Rus. paper | 1.20 |

**February 7**

| | |
|---|---|
| Postage, Main Office | 6.00 |
| Elmer Swanson, G. O. C. advanc'd and postage | 50.18 |

**February 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Matt. Trisler, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages.... | 28.00 |
| Ind. Worker, Jan. bdle order | 55.65 |

**February 13**

| | |
|---|---|
| Ind. Rabotnik, Bulgarian paper.... | .95 |
| Ralph Winsted, writing pamphlet | 20.00 |

**February 16**

| | |
|---|---|
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main Office wages.. | 28.00 |
| Matt. Trisler, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages.... | 28.00 |

**February 18**

| | |
|---|---|
| Ind. Worker | 54.00 |

**February 20**

| | |
|---|---|
| Main Office postage | 20.00 |
| Paul Frederick, counting the No. 310 ballots | 4.00 |
| Joe Rempfler, counting the No. 310 ballots | 4.00 |
| Paul Fredericks, counting the No. 310 ballots | 4.00 |
| Paul Fredericks, counting the No. 310 ballots | 4.00 |

**February 23**

| | |
|---|---|
| Emily Kaiyala, Main Offie wages | 28.00 |
| John Russell, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| Matt. Trisler, Main Office wages | 28.00 |
| J. Kennedy, Main Office wages.... | 28.00 |
| Main Office repairs, S. Kleiman.. | 3.00 |
| Joe Rempfler, counting No. 310 ballots | 12.00 |
| Paul Fredericks, counting No. 310 ballots | 4.00 |
| Wm. Buchwald, acct. incoming secretary of I. U. No. 310 | 100.00 |
| E. H. Haney, count'g No. 310 blts | 16.00 |
| Charges for wiring to Buchwald | 2.15 |

**February 25**

| | |
|---|---|
| Industrial Pioneer, Feb. B. O..... | 45.24 |
| Equity Printing, Ballots, Letterheads and bills, etc..... | 70.67 |
| Paul Fredericks, counting 310 ballots | 4.00 |
| Joe Rempfler, counting 310 ballots | 4.00 |
| E. H. Haney, counting 310 ballots | 4.00 |
| Office supplies, P. H. Silverman.. | .25 |
| Telegram from E. J. Fahey on account G. O. C. | .47 |

**February 28**

| | |
|---|---|
| I. U. No. 110, February reports.... | 43.05 |
| I. U. No. 120, February reports.... | 133.55 |
| I. U. No. 210, February reports.... | 81.56 |
| I. U. No. 220, February reports.... | 2.60 |
| I. U. No. 230, February reports.... | 16.00 |
| I. U. No. 320, February reports.... | .25 |
| I. U. No. 330, February reports.... | 22.20 |
| I. U. No. 410, February reports.... | 7.00 |
| I. U. No. 430, February reports.... | 5.70 |
| I. U. No. 440, February reports.... | 10.00 |
| I. U. No. 450, February reports.... | 1.25 |
| I. U. No. 460, February reports.... | 29.55 |
| I. U. No. 470, February reports.... | 1.25 |
| I. U. No. 480, February reports.... | 3.05 |
| I. U. No. 510, February reports.... | 24.50 |
| I. U. No. 520, February reports.... | 53.85 |
| I. U. No. 530, February reports.... | 1.30 |
| I. U. No. 610, February reports.... | 2.60 |
| I. U. No. 630, February reports.... | .50 |
| I. U. No. 650, February reports.... | 3.65 |
| I. U. No. 640, February reports.... | 1.50 |
| I. U. No. 510, Special stamps..... | 12.00 |
| I. U. No. 520, Special stamps..... | 24.00 |
| General Defense stamps and donations | 268.60 |
| Bond stamps | 190.00 |
| Educational stamps | 26.00 |
| Industrial Soldiarity, B. O. | 50.04 |
| Main Office rent and telegrams.. | 43.40 |
| Main Office organization supplies | 13.80 |
| Main Office literature to date.... | .30 |
| Due books to date | 9.30 |
| Per capita to date | 1,081.70 |
| **Total** | **$3,163.90** |

SUMMARY

| | |
|---|---|
| Receipts for February | $4,560.80 |
| Cash on hand February 1st | 1,444.13 |
| Total | $6,004.93 |
| Expenses for February | $5,192.52 |
| Cash on hand March 1, 1924 | $ 812.41 |
| **Distributed as follows:** | |
| Personal deposit | $ 158.75 |
| I. U. No. 310 Cash balance | 653.66 |

**J. KENNEDY,**
**Secretary-Treasurer, I. U. No. 310.**

# INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

FEBRUARY, 1921

*The "White Terror" in Hungary*

*California - Land of Romance and Unemployment*

*Technique and Revolution*

*The Call of the I. W. W.*

PRICE 25 CENTS

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

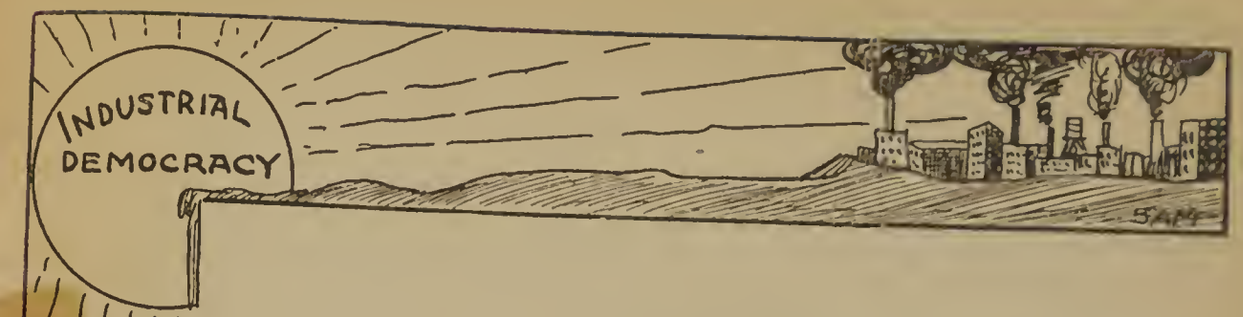
We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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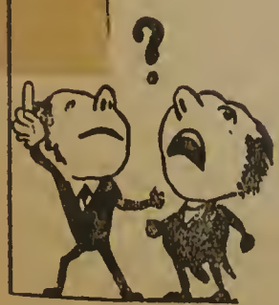


# *Announcement*

"THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY" has been discontinued; "The Industrial Pioneer" has taken its place. The names of all subscribers to the former have been transferred to the mailing list of "The Industrial Pioneer."

The purpose of the magazine is to spread the doctrines of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism. To that end we will publish educational matter dealing with the labor and economic situation in this and other countries, as well as articles descriptive of various industries. Proletarian art in the form of fiction and poetry will also find expression in our columns.

Subscription and bundle order rates will be found on page 14. We solicit the wholehearted co-operation of all who want to abolish the exploitation of the workers, and hasten the day of Labor's Commonwealth.

# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Vol. I, No. 1 FEBRUARY, 1921 Serial No. 1

# The "White Terror" in Hungary

ONE of the most stupendous crimes in history is being perpetrated upon the defenseless Hungarian proletariat. A systematic attempt to exterminate every working man and woman possessing a spark of courage or intelligence has been carried on for months. Thousands of men, women and children have been shot, hung, beaten to death, crucified, broken on the torture wheel; their bodies have been mutilated in a most atrocious manner. The unspeakable atrocities committed cry to high heaven. They are an indelible blot of shame on the very name of humanity.

Has a voice been raised in America, "the land of the free, and the home of the brave," against these awful crimes? No! Our kept press has been as mute about these events of world significance as the Egyptian mummies. It harps upon a few instances of "Red Terror" in Russia, where a nation of 180 million souls is struggling for its very existence against conspiracy within and without, against military intervention, blockade, industrial chaos, and deliberate sabotage by the bourgeoisie, but it says not one word when in Hungary a whole nation is being massacred to satisfy the blood-thirsty appetites of decadent "nobles" and perverted capitalists.

America, how can you look with indifference upon the grievous spectacle of the murder of a nation? Awake, America, from your lethargic sleep! The world is on fire! Do not consent to be a silent, unprotesting witness to the re-introduction of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. The rack, the burning irons and the crucifixion of living human beings should remain buried in the shame of past ages. They are being revived in Hungary today on a colossal scale. America, let your voice of protest against these unspeakable barbarities be heard from one end of the country to the other!

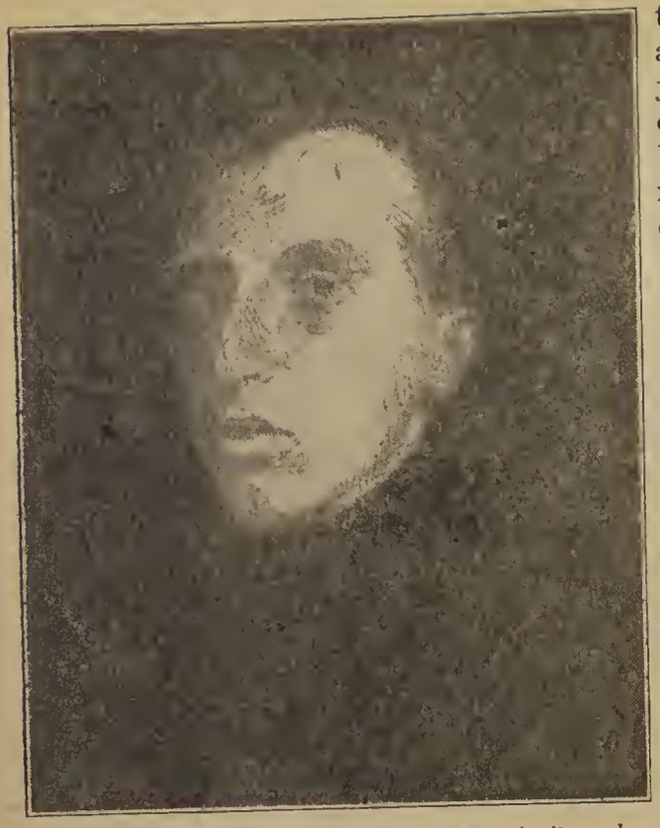
We print below several communications sent to us from Europe by the Communist International of Youth, setting forth the almost unbelievable ravages of the "White Terror" in Hungary:

### Help the Dying Hungarian Proletariat!

Betrayed by the Social-democrats, encircled by the mercenary armies of the Allied Imperialists, the Hungarian Soviet Republic broke down after a brief existence. The Hungarian Communists knew that their Republic, alone and separated from the rest of the world by a criminal blockade, could not endure. However, they took the initiative when the time was ripe, convinced that the workers in other countries would follow suit. The Hungarian proletariat did not set up soviets merely to rejuvenate their own country; they did it to show the way to the rest of the world as well.

The Hungarian Communists were well aware from the very beginning of their Republic of the hardships and sacrifices of the struggle. They foresaw the possibility of a bloody war like the one that Soviet Russia has been fighting for the preservation of the Revolution.

The Hungarian proletariat could not at that moment, however, think of itself alone; it was its clear duty to think and to act for the proletariat of the whole world. In fighting for the Soviet Republic it fought for working-class supremacy the world over; it fought for you, working men and women of all countries, and it is now suf-



Otto Korvin, a victim of the Horthy regime in its early days. Korvin was a writer and an idealist of note, and during the Soviet tenure of power was at the head of the Commission for the Combating of Counter-Revolution. He was one of fourteen men who were executed on the same day. The beasts in human form who do the bidding of the blood-thirsty Horthy let him watch the hanging of the other thirteen men; then, since Korvin was a hunchback, they put him on the torture bench and broke his back, after which they hung him.

fering on account of the heroic struggle that it waged against the powers of darkness.

It succumbed in the struggle. It was too weak to hold its own against the power of world-imperialism, against treason, against hidden and open counter-revolution. The battle was lost. The bourgeoisie took bitter revenge against the proletariat for the audacity of striving to break its fetters. The "White Terror" overwhelmed Hungary. In their bestial hatred the "white" officers and murderers make no distinction between Communists, Soviet-sympathizers, Socialists; all whose calloused hands betray them as being workers are arrested, imprisoned, tortured and beaten to death.

The purpose of the Horthy regime in Hungary is to tear up every root of the Socialist and labor movements.

10,000 of these defenseless victims are still confined in detention camps and jails. Thousands have suffered the death of martyrdom on the gallows. The ones unfortunate enough to be still alive have been subjected by the drunken and blood-mad soldiers and officers to the most cruel tortures. Women are violated, men are broken on the rack and beaten with sticks and "Horthy-clubs," to obtain from them the so-called "voluntary confessions." Hundreds of prisoners have been mutilated in an atrocious manner, have had their teeth beaten in and their eyes cut out. The prisons and concentration camps of Hungary are crowded with many thousands of innocent prisoners, who together with their families are perishing from dirt, cold and hunger.

The workingmen still outside the prison gates are without work, food, clothing and fuel. Hungry, ragged, desperate, they have been overtaken by the bitter cold of the winter, which has made their sufferings unbearable.

Unable to give its workers bread and employment, the Hungarian assassin-government tries to satisfy their hunger with bullets and the gallows.

**The Misery of the Masses in Budapest.**

The Budapest paper "Az Ujsag" informs us from official sources that the number of unemployed in Budapest has grown to the portentious figure of 160,000, to which must be added the families of war cripples, the widows of killed soldiers, and the wives of prisoners of war still held in Russia.

The number of those sick and unable to work is 80,000. Budapest, therefore, now counts 240,000 men and women with no means of livelihood. Multiplying that figure by two, to account for the families of the unemployed, we have a half million human beings, living in most dreadful misery.

Besides helping the prisoners, it is the intention of the Communist International of Youth to alleviate to as great an extent as possible the sufferings brought upon the people by the economic chaos caused by the Horthy "White Terror" regime.

**2,260 Hung by a Single Executioner.**

In a conversation with Stefan Lazar, editor of "Pesti Hirlap," the hangman Alexander Györy admitted that he had hung to date 2,260 men and women for the crime

**The crucifixion by executioners of the Hungarian White Terror of an old man and his children. Drawn from life.**

of high treason. While some of the victims of this governmental mass-murderer were executed during the war, by far the greater part of them were class-conscious comrades who were led to the gallows after the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

Thousands of workers pine away their lives in the Hungarian prisons today, and hundreds of them await the same fate that befell the 2,260 butchered by the murderer Györy.

**Workingmen and Women, Comrades and Fellow Workers!**

Heed the cry of the imprisoned! Support the work carried on by the Communist International of Youth for the relief and liberation of the dying Hungarian proletariat.

Do not forget that the Hungarian comrades sacrificed their lives for the common object, for the world-proletariat! Do not forget that the prisoners are suffering for you!

Do everything in your power to help them! Show by your actions that the International Solidarity of Labor is not merely a phrase, but a living reality!

Protest against the unspeakable atrocities of the Hungarian White Terrorists!

Show your brothers that they do not stand alone and forlorn! Collect clothes, underwear and money for them.

Get up relief committees and collection places all over the country!

Support the relief-action of the Communist International of Youth.

(Signed)

**The Executive Committee of**
**The Communist International of Youth.**

* * * * *

The relief work in behalf of the Hungarian proletariat has already begun in several countries with good results.

In America, the Hungarian Organization Committee of the I. W. W. has organized a relief committee at present located in Czecho-Slovakia, and has been sending relief to the suffering workers of Hungary, and to Hungarian emigrants in other countries. Comrades and fellow workers, help us to keep up the good work! Address all communications and donations to: John Bartell, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

# Sunny California - Land of Romance and Unemployment

By Jack Gaveel

ONE usually thinks of an unemployed army in connection with snow, ice and northern gales. An unemployed army sweltering in the heat of a big city sounds like a paradox. Yet this is the case in Los Angeles, Cal., today. California is a state which in virtue of its climate is ordinarily overcrowded with cheap labor during the winter months. This winter sees the situation intensified an account of the fact that as the big industrial centers in the East continue laying off their forces as a result of the panic, the jobless and homeless workers come drifting into the land of eternal sunshine by the hundreds of thousands. They seem to be under the foolish impression that "it is better to starve to death in a warm country than in a cold one." California is literally black with men. Los Angeles has some ten or fifteen thousand unemployed, and their number is increasing daily. How many there will be within the next few weeks, or before the winter is over, we do not know. We do know, however, that the workers have brought this calamity upon themselves.

### The Workers' Ignorance.

Acting as individuals, paying no attention to economic laws, heeding not the fact that in society all men are tied together in such a way that a catastrophe in any part of the social organism is bound to make its effects felt in all other parts, the workers have in brazen ignorance and defiance of these facts taken the advice of politicians and of A. F. of L. leaders. They have speeded up production and worked long hours, thereby causing unemployment, low wages and underconsumption, followed by more unemployment and underconsumption, and finally by a panic. And now we are confronted by the tragical spectacle of millions of toilers starving and out of work, after having worked so hard and faithfully that the granaries and treasure chests of the world are full of the good things of life.

### In the City of Los Angeles, Cal.

In Los Angeles there are today thousands of workers out of a job. Only the other day the Southern Pacific railroad laid off four hundred men, making a grand total of nine hundred discharged within the last few days. From other parts of the country reports are continuously pouring in about freight houses, railways, plants and factories discharging their slaves, and this with the bitter cold of January and February staring the workers in the face. Already in Los Angeles soup and bread lines are regaining their prominence. In front of the lousy mission on Los Angeles Street each night around eleven or twelve o'clock can be seen a line of ragged and wretched men with pale and pinched faces, animallike in their eagerness for a bone. As crime, murder and bloodshed, hideous indictments of capitalist civilization, sweep on victoriously on the crest of the wave of unemployment, raids by the police become more frequent. Where the yellow lights flare sickly in the gloom of the Moving Picture City's abyss, where human forms huddle in dark doorways and squat, shivering with cold, on icy stone floors, there the police vultures prey. Too cowardly to hunt the big, bold game (or is it because they are bought out?), they torment the workers even in their misery. In the words of the "Los Angeles Record" of a few weeks back, in referring to a raid on the homeless and jobless slaves, which netted seventy-nine men: "But the Record does believe it passing strange that seventy-nine of the greatest criminals in the country walk Los Angele's streets undisturbed, while seventy-nine men whose only offense is that they have not stolen the money necessary to remedy their sad plight are arrested without crime."

In the "City of the Angels," the city of wealth and splendor, where are laid the glittering and gorgeous moving picture scenes of the sunny and laughing southland, hunger gnaws at men's guts, misery stalks abroad and poisons men's hearts. But what of it? The capitalists do not need their slaves any longer. The warehouses are full. The workers have done their work; they have received their wage. Isn't that sufficient? The only remedy that the wealthy people, the government, the pillars of society, have to offer to the jobless and hungry men is "intimidation" and "salvation via the soup route." But the workers cannot live on that, you will protest. Well, let them starve!

### The Revolution.

If ever capitalist society stood indicted of rapacity, brutality, dishonesty and incompetence, it is now. The time has come when the workers can no longer be fooled; they must take action. We no longer have to refer to works on revolutionary political economy to prove the correctness of our assertion that the capitalist class is not able to cope with the increasingly difficult problems of production and distribution. The visible and tangible endictment of the present industrial system is right in front of our eyes, it is a fact so conspicuous and so persistent that daily it is hammering its lesson into the heads of countless workers.

For four long years the workers have sweated and bled. Following the advice of politicians and statesmen, they have worked like mules and fought

**Torture by beating and dragging victims of the White Terror tied behind a wagon. The Horthy regime in Hungary has shown great ingenuity in devising new ways of torturing people. Drawn from life.**

like fools. Their reward now is unemployment and starvation. Democracy stands revealed for what it is: a huge swindle, a mocking farce. Capitalism has revealed itself in its true colors. Merit and faithful service are not rewarded. And why should they, when they cause unemployment, low wages, and a panic? It is not a question of underproduction, but of underconsumption. The warehouses are full, the workers starve to death, and yet the prostitute mouthpieces of the capitalist class clamor for a greater production.

What we want is greater consumption. The only way to get that is to say, "To hell with faithful service!" We must slow down, cut the hours, raise the wages, produce less, furnish the jobless workers with employment, and increase the purchasing power of the workers. The above program can only be put thru by an organization which is able to deal effectively with the great issues confronting the working class. That organization is the One Big Union of all the workers.

Such an organization, by its very nature, is capable of calling a strike for, say, a reduction in working hours,that will include so many workers that no matter how many unemployed there may be, or how many scabs would be furnished to break it, the capitalist will have to grant its demands. The A. F. of L., with its internal dissensions and separations, boss-ridden as it is, will never be able to deal with the problem of unemployment, nor with any of the other problems confronting the working class in America. The One Big Union of the workers will not only be able to deal with unemployment, but it will eventually put the workers into the possession of the wealth of the United States, of its shops, mills, mines, railways and natural resources, realizing as it does that private ownership of the means of life, and production for profit, are not only the causes of unemployment, starvation and panics, but of all the other evils of modern society.

Thus is developed the revolutionary psychology of the American working class. The class struggle becomes a conscious process. The cry goes up for the socialization of the means of production and distribution. Revolutions are not the result of the work of agitators; like all other forms of social consciousness and activity they develop from the material conditions of existence, from the industrial basis of society. Understanding this, we can grasp the genesis of the One Big Union of the I. W. W., and all that it stands for.

Judges, legislators, statesmen and politicians cannot solve the problem of unemployment. There are many other problems that they cannot solve. Of a revolution they never dream. They do not know what the word means. They are an embodiment of the past, they are corpses that lack red blood. They do not know what it is to be intoxicated with the wine and the sting of the Revolution. They exist to pass dead laws, to fill the jails with toilers and to serve as doormats for coming generations. In obedience to the commands of their lords and masters they throw the workers in jail, yet they know nothing about them, nor about work itself. They

slumber on in blissful ignorance, altho the sand is slipping and moving under their very feet.

To know the essence of revolution, to feel its intoxicating spirit creep thru your veins and go to your head, you must be a worker, a floater, a mixer with many nationalities, races and trades. You must be a frequenter of the odd and queer corners of the earth, a visitor to its ugly places. The filth of the gutter must hold no horrors for you; out of that filth the revolution is born and gathers momentum. Out of the ruck of the abyss come always the great things of the world. If you want to hear the One Big Union expounded, to experience the queer and thrilling fascination of its lure, gather with harvest workers at their jungle fires in the Sacramento Valley, strip to the waist and expose your soft, white flesh to the black dust and the glaring heat of the stoke-hole in mid-ocean, take your chances with the diggers of coal in the inky guts of the earth.

### California's Forgotten Construction Workers.

I was standing on the edge of a precipice in the Yosemite National Park in California. Underneath my feet the canyon wall dropped down abruptly to a dizzy depth—a dept terrible, yet alluring. On all sides the rocks stood out in their hard nakedness. In the far distance the snaw caps on the pale blue mountains shone like white silver in the sun. Down below to the left on a plateau I could see a big hotel, the construction of which must have cost millions of dollars. I could see its well kept, artistically laid out grounds, with their tennis courts, roads, trees and lakes. Outside the hotel, on the ball grounds, on the lakes and in the parks, moved, frolicked and reveled the millionaires madly and recklessly. From the hotel towards where I was standing wound and climbed an automobile road. Dodging this way and that way to avoid the big rocks and boulders that it encountered in its upward path, away in the distance it looked like the tortuous and crooked trail left behind by some gigantic snake.

There was a continuous stream of big expensive touring cars coming up this road from the hotel. I watched their occupants—snug, well-fed, diamond-studded parasites. Their reckless and stupid laughter, ringing out profanely on the purity and solitude of the mountains, insulted my ears and maddened my sense. By the way these people acted one could tell that they live for themselves only, disgustingly ignorant of life and the world. They never move beyond the snug little sphere they have built for themselves. Thy care not how the world and its people fare, they never look into the future. Their social consciousness is on a level with that of the ape and the tiger. As I thought of the sumptuous and expensive repasts that these human vultures were gorging themselves with at the big hotel in the canyon, of their soft beds in clean and airy rooms, of their riotous lives of idleness and uselessness, lived at the expense of the lives of millions of workers, there wove itself out of the threads of past memories a picture. I was looking at the big hotel, and yet I was not aware of its presence any longer. In fact, it had disappeared. Where it had stood I now saw something else. I saw the bunk houses of a construction camp, and as I looked I began to live in the past. There along the four walls were filthy bunks filled with tired workers. These men were sleeping with the clothes on. Their ill-reeking garments and socks were strung out to dry on lines running across from one row of bunks to the other. One single oil lamp, its light burning low and dim in the blackened glass, was hanging on the wall in the far corner. In the center of the crowded and air-tight space my eye met the familiar sight of the cylindrical sheet-iron stove. In it a couple of big logs were smouldering laboriously for lack of air. The sting of the smoke escaping thru the rents and cracks of the old leaky stove caused the men to cough and choke in their sleep.

When the vision had disappeared, I again waded ankle-deep thru the fall mud and slush of the road. For ten weary hours I groveled and wallowed in this ruck. But what was the difference? Had beasts the right to complain or to grumble?

It would pay to dig up the lost records, and to write a history of the travail and suffering of the forgotten workers who built California's national parks and highways. What tales of misery and heroism would come to light! What pitiless exploitation would this not reveal, what brutal and inhuman treatment! The builders of an empire, the blazers of Civilization's trail, dumped like dogs into forgotten graves! Such a history would tell us of blood money filched for the upkeep of hospitals, while sick and injured workers were denied proper care and treatment. There would be ghastly and piteous tales of men dying, friendless, left to their fate in vermin-infested bunkhouses. It would constitute another indictment of a class who wallow and roll in reckless idleness and luxury, while the producers of all wealth rot in the claws of suffering and privation.

### "Sunny" California.

That is California, the land of warm and glowing colors, of eternal sunshine and of cheap labor. The enjoyment of its balmy, velvety climate, of its grapes, oranges and other delicious fruits, the use of its marvelous transportation system, covering the state with a net-work of smooth, acadamized automobile and stage roads, has been made possible by the unrelenting and barren toil of wage-slaves. The descendants of these slaves, heirs to their fathers' misery, are today homeless and jobless, tramping in their thousands, bed on back, the dusty and sun-scorched highways, stretching out for endless, weary miles, that their own and their fathers' hands have built. One begins to meet these wretched builders of an empire just before reaching California, on top of the snow-swept, frost-bitten Siskiyou mountains. Their "jungle fires," glowing red in the dark and cold nights of Mount Shasta, and telling a terrible story of human loneliness and misery, are to be met with on both sides of the Southern Pacific

tracks. As one descends from Shasta mountain, passes Redding and approaches the valley of the Sacramento, their numbers increase until the whole state is covered with their wretchedness, a living condemnation of capitalist civilization.

The rice harvest is on in the valley. Chico, Biggs and Marysville are open slave markets. The scene looks familiar. Migratory workers are gathered on the main street around the depot. They are talking, laughing, and smoking. Some of them are on their way to the "jungles" down the track. These hold packages and bundles of various sizes and descriptions under their arms and in their hands. Inside are bread, meat, potatoes, coffee and sugar. It all reminds one of the North Dakota harvest country. There is one feature, however, to mar the symmetry of the picture, a feature that is strangely out of place in the surroundings. It makes a middle-western migratory worker feel lost and ill at ease. It is the fact that most of these men pack "rolls" or "bundles;" and they make no secret of it. Each possessor of a perambulating bed hugs close his treasure, constantly keeping it with him. He does not take his watchful eyes off of it either day or night. When he moves down-town to the pool hall the bed goes with him, and when he comes back to the slave market so does the bed. There it lies at his feet, or perhaps it hangs on the railing surrounding the depot garden.

The discussions among the slaves are about the rice, the prospects of work, the pay and the hours. Every now and then farmers drive up in Fords to enquire if anybody is looking for work. The wages offered are four and four and a half dollars per day, and—"furnish your own bed." Is it any wonder that California is the ideal country of American capitalism? They talk about the cheap labor of the Hindus and the Japs, but what about the spineless, low-down creature who will furnish his own blankets, quilts and canvas? Some of these men actually delight in carrying, snail-like, their beds on their backs. Many times have I watched them as they march up-town, stooped over underneath their burdens, openly and proudly displaying their lousy bedding to the curious and contemptuous gaze of the people.

Never has the truth that the workers themselves are responsible for their miserable condition been more clearly illustrated than in the case of the "bindle stiff." Think of a bunch of wage slaves voluntarily, deliberately buying their own bedding! Never a smatter of an idea that this is not as it should be, never a trace of rebellion, to say nothing of an organized refusel to buy the bedding, or a desire to make the boss furnish and pay for it out of his own pocket. An intelligent, class-conscious worker without a bed on his back is out of luck in this country. He is up against it. He cannot get a job. I found this out on many occasions. Not only are the nights too cold for sleeping without cover, but the farmers and construction contractors actually refuse to employ a slave without a roll of blankets. They want "steady hands," and they understand that the worker who applies for a job without a "bindle" is generally a "short-stake man." Also, they seem to entertain an instinctive dislike for the man without any bedding. They seem to smell in him a rebel, a scoffer at the conventional, an agitator, an I. W. W. One day I went into the free employment office of Chico, Cal., to inquire about a job in the rice fields. I was told that without bedding I could not get a job.

As I was leaving the valley, headed for Sacramento, the rain was pouring down in torrents. It had rained like that for a week. The rice fields were flooded, work had been shut down indefinitely, and the workers were crowding into the small towns. In the day time they packed the pool halls. At night they spread their canvas in any old place, under rice houses, in box cars, livery stables, and empty barns; those amongst them who had no blankets slept alongside "jungle" fires glowing a dull red in the dark night and the dripping rain.

What will become of all these men? Where will the currents of blind chance carry them? Where will they be a year from now, ten years from now? Will they still be alive, or dead and gone? If still living, what will their lives be like? Who were they, anyway, where did they come from? Were there, perhaps, people who cared—mothers, sisters, sweethearts of long ago, in some corner of a far-away land? Nobody knew—nobody cared.

A student of sociology would have found an interesting field for investigation in the orange country around Lindsay and Portersville last fall. Economic laws, if a thoro understanding of them is desired, must not only be studied in the books of the economists, but must be observed in actual operation in life.

The effects of the law of supply and demand, in its relationship to the commodity labor, were plainly seen in the overcrowded labor market of the town of Lindsay, Cal. As soon as the orange picking started around Lindsay, a concerted drive by jobless labor was made on that center from Sacramento, Fresno and Stockton. The farmers, in consequence, had it all their own way. Seeing that they could get all the men they wanted, and then some, it did not take them long to impose the most rigid restrictions and qualifications on the job-hungry workers. A speeding-up system was soon inaugurated. Only workers willing to pick oranges by the box were in demand. When we consider that to make $6.00 a day a worker picking for ten cents a box had to pick 60 boxes a day, and that furthermore when picking by the day he received $6.00 for a day's work, and picked as low as ten, and never more than twenty boxes (this from an I. W. W. who worked in the orchards out of Lindsay), it is not hard to understand why it is that piece-work is one of the "damnedest" forms of scabbery imaginable.

**Piece work, as illustrated above, has four plainly traceable obnoxious and harmful results. These are:**

**1. Under it the worker is robbed.**
**2. It puts money into the pocket of the boss.**
**3. It leads to premature old age and death, and**
**4. Worst of all, it throws other men out a job.**

Not only in the demand for piece work was the effect of an overcrowded labor market to be seen. The mad scramble of the unorganized herd for jobs had its reflection in the willingness of many servile slaves to buy their own apple bags and clippers. Orange picking is no snap at any time, and if to the hell of the task has to be added the ignorance, hoggishness and selfishness of a bunch of unorganized and panic-stricken slaves, what shall be said? Nothing, except that the old truth that "the workers themselves, and nobody else, are to blame for their conditions" has been here once more emphatically illustrated.

And yet it is on those very same conditions, on the unemployment, the long hours, the speeding-up, on all this exploitation and misery, that the revolution thrives. All this discontent and human wretchedness is gathered up by the I. W. W., and out of it its tireless workers forge the weapon that will be used to destroy the American capitalist class as a class. No matter where you may go, whether in the wheat-fields of Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, or North Dakota, in the beet fields of Colorado, among the cornstalks of Iowa, the apple orchards in the Wenatchee, or the orange groves of Southern California, no matter where your travels may take you, as long as you are a worker and your life brings you in contact with the men who do the hard and vital work of the world, you will meet the I. W. W.'s. They are the breath of the revolution. Their tactics are as flexible as the conditions of their existence. To a casual observer, who has at some time or other observed the I. W. W. in action in the harvest belts, it might seem that if the organization's demands are not granted its members will refuse to take a job until the boss has changed his mind and declared himself willing to make the necessary concessions. However, by observing closer he will find that, if necessary, the I. W. W.'s will go on the job no matter what the conditions may be. As soon as they get there they line up as many unorganized workers as possible. It a strike is not successful the first time because the farmer fires "the whole damn bunch of agitators" and goes up-town to get himself another crew, the chances are that when the next time a demand is made for shorter hours, better "chuck," or the furnishing of blankets, these demands are granted in a hurry. Do you know why? Ask the farmer. He will tell you that when he went up-town to hire another crew, without knowing it he had hired another bunch of I. W. W.'s. This he found out as soon as he got back to the farm, for his new crew acted in exactly the same manner as the old one.

The I. W. W.'s are off and on the jobs, here and there and everywhere, lining up men, carrying on agitation, pulling off strikes, educating both exploiters and workers, exploiters as to the efficiency of the One Big Union to hit in the pocket-book, workers as to the fact that the One Big Union will set them free. Step by step the revolution in the United States advances. If the American capitalists could only see the havoc wrought in their system by privation and unemployment, if they could only encompass the enthusiasm for the One Big Union that is sweeping the country, or get an inkling of the damage done to their system every time a strike, whether successful or not, is pulled off, and a lesson in working class solidarity is taught! The ground on which they stand is slipping and crumbling, and yet they know it not. But why should they? Have not the ruling classes of all historical epochs been blinded by their class interests to the deep undercurrents of discontent and revolution which finally swelled to a flood that broke down the fences of slavery and swept into oblivion their damnable strucures of shame and bondage?

The seeds of revolution are being sown in California today, and those seeds are exploitation, misery, starvation and unemployment.

# Progress

**Giordano Bruno could not be free while a power like that of the Roman hierarchy ruled in Europe. Galileo could not be free to teach the people the fact that the earth moves; he was compelled by torture to recant, but as he rose from his knees he remarked, "And yet it moves." Liebknecht could not be free while the Hohenzollern blight ruled over Germany; nor, had he escaped the assassin, could he have been free under the present autocracy that has assumed the mask of democracy. Nicolai Lenin could not be free while czardom shadowed the people of Russia. The life of the oppressor ever depends on the effective silencing of all who would speak for the oppressed.**

**Effective? It is too late. The tide of progress, of democracy, of justice has gained too great impetus. The torturing of Galileo did not kill the idea that the earth moves, nor did the long imprisonment and final burning of Bruno kill the truths that he taught. Liebknecht was slain while fighting for a bona fide democracy in Germany, but his cause today is gaining strength as never before. Lenin, the statesman supreme, has helped install the world's first democracy, and has successfully protected it from the combined onslaughts of the capitalist nations. Over one hundred and eighty million Russians floats the flag of freedom, brotherhood and co-operative industry, while its enemies plot and vilify in vain.**

**Julia C. Coons.**

**POOR MARKSMANSHIP**

# The Call of the I. W. W.

By H. Van Dorn

Who is it denounces the I. W. W.?
Who it is calls us traitors and blasphemers, murderers and destroyers?
The prostituted journalist, the man who instills poison into people's minds. He is so servile that he licks the dust off his master's shoes.
The bejeweled parasite, the man who sows not, but who reaps the wealth of the world. He has heen the curse of all the ages.
The exploiter of child lahor, the man who coins dollars out of the warped lives and stunted souls of little children. His hands are gory with the hlood of innocent children.

* * * * *

Let the I. W. W. hugle-call to Liberty resound from the shores of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific, from the Gulf of Florida to the Great Lakes, from the cactus lands of the Mexican border to the wheat lands of the Canadian horder.

* * * * *

You workers of all races and nationalities,
You toilers at all trades and occupations,
You who are the salt of all creation,
You who are the life-blood of the nation,
You who huild luxurious palaces and live in squalid tenements,
You who defy deadly gases in the howels of the earth, you who battle the fierce elements of the tumultuous sea, and receive a crust of bread as your reward,
You whose hands are calloused from hard lahor, and whose foreheads are furrowed from many anxieties,
You who create everything and possess nothing,
Would you he free men among free men?
Would you be masters of your own destiny?
Would you be rid of the parasites who fatten upon your misery?
Then come and join the I. W. W.!

* * * * *

You doers of deeds,
You huilders of empire,
You whose fertile hrains contained the images of buildings, factories, ships, locomotives, highways and railways before they materialized into tangihle realities,
You layers of hrick,
You carriers of mortar,
You sawers of wood,
You hewers of timher,
Come and join the I. W. W.!

* * * * *

You burners of the midnight oil,
You men of the keen brain and the quick eye,
You for whom the pursuit of truth is the wine of life,
You for whom the exploration of the Great Unknown is the elixir of happiness,

You for whom the finding of new truths is the acme of beatitude,
You who delve into the hidden lore of the ancients,
You who pore over the musty pages of history, tbat thru an understanding of the past you may be able to peer into the dim reaches of tbe mysterious future,
You men of the fevered brain, you men of divine inspiration, you men witb intellects as sharp as the edge of a sword,
You for whom a flaw in the chain of reasoning is a crime of crimes.
Come and work witb the I. W. W.!

* * * * *

You who have grown weary on the journey of life,
You whose shoulders are stooped from many burdens, wbose hands are palsied and wbose steps are faltering,
You who have felt the bitterness of utter failure,
You who have weathered the storms of blasted hopes,
You who have fathomed the depths of black despair,
Would you have assurance that your sufferings have not been in vain?
Would you bequeath upon your children and your children's children the golden inheritance of a radiant and a regenerated Eartb?
Then come and join the I. W. W.!

* * * * *

You men with red blood in your veins,
You seekers after truth,
You lovers of liberty,
You whose free spirits dungeons cannot hold, you for whom chains were made but to be broken, you who know laws to be but scraps of paper,
You who recognize no master but your conscience,
You who know no dignity but the dignity of labor,
Come and join the I. W. W.!

* * * * *

You singers of songs,
You dreamers of dreams,
You lovers of the Beautiful,
You adorers of the Sublime,
You gifted ones among the children of men,
You whose fancy travels with the swiftness of lightning,
You who can summon from your flaming imaginations the priceless treasures of art, music and poetry, which gold cannot buy nor rust corrode,
Would you be rid from care and misery?
Would you break the chains that bold your spirit in bondage?
Would you give wings to your souls that they may soar to beights infinite?
Then come and join the I. W. W.!

* * * * *

Tbe I. W. W. is the guardian over the Shrine of Liberty,
It is tbe keeper of the key to tbe future society of Industrial Democracy.

* * * * *

Ay, the nigbt was long,
Tbe darkness was appalling,
But the day is breaking,
Tbe day is breaking!

**The Industrial Pioneer**

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## INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH.

ONE of our subscribers sends us a letter inquiring whether the I. W. W., in view of its activities along lines of industrial research, proposes to transform overnight ordinary workingmen into trained technicians, such as engineers and chemists. No, the I. W. W. does not propose to perform any such miracle. This leads us to the consideration of a big subject, that of industrial research.

All industry has been made possible by the application of physical science to the forces and materials furnished by nature. Those men who have made a special study of engineering, chemistry, physics, or any other science which finds application in industry, are known as technicians, and their services are absolutely indispensable for the successful operation of industry. In some industries, however, their services are in less constant demand than in others.

Let us take, for instance, the coal mining industry. While the mine is being built the co-ordinated efforts of assayists, surveyers and engineers are required for surveying the field, sinking the shafts, constructing the tipples, laying the tracks, etc. That done, their services are dispensed with, and the operation of the mine turned over to the miners. Henceforward the successful running of the mine depends almost wholly upon the efforts of the miners themselves. This applies also to the lumber industry, and to a few others.

On the other hand, the industries where the services of technicians are in continuous demand are best illustrated by the steel industry. Take the chemists and other laboratory workers out of a steel mill and in the course of a few days it will have to shut down.

Another consideration to be kept in mind is this: Should all the foremen, departmental managers, superintendents and all others occupying positions of responsibility in any large industrial establishment suddenly go out on strike that establishment will become completely disorganized for some days afterwards, and when operation is eventually resumed with a new, inexperienced managerial force it will be grossly inefficient for quite some time to come, and the output will be correspondingly smaller. Thus we see that for the successful and efficient running of any industry is required the harmonious co-operation of the workers proper with the managerial and the technical staffs.

This has been admirably brought out by our Fellow Worker G. Cannata, who is himself a technician of high attainments, in his article on "Technique and Revolution," the first half of which appears in this issue of "The Industrial Pioneer."

Therefore, in discussing the taking over of industry by the workers, the functions of the managerial and technical forces, as well as their attitude towards a change of such tremendous consequences, have to be given serious consideration. Will they give their services as wholeheartedly for the benefit of the Workers' Commonwealth as they did for the benefit of individual capitalists? Will they not, in place of co-operation, offer sabotage?

Unless our ideas about the functioning of the human mind are utterly false, they will not offer their unstinted services to the working class when capitalism collapses. Some will, but the majority will not; that is to say, unless great changes are effected in their present mentality. A factory superintendent is a superintendent by reason of his having performed valuable services for the capitalist along lines of installing labor

saving devices, increasing efficiency and cutting labor costs, and thereby producing more profits. Hs mentality is similar to that of the capitalist. Consequently, when the workers will take control of industry he will balk at the idea of offering his valuable services to a class which he considers as greatly inferior to himself.

It is therefore clearly the duty of an organization like the Industrial Workers of the World to do two things:

First, to develop enough initiative and understanding of industrial processes in at least a certain part of its membership so that when private ownership of industry collapses these members, in co-operation with other workers, will possess the necessary knowledge of their particular industries to efficiently fill managerial and executive positions, and

Second, to carry on educational work among the technicians in order to make them look at industrial and social problems from the point of view of the revolutionary class conscious industrial unionist, so that they should offer co-operation instead of sabotage when the day of Labor's Commonwealth arrives.

A secondary reason, but by no means a negligible one, is that by issuing industrial handbooks and printing articles on industrial conditions and processes, and by spreading them among the workers employed in the industries dealt with, we arouse in them a sense of responsibility by pointing out the importance of their work to the social organism; this in turn creates in them a better understanding of the solidarity of labor, and makes it so much easier to organize them. Also, such writings, by presenting the mentality of workers employed in different industries, makes it much easier for our unions to choose the right kind of propaganda and the proper organization tactics in order to line them up in the One Big Union.

It is with the above objects in mind that we have printed in this issue of "The Industrial Pioneer" the articles on "The Development of Tobacco Growing," by Chas. J. Miller, and "Evolution of the Lumber Industry," by James Kennedy.

Should the capitalist system collapse before the working class has made at least a certain amount of progress along the lines indicated above it would result in a calamity of undreamed-of magnitude: The working class, in place of a Socialist millennium, would be face to face with industrial chaos, gross inefficiency, capitalist sabotage on a gigantic scale, and starvation. It is right here where the moral superiority of the I. W. W. as compared with other organizations, whether political or industrial, which have for their aim the betterment by one means or another of the condition of the working class, becomes apparent: The I. W. W. is the only organization in America with a definite, well thought-out program of economic reconstruction on a nation-wide scale.

As a preliminary step in that direction we have established a Bureau of Industrial Research. Its purpose is to bring to light the criminal waste in natural resources and man-power caused by private ownership of industry, and to work out comprehensive measures of economic rehabilitation. In this issue of "The Industrial Pioneer" we print the Bureau's report on "Waste in Oil."

Let us consider for one moment the appalling waste of man-power expended in the advertising business. Several million men and women are engaged in the writing, printing and distributing of advertisements; millions of pounds of valuable and costly paper are wasted every year in that futile enterprise; the work of tens of thousands of lumber workers, saw-mill operatives, paper makers, printers, salesmen, delivery men, is a dead loss to the people of the United States. The advertising business is a continuous drain on the energy and the resources of the country; it serves but the one purpose of increasing the profits of rival advertising firms:—the much-beloved "people," of course, footing all the bills. And in the face of this the apologists for capitalism have the nerve to refer to the present order of things as a "sane system of society."

That is only one example of waste. Think of the saving in man-power that would be

effected by putting to work all our gentlemen of leisure and other parasites, such as burglars, real estate sharks, gamblers, bankers, confidence men, kept journalists, sky pilots, lawyers and politicians. With everybody performing socially useful labor, the number of working hours per day would, of course, be reduced accordingly.

Labor-saving and power-producing machinery on a grand scale could be put into operation, which under private ownership of industry cannot be done on account of commercial considerations. In a sane system of society, where industry is run by the workers themselves for use instead of for profit, all the suffering caused by unemployment, strikes, ignorance, unsanitary conditions, avoidable disease and accidents, and by other social and industrial "ills," would be done away with.

# "At the Movies"

**By a Rebel Girl**

AS WE came into the circle of brilliant light around the "movie palace" a thin, tired little woman passed us, holding in her arms a small bundle of humanity wrapped in a faded, red shawl. A little boy about six or seven years old trotted at her side, plucking at a trailing end of the shawl and looking up at his mother wistfully as he asked in a high-pitched, baby voice:

"Let's go to the movies, Mum!"

"Mum" shakes her head abstractedly. "Not tonight, son, I ain't got the price—mebbe Pa'll take you Saturday"—and they pass on into the fringe of semi-darkness beyond the theatre, whilst we go in to see "The Mark of Zorro"—Zorro, who went about the land protecting the oppressed and downtrodden, and punishing the oppressors!

After the play we see the pictorial review of the week's news. Many faces flash before us—hard, unsympathetic, often stupid—they are those of the possible nominees for office under the new President. Each man wrinkles his well-fed countenance, raises his well-brushed hat, and loosens his usually iron-clamped jaw for an instant, and receives for this effort a few indifferent handclaps from a few scissor-bills in the audience.

Martens stands before us. "He's got a nice face. Funny, he's a Bolshevik, ain't he?" exclaims a shopgirl in the seat ahead of us. "Give him a clap!" says another girl close to us, but her companion puts his hand on her arm and says: "Hush! It'll only mean trouble!" and the scene changes again.

Now a few political "bosses" stand grinning between two lines of officers. They are reviewing a body of soldiers who trudge past, flags waving and band playing. There is a French couple beside us. The woman has just arrived in the country and cannot read English, but she understands this picture and exclaims: "Ah, les soldats! Toujours les soldats!"

Now a bird's-eye-view of a great group of Uncle Sam's warships. Great, grey monsters, lying so still on the sunny waters. Horrible in the strength, power, wealth and national pride they represent! Death-dealing strength; brute power; ill-gotten, blood-drenched wealth, and national pride. Oh yes, national pride, for now the audience is clapping in earnest. They are pleased at this outward and visible sign of their country's splendour, her standing amongst the lesser nations of the earth. They beat their toil-worn hands together enthusiastically, they are so proud, so thrilled . . .

And outside there had passed a woman who "Hadn't the price" to let her son see this splendid manifestation of Americanism!

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**Perhaps no man in the history of the nation has stood both so high and so low in the estimation of the people as Woodrow Wilson.**

**So great is the power of the "invisible government" and the mighty press under its control that it can idolize or ruin one of its adherents at a day's notice.**

**Having served the power that made him president even too faithfully and well, he is cast aside in contempt by this power the day it discovers another man who promises to serve even better.**

**There are few who would care to change places with Woodrow Wilson today. One of Henry VIII.'s favorites, who later fell a victim to his wrath, said, "Had I but served the Lord as faithfully as I have served the King, he would not have cast me off in my old age." Wilson, in his sober reflections, might paraphrase this, "Had I but served the people as faithfully as I have served the profiteers—!"**

**Julia C. Coons.**

# The Development of Tobacco Growing

By Chas. J. Miller

THE first smoker is unknown. Some historians have made the claim that ages before tobacco was discovered, smoking in some form was practiced in China, and it is also said that Stanley, in his early exploring expedition into Africa, found natives smoking, but in neither case is it proven that tobacco was used.

It was as a religious rite that smoking originated. Among all the aborigines of the Americas, from Cape Horn to Hudson's Bay, tobacco was regarded as a sacred plant. When the Indians of North America first saw white men, they took them for gods, and presented to them bags of their best tobacco. Some tribes of Indians still burn tobacco as incense to their gods.

Slowly the burning of tobacco passes from a religious rite to a practice of pleasure. The evolution was along the line of least resistance. The medicine man was the prophet as well as the physician of the tribe. To him came the sick and the injured, and for all ills to which flesh is heir he prescribed the smoke of the holy herb-tobacco.

The sick man was set to inhale the smoke by brooding over the burning leaves until he became thoroly intoxicated. On returning to his senses he told stories of having been at the councils of the gods, and of other heavenly visions.

The next and most obvious step was to use a hollow reed or tube which, thrust into the burning tobacco, enabled the prophet, or patient, to inhale the smoke without fumigating his eyes and head. Thus the first pipe was originated. The primitive form of pipe was used in San Domingo when the Spaniards landed there. This was a hollow, forked cane, the thickness of the little finger, resembling a Y in shape. The two ends were placed in the nostrils and the other end over a small pile of the burning leaves, and the smoke was drawn up into the nose and head. The word tobacco has been derived from the name of this native pipe—tobago.

From this it was but a short step to making a receptacle at one end to hold the smouldering tobacco. The smoker of today little dreams that he is observing a primitive religious rite as he puffs at his pipe, cigar, or cigarette.

Smoking was first noticed by two sailors of Columbus' crew, who in November, 1492, on an exploring trip on the Isle of Guahain (San Salvador) saw the natives carrying lighted fire-brands, from which they inhaled smoke, afterwards puffing it out of their mouths and noses. They soon learned that the Indians took the leaves of a certain plant, rolled them up in a stripe of maize, set fire to the roll and drank in the smoke. Thus was tobacco first discovered by the white man.

In every part of the New World, European explorers found that smoking was a common practice. War was proclaimed by sending around the pipe of war, and peace declared by the solemn smoking of the calumet of peace.

Tobacco was first introduced into Europe about 1559, as a drug. Smoking spread so rapidly that before the end of the sixteenth century it was fiercely assailed and opposed. No less a person than

Road-way thru tobacco under "tent." Large bottom leaves have been picked (two pickings, six leaves). Tobacco in blossom, 1920. "Syndicate" plantation No. 2.

**Tobacco pickers. Note the age. "Syndicate" Plantation No. 1.**

James I. of England led the bitter attack on tobacco. In some countries, such as Russia, Turkey and Persia, the penalty for using tobacco was death. Priests, doctors, and kings fought over it, but to no avail. By the end of the seventeenth century smoking had become universal.

In America, the first English colony, Virginia, was founded on tobacco. It is recorded that in 1615 the gardens, fields and even the streets of Jamestown were planted with tobacco. It was not only the staple crop, but the principal currency of the colony. In 1619, "ninety agreeable persons, young and incorrupt," and in 1621, "sixty more maids, of virtuous education, young and handsome," were sent from London on a marriage speculation. The first lot of these ladies were bought by the colonists for 120 pounds of fine leaf tobacco each; the second lot brought 150 pounds. In 1635 negro slaves were first imported to cultivate tobacco on the plantations.

From this beginning, the tobacco habit has steadily grown until today we find that tobacco is used by a greater number of people and among more nations than any other cultivated product of the earth. With the exception of tea, it is the most highly taxed commodity. In 1918 the United States derived from it $155,757,278 in taxes, and exported to the value of $152,965,286.

The world's tobacco crop in 1918 was over 4 billion pounds. Allowing as a moderate average of 25 cigars, or 100 cigarettes, to the pound, this gives an annual product of 30 billion cigars and 150 billion cigarettes, for the world's consumption, with plenty to spare for all the snuff, chewing and pipe tobacco demanded by other users of the "weed."

Tobacco is grown all over the world. It grows as far north as Stockholm, Sweden, and as far south as the Cape of Good Hope, but only in a few places on earth can a really fine grade of leaf be grown.

The United States produces more tobacco than any other country. In 1918, it raised nearly one and a quarter billion pounds, India being second with about a billion, and China third with one half billion.

**Tobacco sewers. Note the age. Some are only 7 and 8 years old. "Syndicate" Plantation No. 1. 1920.**

The cultivation of tobacco in this country is highly localized and confined to special districts. The largest acreage is found in Kentucky, with North Carolina next with about half the area. Virginia is third and Ohio fourth.

The Central-Eastern tobacco district is located in Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, while another distinct field is comprised of the Atlantic border states from Florida to Connecticut. Outside of these two sections the production is insignificant.

There are about 100 different varieties of tobacco in the United States; nearly all of these have been derived from one variety of Virginia tobacco. All tobacco is divided into three general classes for purposes of cigarmaking, for export and for manufacture.

The methods of culture in all sections are nearly the same. To succeed, a thoro knowledge of conditions and of methods, of cultivation, harvesting and curing are necessary. Altho it is only a "weed," the raising of tobacco demands more care than almost any other product of the soil.

In the raising of Cuban tobacco it was noticed that the tobacco grown in the shade of trees was of much finer quality. So they experimented with artificial shade by covering a section of the tobacco field with coarse heavy cheese cloth. The tobacco grown in this way was found to be far superior to any other; it is now used for cigar wrappers. Consequently, the "tent" system became quite general in Cuba and Porto Rico, from whence it spread to Florida.

In 1900 the Connecticut Agricultural Station experimented with a small field of covered "Cuban seed" tobacco. The result of this experiment was epoch making in this section. It was found that the Connecticut shade-grown "Cuban" tobacco was equal in wrapping quality to any in the world.

With the introduction of this shade-grown tobacco a new factor entered the field. About 1905 the Allied Tobacco Company of Hartford, Conn., a corporation generally known as the "Syndicate," acquired several large farms and covered them with cloth and grew the shade-grown tobacco. Since then they have steadily added other farms until now they control a large section of the best tobacco land in the Connecticut Valley. Other "Syndicates" have made their appearance in other sections.

With the coming of the "Syndicate," tobacco raising has changed from individual production to social production on a large scale.

Prior to this time most of the tobacco had been raised by small farmers, the greater numbers of farms ranging from 50 to 100 acres. The work was done with the help of the farmer's family and a few hired men. At harvesting time extra help would be hired.

Even now about 25 per cent of the tobacco is raised by tenant farmers, and by croppers. A tenant farmer has to furnish all the labor, manure, teams, and cultivating and harvesting implements; the crops are generally divided 50-50 with the owner. The "cropper" only raises and harvests the crop, the owner supplying all the means. He also usually gets 50 per cent of the proceeds of the crop.

A most unusual landscape. From a distance the top of the "tent" looks like a lake. Hazardville, Conn. 1920.

The tobacco farmers have at different times tried to organize, in order to control the price of tobacco. They formed secret organizations; those among them who refused to join were threatened with tar and feathers, with horse whipping and burning of crops. The masked "Night Riders" would come in the dead of night and carry out their threats. Notwithstanding all this, they have not succeeded in getting control over the tobacco industry.

Owing to the danger of destruction of crops thru storms and frost, and the greatly increased amount of capital required in the new method of raising tobacco, the small farmers are rapidly being replaced by the "Syndicates." In one hail storm in the Connecticut Valley last summer the loss to the small tobacco growers was about $2,000000. On

Tobacco shed. Note how it is opened to allow the tobacco to cure. Woodward's Plantation. 1920.

account of the cloth-covered field, shade-grown tobacco was practically exempt from damage.

Just who the men are behind the "Syndicate" movement, and how they got control of the tobacco land, is a closed book; there is no doubt, however, that powerful financial interests are concerned in the deal. The farmers have, in a few instances, pooled their farms and their capital, and have met with a measure of success.

It would be hard to find a finer bunch of "scissor-bills' than the tobacco workers. Before the war many of them worked long hours at hard work for $20 to $30 a month and keep. The wages of the workers at harvest time were from $2 to $2.50 per day. To think of organizing these workers was a hopeless proposition.

The coming of the "Syndicates" has turned every man working on his plantation into a wage worker. The corporation hires the managers, who hire the rest of the help and run the farms. In the spring men and women are hired to sew the cloth and cover the field. They also prepare the soil. On some plantations tractors are used. About May or June the tobacco plants are ready to be transplanted into the fields. The hot-beds are about six feet wide. Boards are laid across these beds and women lay on these boards all day long, pulling plants. And for this back-breaking work they receive $3 for a 9-hour day.

The men transplant with a tobacco setter, or transplanting machine. The machine carries three men: one to drive, and the other two to set the plants, each setting every alternate plant. They can set two acres a day, or 3,500 plants.

After the tobacco is planted, both men and women hoe and cultivate the tobacco until it is ready to be harvested.

The old method of harvesting was to cut down the plants and to hang them up in the shed to cure. The "Syndicates" have adopted a new way. When vacation time comes school children are hired. The boys go thru the rows of tobacco, picking the leaves as they get "ripe." Generally there are five pickings. Starting at the bottom, they pick three leaves at a picking. Men go thru the rows pulling after them long baskets, in which they collect the picked leaves. The baskets are then hauled to the sheds. This work of picking and pulling heavy baskets is hard work, and especially under the "tents," as the cloth prevents any breeze from coming thru, and the temperature is consequently several degrees higher than outside. For this work the boys receive from $2 to $2.50, and the men $4 for a 9-hour day.

In the sheds the girls and women sew the leaves to laths. They sew twenty pairs of leaves (40 leaves) on one lath. For sewing 1 bundle of laths (50 laths or 2,000 leaves to a bundle), they receive sixty cents. The pay for sewers has averaged about $3.60 per day for sewing 12,000 leaves.

These laths are then hung up in the sheds to cure. The sheds are built with about every third or fourth board loose, the boards being hinged so that they can be opened and closed as wanted.

The curing consists not only in the drying of the leaves but in a rapid chemical process as well, for which a certain temperature is required. Sometimes artificial heat is used. The laths are hung in tiers and spaced to permit a free circulation of air. After two to four weeks the tobacco is ready to be taken down. For this, damp weather is required, when the sheds are opened up, allowing the tobacco to become moist; when in this condition it can be handled without injuring the leaves. The leaves are then stripped from the laths and pressed into bales. All the workers help with this work.

The bales are then taken to the warehouses, where the tobacco is put thru a fermentation process, after which it goes thru different processes, according to the nature of the product that it is to be made into.

Many of the tobacco workers are employed in the warehouses during the winter.

The harvesting generally lasts a week or two longer than the regular school vacation, but as the

**Seed-leaf tobacco. Shade-grown tobacco in background. Hazardville, Conn., 1920.**

authorities are always very considerate of the interests of the tobacco growers, they postpone the starting of school until after the crops are harvested, to allow the farmers to get the full benefit of of child labor.

Thousands of school children, between the ages of 7 and 14, are exploited year after year, going to work as soon as the summer school vacation starts and working all thru the heat of July and August, in order that the tobacco "Syndicates" can get plenty of cheap help and make big profits. The "Syndicates" send their trucks and charter special trolley cars to bring this cheap labor from the surrounding towns and cities, and to take it back again at night. All thru these districts, wages are kept down by the use of child labor, which in turn forces the parents to send their children to work in order to get enough to live.

While the price of tobacco went up during the war from 100 to 200 per cent, the wages were raised only about 75 per cent. The average wages for 1919-1920 were $4 for men, $3 for women, and $2 for children. The wages of the warehouse workers are generally below the field workers, and last month they received a 25 per cent cut in wages.

What effect will this trustifying have upon the tobacco workers? The signs are not lacking that the workers will be forced to organize for self-protection. One hears more and more strike talk, and now and then small group strikes are pulled off. Generally, owing to lack of education, experience, organization and solidarity, the strikers loose their jobs, but very often the strike results in a raise in wages and in better working conditions for the rest of the workers on the plantation.

This summer the manager of one of the "Allied" plantations fired the "boss picker" on account of a personal disagreement. The next day the pickers went on strike to force the manager to take the boss back again. These boys tied up the plantation for several days, until the manager could get a new crew of scab pickers from another town. He first attempted to break the strike by inducing some of girl "sewers" to go into the field and pick leaves and scab on the pickers; some of these girls were sisters of the boy strikers. They seemed to think it a joke to act as strike breakers. This attempt failed mainly because the work was too hard, and the heat under the tent too much for the girls, which made them quit.

However, a great change is taking place in the mentality of the tobacco workers. Now and then one comes across a worker who understands the labor movement. It is no longer simply a matter of leaving one small farmer and getting a job with another. Now it is a case of going up against a corporation, where the employes never see the owner. When they get up against the boss they are not simply up against an individual farmer, but they have to fight the whole company, with all its power of control over the jobs, authorities, black-lists and spies. This will force the workers to organize their power against the "Syndicate." And the Organization is ready and waiting for them. With the proper educational material and the job delegate system of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W. in the field, it will not take long to form a strong union among the tobacco workers.

As for the workers themselves taking over the farms and running them, that is not such a difficult step, for they are being run now by men who only a short time ago owned and operated them.

# The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions

By A. Lozovsky.

**Introduction by the Editor.**

IT affords us great satisfaction to be able to offer to our readers for their perusal the Report of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, the first part of which is printed below. The second part will appear in the March issue of "The Industrial Pioneer." It is a document of epoch-making significance, and was sent to us direct from Europe. It was written by A. Lozovsky, shortly after the initial steps had been taken for the foundation of a Red Industrial Union International, the function of which would be the co-ordination of the forces of radical trade and industrial unions the world over. It is a clear, lucid statement of the status of organized labor in Europe and America prior to and since the World War, presenting and interpreting the alignment of the various industrial and political organizations. As such it deserves the attentive study of everybody who takes an interest in the onward march of the advancing proletariat.

It is advisable, however, that in the study of the labor and political situation in Europe one thing be always kept in mind: That America is not Europe, that the industrial and economic situation here is vastly different from that which prevails in the European and, for that matter, any other countries. One of the frailties of the human mind is the facility with which it jumps at conclusions; in so doing it follows the path of least resistance, which is also the path of mental laziness. Just because the social and industrial Revolution was accomplished by the use of certain tactics in Russia is no indication that it will—or can—be accomplished by the use of these same tactics in Italy, in England, or in Germany, to say nothing of the United States.

Therefore, when in the course of various articles dealing with the international labor situation, printed in "The Industrial Pioneer," reference is made to Communist activities in this, that, or the other country, and mention is made of the increasing power and influence of the Communist Party in European labor organizations, let us not jump at the conclusion that the mere printing of such information is a tacit admission by "The Industrial Pioneer" of the correctness of the Communist program and the efficacy of its tactics,—as applied to America. By doing so we would make a grievous mistake indeed.

It is impossible to write about working class organizations in Europe without writing about the various political parties, such as Labor, Socialist, Communist, which represent, more or less—mostly less—the proletarian will to power. Working class aspirations on the political and economical fields in Europe are closely intertwined. The brilliant success of the social and industrial Revolution in Russia, accomplished by the working masses under the guidance of the Bolsheviki, or Communists, has lent an incalculable prestige to the Communist parties in all countries. The conditions that obtained in Russia at the time of the Revolution were such that they made imperative the use of precisely those tactics that the Bolsheviki did use. The criticism that some industrial unionists make of the Soviet Government on the score that it is a political instead of an industrial government is puerile. How could they have a purely industrial administration at this early date when at the time when the Revolution broke out there were no industrial unions,—or even trade unions, of any consequence—in existence in Russia? The revolutionists worked with such organizations as did exist, and by means of such tactics as answered the crying needs of the desperate condition that Russia was in at that

time. The only organization that rose to the occasion of rescuing the country from the desperate plight it was in was the Bolshevik, or Communist Party, and the only weapons that they could effectively use under the circumstances were mass action, armed insurrection and the dictatorship of the Proletariat. And, naturally, those who won the battle kept the power.

But it is a far cry from war-torn, bleeding, starving, semi-feudal Russia of 1917, with its tottering and decadent bureaucracy its infantile capitalism and its revolutionary traditions, to the industrial America of today, with its virile capitalism and its bourgeois ideology of long standing. America has wrested from England the right to be called the classic land of capitalism. The problems of the American working class are industrial problems; the tactics which they must use to solve those problems must also therefore be industrial. Politics in America is a joke,—it is the plaything of the ruling class. The so-called working class politics—such as find expression in the Socialist Party—is mainly a manifestation of an imported ideology; people who take politics seriously have not grasped the spirit and the soul of America, which is—industry.

The will to power of the American working class finds its expression in the I.W.W. In the struggle between capital and labor in the United States there is no place for any political party,—neither the Socialist, the Farmer-Labor, nor any other—not even the Communist. For fifteen years the I. W. W. has maintained its position of purely economic action, and it still maintains that position. The ultimate aim of the American working class is the taking over of the industries by the workers, and the running of those industries for use instead of for profit. That cannot be accomplished at the polls, or in halls of legislature, or by parading the streets and holding mass meetings; that can only be accomplished at the point of production,—on the job. Therefore it ought to be self-evident that the place to organize is on the job,—in other words, in industry. Not before the working class has a strong industrial organization will it have the power to take the industries away from the capitalists. A man does not look for work in his capacity of a Democrat, a Socialist or a Communist; he looks for work according to his trade or profession, whether it be that of a carpenter, a chemist, a machinist, or what not. Likewise, future society will not be administered by the worker according to his political beliefs; it will be administered by him according to the requirements of the industry that he works in. It will be an industrial administration, not a political one.

It is therefore with unusual interest that the I. W. W. has followed the steps taken for the organization of a Red Industrial International. Such a body, by insuring concerted action, would add greatly to the power of the workers' industrial unions the world over. Up to the present time, however, the definite formation of such an International has not yet been accomplished. The first congress of the proposed International, the absolute necessity for which is presented in the following manuscript, will take place, according to authentic information, in Moscow on May 1st, 1921.

News has also reached us of several conferences held in Berlin and elsewhere by representatives of German, Scandinavian and British labor unions. According to information at hand, a decision has been reached by them to become incorporated in the Moscow Industrial International. As soon as a full report is received it will be published in "The Industrial Pioneer."

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THE international organization of the trade union movement is proceeding much less quickly than the international organization of the Communist Party. It is already a year and a half since the foundation of the Third Communist International was laid, and the center for revolutionary activity for all Communists and revolutionary class elements in the world labor movement was created, whereas the trade unions have remained right up to the last moment unorganized in a single international organization. More than that, just at the moment when the Second International has become a corpse from which the most opportunist parties are fleeing, and when its most ardent supporters are compelled to admit that it is completely bankrupt,

an international federation of trade unions is being formed at the head of which stand those who were the most active participators in the Second International, and who supported the war policy of their governments.

The trade union movement is lagging behind the Communist Movement. The trade unions are the army, the closely massed columns of the proletariat, while the Communist Party is the advance guard, the pioneer fighting detachments of the working class. The later international organization of the trade unions means that the connection between the advance guard and the army is broken. This is a sad, but an undoubted fact in all countries in Europe and America. This break between the advance guard and the army is explained by the slow development of the social revolution, the continued domination of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and the painful form which the class struggle is assuming in Western Europe and America. A sharp struggle is proceeding within the labor organizations, part of which stand solidly for the old capitalist system and serve as a defense of bourgeois dictatorship.

This backwardness and reaction of many trade unions in capitalist countries found their expression in the formation of an international center, which is but a rather bad edition of the Second International, and whose function is to realize on an international scale that co-operation of classes that was so "successfully" realized during the war.

What is the reason of the backwardness of the international proletarian movement? What forms of international organization existed previously among the trade unions? What has been done and what should have been done to fight against the International of Strikebreakers, as the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions could truthfully be called, and what should be the relations between the newiy established Third Communist International and the international organization of trade unions? These are the questions which we have to solve.

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Trade unions arose as organs of the working class to counterbalance the growing exploitation. In its early form the trade union was a union of workers in a certain craft, having for its object to assist its members employed in a definite category of labor. As the capitalist system grew and developed the form of organization of the trade union changed also, and with that the scope and character of its work also changed. It is necessary to observe, however, that the form of organization of the trade unions always lagged behind the form of organization of capitalism, which during the last nine years has developed such powerful organizations as trusts and syndicates, the competition among whom, as is known, led to the World War.

While capitalism in the course of its development assumed new forms of organization which facilitated it in exploiting labor and subjecting to itself the apparatus of the State, the trade unions lagged behind like a shadow, in many countries preserving the old forms of organization, with all their close corporative character, narrowness and limitations. In counteracting the increasing exploitation, in striving to raise the standard of living, to improve the conditions of labor, and secure the principle of collective agreements, the trade unions always acted on the basis of capitalist relations, and as the unions grew and became internally consolidated the idea of an unbreakable tie between the trade unions and the existing order of things became stronger. The older became the trade union movement, and the more powerful became capitalism, the more clear and definite did the idea become of the necessity for the existence of capitalism, and the co-operation of classes as a condition for the improvement of the standard of living of the workers.

The capitalists of England, America and Germany, thanks to their strength and their dominant position in the world market, were able to make frequent concessions to the workers and were able to imbue them with the firm conviction of the stability of the capitalist system. The national greatness of the country, and particularly the economic importance of industry in the world economy, influenced the minds of the workers and subjected their class interests to the badly understood interests of the moment.

It would be a mistake to believe that the bourgeoisie kept the workers enslaved only by material necessity; the modern bourgeois state has created a tremendous arsenal for the enslavement of the working class. The schools, science, the church, religion, literature, philosophy, created by capitalist society, all represent weapons for the perversion of the minds of the workers. One must confess that the spiritual weapon is much more powerful than those methods which a bourgeois government adopts to subject the will of revolting workers. This spiritual dependence of the workers on bourgeois ideology was in greatest evidence during the war when the trade unions became not only a material support of war policy, but developed a complete theory of class co-operation, the essence of which was that the workers are interested in preserving the bourgeois State and the capitalist system, and should subject their interests to the interests of the whole, i. e., the bourgeoisie.

The history of the trade union movement during the war is the history of the conversion of the trade unions into supernumerary organs of the bourgeois State, an apparatus of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Just as during the imperialist war the bourgeoisie split up into two hostile coalitions, each fighting for world hegemony, so did the trade unions in the respective groups split into two hostile camps, not because they had different points of view on principle, but because they had based all their theory and practice on the principle of national defense, and on the support of their own capitalism at the expense of the other.

The war disclosed the extraordinary degree to

which the trade unions were dependent upon bourgeois ideology. The exclusive domination of national motive in the trade union movement is the fundamental reason for the collapse of those international connections that had been made previous to the war.

There were forms of international connection in the trade union movement previous to the war. The majority of trade unions participated in the international Socialist congresses, thus demonstrating their association with the Socialist movement and the international solidarity of trade unionism of the various countries. This connection with the Socialist movement, however, was purely formal, for the trade unions on the eve of the war were opportunist and stood on the right wing of the Socialist movement. The purely formal connection of the trade union movement with Social democracy was evident from the fact that altho the trade unions in Germany were regarded as Social-democratic, they nevertheless conducted a definite policy often in opposition to that of the Social-democrats.

This purely formal connection between the international trade union movement and the International Bureau certainly could not satisfy the demands for unity among the trade unions of the various countries, and so at the beginning of the 20th century we saw the rise of the International Secretariat, whose function it was to inform the workers of various countries on the labor movement in other countries. The International Secretariat, at the head of which was Legien, was not an international organization in the full sense of the word. Organization presupposes unity of action and power to act, while the Secretariat of Trade Unions was engaged in nothing else but issuing literature, and did not even dream of any international action. It was a center which was not responsible to its constituents, each of whom maintained their independent existence. On the eve of the war the trade union movement embraced nearly 10,000,000 workers, divided into loosely connected territorial organizations whose work was confined chiefly to their own national questions. Its internationalism was an abstract principle, rather than a guide in every-day policy. The work of the International Secretariat during the many years of its existence prior to the war shows better than anything else its bankrupt character. For the thirteen years of its existence the Secretariat did nothing more than publish several reports and a few pamphlets. It was more like a post office or an international inquiry bureau than the international center of the working class movement.

The trade unions were inter-connected, but not only thru their national centers. At the end of the 19th century various international unions arose whose defects, however, lay in their being craft unions pursuing narrow limited aims. The international unions existing on the eve of the war, metal workers, miners, textile workers, transport workers, painters, capmakers, woodworkers, builders, tailors, bootmakers, etc., were all constructed on the principle of information bureaux. The national interests stood above international interests, and these international organizations were the germs of international organizations rather than active international fighting centers of their respective category of labor. During the many years of existence of some tens of international unions, it is impossible to recall a single international campaign, not a single example of international action. It is true that there were attempts at international boycott, collection of money for workers on strike in other countries, agreements on conditions of labor, agreements on the transference of membership from one country to another, and a number of other examples of international solidarity, but one has to confess that the outstanding feature of the pre-war trade union movement, was that international solidarity was but in its embryonic stage. The preponderance of national questions over international questions, and the subordination of class interests of the movement were brilliantly illustrated by the war.

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The war broke all the three threads that connected the trade union movement of the various countries. Simultaneously with the collapse of the Second International and its conversion into a tool of the Entente, the trade unions formed diplomatic coalitions, Allied, and Central European, according to the particular government they existed under. The formal advantage lay with the Central European coalition, for the reason that the International Secretariat was in Germany, and Legien, following the example of Vandervelde, strove to use the name of the International Secretariat for purposes having nothing in common with international solidarity. Just as Vandervelde refused to surrender the president's hammer, and used his title of President of the International Bureau for sanctifying the lofty war aims of the Entente, so did Legien set the international into motion in defense of the "just and sacred" war of his government.

The International Secretariat, together with the International Bureau, ceased to exist with the commencement of war operations. The leaders of the trade union movement, Legien, Huber, Jouhaux, Appleton and Gompers, were the civil generals whose task it was to carry out the moral mobilization of the masses. In justice to these gentlemen one must admit that they carried out their instructions brilliantly. The trade unions, these mass organizations of the working class, became the main bulwark of the bourgeois State, and its support in its struggle, not only against the external, but also against its internal enemies.

The activity of the leaders of the trade union movement in this direction consisted in discrediting the leaders of the enemy countries by accusing them of being the servants of their governments, and on the other hand denouncing every anti-government action of their workers as a "crime." The break-up of the revolutionary movement, and the implanting

and fostering of chauvinistic instincts in the masses, was brilliantly carried out by them. The bourgeoisie could not have dreamt of better executioners of their desires.

The Allied trade union leaders made an attempt to set up a trade union international, for which a conference of Allied trade unions was called in Leeds in 1916. The task of this conference was to draw up a program of social legislation, condemn the trade union movement of the Central Empires, and to set up its own International Secretariat of trade unions. Of these tasks the conference carried out only one—it made a demonstration against the criminal association of the German and Austrian trade unions with their governments. The irony of the story lay in the fact that those who condemned the association of workers' organizations with their governments were just those who themselves led the workers in their own countries into shameful slavery to the bourgeoisie.

The individual international trade union organizations by no means cut a prettier figure. They split up according to the coalition on whose territory the center of their organization was situated. Thus the International Bureaux of Textile Workers and Miners, being situated in England, maintained the policy of the Allies; while the International Bureaux of Metal Workers and Builders, having their centers in Germany, adopted the policy of the Central Empires. The peculiar feature of the whole period of the crisis in the international trade union movement is the almost complete disappearance of the old groupings and tendencies. Former revolutionary Syndicalists, pure and simple trade unionists, "new-patented" trade unionists, supporters and opponents of Socialism, all, with few exceptions, became patriots of their fatherland, and politically resembled each other like peas in a pod. Betrayal of the interests of the workers brought uniformity among the most divergent tendencies.

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The end of the war compelled people to think of the re-establishment of international connections, and this raised the necessity for the bourgeoisie to strengthen that co-operation of classes that was developed during the war. The re-establishment of international relations proceeded along two lines; the first by means of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, the second by means of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The fundamental idea lying at the basis of the Labor Bureau it to convert the working class into a shareholder in the international trust called the League of Nations. The League of Nations, as it is known, was the flag around which pacifists and Socialist simpletons of various countries rallied. According to its founder, Mr. Wilson, the League of Nations was to have been the supreme international tribunal, which was to establish justice and truth in the whole world. Of course, it was understood that the League could only carry out its lofty aims with the victory of the Allies. For that reason support of the Allies was a first condition for the creation of the League of Nations. This assistance was forthcoming from the trade unions of the Allied countries, and it is natural that as a reward they demanded the participation of labor in the League of Nations.

It is true that this demand was conceded to a minimum degree. During the war the European and American Gomperses pictured this participation somewhat differently. They wanted to take part in the Pease Congress itself, and to convene an international trade union congress at the place where the Peace Congress itself, and to convene an interpressure on the diplomatists. A number of other combinations were intended in order to secure the carrying of their "own program" thru by their governments. But as soon as the war ended the Entente Governments made their lackeys understand that their mission was ended, and the Peace Congress could very well do without them. Besides this, they were given to understand that to convene in international trade union congress at the place where the Peace Congress was taking place would be very inconvenient, and that it would be much more desirable if they found a spot somewhat further away for their little excursion. Allied diplomacy, however, was opposed to the entry of Labor in the League of Nations only where questions had to be **decided**, but had no objection to it coming in where questions were to be **discussed.** Thus the International Bureau of Labor was established, which was to demonstrate the unity between Capital and Labor, **discuss** questions of labor legislation, **speak** of reforms, **propose** innovations, but to leave the **decision** to the more competent and more interested bourgeois governments. The International Bureau of Labor is remarkable for the fact that it includes representatives of the trade unions of the Central Powers, altho this inclusion cost the latter dear. The Bureau is composed of six representatives of "neutral" governments; at the head is the well-known traitor Albert Thomas. This Bureau of Labor is a symbol of achievement of the Social-patriots of various countries, as a result of their chauvinist war policy. Four years of flunkeyism and treachery, four years of co-operation with the bourgeoisie and talk of new relations on the basis of defense of national safety produced a powerless, insignificant Bureau of Labor whose decisions are obligatory on no one, and which nobody desires. The mountain of class co-operation brought forth a mouse.

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Simultaneously with the setting up of the Bureau of Labor of the League of Nations, the leaders of the bankrupt trade unions commenced to reorganize the Trade Union International which they had destroyed. Immediately after the conclusion of the war an international trade union conference was convened at Berne, at which the representatives of the Allied trade unions, Johaux, Appleton and Gompers, gave battle to Legien and his supporters. This

conference was nothing in the world like a labor gathering, because its main work was devoted to attacking the German chauvinists for supporting their government. It was assumed that for the Germans to support their government was bad, while being lackeys of the Entente governments was conducting "labor" policy. This miserable quarrel ended in a complete victory for the Allied patriots. Legien was removed from his post, and the Secretariat was transferred to Holland. The Entente trade unionists triumphed over the trade unionists of the German Empire.

The second International Trade Union Congress was held in Amsterdam, to which the German and Austrian trade unions were permitted with equal rights as worthy members of the congress. An international organization was formed at Amsterdam, as well as a bureau, and the trade union leaders who for many years called the workers to mutual extermination formed an international union. For what purpose? On the basis of what program? What have these deadly enemies united? What has compelled Legien, Appleton, Huber and Gompers to unite? These questions naturally arise in the minds of every participator in the present day labor movement.

In the first place it is necessary to point out that their striving to set up an international organization of trade unions is a reflection of the tremendous demand of the workers of all countries for the re-establishment of class unity destroyed by the war, and to set up an organization which could in a period of storm and stress conduct a defensive and offensive struggle against the capitalist class. Of course, the Amsterdam Federation was not created for this purpose, but the old trade union leaders very well understood that if they did not hasten to set up an international organization, one would be set up **without and in spite of them.** Thus the main reason for the re-establishment of the international by the hands of its assassins was the fear for their own future.

That our explanation is the correct one is seen from the fact that the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions was formed without any program. After such a tremendous war, after such colossal sacrifices made by the workers of all countries, it should have been natural for real representatives of labor organizations to estimate the effect of the great shock, to give some reply to the great questions which interest the workers of all countries at the present moment, and to show the way out of the cul-de-sac into which the imperialist bourgeoisie have let humanity. But the Amsterdam Conference did nothing of the kind, it silently avoided all the burning questions affecting the present day labor movement, believing they could screen themselves from history by silence. The Amsterdam congress only troubled to create a center and to place at its head the old friends of the Entente; all other things were removed to the background. This aim was achieved; the warm defender of British Imperialism, Appleton, the worthy defender of the French bourgeoisie, Johaux, and several other not less representative persons of the dying social-patriotism came to the head of the International Federation. They united in order to retain the banner of the international organization in their hands, and to use it for the purpose of class co-operation.

It was precisely with this that the International Federation began its work. The very people who restored the class organizations destroyed by the war bound these organizations with the general staff of international imperialism—the League of Nations. The International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations are connected by personal and intellectual ties, and on the field of class co-operation can be seen the distinguished figures of Johaux, Appleton, Gompers and other heroes of the rear.

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What has the International Federation of Trade Unions done during the period of its existence? Absolutely nothing. One cannot consider the mere existence of the International Federation as activity. One can take no account of the vapid and colorless resolutions which the International Federation passes from time to time and sends into space in order to remind the world of its existence. An international, like a national labor organization, can exist only when it has a definite militant aim, when it knows what it wants, and when, ranging itself against the whole of the bourgeois world, it goes directly for its aim. There is no class definiteness about it. It desires, by means of manifestoes, appeals, by persuading the bourgeoisie, to secure the improvement of the condition of the proletariat. This is the program upon which stand all bourgeois reformists, all the advanced bourgeoisie and the most backward leaders of the most backward labor organizations.

When the International Federation does at last express itself on some question its every word expresses trifling opportunism and compromise. In January, 1920, the Amsterdam Federation expressed itself in favor of the socialization of industry, and in its First of May manifesto to the workers of all countries it put forward two demands: the socialization of the means of produetion, and the carrying out of the Washington Congress resolutions. But how can the socialization of the means of production be carried out? By persuading the bourgeoisie, or by revolution? Nothing is said about this in the remarkable First of May manifesto. Further, how are the resolutions of the Washington Congress to be carried out? That is, assuming that it is the last word in social legislation. How is this all to be done? Alas! No reply is forthcoming, in spite of the fact that this is the period of the severest class struggle in the world's history. At the moment when the leaders of the Amsterdam Federation see how the bourgeoisie of all countries insist on their privileges, when the experience of Soviet Russia and Hungary cries aloud to the heav-

ens against the hope that the bourgeoisie will make any voluntary eoneessions, when the bourgeoisie of all countries represent a united bloek eondueting a mortal struggle against all the strivings of the working class for emancipation, to speak of the soeialization of the means of production in May, 1920, without indieating how this is to be done, to put forward the demand for the carrying out of the resolutions of the Washington Congress, that labor-bourgeois talking shop, and at the same time call their organization a labor organization, is not only **senseless, but conscious treachery.** It is no wonder, therefore, that the Amsterdam Federation, composed of slaves of national governments, cannot speak in any other language than the language of slavery and treachery.

Under these circumstances, what does the Amsterdam Congress really represent? A guiding eenter of class unions? A revolutionary staff in the struggle against capitalism? Nothing of the kind. It is the center of reaetionary national unions whose task is to confuse class distinctions on an international seale as they have done on a national seale, and to create the illusion that an international labor organization exists, to spread the idea of elass eo-operation, and class peace,—in a word, it is the international eenter of labor reaction, and is the most reliable support of international imperialism. It is necessary to prove that such a center must be destroyed, and the trade union eenter of labor reaetion must be opposed by a trade union of working elass revolution.

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Immediately after the February Revolution, at the first attempt at forming an All-Russian eenter, the Russian trade unions stood on the point of view of the neeessity of forming an international fighting center of trade unions. Already at the Third Conferenee of Trade Unions held on 20-28 June, 1917, the necessity was reeognized of forming an international trade union organization. The First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions went further, and in the general resolution on the tasks of the trade unions in the period of proletarian dictatorship the Congress resolved that: "The Russian Trade Union movement cannot earry out its tasks without entering into elose contact with the international trade union movement. The Congress regards it as its duty to co-operate to the fullest extent of its power in the revival of the international trade union movement, and to make the calling of a general international trade union congress, as well as international congresses of individual trade unions, an immediate question. As a first step in this direction the Congress resolves to eonvene an international trade union eongress in Petrograd on the 5th of February."

This resolution, however, remained on paper. No eonferenee was ealled for the reason that immediately after the Oetober Revolution, not only did capitalist Europe fling itself with gnashing teeth against Russia and against the Russian proletariat, but even the European soeial-patriots hurled thunder anl lightning against the "madness and criminality" of the Russian proletariat. The leaders of the European and American labor movement under no circumstanees would permit the initiative of calling an international eongress to be taken by the Russian workers, and for that reason they hastened to ereate their own organization, whieh is a mere substitute for international working class unity.

It was evident from the first day of the existenee of the Amsterdam Federation that the path of the revolutionary class unions of Russia and the labor lieutenants of the League of Nations lay in different direetions. But our negative attitude to the Amsterdam Federation took definite expression only in conneetion with the organization and convening of an International Conference of Trade Unions and employers' assoeiations at Washington.

The betrayers of the working elass went to the extreme in their endeavors to consolidate their praetice of class co-operation on an international seale. The All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions could not remain silent in the faee of this corruption of the trade union movement, and addressed a manifesto to all trade unions in Europe and America denouncing the treaeherous policy of the leaders of the international trade union movement.

"They are going to Washington," wrote the Central Counеil of the All-Russian Trade Unions in their manifesto of the 8th of Oetober, "to work out a program of international labor legislation. After twenty million workers have been sent to destruetion, these people now worry about labor legislation! Is this in order to raise fresh erops of eannon fodder to sacrifiee on the altar of their imperialist fatherland? They desire to work out a program, and like faithful servants, wait in the anteehambers of their patrons, Wilson, Lloyd-George and other experts in the art of crushing the working elass! These eunuehs think, that the bourgeoisie whom they served, out of gratitude for their past serviees in eonfusing the minds of the workers, will bring them liberal legislation on a plate and say, 'Here are some eoncessions for your good eonduet.' These little people with slavish minds forget that individual persons may receive presents, but that a whole class cannot take a 'tip' or be satisfied with a sop. Many of the labor leaders hanging on to the skirts of Wilson have partieularly flexible spines; as the working elass does not possess sueh a spine, hanging around ministerial ante-chambers is foreign and repulsive to it. This is a request to aeeept the proletariat as a poor relation into the limited eompany for the exploitation of small and week nations, whieh in the language of the international marauders is ealled the 'League of Nations.'"

"They desire to seeure international labor legislation by means of friendly negotiations with those who have spent all their lives and energy in securing international eapitalist legislation. They desire to seeure advantages for the workers not by means of their organized, independent, revolutionary class

power, but by means of behind-the-scenes negotiations, cunning combinations and diplomatic intrigue. Petty deceivers! Where have they seen the bourgeoisie grant the most petty, most insignificant social reform without the direct action of the masses? In what country is there a capitalist class that voluntarily makes concessions and surrenders part of its profits and income for the sake of the beautiful eyes of bankrupt labor leaders? There is no such country. Such a state and such a class do not exist. The capitalist class will guard their privileges with all the fibre of their beings, and no waiting on ministers' doorsteps, no slavish humility on the part of the working class will compel the bourgeoisie to change its nature."

"Workers, you are being deceived! Watch the hands and the actions of your leaders. Ask them what the League of Nations has given the proletariat; ask them who crucified the Hungarian Soviet Republic; ask them who placed arms into the hands of the Roumanian assassins; ask them at whose orders and with whose money were thousands and thousands of Hungarian workers murdered; ask them who supports Kolchak and Denekin, who organizes white guard conspiracies in Russia, who supplies money and arms to the Russian monarchists who are exterminating the Jewish population, who pays all these Russian pogromchiks, with whose aid are the fields and valleys of Russia drenched in the blood of tens of thousands of workers and peasants; ask them all this, and when they tell you tales about the League of Nations, about agreements with the bourgeoisie, that the consumptive Second International composed of traitors can restrain world imperialism, that the ruthless dictatorship of capital can be softened by an international armistice, and that all this will be in the interests of the proletariat and Socialism,—answer them in the firm determined voice of a revolted proletariat; tell them what the fighting experience of the Russian trade union says, "Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat; League of Nations or the Third International. There can be no middle course."

"Out of the road, deceivers and hypocrites! The Social Revolution is coming."

From this estimation of the activity of the leaders of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, and consequently of the International Federation, it is perfectly clear that another center of the trade union movement is essential. The All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions therefore took the next step and sent out an invitation by radio to all the trade unions in the world in which it "invited all economic organizations standing for real revolutionary class struggle, for the emancipation of labor from the exploitation of capital by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to close their ranks against the international league of plunderers, break with the compromising International and together with the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions organize a real international conference of revolutionary-socialist trade unions and labor syndicates. All economic labor organizations standing on the platform of revolutionary class struggle are asked to reply to our call and to enter into direct connection with us."

This appeal served as a starting point of a movement in favor of creating a new center of trade unions uniting the revolutionary class unions of all countries. In view of the circumstances which arose, considerable time elapsed between the declaration of the need of creating such a center and its realization. The mere desire of the Russian trade unions was not sufficient, and it was necessary to wait until the revolutionary masses of all countries converted the old trade union organizations from weapons of reaction into weapons of the social revolution.

# The Gates of Tomorrow

**The time's drawing near when the rain-clouds shall pass,**
**The gold on the hilltops the gloom shall outlast;**
**The time's drawing near when mankind's long fight**
**Must yield palms of victory all to the Right.**

**The time's drawing near when oppression must cease,**
**And shriveled be power of king and priest;**
**The children of men shall send up the glad cry,**
**"We are free! We are free, by the Brotherhood tie!"**

**O heart, canst mourn o'er an hour's delay?**
**'Tis a cloud, like a hand, o'er the dawning day;**
**'Tis mist from the valley; 'tis drifting afar,**
**And the gates of Tomorrow are standing ajar.**

**Julia C. Coons.**

# Towards an International of Action

**By George Andreytchine**

"Russia is on strike against the entire capitalist world. She has struck for the loftiest of ideals, for no less a goal than the introduction of Socialism. Our strike committee is the present government of Russia, the Soviet regime. The Red Army is our picket line, which guards our big factory, Russia, that it might not be captured by these scab agents and gang men, Kolchak, Denikine, Youdenitch, Wrangel, and the rest."

Comrade Petrovsky, chief of the Soviet officers' training school of the Red Army, in an interview with Benjamin Schlesinger.—The "New York Globe," December 6th, 1920.

THREE years ago the workers and peasants of Russia went out on strike against their exploiters and oppressors, the capitalists and traders, the swindlers and landlords. For three whole years the Russian toiling masses have been besieged by the gunmen and thugs of the robber class. One by one the scab herders have been vanquished, and still the workers and peasants of Russia are compelled to fight against the new onslaughts of the praetorian guards of the international bandits. No peace, no truce, no breathing space for the workers and peasants of Russia, because they have overthrown the rule of the masters. In its place they have erected a new order, wherein only those who toil govern. They have lit the torch of the greatest revolt in the history of the human race—the revolt of the exploited and martyrized workers of the world. They have smashed the fabric of capitalist society and have torn the mask off of the face of all governments in the world, and have uncovered the ghastly sight of democratic hypocrisy and deception. They have shown all the horrors of Capitalism and all the grandeur of a Commonwealth of Labor. The Russian Soviet Government is a bold challenge to the vultures of the world and an inspiration to slaves.

The bandits hate and abhor the Russian workers. The name "Bolshevik" is uttered by them with the venom of the snake. They are trying to conceal from their slaves the fact that the Bolsheviki are their brothers in blood, their comrades in the common fight against the common foe.

In the war against the Russian workers the bandits have enlisted the services of their kept press, the whining pulpiteers and the traitors from the ranks of labor—the yellow Socialists, yellow Anarchists and yellow Syndicalists. And if the Russian fellow workers are still in a besieged "factory," starved and murdered in cold blood, it is not the fault of the capitalist but of the traitor-leaders of the working class in Europe and America, who encourage the masters in their criminal attempt to extinguish the only torch of light and hope of the slave class.

The humble but brave workers of Russia have suffered much for the Revolution, for all of us who strive to break the chains of economic and political bondage. Many times have the factories of Petrograd, Moscow, Toula and Ivanovo-Voznesensk been stripped of their man power and our fellow workers have silently gone to the international front of the revolution, never to return . . . They have taken the fallen rifles and filled the gaps caused by bullets made, loaded and transported by their fellow workers in France, England and America. But they have not despaired of us. They have not lost faith in us. Fellow Worker Lozovsky-Dridzo, the spokesman of the 5,200,000 organized workers of Russia, said in his masterful speech at Berlin last October: **"The Russian proletariat fights, suffers, but never loses courage!"** And he knows this to be true. He is one of them; he has shared their tragic lot since the first days of the revolt.

But the Russian workers must not be deceived, betrayed by their comrades in Europe and America. We must go to their rescue. We must fulfill our class duty; we must join them in the struggle against the unchained Beast. We must strengthen their spirit.

The world is split into two camps, the Yellows and the Reds. The Yellows are fighting the Reds. All Yellows are in one camp, all Reds must also join hands and think like one, act like one, so that their Red Army, imbued with idealism and beautiful visions and at the same time full of courage, daring and discipline, shall disperse the mercenary gangs of the robbers and exploiters of the world.

Look at the capitalists: they know what class solidarity is. They may have profound different religious beliefs, or their skins may be totally different—but when it comes to fighting the workers, they all combine into one International of Vultures: Japs and Americans, Italians and Czecho-Slovaks, all fighting like one in Siberia against the Workers' Government. Germans and Poles, French and Hungarians, all joining hands to crush the Soviet Government. There is a complete accord among them.

Only in the ranks of the workers do we find strife, mutual suspicion and distrust. Instead of the proud battle cry of yore: **"Workers of all lands, unite!"** we see the ambitious, the morbid-minded, the bigoted leaders urge us to cut each others' throats, and on their ignoble banner we read: "Workers of the world, divide!"

At the most critical juncture of the epochal struggle of the classes, when all differences should be obliterated in order to form a **united front** against a common foe, we see people who pretend to be

revolutionists, betray the workers and try to lead them into the camp of the enemy, or to make them impotent.

We are now at a stage of the class war where hesitation and equivocation is unpardonable. We must make our choice in the war between the Revolution and Reaction, between the Reds and the Yellows. The Industrial Workers of the World knew no delay, no hesitation. It knew its place in the international front of the class war. So did the masters of the world know where we stood. That is why the three letters—I. W. W.—were a symbol of the proletarian revolution, and consequently a nightmare for the exploiters. It was the symbol of unconquerable militancy of labor.

Only a few short weeks ago there appeared editorials in one of our weekly papers, as well as in our monthly magazine, attacking the Bolsheviki in a manner unwarranted by the facts, and betraying very superficial reasoning. We are certainly glad to note that our publications have of late abandoned this suicidal and reactionary policy.

The I. W. W. has principles which cannot be violated with impunity. The very name of the I. W. W. stands for the International Solidarity of Labor. We will not allow any one to use it as a lever in disrupting the workers' ranks.

We cannot allow our name to be used in bolstering up the dubious acts of an insignificant group of bigots. The I. W. W. should not oppose the Industrial International founded last summer by the representatives of the French, Spanish, Bulgarian, Jugo-Slav, Russian and Georgian revolutionary unions. On the contrary, it should join it, and work for its triumph over the Yellow International of Gompers, Jouhaux, Legien, Fimmen and Appleton. If we cannot accept the program of an International which has incorporated our main principles of the class struggle—Industrial Unionism and Direct Action,—the first as a practical and scientific form of organization and the second as an efficatious method of combat, I cannot see what more we want. Shall we follow the Swedish Syndicalists? The little information I have of them is very damaging: their puny paper "Syndicalisten" carries correspondence from Paris written by social traitors, calling themselves Syndicalists. Their paper sided with Jouhaux in the bitter fight between his regime and the Syndicalist left, lead by Pierre Monatte, Monmousseau and Rosmer. The French proverb which reads: "Qui se ressemble, s'assemble" (Birds of a feather flock together), leads us to believe that the Swedish Syndicalists are as yellow as the Amsterdam International.

With the new organization we find groups and unions with which we have for years been associated in common thought and action. There we find, beside the Russian Labor Alliances (5,200,000), the British Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees; the French Left Syndicalists (750,000 strong); the Spanish General Confederation of Labor (1,000,000); the Italian Syndicalist Union (called by the "One Big Union Monthly" the Italian counterpart of the I. W. W.—450,000); the Norwegian Labor Unions (160,000); the Jugo-Slav Confederation of Labor (180,000); the Bulgarian Syndical Union (100,000). Last October the Greek Confederation of Labor joined unanimously the new Industrial International. It counts over 60,000 members in Macedonia and Old Greece. The German Syndicalists also joined, but I see now that they are feeding the fire of dissention and disruption. But their leaders —Rudolf Roeker and Kater—are Anarchists, pure and simple, and we cannot follow them into the pitfalls of anarchist metaphysics, and their worship of the abstract notion of freedom. We are a Marxian organization, based upon the sound program of militant and disciplined centralized action. There is no doubt of that!

We have nothing to fear from our contact with the Russian workers, who have put in practice all what we have taught—**industrial unionism and direct action**; we have nothing to fear from our French revolutionary fellow workers, for they have shown what metal they are made of during the most trying moments of the war. We want an International of Action and not of bigotry and dogma.

The I. W. W. should find its place of honor in the ranks of the above-mentioned organizations, and give its contribution of militancy and fearless action; it should work and fight like a disciplined soldier of the International vanguard of the proletarian Red Army.

Industrial Unionism, endorsed and put in operation by millions of workers, will be our dream realized. But Industrial Unionism militant and revolutionary, not the tame and castrated kind of Industrial Unionism that we sometimes hear preached. **Industrial Unionism will be revolutionary or will not be at all!**

No Industrial Unionism à la Gompers is wanted in our ranks, nor in the ranks of the powerful International of Industrial Unions, whose cornerstone has been already laid by our comrades in Europe.

Then our International, strong, disciplined and aggressive, will assume the offensive against the International of the capitalists and their minions. We shall overthrow their rule and in its place build the New Order—The Commonwealth of Labor.

## APPENDA BY THE EDITOR:

(1) We print below a telegram sent to the Industrial Workers of the World by Tomsky of the Moscow Red Industrial International:

December 19, 1920.

Industrial Workers,
1001 West Madison St., Chicago.

**Provisional Bureau Council of international organization of trade unions notifies organizations belonging to council that Congress of Red Labor Unions fixed for January first, for technical reasons**

**postponed, taking place in spring of 1921. Precise date will be announced later.**

**Secretary-General Tomsky.**

Since the receipt of the above telegram we have been informed from authentic sources that the Congress will convene in Moscow on May 1, 1921.

(2) Below is reproduced a clipping from the London Daily Herald, organ of the British Labor Party. In regard to the settling of the differences between the Third International and the I. W. W., it may be appropriate to point out here that the referendum to decide on affiliation has been called in and declared void by the General Executive Board of the I. W. W., as the intent of it was in contradiction to the I. W. W. Constitution, which forbids alignment with political groups or anti-political sects. The clipping reads as follows:

"Berlin, Nov. 29.—J. T. Murphy, the delegate to the Moscow Trade Union International from the British shop stewards movement, has arrived in Germany, together with the representative of similar bodies in Western Europe. From him I learn that the difficulties between the Third International and the shop stewards, the American I. W. W., and the Italian, French, and Spanish Syndicalists may be regarded as settled. These organizations are all accepted into the Moscow Trade Union International.

"The work of creating a Red Trade Union International is proceeding. The World Congress will be summoned in Moscow next spring, and in the meantime bureaux will be established in various Western countries.

"Individual trade unions who decide to join the Moscow Trade Union International can still remain in their national trade union federation."

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# Dad-Burn - It's View of Life

**By John E. Nordquist**

THE jolly oldest inhabitant's real name was Pete Burnett, but the villagers called him Old Dad Burn It.

"What's your view of life, Dad?" I put the question point blank as I sat down on the porch beside the octogenarian.

"Stranger, you've struck the right shop, 'cause I've dealt right smart in this here article called life, and I reckon there's some on my shelf yet," he drawled, stroking his white beard reflectively.

"Well, Dad, I'm correspondent for the great periodical of Life; would you mind giving me a few ideas for publication?"

"They might be too all-fired raw to print, stranger, but listen and I'll give you a sample lot that ain't been hand picked."

The weazened features glowed with queer flickers of merriment, and the gnarled hands clasped and unclasped as the old man continued:

"May be someone's been telling you that I'm crazy, 'cause they catch me in rip-snorting fits of laughter occasionally; well, 'tain't so. I just boil over with fun at this fool comedy called life, that's all. Why, stranger, it's got so I can see the comedy in a funeral."

"Comedy in a funeral?" I repeated, doubtfully.

"Yes, stranger, that's what I said. Just try to imagine how many fancy life plots villain Death has nipped in the bud, and you, too, will begin to see the comedy. For instance: every boy is born to be president, but while he is waiting for inauguration, he puts in time at schooling and at other presidential chores, such as working ten hours a day, digging sewers at a dollar and a half per; running and robbing banks and trains, and other institutions, etc. Right in the midst of these games stalks death, and picks out presidential possibilities and throws 'em into hearses. Ain't that comedy, stranger?"

"Go on, Dad!" I countered.

"Then there's the comedy of chasing the almighty dollar. Say—" and he exploded into a paroxysm of laughter, then continued soberly:

"Chasing Villa, or cats off'n back fences ain't in it with this coin chase excitement, believe me. Now for instance, look at that man hurrying past Grosset's store. He's the owner of the smoky old factory over there, and he's chased hundreds of children into untimely graves during his mad chase for dollars. And tell me, stranger, what has he gained by it? Nothing but curses and condemnation, you'll allow. And yet you see him hurrying along faster than ever, chasing after more dollars and more curses. Don't that strike your comic chord?" he laughed in harsh, unmusical sarcasm.

"It's certainly queer, Dad," I had to own up, "but what would you have? We're all after profit, ain't we?"

"That's the point that makes me hilarious, stranger. We chase profits and capture curses."

Dad Burn It exploded in another fit of violent merriment that seemed unending, and in the interim I made my escape.

# Report on Waste

**By The I. W. W. Bureau of Industrial Research.**

## PART I. OIL DIVISION.

THE TERRITORY underlain with petroleum deposits in the United States has been surveyed with a fair degree of accuracy, and no reliance can be placed on any unforseen discoveries that would, to any substantial degree, add to the oil-bearing territory already known. According to a recent estimate by the Geological Survey, the quantities of oil underground in the United States—as of January, 1919—and recoverable by the present methods of production, were placed at 6,740,000,000 barrels. Allowing for the oil produced since that date, and the oil that is estimated to be produced during the balance of the current year, there would, at the end of 1920, remain underground in the United States 5,918,000,000 barrels.

Adding the oil deposits still underground at the end of 1920 to the total cumulative production of 5,430,000,000 barrels since 1859—the first year on record when oil was produced on a commercial scale—the oil resources of the country at the beginning of 1859 could be placed as amounting to 11,348,000,000 barrels. In terms of percentage this would mean that about 47 per cent of the country's supplies as of 1859 has been used up by the end of 1920, thus leaving about 53 per cent underground for future consumption.

It is obvious that with a considerable proportion of the oil resources consumed, the future oil supply of the country is rather inadequate, even if the estimates of the Geological Survey should prove to be below the actual oil deposits recoverable by the present methods of production. Greater accuracy than the estimates of the oil available under ground attaches to the estimates of the Geological Survey concerning the geographic areas containing oil resources. So that very little relief is to be expected from new field discoveries. Moreover, the bringing in of new pools but hastens the rate of exhaustion, and brings nearer the day when production will proceed at a declining rate.

### Recovery of Crude Oil from the Ground.

All the authorities agree that the most important means of prolonging the life of the crude oil resources of the country will be insured by the invention of a process that would eliminate all the unnecessary waste in connection with the recovery of oil from the ground. There is, however, a considerable difference of opinion as to what percentage of an oil well's contents is brought to the surface. Some express the view that not over 10 to 20 per cent is recovered, while others estimate that it reaches as high as 40 to 50 per cent. The authorities are, however, at one on the point that not more than 50 per cent of the oil which could be extracted from the ground is ever brought to the surface. This means that the estimated oil deposits of the country of 5,918,000,000 barrels could be doubled, giving 11,836,000,000 barrels. An improvement in the method of extracting crude oil from the ground will also make it feasible to bring to life the abandoned well, that, according to the contentions of the above authorities, still contain large quantities of oil. Basing the computation on the most conservative estimates, the 5,430,000,000 barrels already produced at the end of 1920 could be increased by at least 50 per cent of that amount, thus putting at the disposal of the country additional 2,715,000,000 barrels from abandoned wells. It may thus be stated that by the adoption of improved methods of producing oil, the 5,918,000,000 barrels that were estimated to be available for the country at the end of 1920, according to the present methods of production, could be increased by another 8,633,000,000 barrels, thus placing at the disposal of the oil industry for future consumption a domestic oil reserve aggregating 14,451,000,000 barrels. Because of the great importance attached to a radical improvement in the modern methods of extracting oil from the ground as a means of enlarging the crude oil supply of the country, it is of interest to briefly sketch the technological features of the situation. The main causes for the loss in recovering oil at present are the infiltration of water from water-bearing strata, and the escape of unduly large quantities of natural gas in the course of drilling.

### Waste Due to Water.

Very frequent are the instances of a reduced rate of recovery of oil from single wells or whole fields as a result of inadequate protection against water. Still more serious are the cases, where failure to shut off the water has led to the complete abandonment of single wells and whole tracts of oil bearing territory. Initial attempts to avert the infiltration of water have already been made in various parts of the country, notably in California and Texas, where the method of cementation has been used as a means of excluding water.

Very often water comes in contact with oil as the result of corroded casings. Casings in oil wells are primarily used to exclude water, but some underground waters contain acids which lead to a rapid corrosion of the casings, followed by a flow of water into the oil sands. The Bureau of Mines has found an effective means of combating this evil by the use of "mud-laden fluid."

### Waste Due to Dissipation of Gas.

The significance of natural gas as an energy-producing factor to procure oil from the ground is well established. It is, however, of frequent occurence that in striking gas-bearing formations the drilling of wells has to be suspended while the gas

is allowed to escape into the air. This is done in order to relieve the pressure of gas against which drilling operations are difficult, and very often impossible. The waste of gas as a result of this practice has been estimated by the Bureau to amount to billions of cubic feet. Serious as the waste of this gas for fuel material may be, the situation is still more aggravated by the fact that the dissipation of such tremendous quantities of gas have interfered with an adequate recovery of oil from the ground because of the reduction of the energy pressure resulting therefrom. Here again the mud-laden fluid that has been employed with such success in preventing the corrosion of casings has been advocated by the Bureau of Mines as a means of averting such deplorable wastes.

This method is naturally limited to fields that have not as yet been worked, and furnishes no remedy for wells that have been abandoned, or produce oil at a declining rate because of a declining pressure attendant upon a wasteful handling of the natural gas. Recent investigations have established the effectiveness of compressed air and vacuum as a means of forcing the oil above ground that would otherwise remain at the bottom because of lack of adequate pressure.

Recently a statement was made that every phase connected with the drilling and procuring of crude oil from the ground, such as natural flow, air lift, pumping, agitation, bailing, and methods of completing the extraction, use of vacuum, flooding, introduction of air and gas, can all be improved upon and extended to new methods.

### Evaporation Losses.

Less important, altho by no means a negligible factor, is the attempt to enlarge the crude oil supply by eliminating losses due to evaporation. This is especially significant in that the gasoline content of the crude oil is more affected by evaporation than any other factor of the oil.

A study of this subject has recently been made by the Bureau of Mines, the chief conclusions of which are as follows:

(1) Evaporation during storage and handling represents one of the largest losses to which crude petroleum is subjected during its history above ground.

(2) It is possible to eliminate from two-thirds to four-fifths of the evaporation loss by protecting the oil from free contact with air.

(3) The percentage of the original value lost in the case of evaporation is two or three times the percentage of the original volume lost, because the fraction of the crude oil that has escaped is the best grade of gasoline, which has a value per unit of volume two or three times that of the crude from which it comes.

(4) The larger part of the evaporation loss is on the lease when the oil is still fresh, and it is there that the most valuable products escape.

(5) Oil is subjected to large losses from evaporation, even after leaving the lease.

(6) De-hydration by open steaming tanks is the most flagrant existing example of the disregard of evaporation losses.

It has been estimated that, owing to the inefficient handling of crude oil while still in the field, the evaporation of gasoline resulting therefrom equalled one-thirtieth of the total gasoline production of the United States. This has occurred during the few days that the oil was stored on the leases before being taken by the pipe-line, and amounted in 1919, in the Mid-Continent field alone, to 122,100,000 gallons.

It has been further determined that the gasoline in crude oil will evaporate from one-half to one-sixteenth as rapidly as the same gasoline distilled and stored, all evaporative conditions in both cases being the same. The aggregate losses due to evaporation that take place at the various stages that the crude oil covers on its journey between the well and the refinery have been estimated to amount to 510,000,000 gallons of gasoline during 1919 from Mid-Continent fields alone. In other words, for every 100 barrels of crude oil produced in the Mid-Continent fields 6.2 barrels of gasoline are lost by evaporation.

In discussing the conditions responsible for the losses of crude oil above ground mention will also have to be made of the quantities of oil dissipated as a result of seepage, sprays, ebullition and many other defective methods of handling crude oil. The technological problems involved in the elimination of these unnecessary wastes are comparatively simple, and the savings that might be effected thereby are rather of a limited magnitude.

### Foreign Oil Supplies.

In addition to the domestic reserves, the oil of this country has been drawing at an increasing rate upon foreign supplies in recent years, as shown by the following table:

| Year | Total Barrels | Domestic Marketed Production | | Imports | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Barrels | P. C. | Barrels | P. C. |
| 1910 | 210,128,000 | 209,577,000 | 99.73 | (a) 571,000 | .27 |
| 1911 | 221,910,000 | 220,149,000 | 99.34 | (b) 1,461,000 | .64 |
| 1912 | 229,846,000 | 222,935,000 | 96.99 | (c) 6,911,000 | 3.01 |
| 1913 | 265,424,000 | 248,446,000 | 93.60 | 16,978,000 | 6.40 |
| 1914 | 282,676,000 | 265,763,000 | 94.02 | 16,913,000 | 5.98 |
| 1915 | 299,243,000 | 281,104,000 | 93.94 | 18,139,000 | 6.06 |
| 1916 | 321,564,000 | 300,767,000 | 93.53 | 20,797,000 | 6.47 |
| 1917 | 365,443,000 | 335,316,000 | 91.76 | 30,127,000 | 8.24 |
| 1918 | 393,664,000 | 355,928,000 | 90.41 | 37,736,000 | 9.59 |
| 1919 | 430,466,000 | 377,714,000 | 87.75 | 52,747,000 | 12.25 |
| 1920 (9 ms.) | 398,170,067 | 329,952,000 | 82.87 | 68,218,000 | 17.13 |

(a) Total mineral oil (includes both crude and refined products).
(b) Total mineral oils for first six months; total mineral oils except benzine, gasoline, naptha, for last six months.
(c) Total mineral oils except benzine, gasoline, and naptha for six months; crude oils only for last six months.

From the position of contributing only a fraction of a per cent to the total production available for the country in 1910, the imports for 1919 increased 12.25 per cent of the total production available for the country during the year. For the first nine

months of 1920 the proportion of crude oil has been still larger, amounting to 17.13 per cent.

The growing dependence of the country upon the foreign oil supply is self-evident and needs no further comment. The bulk of this oil came from Mexico, where the American oil companies control between 65 and 70 per cent of the total oil production. There are strong indications that the untapped oil resources of the other parts of the globe will be thrown open to exploitation by American oil interests in the near future, which necessarily will result in the still greater importation of crude oil into this country. The potential importance of the foreign oil supply for the American oil industry can be gleaned from the fact that, according to the latest estimates, the oil deposits of the United States amount to only little over 10 per cent of the world's potential oil resources.

### Oil Shale.

The future needs of the country for petroleum products will be able to draw, not only on the additional quantities of oil that will be available as the result of improving the modern methods of crude oil production, but also on increased imports from foreign countries. Another source is looked forward to as containing still greater possibilities in the way of enlarging the petroleum supply of the country, and this is the large scale production of petroleum by the distillation of oil shale. Heretofore, and probably for some time to come, only the porous rocks of the oil fields are exploited for the purpose of obtaining crude oil. Explorations of the Geological Survey that have been carried on for a number of years have definitely established the existence of vast shale deposits in various parts of the country, especially in Utah, Colorado and Wyoming, which are capable of yielding oils that are of a similar character to the petroleum now obtained from the oil wells. The oil contained in these shale reserves is estimated to exceed many times the original oil supply of this country. According to most recent reports the territory located in northwestern Colorado and northwestern Utah alone contains enough of the shale to provide as much as 40,000,000,000 barrels of oil, from which a minimum of 5,000,000,000 barrels of gasoline should be extracted. It is also of interest to note that, in addition to the products now obtainable from petroleum, shale deposits would also yield considerable quantities of ammonium sulphate, a product that is of immense significance for the food industry of the country.

While the importance of the shale deposits as a potential factor in the future oil supply of the country has been definitely established, the availability of the shale deposits as an immediate factor, capable of contributing to the enlargement of the domestic oil resources, has been questioned.

The prevailing view is inclined to defer the period of a large scale utilization of shale oil to a comparatively remote future. In his article published in the Annals, May, 1920, under the title "The Petroleum Resources of the World," David White, of the United States Geological Survey, made the following statement:

> "The development of a great shale oil industry is certain eventually to take place in this country, and, so far as concerns mere costs of production, it would seem that the recent advance in oil prices must bring it near to hand. Nevertheless, in view of the technological problems to be solved experimentally, it appears rather likely that shale oil will be sorely needed long before it is produced in amounts sufficient to bring appreciable relief, and much longer still before it can supply a large part of the consumption demand, even no greater than that of the present day."

### Refined Oil Supply.

Attention has been given, not only to enlarging the crude oil supply of the country, but also to the question of eliminating unnecessary waste in connection with the refining of oil, with the view of enlarging the quantities of refined products obtained from crude oil, notably gasoline. Some authorities even go so far as to claim that the burden of meeting the increased demand for petroleum products rests now on the refiner, who must improve his methods of refining to such an extent that larger yields of the products in greatest demand can be obtained from a given quantity of crude oil.

The center of attention in connection with the efforts to increase the yield of refined oil products has been focussed on gasoline, which will be discussed presently.

### Gasoline.

At the present state of the refining technique increased efficiency in refinery operations is necessary, and gasoline production can be increased by lowering the volatility, but a universal application of the cracking process would bring greater results than any other known method.

Thru numerous investigations of the Bureau of Mines that have been extended over several years it has been found that the gasoline now produced has a lower volatility than the gasoline produced a few years ago, or, in other words, the gasoline now produced has higher end points. It has been established on the basis of examples in several large cities in various parts of the country that the gasoline had an average end point of 456° F., whereas the average motor gasoline a few years ago was below 400° F. This speaks clearly for the fact that the refineries, in order to increase the yield of gasoline, have been cutting deeper into the crude at the cost of heavier fractions that formerly were included in kerosene.

This has largely been made possible by the extended utilization of casing-head gasoline as a blending factor, which is a gasoline manufactured from natural gas. The extent that the consumption of casing-head gasoline has increased in recent years can be seen from the fact that in 1911 the quanti-

ties of gasoline produced from natural gas amounted to 7,425,839 gallons, whereas in 1917 the figure was placed at 217,884,114 gallons. Evidence on hand points to the fact that the production of casing-head gasoline since 1917 has been increasing at a still larger rate than in preceding years.

It has been estimated that about 80 per cent of the gasoline produced is obtained by straight distillation of crude oil. It is obvious that an improved method in the refining process which might increase the gasoline by only a few per cent would add appreciable quantities to the gasoline supply of the country. Two methods are now in use that tend to increase the efficiency of gasoline recovery from crude oil. One is the method of applying fractionating towers; this has been installed in most of the large refineries. The small refineries, on the other hand, have been rather negligent on this point, increasing their yields of gasoline by cutting deeper into the heavier fractions of crude oil. A more universal application of the fractioning method would undoubtedly increase the gasoline supply without impairing the volatility of the product.

The other method, which has recently been installed in some refineries, especially large ones, has to do with the mechanics of recovering the gasoline from the uncondensed still vapors. It is a fact that considerable quantities of gasoline are not condensed when the vapors from the stills are passed thru an ordinary condenser. In order to save the uncondensed portion of the gasoline, eompressors, or absorbers, have been devised, which in some cases report yields as high as 2 per cent of the crude distilled, or approximately 6 per cent of the gasoline produced.

The increased yield of gasoline that is obtained by lowering the volatility of the product combined with an improvement in the refining process, as outlined above, would still fall far below the quantities of gasoline that would be added to the country's supply as the result of a more general application of the cracking process. There are many cracking processes in use, of which the greatest prominence has been achieved by the Burton process. It has been figured out that the Burton process, since it was first installed on a commercial scale, has produced approximately 40,000,000 barrels of gasoline from heavy distillates, and has saved about 150,000,000 barrels of crude oil that would have been necessary to produce an equivalent quantity of gasoline.

The great possibilities of increasing the gasoline supply of the country consequent upon a more universal application of the cracking system will be especially appreciated if cognizance is taken of the fact that all the cracking processes now in operation, including the Burton process, are using as their crude material only distillate oils or comparatively light residuums. There still remains the problem of producing gasoline by means of the cracking system out of the heavy oils obtained in California, Mexico, and the Gulf Coast. A successful solution of this problem will add to the reserves of this country enormous quantities of gasoline. A promising beginning has already been made in this direction in the form of a great many laboratory tests and small scale operations of distilling gasoline from heavy residual oils.

### Substitutes for Gasoline.

It is also expected that the heavy demand that falls now upon gasoline as the only motor fuel available for internal combustion engines will be greatly relieved by the gradual utilization of substitutes, namely benzol and alcohol. Both of these products have been in successful operation in Europe, and are looked upon in this country as containing great possibilities as motor fuel in the not very remote future.

### Benzol.

Benzol is one of the volatile constituents of soft coal obtained in liquid form, one of the many by-products from submitting the coal to a retorting process. The extent of the commercial utilization of this process is determined largely by the demand for coke or semi-coke. The present produetion of benzol in the United States is rather limited, because the quantities of coal now treated for the purpose of obtaining multiple products contained in coal in its raw state are very small. However, all indications point in the direction of a more intensive exploitation of coal, as a result of which considerable quantities of benzol will be thrown on the market, and thus prolong the life of the gasoline supply of the country.

On the basis of a yield of 2 gallons of benzol to the ton of coal, the coal currently produced in this country is capable of yielding about one billion and a half gallons of gasoline.

### Alcohol.

The possibility of alcohol as an alternative to gasoline has been seriously questioned by some of the authorities of the Bureau of Mines. The most alluring feature about this substitute is the consideration that it can be obtained from organie products which reproduce themselves from year to year, and include vast quantities of stuff that are ordinarily looked upon as waste.

### Straw Gas.

There have been successful experiments by the Department of Agriculture in connection with the production of gas from straw. At one of its experimenting stations the department succeeded in obtaining 300 eubic feet from 50 pounds of ordinary wheat straw, and is now working on the problem of condensing this gas into liquid form.

The wheat straw, the corn and eotton stalks that would become available for the manufacturing of gasoline upon the successful solution of the condensation problem of the straw gas run into hundreds of millions of tons. It has been estimated that the average annual production of straw in the United States amounts to 120,000,000 tons, and the corn stalks of the 1920 crop were placed at 207,396,000

tons. Also the cotton stalks for 1920 were computed to amount to 17,752,000 tons. It hardly needs to be stressed that if only a fraction of this waste would be turned into the manufacture of gas, the cubic feet thus obtained, and the quantities of gasoline condensed therefrom, would become a tremendous factor in the gasoline supply of the country.

### Kerosene.

From an article of principal importance in the early days of the oil industry, kerosene has yielded its place to gasoline, which lately has been equalled by fuel oil. As is well known, kerosene came first into use as an illuminant, but it is gradually being supplanted by other illuminating agencies. Altho new uses have since been found for kerosene, such as cooking and heating, and altho it is extensively employed as a motive power in connection with farm tractors, kerosene has not presented a serious problem in point of supply, nor is it likely to in the future.

### Fuel Oil.

A serious situation is, however, arising, and that is the growing application of fuel oil for steam-raising purposes. The oil industry has been deeply concerned over the possibilities of providing the country with an adequate supply of fuel oil. Generally speaking, since the fuel oil only represents the residuum after all the refinable products have been extracted from the crude oil, the supply can only be enlarged by the methods that were discussed in connection with the increase of crude oil. An increased supply of oil will automatically entail an increase of fuel oil. There is, however, one complicating feature involved in the fuel oil situation that did not come in for consideration in connection with the discussion of the oil supply. This arises from the fact that the fuel oil contents of the crude oil tend to diminish with the further development of the cracking process and an increased yield of the lubricating oils. In order to alleviate the situation the idea of restricting the use of fuel oil for steam-raising purposes has been forcefully put forward. Development of hydro-electric power is also referred to as a promising means of prolonging the fuel oil supply of the country.

Prominence has been given to the question of introducing the Diesel type of engine that has been in successful operation for many years in European countries. This engine, like the ordinary boiler, is propelled by fuel oil and crude petroleum, but its power generating capacity is almost double that of the ordinary steam-raising agency.

According to the latest figures, half of the petroleum currently produced is used as fuel for steam-raising purposes.

# The Bars Say: No!

By EDWARD E. ANDERSON
Written in Leavenworth Penitentiary.

**In thru the bars streaks the gray**
**Advance guard of coming day;**
**Twittering birds welcome the morn;**
**The gray turns to gold;**
**And, lo—behold!**
**Another day is born.**
**The springmorn hush bids me:**
**Go worship at the shrine**
**Of newborn leaf—**
**Harbinger of purple wine**
**And golden sheaf—**
**But, I cannot go;**
**The bars say: No!**
**Ah, for a smell o' the newplowed loam;**
**And a chance in the woods to roam;**
**Watching songbirds building nest**
**High on a branch;**
**And the dance**
**O' the wind o' the west**
**Blowing the leaves o' yesteryear**
**In to the brook so clear.—**
**Ah, for more than a glancing look!**
**Ah, for a chance to follow the brook,**
**Hastening on to the sea!—**
**But, I cannot go;**
**The bars say: No!**

# Evolution of the Lumber Industry

By James Kennedy

### Logging.

UP TO the beginning of the nineteenth century, science and invention had made slow progress in the lumber industry. The methods and tools employed had changed but little from those used for centuries in Europe. The same was true of all other industries. About this time occurred one of the most important events in human history; an event of tremendous and far-reaching consequences, which has revolutionized industry in all countries: the invention of the steam engine.

In 1782 James Watt patented the double-acting steam engine in England.

In 1804, in Wales, the first locomotive ever to run on rails was built by Richard Thevithich.

The same year Col. John Stevens constructed a boat on the Hudson, driven by a Watt engine and having a tubular boiler of his own invention, and a twin screw propeller.

The same year Oliver Evans used a steam paddle-wheel boat on the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers.

In 1807 Robert Fulton built the "Clermont," and permanently established steam navigation on the Hudson River between New York and Albany.

In 1811 the "Orleans," of one-hundred tons, the first steamboat on the Mississippi, was built at Pittsburgh by Fulton and Livingston. She had a stern wheel and went from Pittsburgh to New Orleans in fourteen days.

By 1830 there were eighty-six steamers on the Hudson River and Long Island Sound, in addition to a large number on the Great Lakes and in the Western waters.

The first steamship to cross the Atlantic was the American steamer "Savannah," three hundred and eighty tons, in 1819.

In 1826 the first railroad in the United States was built near Quincy, Mass.

It was inevitable that all these events should have a tremendous influence on the lumber industry. By aiding in the development of the country, they caused an increased demand for lumber. By improving transportation, they widened the market for lumber. By demonstrating the practicability of steam as a motive power, they hastened its application in the lumber industry.

Soon after the invention of the steam engine, steam began to come into general use as a motive power. In the saw-mills it gradually displaced wind power and, to a great extant, water power. But it was not until long afterwards that it came into use in logging, or even, to any great extent, in transporting logs from forest to mill. In the eastern states, at that time the principal field of logging operations, most of the forests were within reasonable distance of creeks and rivers. The cold winters and heavy snow-fall furnished good sleigh roads over which the logs were hauled to the streams, to be driven to the mills during the spring freshets. In the early days of logging in the Lake States, methods were practically the same. Creeks and rivers carried the logs from forest to mill. But, with the logging off of the timber nearest the streams, the lengthening of the sleigh haul, and the increasing demand for lumber caused by the rapid development of the country, other and more efficient means of transportation became necessary. The building of the railroads supplied this need.

The Pacific Railway, the first of the half dozen transcontinental railroads, was completed in 1869, and by that time the Eastern States were fairly well gridironed with railroads.

The successful use of steel-rail logging roads began in 1876, when Scott Gerrish, a logger in Southern Michigan, built a railroad for transporting logs from Lake George to the Muskegon River, down which they were driven to the mill. The number of logging roads increased rapidly, and in 1881 there were seventy-one in operation in Michigan, and five in Wisconsin. In 1910 there were approximately two thousand logging railroads with about 30,000 miles of track in operation in the United States.

The logging railroad was a great advance over previous methods. Altho transporting logs by rail cost more than by water, it was far more reliable. It was not dependent on weather conditions, and it enabled many mills to run all the year around, instead of being shut down half the year for want of logs. Much timber that could not be profitably logged by the old methods, being too far from a drivable stream, was now made easily accessible.

Further application of steam power to logging soon followed the logging railroad. One of the most successful power loaders was put on the market in 1885, and since that time many forms have been brought out which differ in the manner of locomotion, character of booms, and other details to meet special requirements.

Steam skidding was introduced about the same time as steam loading. The first patent on power-skidding machinery in the United States was granted on November 13, 1883, to Horace Butters of Ludington, Michigan, and covered an overhead cableway designed to get logs out of "pot-holes" and swampy places in the white pine forests. Perceiving the possibility of using a machine of this type in the cypress forests of North Carolina, the inventor built some machines which were mounted on scows and floated in the bayous and sloughs. They did not completely solve the loggers' problem as they were

A Washington fir saw log, 12 feet in diameter and 32 feet long.

limited in range from seven hundred to eight hundred feet, and consequently could only reach a small part of the timber.

In 1889 William Baptist put a ground system in operation in a Louisiana swamp. It consisted of two large drums and an egine and boiler mounted on a scow from which an endless cable passed out into the forest for a distance of one half mile. This later developed into the modern "slack rope" system now used on pull boats.

A third method, called the "snaking system," was a later development in the pine forests of the South.

Since that time many improvements have been made and many new devices adopted in power skidding.

In the Eastern States most of the timber is now cut out, and four-fifths of the timber of the Lake States is gone. In these regions practically all the skidding is done, by horse power, and it is not likely, for obvious reasons, that steam skidding will ever be introduced there to any great extent.

The great bulk of the logging in this country is now carried on in the South, the Rocky Mountain Region and the Pacific Coast States.

In the South the logging railroad is in general use, the rivers in that part of the country not being suitable for log driving. In some places the skidding is done by horses, mules, or oxen, in other by steam. Most of the loading is done by steam.

In the Rocky Mountain Region and in the Cascades there are still a few river drives, but by far the greater part of the logging is done by railroad. Skidding is done both by horse and steam power. Practically all loading is done by steam.

In some places, principally in the South, specially constructed wagons are used for hauling logs. The pole road and the stringer road are still in use in a few localities, but they are not common, for they cannot compete with the steam logging road in efficiency. In mountainous sections the log chute is in common use. In some parts of the West logs are transported by flume. In some parts of the Louisiana swamps logs are made into rafts and floated out during the wet season. For falling trees and cutting logs the axe is no longer used, except for undercutting; this work is now done with cross-cut saws.

In the Pacific Coast states where the timber grows to a great size, power logging has reached its highest development and, in large operations, is used exclusively. It has entirely replaced the picturesque, many-yoked ox teams of earlier days. The size and power of the donkey engines used in moving the logs are being gradually increased. The latest improvements on a large scale are the overhead cableway and high lead. Many different systems and devices are used for skidding and loading. Among the most efficient of these is the duplex loading donkey.

Big timber logging is highly specialized thruout. The principal species in Oregon and Washington is the Douglas fir, and in California the redwood, some specimens of which are the largest trees in the world. Over one-half of the entire remaining timber of the country is in these three states. On account

READY TO FALL, LUMBER SCENE, WASHINGTON

of the size of the timber and the outlook for the future, the new science of logging engineering is being more rapidly developed on the Pacific Coast than in any other section of the United States. In this section the logs are cut the full length of a flat car, on account of which it is known as the long log country.

**The Saw-Mill.**

In the saw-mill even greater changes have taken place than in logging. The saw has been the great pioneer in wood-working machinery. It is said this tool was first invented by an ancient Greek. Having found the jaw-bone of a snake, he employed it to cut thru a small piece of wood. By this means he was induced to form a like instrument of iron, that is, to make a saw. The circular saw was the type most commonly used in the nineteenth century. It was invented in 1777 by an Englishman named Miller. It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that it was generally applied, and its great work belongs to that period. The first insertable teeth for this saw were invented by W. Kendal, an American, in 1826.

The first type of saw to which mechanical power was applied was the old-fashioned "gate saw," also known as the frame or sash saw. The first improvement on this was known as the "muley" saw. To increase the efficiency of these saws they were arranged in gangs, so as to make a number of cuts at one pass of the log. This style was especially used in Europe, but on the up-stroke there was no work done, and hence half the time was lost. This and other difficulties led finally to the adoption of the circular type, whose continuous cut and high speed saved much time and greatly increased the output.

Mounted on a portable frame, this machine was forests, and for many years this type of saw-mill put to its great work upon the logs of the American held sway. An enormous amount of work was done thru its agency. Among its useful accessories were the set works for adjusting the log-holding knees to the position for a new cut; the log turners for rotating the log to change the plane of the cut; and the rack and pinion feed, by which the saw carriage was run back and forth. Next came the rope feed, by means of which the carriage was drawn back and forth by a rope wrapped around a drum.

The greatest advance in saw mills in recent years has been the steam feed, in which a very long steam cylinder was provided with a piston whose long rod was directly attached to the saw carriage, and the latter moved back and forth with the stroke of the piston. This was also known as the shotgun feed, from the resemblance of the long cylinder to a gun barrel. It was invented by De Witt C. Prescott in 1887. The value of the steam feed was to increase the speed and efficiency of the saw by expediting the movement of its carriage, as many as six boards per minute being cut by its aid from a log of average length. With the modern development of the art, the ease and rapidity of steam action have recommended it for use in almost all of the work of the saw-mill. The direct application of steam pistons working in cylinders has been utilized for canting, kicking, flipping and rolling the logs, lifting the stock, taking away the boards, etc.

The bandsaw is an endless belt of steel, having teeth formed along one edge and traveling contin-

Dumping Logs from train into river, Washington

uously around an upper anl lower pulley, with its toothed edge presented to the timber to be cut. A form of a bandsaw is found as early as 1808 in a British patent. In 1834 a French patent for a bandsaw was granted to a man named Etiennot. The first United States patent for a bandsaw was granted to B. Barker in 1836. But the bandsaw did not attain its prominencc in wood working machinery until the last quartcr of the nineteenth century. That it did not find general application at an earlier period was due to the difficulty of securely and accurately joining the ends of the band. For many years the only moderately successful bandsaws were made in France, but expert mechanical skill has so mastered the problem that in recent years the bandsaw has gone to the very front in wood-working machinery. Today it is in service in sizes from a delicate filament used for scroll sawing, to an enormous steel belt fifty feet long and twelve inches wide, traveling over pulleys eight feet in diameter, making fivc hundred revolutions per minute and tearing its way thru logs much too large for any circular saw, at the rate of nearly two miles a minute.

A modern form of bandsaw with teeth on both its edges cuts in both directions, thus requiring no offsetting mechanism.

Other improvements in saw-mill machinery are the endless chain for bringing the logs into the mill, and mechanical carriers for lumber and refuse. In addition to thesc there are the shingle, lath, and slab saws, which by using up inferior material reduce the amount of waste.

Saw-mill plants vary greatly in size and output, from the portable plants, with a capacity of from fivc thousand to ten thousand feet B. M. per day, to the immense stationary plants characteristic of the Lake States, the Southern Pine Region, and thc Pacific Northwest, with a capacity of 150,000 to 500,000 per single shift. Portable mills and many of the small stationary mills are still equipped with circular saws.

**Planing Machines.**

Whilc the saw plays the initial part in shaping the logs into lumber, it is to the planing machine that the refinements of wood-working is due. Its rapidly revolving cutter-head reduces the uneven thickness of the lumber to an exact gauge, and simultaneously imparts the fine smooth surface. The planing machine is organized in different shapes for different uses. When the cutters are stright and arranged horizontally, it is a simple planer. When thc cutters are short and arranged to work on the cdge of the board, they are known as edgers; when the edges are cut into tongues and groovcs it is callcd a matching machine; and when thc cutters havc a curved ornamental contour the planer is known as a moulding machine, and is used for cutting the ornamental contour for housc trimmings and various ornamental uses.

The planing machinc was one of thc many woodworking dcvices invented by Gencral Bentham. His first machine, patcnted in England in 1791, was a reciprocating machine, that is, it worked back and forth on thc boards to bc planed. But in 1793 he

patented the rotary form along with a great variety of other wood-working machinery.

Bramah's planer, patented in England 1802, was about the first planing machine of the nineteenth century. It is known as a transverse planer, the cutters being on the lower surface of a horizontal disc, which is fixed to a vertical revolving shaft, and overhangs the board passing beneath it, the cutters revolving in a plane parallel with the upper surface of the board. The planing machine of Muir, of Glasgow, patented in 1827, was designed for making boards for flooring, and presented a considerable advance in the art.

With the greater wooded areas of America, the rapid growth of the young republic, and the resourceful spirit of its new civilization, the leading activities in wood-working machinery in the second quarter of the nineteenth century were transferred to the United States. A phenomenal growth in this art ensued, many new inventions and improvements being made.

In modern planing machinery the climax of utility is reached in the so-called universal wood-worker. This is the versatile Jack-of-all -work in the planing mill. It planes flat, moulded, rabbited, or beaded surface; it saws with both the rip and cross-cut action; its cuts tongues and grooves; makes mitres, chamfers, wedges, morties and tenons, and is the general utility machine of the shop.

# Fear Not, Organize!

## An Appeal to the Lumber Workers.

FEAR is the curse of all mankind. Shivering terror is an inheritance from the past; it retards development and growth. When man still lived amongst his trees and still matched his puny wits and strength against the monsters of primordial days his cowardice saved the human race from extinction. The instinct to flee every danger saved many a tender body from the devouring beasts of the primitive period. Human society is in very fact the child of fear.

Today man is cursed with the same instinctive fears and reactions that blessed him but a few thousand years ago. Fear can only be overcome by a greater fear, or by dispassionate study and control —understanding. We have seen soldiers of Autocracy driven to great deeds of bravery and fearlessness because they were too cowardly to refuse to fight at Autocracy's bidding.

Fear is the weapon used by all oppressors to keep their victims in subjugation. Since greed first manifested itself in the dealings of men, the greedy masters have used fear and terror to keep in subjection the exploited. In a thousand cunning ways have the instincts of self-preservation been used by the world's master class. The ancient tribal slave-owners had their medicine men, their ghosts, and vendors of the evil eye, to keep all rebels against privilige in check. The modern capitalist uses all the old weapons of priestcraft and a millon new ones of modern development to keep his wage-workers submissive and slave-like.

### Oppression.

In addition to death, which is held always apparently barely in check by the masters of modern industry, each worker has the lesser fears held over him and his family. Jail, unemployment, social ostracism, and mobs, the police and the armed force of the military are ever used, not to exterminate the workers, but to instill chattering, unreasoning fear into their hearts.

These weapons for the manufacture of terror are present to some extent at all times, and affect all members of the working class; but especially against those workers who see and understand the nature of the bitter struggles going on in society all the terror-inspiring machinery is directed. Against the Industrial Workers of the World, with their program of emancipation of the working class, every organ of capitalist terror has been and is being used.

The reason for the shooting of Joe Hill, the hanging of Frank Little, for the Bloody Sunday of Everett, and the cowardly Centralia Raid was not to exterminate the little band of workers who have carried the battle-brunt of the working class for so long. No—that was not the reason.

These murderous deeds were committed in order to drive terror into your heart, fellow workers in the craft unions, and in yours, you unorganized fellow workers everywhere. The vile press of the country spread broadcast the tortures heaped on the heads of the members of the I. W. W. At the cost of losing respect of the whole world those infamies were advertised in order that those new members in this fighting organization should be scared into giving up their membership; so that the organization should become impotent and weak and be no longer able to fight the workers' battle and win.

There is one thing of which the master class of the United States and of the world are more afraid than anything else, and that is the solidarity of the

workers. Craft unionism presents no solidarity, nor any chance of it. Unorganized workers are as chaff before the wind. But the workers, organized correctly in One Big Union, inspired by the solidarity of industrial unionism, are invincible—and the employers know it. Wherever the Industrial Workers of the World have organized any section of the workers even to as high as 75 per cent they have won in their battles with the boss hands down. To allow the workers to organize in the One Big Union the I. W. W.—is suicide to capitalism, and capitalism uses the only weapon that it has in its emergency: brutal force to inspire terror.

**The Result of Disorganization.**

The strike of the textile workers of Lawrence, Massachusetts, was taken in hand by the I. W. W. The striking workers lent themselves to the program of organized solidarity presented by the I. W. W. in a spirit whole-hearted and unafraid. Because they were organized and because they acted with solidarity ever in mind, these poorly paid, uneducated workers won their battle for immediate gains. Then came the real test. Every possible method was used to instill fear into the minds of the workers so as to force them to give up the organization that had brought them to victory. The woolen trust was successful in a great measure. Within a few short years the workers of Lawrence, Massachusetts, were as badly off as they were before. Faced with another strike, they lost, after a bitter period of learning the necessity of solidarity and proper organization. **All that the I. W. W. had gained for them was taken away because they were fearful and allowed their fears to influence them to give up their organization.**

Lawrence, Massachusetts, is a bitter lesson to the membership of the I. W. W. In the lumber woods of the Northwest that history is being repeated today. The masters will be successful there, as in Lawrence, unless you, fellow lumber-workers, cast aside your fears, scorn your terrors and take organized action to stem the tide of oppression and reaction that is sweeping toward you.

The bitterly fought battle for the eight-hour day was fought and won by the membership of the I. W. W. In a long drawn out fight they displayed a solidarity and fearlessness in action that was bound to lead to success. Better conditions of life were the result to every lumber worker in the Northwest. Today the lumber trust has scared many of the lumber workers into giving up membership in the I. W. W. Hundreds of members no longer carry their cards on the job. Meetings are no longer possible in some camps on this account. Former members have not kept in good standing, and the once powerful hold of the I. W. W. on the lumber woods has weakened to the extent that the bosses no longer give concessions but are now figuring on taking away those that were so bitterly fought for.

The history of Lawrence must not be repeated in the woods of the Northwest. Imaginary fears must not allow us to once again bear the slavery of the hideous ten-hour day and the blanket-roll. Industrial organization and solidarity are the only weapons with which to combat the brutality of the master class. As you are now men, and not the scurrying, fearful beasts of primitive times, down the terrors with which plutocracy seeks to enthrall you and join—openly and unafraid—the ranks of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Too long have the workers pleaded with their masters to be less brutal. Too long have we complained about our persecution and have assailed the courts of plutocracy to have that persecution diminished. Now is the time to organize and force our demands upon a capitalism that is weakened and staggering from the carnival of world stlaughter and the body blows of proletarian Russia.

**Let us cast cowardice from us and once more gather on the industrial battlefield and maintain all that we have won and go forward by the only method possible of success—Industrial Organization. Remember, lumber workers, the issue is squarely up to you. If you are too much the craven to give battle in order to maintain your status and to gain more, you do not deserve the conditions you now have. If you intend to weakly submit to the bosses' will and still refuse to line up and carry on organization activities on the job, then you deserve fully all the misery of the starvation and slavery that is held out to you.**

**Fear is the master's weapon. Solidarity is the hope of the working class. Take your choice and abide the issue.**

# Be Brave

By John E. Nordquist

When a deep dark cloud is passing,
  Herald of the storm that's massing;
Don't give way to fear and fretting,
  All your care-free calm forgetting,
But prepare to meet the blow
  Ere the shadows deeper grow.

# International News

**By George Andreytchine**

WE SHALL soon have a pleasant surprise for the readers of **"The Industrial Pioneer."** We intend to make one of the outstanding features of our magazine the proposed Department of International News, in which we will publish vital information about foreign countries. Our plan is to get the international news **first hand**, from fellow workers who are able writers and real doers in the labor movement of their respective countries. Imagine every month a column of red-hot stuff from the pen of Jack Tanner or Tom Barker from England; Godonnèche or Rosmer from France; Tom Glynn or some other Wobbly from Australia; Angelo Faggi or Duilio Mari from Italy (both of them members of the I. W. W. and at present active militants in the Italian Syndicalist Union); deported I. W. W. members from Spain, Germany, Sweden, Norway and Bulgaria. We shall have news from Turkey, from the International Labor Union whose birth we signaled in this magazine. There are Wobblies in Argentine, Brazil and Uruguay, and there is a strong I. W. W. administration in Chile with over 25,000 members; Fellow Worker Chamorro will write us all the news from there.

Then Russia. Oh yes! We must not forget the only Workers' Commonwealth in the World. We promise our readers that we shall give them fresh news every month of the great doings over there. There are many observers whose views we share and who can give us the straight goods. Many of our European Syndicalist friends have gone to Russia, some of them never to return. Some of those who did not get caught in the death-net (blockade) of the Christian nations are writing about what they have seen with their own eyes. There are a number of such fellow workers. Jack Tanner, Dick Beech, John Clark, Jack Murphy, Wullie Gallacher of the British Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees; Armando Borghi of the Italian Syndicalist Union; Angel Pestana of the Spanish Confederation of Labor, and Alfred Rosmer, co-editor of **"La Vie Ouvriere"** and delegate of the Left Syndicalist unions in France, who is a member of the Executive Committee of the Council of International Trade and Industrial Unions, founded in Moscow last summer. The other two delegates from France, Fellow Workers Lepetit and Vergeat, were drowned on their trip back from Russia in the Arctic Ocean.

Keep an eye on this section! We are bent on making it interesting enough to warrant the expenditure of your quarter for that one reason.

A brief resumé of the present international situation follows:

RUSSIA. The workers are still in control and intend to stay there. If you don't believe us, go and ask Denikin, Youdenitch and Wrangel, not to mention Kolchak, who is too deep in Dante's "Inferno" for any worker to seek, even the most "sinful."

Now that Poland and Wrangel are keeping their hands off we can follow the constructive doings of the workers, of their unions and factory committees. H. N. Brailsfort has given a magnificent picture of the creative work of the local Soviet of the city of Vladimir. He was there for two months and speaks with authority. He gives an account of the educational work of the Commissariat of Education, and says that it is the most glorious achievement of the revolution. Lunatcharsky and Mme. Lenin-Krupskaya are conducting this monumental experiment. To give you an idea of what they are doing, we quote below a part of her report:

> "The war and the revolution have awakened in the masses a passionate longing for knowledge. In order to understand how great is this thirst for knowledge, one should see with what deep attention the crowds listen to some chance speaker; how they stand motionless for hours for fear of losing a single word. And this interest of the masses is manifesting itself not only in respect to the current problems of the day, e. g., the soviet of some remote and out-of-the-way little village asks for a traveling lecturer to lecture on such subjects as "The Stone Age," "The French Revolution," "The Position of Woman," etc.
>
> "A propaganda train with a book shop, stopping at some village, soon attracts a long line of old men, old women, and boys and girls. It seems as if they would buy everything if it only were possible, but the train is in a position to offer but a part of its riches in books; it is necessary to preserve some for the other villages.
>
> "It seems that there is no field in which the workers and peasants are displaying so much initiative as in the field of education. They are building "people's houses," arranging clubs, libraries and circles, and all this with the utmost zeal. Shows are a matter of course. All Russia is playing, old and young, all are playing with ardor. If there are no plays, they write them for themselves. There are provinces where there are more theaters than in the whole of France. Sometimes the provincial center itself is unaware of the number of educational institutions in the province. It is easy to work in such an atmosphere.
>
> "Of course, the present conditions make it particularly difficult to carry on such work, there being no manuals or school books, and a limitation on the publication of newspapers. The war, compulsory labor, and the hard conditions of work are distracting the people to other tasks. There is a lack of teachers, lecturers and librarians. Besides, the work being new, it is necessary to study it. Finally, the insufficient railways and the bad postal conditions, together with all other difficulties, are aggravating the isolation of the villages. But, in spite of all, the educational work is being carried forward at a rapid pace."

In spite of the fact that the major portion of the Russian workers is used up in the war against the international bandits and their lackeys, the education of the grown-ups and the little ones is going on at top speed. Especially interesting is the campaign against illiteracy. Let us permit Mme. Lenin to tell us about it:

> "The last session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee also decided that the eradication of illiteracy must be considered as one of the most important tasks, and that it is therefore necessary to lend the Extraordinary Commission for the Eradication of Illiteracy every assistance.
>
> "How fast the work of eliminating illiteracy is progressing can be seen from the following examples:
>
> "According to the data of the Educational Department of the Tambov province, 48,000 people graduated from the schools for illiterates during three months of 1920.
>
> "According to the data in the report of the Educational Department of the province of Cherepovietz, 57,807 people went thru the schools for eradication of illiteracy; in the province of Ivanovo-Voznessensk, 50,000 people.
>
> "In Novozibhov the whole male population up to 40 years went thru the schools.
>
> "In Petrograd there are 500 school districts with one or two schools in each. Nine thousand people went thru the schools; 25,000 people are attending the schools at present.
>
> "In Kaluga 190 schools have been opened; in the government of Saratov 1,000 schools, in Kosmodemiansk 130 schools, in Gzhatsk 40, in Zhizdra 40, in Arkhangelsk 180, in Omsk 190, in Yelabuga 70, etc.
>
> "The Council of People's Commissaries has sanctioned a budget of 4,500,000,000 rubles to cover the expenses of the Extraordinary Commission for the Eradication of Illiteracy.
>
> "The Fuel Department officially declared that the schools for illiterates would be supplied with kerosene.
>
> "The Commissariat for Foreign Trade has ordered pencils, pens and paper for 6,500,000 people who are to attend the schools for illiterates during 1920.
>
> "In addition to the direct work which is being done for the eradication of illiteracy, the Extraordniary Commission is carrying on a broad propaganda, for the most part by means of placards."

We are sorry that our space does not permit us to give you more extensive information about the great work of educating the masses that is being carried on in Russia today. In future issues of the magazine we intend to publish data concerning the workers' control and management of Russian industry thru their unions and factory committees.

We will now come a little further west and take in at a glance the doings in

GERMANY, where the yellow Socialists cheated the workers of the fruits of their struggle, and put the capitalists back in the saddle. According to Savel Zimand, an honest American journalist who in the fall of 1920 investigated conditions in Germany and in the Balkan States, the most important development in Germany since the reign of Noske's bloody terror, is the phenomenal growth, in numbers and militancy, of the Workers' Councils, which are under the guidance of the Left Socialists, Communists and Syndicalists. They have become more important than the political groups, and all the recent strikes in Berlin and the Ruhr have been waged under their auspices.

The Workers' Councils have welded together the different groups in the revolutionary labor movement, and promise to become the instruments of proletarian revolution.

BULGARIA is the most important little country in the Balkans. Its population is less than five million, but the labor and Socialist movements there put to shame nearly all similar movements in other capitalist countries.

The Communist Party has a strong, well disciplined and well trained contingent of 40,000. The labor unions, which have united now under the leadership of th Communist party, count over 100,000 industrial workers. Until September last there were two sets of unions—50,000, mostly unskilled and low paid laborers, members of the **General Syndical Union**, closely attached to the Communist party. The secretary of the union is member of the Executive Committee of the party. There was a General Confederation of Labor, more or less resembling the Italian General Confederation of Labor, which was under the control of the yellow Socialist party. That party has completely been snowed under and now the unions of the two groups have combined into one solid body, and are an integral part of the Red Moscow International of Industrial Unions.

GREECE is another one of those "backward" countries where the labor movement is rapidly becoming a factor in the social life of the land. The Confederation of Labor, in its second congress, held late in October, 1920, counted over 60,000 members, which includes several labor exchanges—"bourses du travail"—in Cavalla, Saloniki, Athens, etc. The organization had to fight for its very existence during the bloody reign of Venizelos, Wilson's friend; unions were disbanded by the military, strikes were broken, active militants imprisoned and exiled (à la Palmer). Among the exiled was Fellow Worker Benaroya, who is a veteran of the labor movement on the Balkans, having taken part in all struggles in Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece. He stayed on a small island for over a year and was released a few months ago.

At the congress mentioned above the Greek Labor Confederation unanimously voted to join the Red International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions.

The organization has had some bitter fights against the masters and their government. Last spring the railroad workers in Macedonia went on strike, and after a short struggle, overcame the opposition of the bosses and the State. Their demands were granted. Back wages were paid for the time they were on strike. There's the kind of a union to have!

YOUGO-SLAVIA. In the new state of Croats,

Serbs, Slovenes and Montenegros, the labor movement is growing fast. There are 160,000 members of the unions, which adhere to the Red International Council of Moscow. Many and bloody have been the fights of the union against the government and the employers. Recently a general strike was proclaimed for two days.

FRANCE. Before the war the General Confederation of Labor was more revolutionary than the Socialist party in France. It was an inspiration to the workers of all countries. But when the masters let loose the war dogs, nearly all the leaders of the C. G. T. became jingocs and aided the bosses to carry on the butchery of the slaves unmolested. After the war, when the time for sctting accounts with the financial swindlers and vultures had arrived, some of the prominent militants who "held the fort" against the war for 3 years and more, got "cold feet" and scaled the barricade, going over to the other side with Jouhaux, whose name is a symbol of social treason.

Alphonse Merrheim, secretary of the powerful Metal Workers' Federation, who went to Zimmerwald in 1915 and was the closest friend of Monatte, went strike-breaking for Clemenceau during the summer of 1918, when the patience of the workers was almost exhausted. Georges Dumoulin, once leader of the miners, followed suit. The defection of these two leaders made a deep gap in the ranks of the Syndicalists, who, however, remained true to themselves and to the traditions of class-conscious Syndicalism.

Pierre Monatte was in the army at that time. When he came back home in March, 1919, he gathered the remaining broken ranks of the revolutionary opposition and started **"La Vie Ouvriere"** as a weekly organ of revolutionary Syndicalism. Slowly but surely around him began to rally all the healthy elements of the labor movement. One by one the unions began to shake off the trance of jingoism, of social treason and of class collaboration. The railroad workers were in the vanguard, after them came the metal and building workers, and others.

Everything looked bright, especially after the militant unionists, lead by Fellow Worker Monmousseau, captured, April, 1920, the Railroad Workers' Federation with 350,000 members. The general railroad strike began on May Day. But the treacherous leaders of the C. G. T. betrayed the strikers, and the government took advantage of the opportunity offered them by Jouhaux and his "cabinet," and dealt a blow to the revolutionary Syndicalists. Monatte was arrested on May 3rd; after him Henri Sirolle, one of the joint secretaries of the R. W. Federation. Monmousseau and Midol, the two other secretaries, were arrested later. These, together with Monatte, Loriot and Souvarine (the three members of the Committee of the Third International), and many others, were charged with "plotting against the security of the State."

That gave a set back to the revolutionary awakening that was taking place. The reactionaries, taking advantage of the fact that Monmousseau, Delagrange, Leveque, Olivier and Sirolle were in jail, and Midol in exile, convened a congress of the railroad unions, and again saddled themselves upon the membership. They gained power by a small majority, but they are there now—until the next convention.

The first cheerful event since the black days of defeat was the convention of the unions of the Department of Seine (Paris and suburbs) in November. The newly organized **Comité des Syndicats Révolutionnaires**, whose organ is **"La Vie Ouvriere"** and whose secretary is Monatte (now in prison), succeeded in defeating the yellows, and today the most important organization in France is under the control of the revolutionary Syndicalists. After that the **Meurte-et-Moselle** union of unions (something like a district organization of unions) by a vote of 3 to 1 was captured by the same group. In December, the unions of the Rhone department, second in importance only to the Parisian **Union des Syndicats**, went over to the revolutionary Syndicalists. It is a stubborn fight, but a fruitful one, from the viewpoint of the advancing proletariat.

The next skirmish between masters and slaves in France will find the revolutionary workers ready to tackle a real solution—the taking over of industry by the workers.

Let's now go to the Orient.

JAPAN seems to be scared dizzy at the mere mention of the I. W. W. According to a special cable to the "Daily News" from Tokyo, the police there have seized the October issue of the New York **"Nation,"** which contains "what is purported to be a description of the American Industrial Workers of the World."

The Japanese police is co-operating with Scotland Yard in trailing the Bolsheviki. It is reported, says the same dispatch, that Bolshevist circulars have been found distributed in many soldiers' barracks.

The men considered to be the most dangerous to capitalist supremacy appear to be the teachers, many of whom are serving penitentiary sentences for teaching Bolshevism to their students. A professor of the University of Tokyo is in prison for translating and commenting on some of Kropotkin's works.

Labor unions and secret revolutionary groups are growing like mushrooms in the Empire of the Militarists. Strikes, "go-slow," and all kinds of industrial "ills" are befalling the heads of the Japanese capitalists.

There is a report that the workers in Japan have formed a One Big Union, but as yet it has not been verified. We hope it is true.

# Laborare est Orare

## (Work is Prayer)

The country carpenter, lured into the town by high wages, utters his disillusionment after ten years in the power-loom sheds.

LABORARE EST ORARE?
P'raps for parson, prig or fairy!
D'ye think it stands
True for me,
With my hands
No longer free?

Why, ten years ago I just loved my hand's craft:
As I worked with my plane, it rushed and laughed,
And I'd ring out, like shavings, my curling songs,
While the scent of the wood, oak, chestnut, and pine,
Gave life to my labor—like cowslip wine—
And little cared I for Man's Rights and Wrongs!
Such songs, like the birds', came a deal nearer praying
Than the psalms you grind out like a jackass's braying!

But now I am dumb,
My bitter heart numb;
For, harassed and goaded
By roaring machine,
It grovels, lead-loaded
In the dull routine!
Handicraft gone
Is handcuffs on;

My birthright of craft, I sold it, I sold it,
And what is now left—well, it's me: just behold it!
My only prayer
Is for Saturday night,
And my unfettered right
To drown all care
In liquor's delight;
Then, robbed of my brains,
Bitter thoughts run dry,
And eased of my chains
I can laugh and sing and the devil defy!

God, say you, in Heaven will make all amends?
Ay, p'raps for directors,
Old England's protectors,
Who rake in their ten-per-cent, fat dividends!
But for a weaver,
His soul in mad fever,
With ghastly, red sores 'neath bis hand-galling fetters,
First take off his shackles,
Then he'll list to your cackles
Of God who can save bim tbe same as his betters!
Your kind of religion won't help me along,
Wben God has no wit to undo tbe great wrong.

What! pray as I cherish
This dead, blasted loom?
Then, here goes . . . God perish
Your child in the womb,
And drive your fat soul to its Gadarene doom!

Sorry! P'raps after all you're a brother,
And you, even you, had some sort of a mother!
Though your dibs and investments, your exalted station,
Your heavenly perquisites, ex officio salvation,
Make you think us but hands bound to labor in meekness,
That you may go praying in yellow-glowed sleekness!

No son of the Dales and their flowers can feel
Love alongside of a belted wheel;
Nor hope in a blood-stained, grudging wage
That's shoved in my face with no kind word uttered,
A scowl for my tbanks, or a curse half muttered,
And my hands set itching with revenge and rage!
Prayer as they work is for God's money-grubbers,
Not for wrecked weavers, dull spinners and slubbers.

You've doubled our wages? Rigbt! . . . but you've doubled the sin
of the mire we and you must go wallowing in—
You! gilded rats with your smiles hypocritical
Basking in sunshine and fed parasitical;
We! angry squirrels, a-scramble in cages,
Who plot revolutions to quench our red rages!
The wrong done our hands can never be mended
Till all the show's scrapped and its infamy ended.

Well! well! for peace' sake in this turmoil and strife
—With blacklegs or boss, always war to the knife—
To please you and God, I will pray as I work . . .
Look, God, at these manacled hands at prayer!
Look at them bleed, nailed thru with iron!
Look and behold Him crucified there,
A Craftsman forsaken by men and Thee!
Sweat and thorns His white brow environ,
And above writ the Truth—just in mockery!
Broken His passion, finished His strife,
'Tis Christ stark-dead on the Tree of Life!

And so I pray
In the whirling fray
Of formless looms in endless array,
I work and I pray . . .
And God? . . . He just heaps Hell-fire on!

Reprinted from "The Vineyard," published in London, England.

IT'S NO DERNED WONDER THAT PEOPLE CONTRACT RHEUMATISM BETWEEN THEIR EARS!
THE WALL ST. BOOSTER
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF BIG BUSINESS
FARMER'S BURDEN TO HEAVY!
INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM DETRIMENTAL TO THE BEST INTERESTS OF FARMERS
BUT SENATOR KIDEM SAYS IT WILL BE LIGHTER WHEN THE LIGHTS ARE TURNED ON
I.M. RICH TAKES NOBLE STAND AGAINST I.W.W.
THE WALL ST. BOOSTER
TERRIBLE DISASTER OCCURS!
POLICE INVESTIGATE AS GREAT CROWDS BLOCK TRAFFIC IN FRONT OF LUNCH ROOM
IRRESPONCIBLE COOK DROPS CLAM IN THE CHOWDER!!!
COST OF CALAMITY TO RESTAURANT KEEPER, UNESTIMATED.
WALL ST. DEMANDS PROFITEERS SHALL BE PUNISHED!!
SENATOR BUNK'S BILL IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL!
THE BUNK BILL WHICH PROVIDED FOR THE FENCING IN OF ALL CEMETERIERS WAS DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL TO-DAY. THE SUPREME COURT HELD THAT THERE WAS NO ONE WHO DESIRED TO ENTER A CEMETERY, AND THAT THERE WAS NO ONE IN WHO COULD GET OUT.

**FARMER JOHN READS BETWEEN THE LINES.**

# Truth

Truth lives: She throws her banner o'er the plains;
  Tho crushed beneath the despot's iron heel,
Tho flayed with knout; banished to trackless wastes,
  Chained, and in reeking dungeons forced to kneel
Before red-handed priests; today Truth lives;
  Before her stretch the everlasting years
  Of recompense for all her misery and tears.
Russia is free from czars; today Truth gives
  To Russia all; and by her beacon light
  All mankind shall be free.

J. C. C.

# Technique and Revolution

By G. Cannata

## CHAPTER I.
## INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUE.

THE smallest autonomous unit of capitalist production is the factory; by analyzing the problems of the organization of production in a factory even of limited proportions, we shall meet the distinguishing features and problems of industry as a whole. Industries vary greatly as to the degree of complication in their functioning, and some do not present technical problems other than the efficient disposition and choice of the personnel.

The significant and most interesting fruit of modern industry is the highly complicated and highly technical industries, such as the chemical and electrical. In our illustrative exposition we shall consider one of the factories in these industries.

The factory is a relatively complete productive unit; it may, or may not, be divided in departments, according to its size. The personnel of the factory is oligarchically organized, with the supreme power invested in the **general manager**, who derives his authority from, and is responsible to, the financial group which exercises the right of property over the factory. The functions of the **general manager** are those of supervising in a general way the functioning of the factory, and maintaining the necessary relations with the employers. He may have under him **department superintendents** who exercise a more localized and more expert supervision, and are responsible to him. These superintendents may again have **foremen** chosen from the most competent workers, and charged with a minute supervision of the factory operations and sometimes with the actual performance of the most delicate tasks.

Technical education among these directing elements of industry is highly desirable, but much of the managing and organizing ability is innate and is developed thru a thoro experience in a certain industry.

The above-mentioned elements with the factory operatives constitute the so-called "plant force." Besides this body of actual producers the factory is furnished with two other very important units: the factory office and the testing laboratory.

The functions of the office of a modern factory are essentially as follows:

I. To take and keep inventories and cost data on the factory production.

II. To arrange for the ordering of raw materials and the disposition of finished products.

III. To carry on all necessary correspondence.

The factory office must not be mistaken for the company offices, ordinarily situated in the large business centers and having functions in the purely financial and speculative spheres, which are not of direct interest to the problems of efficient production.

The scientific and testing laboratories carry out the following important work:

I. Testing of purchased material, to determine whether it conforms to the established standard.

II. Testing of the factory products for the same purpose.

III. Scientific research, with the object of bettering the product, economizing on the cost of production, or developing new processes.

The directing elements of the factory, together with the personnel of the factory offices and laboratories, rarely reach a total of ten per cent of the total number of employes. Still, the functions performed by this group of workers are of such importance, that without it, industry may lose much of its efficiency, and may eventually fall into complete disorganization.

Essentially the object of the managers and the technicians of industry is that of improving the processes of production in all respects; improving, by a suitable disposition of the working-force, by utilizing new mechanical appliances, by introducing changes in the technical details of manufacture, and always with the double object of reducing the cost of production and perfecting the quality of the product. With the scientific progress of industry thru the past sixty years, each industry has accumulated a literature of its own, which might be called the **culture** of that given industry, while the more precious details and methods intimately connected with the factory processes are woven into the daily practice of the plants, and carefully guarded as "company secrets."

The men who at present monopolize this **industrial culture** and also the mental aptitudes and intellectual ability and training necessary to the solution of the complicated problems of modern industry, are the industrial managers and technicians.

The point which the revolutionary proletariat must continuously keep in mind is that these units in the great army of production, despite their present political and class affiliations, are fundamentally the most legitimate citizens of industrial society, and must be utilized in the future as the most useful single constructive factor in the upbuilding of the industrial Communist order. Certainly, the useful work performed by these managers and technicians today is inevitably connected with the exercise of authority in a low and mean sense, and sometimes with the intensification of the exploitation of the manual workers. This fact may diminish this social group in the esteem of the class-conscious

workers, but these would indced be short-sighted and foolish if they failed to realize that the factors of social enviroment and the evil impulse of the present system of society have a particularly easy prevalance upon a caste which is ordinarily so absorbed in its useful work that it has no time or inclination for political thinking. The techinician is esscntially non-political; his work is often his religion. The single and incontrovertible fact that industrial technique aims at the perfection and improvement of industry, and is able to effect such improvement, is sufficient to give it an important place in the calculations of thc revolutionary workers' movement, whose object is the realization of the new civilization of the producers.

The bourgeois sociologists have already classified the industrial technicians in the "middle class," together with the lawyers, ministers of God, prostituted journalists, dilettanti literateurs, "white collar" office workers, and other semi-parasitic elements of bourgeois life.

The sociology of the revolutionary workers judges the value of the various social groups with quite different measures; it weighs and classifies men according to the "socially useful labor" which they perform. Judged with this criterion, the industrial technicians must be considered as one of the most essential factors to the reconstruction of the productive world upon a Communist basis, which is now taking place.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE RUSSIAN EXPERIENCE.

In order to examine the question of industrial technique in relation to the Russian revolution, it is first necessary to describe briefly the peculiar economic status of the Muscovite empire. Amongst the great powers at the beginning of the world-war, Russia occupied a unique position because of the fact that she derived her economic importance from the vastness of her natural resources of raw materials and man-power. She was the great European source of wheat, lumber, mineral oils, flax, platinum and other products which appear on the international markets without undergoing the complicated processes of modern industry.

The agricultural pursuits were still carried on in primitive ways; the metallurgical and chemical industires were still in the embryonic stage of development. Russia depended for her machinery and many other factory products almost exclusively on Germany and other western nations. The number of graduates of the polytechnic institutes in Russia was insufficient to fill the needs even of the few industries existing; many factories were owned by foreign capital and managed by imported technical staffs.

The scarcity of technicians in Russia has given to this social group a prestige and importance which it has never had in any other country. The Russian technician, because of his privileged position, felt completely separated from the "dark mass" of laborers and peasants; he was one of that small minority which could boast a university education; a man accustomed to exercise power; well-fixed financially, and associating with the middle and higher classes in a social way.

This situation of the Russian technician, it is evident, is the exact opposite of that of the technicians of America, Germany, England, France, Austria and Italy, where a century of well-diffused university education has created a numerous class of professionals and engineers, who, because of the excess supply, are reduced to economic conditions but slightly removed from those of the manual workers.

The Russian revolution, in its initial phases, assumed of necessity the character of a veritable civil war, during which the proletariat was pitted against all social classes with counter-revolutionary tendencies, amongst these the industrial technicians. The latter, feeling that their prestige was menaced by the fall of the bourgeoisie, revenged themselves by refusing their services to the industries, and by a systematic sabotage of the industrial system, which was already on thc verge of collapse thru the deleterious effects of four years of war and revolutionary tumult.

It has been the fortune of the Russian people that in Nicolai Lenin they have had at the service of the revolution one of the most able and practical men that have ever emerged in a period of crisis. Lenin saw, among many other things, the vital importance of industrial production, and the inescapable fact that the problem of the management of industry required immediate and special measures. The Soviets established severe penalties for acts of sabotage, and at the samc time offered special privileges and high salaries to those technicians who worked faithfully for the upbuilding of industry.

This is what Lenin himself has to say on the subject:

> "Without the direction of specialists in different branches of science, such as technical men, the transformation toward Socialism is impossible, for Socialism demands a conscious mass movement toward a comparatively higher productivity of labor on the basis which has been attained by capitalism. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
>
> Many **saboteurs** are coming into our service, but the best organizers and the biggest specialists can be used by the state either in the old bourgeois way (that is, for a higher salary) or in the new proletarian way (that is, by creating such an environment of uniform accounting and control which would inevitably and naturally attract and gain the submission of specialists)."—(N. Lenin: "The Soviets at Work," p. 14.)

The general supervision of all the Russian industries is in the hands of the Supreme Council of Public Economy, and that of each single industry is confided to a committee of nine members, three representatives of the Supreme Council of Public Econ-

omy, three technicians from the industry and three manual workers from the respective industrial union.

This system evidently substitutes the capitalistic directing bodies with a committee composed of equal representations of the consumers and each of the two essential factors in production: the manual workers and the managers and technicians. (See "The Structure of Soviet Russia, Economical and Political," by W. R. Humphries.)

As far as the management of the single factories and departments is concerned, it seems that in the tumultuous period of civil war and internal disorganization, when industrial production acquires such a vital importance, the Russian revolutionists have found it advisable to continue the system of individual authority and responsibility in use under capitalism.

> "With respect to the second question on the significance of individual dictatorial power from the standpoint of the specific problems of the present period, we must say that every large machine industry—which is the material productive source and basis of Socialism—requires an absolute and strict unity of the will which directs the joint work of hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of people. . . . . And today the same revolution—and indeed in the interests of Socialism—demands the absolute submission of the masses to the single will of those who direct the labor process."—(N. Lenin: "The Soviets at Work," ps. 35-36.)

Leonid Krassin, the famous Russian technician and revolutionist, found it necessary to revert to the application of individual control and responsibility in management in the railroad industry, in order to remedy a deplorable condition of disorganization and inefficiency.

The Russian workers have learned thru their revolutionary experience that the most vital problem of any revolution is that of continuing production; that the proletariat cannot afford to antagonize a social group whose services are indispensable to production, but must rather employ all means to conciliate the industrial technicians and win their precious experience and knowledge to the task of Communist reconstruction.

This conciliation has practically been effected in Russia already; most of the Russian technicians are today working honestly and faithfully for the upbuilding of Russian industry. If there still is disorganization and industrial anemia in Russia, this condition is almost exclusively due to the havoc wrought by the world-war, the destruction incidental to the revolutionary struggle against the subsidized counter-revolutionary invaders, and to the merciless blockade enforced by the Allied Powers.

Even today in martyred Russia there are being projected and executed great feats of engineering, which the corrupt czarist burocracy was unable or unwilling to carry out in normal times.

The experiences of the Russian workers during the revolutionary period teach us above all that many of their difficulties are due to particular conditions which have no parallel in the more modern Western nations; as Lenin says: "Russia is the country where Socialism will triumph with the greatest facility and be applied with the greatest difficulty."

The systems of industrial organization under the Supreme Council of Public Economy are simple and practicable, and worthy of study on the part of those working-class organizations which aspire to the assumption of leadership and responsibility for the proletarian regime during the revolutionary period.

**The spokesmen of international capitalism, today so keenly intrested in pointing out the industrial "chaos" in Russia, will soon learn to their sorrow that Communism will triumph over capitalism thru superior productive efficiency, just as it is triumphing today in the hearts of the world's workers thru its moral superiority.**

(Editor's Note.—These two chapters will be followed by two more: "The Workers' Organization and Industrial Technique," and "Industrial Technique Under Communism," which will appear in the March number.)

# The Story of the Sea

**By Tom Barker**

## CHAPTER III

### The Shipowners' Organizations.

IN MY rough sketch of the rise of the marine transport industry I have pointed out the advantages that the different generations of shipowners have gained from technical discoveries. The "swallowing process" of capitalism has concentrated the power of control into ever fewer and fewer hands. The enormous profits gained during the war period have been re-invested in all corners of Mother Earth. One-time independent concerns in far distant places have passed one by one into the control of gigantic combinations.

In order to show some of the ramifications of these great world organizations, I am going to use portions of a vast amount of carefully collected material made public by Fellow Worker J. T.Walton Newbold, M. A. Fellow Worker Newbold has rendered splendid service to the working class movement of the world by his compilations. He suggests the weapon of Industrial Unionism as the alternative to the present Industrial Autocracy. In the course of this booklet we will point out methods of bringing about a form of organization on the sea which will rid the workers for ever of both their slavery and their masters.

In a very striking pamphlet that ought to be read by all sea-faring men, Mr. Newbold presents facts compiled from various authoritative sources, showing the complicated and far-reaching connections of the marine transportation interests. In "Solidarity Among the Ship-Owners (Reformer's Bookstall, Limited, 126 Bothwell Street, Glascow. Price 2d.), he takes as examples the enormous holdings of several great British magnates.

### Introduces a Representative Boss

Sir J. Reeves Ellerman is the king-pin in the Ellerman Lines. His papa was in the timber trade and made a fortune out of it. After the manner of capitalists, he handed it down to his son. His son set to work to own more timber. He succeeded. Sir J. Reeves Ellerman—they have dropped an "n" since leaving the land of their own origin—is now a big shareholder in the "Times" and the "Daily Mail," in addition to other large newspapers of varying political creeds. He is also connected with the Lion Brewery and the Deisel Engine Works at Whiteinch, Scotland. Under the control of the Ellerman Lines come the Papayanni Line, which trades to the ports of the Near East, as well as the Harrison Line and the Hall and City Line, which run to the Far East. Brother Ellerman (pardon the familiarity) is interested in Frederick Leyland & Co., Ltd., and Shaw, Saville & Albion Co., Ltd., which trade to New Zealand thru the Panama Canal. He has large interests in the Wilson Steamship Company and the North Eastern Shipping Company, which connects Holland with the Humber. Thru the North Eastern Railway Co., Ltd., he is associated with the Hull and Netherlands Steam Shipping Company Ltd., and the Pyman Steam Shipping Company, Ltd. Thru his connection with the Shaw, Saville & Albion Company, Ltd., he is represented in the International Mercantile Marine Company of New Jersey, U. S. A. This latter combination controls such large companies as Ismay, Imrie & Company, Ltd.; Oceanic Steam Shipping Company, Ltd.; and the International Navigation Co., Ltd.

The International Mercantile Marine Company of New Jersey is under the control of the American International Corporation. John D. Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan & Company stand behind this corporation. Morgan and Ellerman are of different nationalities, religions and temperaments, but their interests are the same. Taking the case of Ellerman as an example, we find workers of diverse nationalities and colors toiling in all the corners of the earth to enrich the single man and the single corporation. The London newspaper reporter, the English brewer's drayman, the Scotch mechanic, the Greek docker, the Burmese stevedore, the Dutch tugboat engineer, the North Eastern railway shunter, the Panama locks-man, the New Zealand crane driver, and the "free-born" British seaman, all work in the interests of Brother Ellerman. And I guess you will agree with me, fellow workers of the sea, that it will take more than a national political party to put our future fellow worker, Sir J. Reeves Ellerman, into dungarees.

### "Fellow Worker" Inchcape and His Little Set.

We will now introduce, thru Fellow Worker Newbold's kindness, Lord Inchcape. This distinguished ship-owner is also a journalist—of a kind. He writes letters to the "Times"on the tyranny of trade unionism. He is irritated with his seamen for working **only** two watches on deck. There were, apparently, in the good old days iron seamen who worked 24-hours shifts seven days a week. It was a pity that the thyroid gland of eternal youth was not discovered in the days of Lord Inchcape's forebears, or we would have an eternity of iron men creating profits for an eternity of Inchcapes. Lord Inchcape did very well out of the war. Fortune smiled on him; danger was far away; he was never wakened from his bunk by th lookout-man's cry of "Submarine!" Today he is president of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, which is the parent body of thirty-four great shipping companies, with an almost unlimited capital at their command. Like the British and American railway companies, the British ship-owners realized long ago the stupidity of cutting each others' throats. They leave that busi-

ness to the working class and its trade union Jonahs.

Lord Inchcape is the head of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, Ltd. Thru this great concern, which touches every port of importance from London to Yokohama and Auckland, N. Z., he has a controlling influence over the famous British India Steam Navigation Company, Ltd., which with the P. & O. has recently absorbed the Hain Steamship Company and the Nourse Line. Associated with the P. & O. is the Blue Anchor Line, Ltd., the Australasian United Steam Navigation Company, Ltd., and other shipping concerns with interests in the South Pacific. Inchcape has his finger in the pie of the Eastern Telegraph Company, Ltd., and was appointed by the democratic British government to be chairman of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Ltd., which has the honor of supplying oil (for cash on the spot) to the British navy, and any other navy that can pay an honest price. Quite a nice little military force was utilized to invade Persia in order to protect the pipe-lines from the Persians, who seem to have some notion that the oil belongs to themselves. Mr. Newbold tells us that this little business is a big weight on the entire life of the East. Lord Inchcape is only an ordinary man, sleeps in one bed at a time, eats much the same number of meals as a navvy—when the latter can get 'em—and is allowed only one wife by law; yet he appropriates the joint product of the labor of tens of thousands of workers in all the corners of the earth.

Lord Inchcape is on the board of directors of the Suez Canal Company, The Eastern Extension Australasian and China Telegraph Company, the Salonah Tea Company and the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders. There is a popular legend abroad that he obtained his original $100,000.00 by selling "Old Moore's Almanack" outside Lime Street Station, Liverpool. As this is not mentioned in "Who's Who," we must take it for granted that the legend has no foundation. "But," says Fellow Worker Newbold, "It will be realized what an important personage he is in the commercial world 'east of Suez.' He is, in fact, one of the mighty potentates of the Indian Empire, and one of the most influential persons in British finance and politics." When Lord Inchcape wants anything, Lloyd George immediately discovers that the thing wanted is a "national necessity."

### Other Mighty Potentates and a Puny One.

Messrs. Inchcape and Ellerman—God bless their iron souls—are not the only pebbles on the beach by any means. There are others. In Britain we have, in addition, the Geddes, the Pirries, the Rhonddas, the Mond, the Mordens, the Furnesses, the Andersons, the Vickers, and the Beardmores. Their gripping fingers close on everything that is a need to the race. They reach overseas into the back waters of the Amazon and to the paddy patch of Borneo. All must pay tribute,—or be damned. Alongside of them we have good old, tame old, self-satisfied old trade unions, which, according to a recent speech of the Lord High Cardinal of the British National Union of Railwaymen at Prague, in Checho-Slovakia, are going to buy the business from these gentlemen with the workers' savings, which are placed in one little corner of one of the banks owned by the aforesaid gentlemen. After that wonderful statement, we feel that in the future we had better go to a Weddell Sea penguin for our economics. One of the future humorous sketches of labor-in-politics will surely be enacted around the business of buying out the bosses.

### Across the Atlantic.

Fellow Worker Newbold presents a good deal of illuminating information in his little book on **"The Menace of American Capitalism"** (British Socialist Party, 21 a, Maiden Lane, London, W. C. Price 2d.), in which he analyzes the composition of the American International Corporation. As already stated, this corporation is linked up with both the Rockefeller and the Morgan interests. Not only do the strategic industries of the United States lie under their control, but they are also predominant in China, Mexico and South America. In certain mines in Chile they have their own government and police force, and their own laws.

In the chapter devoted to **"Wilson's 'Sea Shuttles,'"** Fellow Worker Newbold writes as follows:

> "Banking and exchange were the first considerations, and, after that, the provision of a native mercantile marine. This the ubiquitous American International Corporation set out to obtain. It began by taking over the Pacific Steam Navigation Company (a British concern), and then acquired the New York Ship-building Company. In April, 1917, the vice-president of the corporation stated in **International Marine Engineering**: 'We are generously equipped, ready to begin our struggle for our place upon the ocean . . . We have arrived at a crisis in our commercial history . . . If we grasp it, our trade will be enormously extended.'
>
> "Meanwhile McAdoo had set up the United States Shipping Board and, in this very month, established the United States Emergency Fleet Corporation, a federal concern in which the United States held a majority of the shares, and which, with a capital of $50,000,000, set out to purchase and to build ships to charter or to lease to U. S. citizens to operate in the foreign trade. This new corporation not only took over all the interned German and Austrian ships lying in the U. S. harbors, but by the autumn of 1917 the Shipping Board had requisitioned every ton of shipping under construction in American yards. The larger part of these ships were being constructed for English companies . . . This drastic action placed in the hands of the Shipping Board 403 ships of 2,500,000 tons. (**World's Work**, December,

1917.) About this time, the American International Corporation secured from J. P. Morgan and Company the control of the International Mercantile Company and others, of fleets of the White Star, Leyland, American and other lines, and a measure of control in the ship-building firm of Harland and Wolff, Ltd. Since that time, the Belfast firm has been making vast extensions on the Clyde, at Liverpool and elsewhere. It was this deal that caused the Federation of British Industries to send out a frantic 'S. O. S.' It is the $90,000,000 of ships belonging to these lines which the U. S. Government would not permit to be sold to a British syndicate. The Hamburg-America, Nord-Deutscher Lloyd and American 'pool' steamships, which, before the war, did a prodigious trade to the East, to Central and South America and to Europe, are now under the control of the American International Corporation, the protection of the U. S. Emergency Fleet Corporation and the spreading folds of the Star Spangled Banner.

### Cyclonic Ship-building.

"To beat the German submarines, the Emergency Fleet Corporation embarked upon a colossal ship-building effort. It made the American International Corporation its agent, and this body founded the American International Ship-building Corporation to look after its ship-building business. A 'world's record' yard was laid out at Hog Island on the Delaware, to construct fifty ships simultaneously and to build into them 7,500 tons of steel a day. (This means that a 4,000 ton ship could be built in 28 days, which indeed happened.—Author.) The Bethlehem Steel Corporation had been making enormous profits, and had, just outside Penn's city of Philadelphia, a cyincal monument to Christian brotherhood busy on $250,000,000 of munition orders in the biggest ordnance factory on earth. Charles M. Schwab, its president, having under his control the Union Iron Works at San Francisco, the Ford River Yard in New England and other establishments, set out to help the Government transform the United States into 'one huge factory for the production of ships.' He, first of all, bought up several big steel works, put down immense new rolling mills for ship-plates, and proceeded to lay out new Bethlehem yards in California and in New England. (Here the reader will notice the coming of the "standard ship," which simplified and accelerated construction, and, as a result, displaced thousands of workers, that under the old system of construction would have had employment.—Author.) Then," continues Fellow Worker Newbold, "says **'Syren and Shipping'** (Jan. 1, 1919), Schwab was 'persuaded, on the personal appeal of President Wilson; to become Director-General of Ship-building. By October, 1919, the United States Congress had voted $3,449,000,000 for ship-building purposes . . . They had more yards, more ways, and more workers than any other nation. There were 200 shipyards with 1,020 berths . . . The United States had become the leading ship-building nation in the world.' The head of the Shipping Board said officially, 'We are building a merchant fleet of 25,000,000 tons. Vast ships will run to every port. Once more we will have a real U. S. merchant fleet under way, backed by far-reaching policies for efficient operation."

And at the end of 1919, the United States already possessed 13,091,773 tons, compared with Great Britain's 18,607,875 tons. Owing to its losses in the submarine war, Britain's tonnage had shrunk from over twenty million tons at the commencement of the war to the above figure. During 1920 Great Britain is again holding her own in building, and then again many United States ships have been found to be defective. They are about as useful for commercial purposes as Leavenworth Penitentiary is for stopping the advance of Industrial Unionism.

### Argentina and New Zealand.

The tentacles of the huge marine transport interests can be found everywhere. The great Mihanovich Company of the River Plate and the Rio Paraná, which monopolizes the vast trade of that district, has now passed into the hands of the octopus. They have the same grip on the Eastern Latin American Republics as the Canadian Pacific Railway has on Canada. When the Federación Obrera Marítima of Argentina (the local seamen's and firemen's union) struck against the Compañia Mihanovich in 1920, they found that they had also struck against the Argentine Government. It was big British and American interests that forced Brazil and Perú into the war, as a pretext for seizing the interned ships of the Central Powers. They also made a strong effort to do the same in Chile in order to get possession of the eighty odd steamers and windjammers which were interned in Punta Arenas, Valparaiso, Chañaral, Mejillones and other ports of the Republic.

The Union Steam Ship Company, Ltd., of New Zealand, is another huge over-seas combination directed from London. It was one of the links in the famous "All Red" route, connecting both Vancouver and San Francisco with Australasia. When, in 1913, the workers of these companies struck thruout New Zealand, the N. Z. Government, headed by the cow-punching Massey, filled the jails, cells and corridors, with striking seamen and laborers from the wharves. The U. S. S. has a stranglehold on the workers of New Zealand; the commands come from London.

In the Royal Belge Lloyd we see a vast concern owned by British and Belgian magnates. Some of

their ships fly the British flag and the others the Belgian ensign. Some sail from London and the remainder from Antwerp. In over-seas ports one can often see American-owned ships flying the Italian, Chinese, Cuban or Roumanian flags. The flag that flies on a ship today is no indication of either the nationality of her owners or her crew. The latter can only be classified as the "skinners" and the "skinned."

**Towards the One Big Union of the Bosses.**

In spite of internal squabbles, the tendency of all the great shipping interests is towards consolidation, or what Justus Ebert in one of his books calls integralization. In their efforts to bring this end about, the shipping magnates may hurl Great Britain and Japan into another war; but this time with the United States. Such an event would not prevent ultimate consolidation; more likely it would hasten it. War always strengthens the tentacles of financial and economic interests. Even war cannot really divide the closely interwoven connections of the International Marine Corporation of the United States and the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom.

**Paste This in Your Hat, Fellow Worker!**

Let this fact burn itself into the brains of the marine workers of the world: **If the two countries do go to war, don't forget that the Inchcapes and the Ellermans and the Pirries would sooner marry their daughters to the sons of the Morgans and the Schwabs and the Spreckels than they would to the captains or the engineers or the quartermasters aboard their own ships.** They would sooner give their daughters away to the depraved scions of the ruling class of an enemy country than to clean, intelligent workers in their own country. Class is of more importance to them than nationality. That was why Hughes, the Australian renegade politician, sent the captain of the German raider, "Emden," back to this country as an honored guest, while his crew had to rot for nearly four years in the concentration camp at Holdsworthy, New South Wales.

The spectacular wrangles between these gentlemen is no concern of the men who go to sea on ships, nor of the men who load and unload these ships. When we are skinned, it is not for us to prefer one skinner for the other. It is our business to abolish the skinning business for all time. It is a world disease, and we have to find a world remedy for it. When we see the far-reaching connections of the world power of capitalism, we can well understand the incompetency of trade unionism, and of national labor and Socialist parties and politicians. Capitalism is an economic force, and has its being in the FIELD OF THINGS! It is a concrete, tangible power. This cannot be said for either trade unionism or labor politics. The political institutions of a country are determined by its economic basis. We cannot change the weather by tinkering with the barometer, nor can we re-shape a substance by fooling with its shadow.

We have given above a rough description of a certain section of capitalist organization. Daily it becomes more scientific, more powerful and better organized. If the labor movement wants to conquer the world, it can do it only by building something bigger, something better, something more scientific than what capitalism has built. That is the only way to power; hard road, long road as it is, IT IS THE ONLY ROAD. The workers have to get POWER, real, tangible, concrete, demonstrable, actual power. Such a thing does not come by nose-counting every three years, nor is it manufactured by hot-air opportunists, whose idea of a revolution is generally that of a coup d'état. In the thoro-going world of capitalism, success to our class can only come thru the building up and taking over of the control of industry, upon which the future of the workers depends almost entirely. "It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism."

In the London "Star" of November 4th, 1920, I note that Lord Pirrie, the British Shipping Controller, is making a visit to the United States. He is to interview the chiefs in the American shipping world. He is to discuss the fitting of all ships with oil-burners, and other matters of importance. When Schwab and Pirrie meet, they are not going to put on the gloves, or attempt to throw one another down the lift well. Their meeting is going to make a big difference to every man in the stokehole, the galley or on the docks, not only in Britain and the United States, but also in Hankow and on Christmas Island. They are making their One Big Union more workable, less reliant upon labor, more profitable. They are wiping out their own "demarcation" disputes, and leaving that line of difference to the "bush lawyer" trade union officials. Out of this they will obtain greater profit, which in its turn will mean correspondingly greater investments, greater power and wider influence.

**As to the Future.**

When I consider the mighty world-organization of Capital, I feel how totally inadequate my capabilities are to describe it as it deserves to be described. I see the world of Labor with its wrangling intellectuals, who wrap up a simple fact in a mass of verbiage and fine words, and then squabble over the wrapping; the "surface scratchers," who clamor for red navies while there are yellow marine unions in existence; the Socialist academicians, whose revolutionary studies have taught them to be so careful as to make their attiutde verge upon cowardice; the "dyed-in-the-woolers," whose lifelong object it is to smell out "fakirs;" the humbugging political parties, who wish to take upon themselves the arduous task of disciplining vast organic sections of workers; and, lastly, the "amalgamators," who believe that by dumping one trade union slum property on another they are creating an industrial mansion. I also see the petty squabbles of aspiring politicians, the lack of real industrial knowledge

and requirements, the parish-pump stunts of municipal milkers; I hear the mouthing of platitudes and see their utter uselessness.

The world movement of Labor has to come from the bottom up, from the intelligent and militant rank and file. It has to learn to perfect its power by using it. The philosophy of Industrial Unionism, as advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World, teaches the workers how to organize **industrially**; it teaches them how to become powerful enough to abolish capitalism, and efficient enough to carry on production for the benefit of all mankind. There is no national political party that can fully express the requirements of the shipping kings of modern times. While the government's authority does not extend beyond its three-mile limit, the authority of industrial despotism extends to all the ports of every country. Not even within its own frontier could a proletarian party fight such a huge organization. The Worker's Mastery of the Sea can only come thru revolutionary industrial unionism, organizing ALL the workers of the sea into ONE fighting force.

And above all, it is a work for the marine workers themselves, and least of all for politicians. But as politicians have had little to gain from the voteless pariah of the sea, they have worried little about him. We of the Old Guard of the Sea look forward with confidence to the time when the shipping magnates will be working on the ships they used to own, and the politicians will be employed in the sanitary department, for which their peculiar character of obtaining a present day living admirably fits them.

**Long live the Marine Transport Workers of the World!**

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE TOILERS OF THE SEA.

After discussing the "lords of hoarded gold" we will take a brief look at the obscure men who work on ships, the men who take their lifes in their hands, work hard and die early. Old merchant seamen are almost as scarce as ice water in hell. Marine workers are the most cosmopolitan body of men in the world. They are the hardest worked, the worst paid and the oftenest sold. I have traced some of the effects of new processes and machinery upon the lives of these men, and it is safe to say that great changes are taking place today in the mentality of of all the grades of men about ships under all flags.

### The Seaman-Tradesman.

The old-time sailorman was a rough-hewn chunk of humanity, who feared little on this earth. He was hard and rough, with calloused hands from long hours of work in the rigging. He read little or nothing, but had a retentive memary for stories dealing with his calling. These stories were one of his relaxations in the long voyages, when it was his turn below. He usually went to sea when he was young, and in the majority of cases he stayed at sea until fate called him to his watery grave. For there was many a floating coffin went to sea in those days, whose loss sent a flinty smile across the owner's face. The seaman was a tradesman and he knew his business. His trade required nerve, coolness and calculation, for there is no room aboard a windjammer for weaklings. There was a time when Great Britain used to produce these sea-tradesmen, but that day is past; they have yielded the palm to Scandinavia and the Eastern Baltic. A few come from Chile, but nine-tenths of them, even on the English sailers, are the blond-haired boys from the fjords.

But while the seaman was quite at home aboard ship, he lived a very rough life. The foc's'le was usually a grimy blackened hole, with a number of wooden bunks nailed along the sides, and a greasy table stuck in the middle. A varied collection of bugs and fleas generally shared the bunks with the humans, and seemed to thrive upon the atmosphere of salt junk and oilskins. There was seldom room for more than two of the men on the floor at once, the remainder having to wait out on deck or stay in their bunks until it was their turn to get out. On long voyages epidemics of yellow fever and scurvy were common, and the British government in the greatness of its solicitude for the men who built up their merchant marine, prescribed occasional doses of limejuice to counteract the effects of too much salthorse. To this day British ships are known as "limejuicers." There have been many mutinies on board ships, usually due to some injustice perpetrated upon the men. Captains had power of life and death in their hands, and they used it liberally. For standing on his feet like a man, many a good man and true has finished his last voyage with a rope around his neck. Others seized their ships, put up the "Jolly Roger" at the peak, and, armed to the teeth, engaged in the business of piracy.

### A Few Words About Food.

The food issued in many cases was, and is, indescribable muck. The pork was rotten or diseased, the biscuits mouldy and weevily, and the peas as replete with rottenness as a politician. I remember a Danish barque in Buenos Aires having such a stench from her brine tubs that I asked the captain if he had a cargo of dead Chinamen aboard. He was annoyed, and afterwords, when, at the request of the crew, we were discussing this junk with him, he hit the saloon table a bang and roared, "I'm going to be captain of my own ship!" I replied, "If you leave that stuff on board a little longer, it will not only drive the crew ashore, but you too. So if you are going to continue to be skipper, you had better get a gas mask." I do not know what the skipper did with the sticking muck, but I do know that he didn't take it to sea with the ship. If he had, he would have had to bend his own sails and take the wheel as well.

### Spiritual Food Cheaper than Material.

The food issued today on English ships is disgraceful, and infinitely worse than the food issued on Norwegian and Danish ships. The best ships for food, on the average, are American and Australian ships. The "blue-nose" ships that sail out of Nova Scotia are notoriously skimpy. The English scale was compiled by a collection of pot-paunched British politicians, and they laid it down as a minimum. The poverty-stricken British ship-owners saw to it that the minimum was also the maximum. However, with their typical kindness, they compensated the seamen for the lack of food by a liberal supply of spiritual consolation thru the agency of the Sailor's Homes and Missions to Seamen in different ports in the world. These missions usually have a weekly concert to which YOU, the sea-faring men, are cordially invited. Everything is quite democratic: the "officials" sit in front, the men with jobs in the middle, and in the rear come the boys who, for the time being, have not the honor of keeping a boss living in luxury. After playing the "Land of Soap and Glory" as an overture, a couple of young ladies sing a soul-stirring duet, which is vigorously applauded by the admiring apprentices in the fourth row. The missioner then sings "Sons of the Sea," the while he "keeps his eye peeled" to see whether you, the unemployed, are doing your share of the applauding. Then there is a goody-goody recitation or two, a word of warning from the pastor anent the booze, the "lady nicotine," and the scarlet women, followed by a tame cup of tea and an effort at cake-making, after which everyone stands on his hind legs and bawls "God Save the King." At Christmas there are free pipes, a tract, and another cup of tea. Roast duck is not plentiful, as it is surmised that it interferes with the proper functioning of stomachs which have been well displined to dry-hash and stockfish. Sorry to say, there is a type of man whom this spiritual hog-wash satisfies. In militant inventory we class him as a door-mat.

I have seen dry-hash that had to be held down by the full mess. I have sniffed stockfish that would wake the dead. I have seen salthorse scare the captain on the bridge and drive him into the chart-room. I have seen mean stewards who earned buckshee suits of clothes from the skipper by saving the stores and stinting the crew. I have seen margarine that would make you wilt when you looked at it. But not in the for'ard saloon, bless you! Any kind of god-damned rubbish is good enough for Jack the Sailor, while the ship-owners poodle has to be fed on dainty cuts and cream. But there's a time coming when the ship-owner will have to eat his poodle, or go hungry.

### "Sailors' Homes."

Talking about Seamen's Homes, here is a brief description of the "hotel" at Rosaria, Argentina, taken from a copy of the "Marine Worker" of Buenos Aires, and written by Julius Muhlberg, late secretary of the Marine Transport Workers' Union of that city.

> "When I went up to take charge I thought it would be a good idea to see how matters stood in the Sailors' Home and to see how they stood towards the M. T. W. in that institution. So I went up there to spend the night. The room that I was shown into was small, dirty and strewn with scraps of paper. The wall was well illustrated with cow-webs, and the floor seemed as if it had not been washed for six months. There were no sheets, and the pillows were coverless. Under the spring mattress there were pieces of scrap iron to prevent the occupants from going thru on to the floor.
>
> "I was handed one blanket from the store. No more than one. On the other stretcher, on my return, I saw a naked negro sleeping . . . In a little while the candle flickered out, and I was left in darkness to spend a sleepless night. Next morning I was up at dawn. After a long wait I was given breakfast at 7:30. I found that I had eight companions, four white and four colored. The coffee was only half sweetened and the milk in it was sour. The bread was hard, dry and unpalatable."

In most of these institutions over-seas, the men are rooted out of bed early in the morning and the bed rooms locked until night time. The boarder must be in early, or be locked out for the night. They are conducted like jails, and are about as popular among seamen as the latter place. I have met large numbers of marine workers who would sooner spend their night in box-cars, railway-wagons, or on a park seat than in these dumps, supplied by the God-fearing ship-owners for their jobless and homeless slaves. Even the message of the Lord Jesus Christ fails to gild the pill. The food is shoddy and scanty, the cooking execrable, and the atmosphere depressing.

### The Glorious Liberty of the Seaman.

Personal liberty among marine workers is almost non-existent. Scandinavian ships are the best in that regard towards their crews, and will usually pay off their men anywhere, altho not always. The Scandinavian counsuls do not generally place obstacles in the way. American seamen are supposed to wallow in freedom and luxuriate in liberty since the passing by Congress of the famous "Seamen's Bill," which was pioneered by Andrew Furuseth and Senator La Follette. It may confer a considerable measure of freedom on the seaman in his home ports, but when he gets to other parts of the world he has less freedom than a Greek. Whether this fact is due to the U. S. authorities, I cannot say. I have seen American skippers anxious to pay off some of their men, and the men anxious to leave, but the consul would invariably refuse their applications, altho there were plenty men ready to fill their

places. The seaman is still a chattel, and all the bills in all the parliaments will not affect his position until he has POWER on his side.

**The Seaman and the Consul.**

The British seamen, and the seamen on British ships, God help 'em, are even worse off. Under the exigencies of hunger they are compelled to sign articles sometimes running into years. They cannot leave a ship until their articles expire, without forfeiting their wages, and risking a long term of imprisonment. The British shipping interests have seen to it that colonial and foreign authorities will seize their deserters and jail them. The ordinary liberty that the average shore worker enjoys of leaving his job when he likes and getting paid up to the last cent does not apply to the seaman. For the least infringement of innumerable petty-fogging rules he can be penalized by the captain. His word counts for nothing before a court, or a consul. The marine worker sailing in the most powerful merchant navy in the world cannot claim the inviolability of his wages, like the worker ashore. The hand of the world and of authority is against him. Advantage is taken of his ignorance of languages in foreign ports, and he is arrested upon the flimsiest excuses. Isolated by his calling from the mass of his fellows, brutalized by rough work, he has never had an opportunity of thoroly organizing himself in order to win respect and justice.

With regard to consuls, I find from an extensive experience that they do not care a damn about their fellow countrymen who earn a living on ships. Judged from the seamen's standpoint, they are, in the mass, a collection of insufferable, supercilious nincompoops. A decent consul is as rare as an honest politician. To their narrow, middle class vision, it is the right thing to cringe before their economic superiors and to browbeat their supposed inferiors. And it is significant that the bigger and more powerful the country, the more contempt has the official for the workers whose misfortunes take them into his office. I have seen them in Buenos Aires deliberately keep a seaman on the beach by refusing to give him a passport, without which he could not get a ship. If you venture into their offices they bawl, "Take off yer hat," and from thence on you are doomed. They hate unions, and conspire against officials of the unions in foreign ports, and are not above making false accusations and complaints in order to cover their own malpractices. There are exceptions, it is true, but they are confined to the smaller nations.

Hindoos, Chinese and other colored workers are maltreated even worse than their white fellow workers. Vile cases have been hushed up by consular officials, One thing is undeniable, and that is that consular offices exist for the benefit of the commercial interest of the ruling classes of different countries, and NOT in order to see justice done to the working classes of those countries. And I know whereof I write.

**In Over-seas Ports.**

In a foreign port the marine worker has no friends. Thieving sharks lay in wait for him, his drinks are drugged, he is fair game for the local police, and is at the mercy of everyone else. The immigration officer takes a dislike to the shape of his head or the color of his hair, and he is refused a permit to go ashore. There was a time—before the war—when the merchant seaman, by the nature of his calling, could travel the world over without either passport or identification paper. Today, however, he is examined at every port, and even his dunnage is overhauled and searched by the zealous authorities. He is shipped on boats that carry wheat and no shifting boards, boats which turn turtle at sea, simply because the owners are too mean to pay the cost of the boards.

All these abuses are eloquent examples of what the seamen's unions have Not done, and of what the International Transport Workers Federation has NOT accomplished, nor made an attempt to accomplish. But before going into the various forms of the existing disorganization which prevails in each country, I will devote a chapter to the gentle art of "shanghai-ing," which I am able to discuss with some authority.

# The Defense Situation

**By John Martin**

WHETHER the eventual results of our long legal conflicts, thruout the country, be acquittals or convictions, the heavy drain on energy and funds continues. But this expenditure of money and effort should not be begrudged when the liberties of our best and most militant spokesmen are in jeopardy. The continued freedom of a rebel worker, to organize and agitate, is of far more value than any amount of money. And, lately, we have succeeded in gaining, for some of our defendants, that liberty to continue on the fight, which they so much prize.

**Good News from the Nortwest.**

From the Northwest District Defense Committee, comes the cheering news that Fellow Worker Charles Craig, indicted at Spokane on a criminal syndicalism charge, has been released for "lack of evidence." Evidently the sleuths of the prosecution found some difficulty in framing the necessary amount of "evidence" needed to railroad this fellow worker to the penitentiary. Also the cases of Fellow Workers Charles Butt and James Stevens have been dismissed in Spokane. These two fellow workers have been tried four times on charges of criminal syndi-

calism. The legal capitalist watch-dog does not easily relax its grip, once its jaws have closed on an enemy of its masters' greed. The defense in the Northwest is also preparing to appeal against the Spokane injunction.

From Portland, Oregon, comes word that the local criminal syndicalism cases have all been quashed by the grand jury. There are, however, some other cases—some being deportation charges—pending in that city.

### Wichita Appeal Soon.

The appeal in the Wichita case will come up before the Federal Court of Appeals, in St. Louis, during the month of January. To date, merely preliminary arguments have been entered. It now remains to be seen how the Court will deal with the matter.

In the meantime efforts arc bing made to secure the release of the Wichita boys on bond. They have decided amongst themselves that bonds for the following fellow workers should be obtained first: M. Sapper, F. Grau, S. Forbes, M. Hecht, George Wenger, O. E. Gordon, P. Maihak and E. Henning. Bonds have already been secured for the first two; and arrangements are being made for the rest. The rapidity with which these fellow workers may be released depends upon the activity of local bail and bond committees and individuals, in raising the necessary loans.

### Chicago Disorderly Cases Dismissed.

The men who were arrested in the Construction Workers' Hall in Chicago recently, and charged with "disorderly conduct," have all been set free thru the dismissal of their cases. This is just one more instance of the tyranny of irresponsible police officials who swoop down upon a crowd of peaceable workers, assembled in their own hall, and arrest them without any cause. Even the courts would not sustain this arbitrary and tsar-like procedure.

On January 11th, at Fargo, North Dakota, were fired the opening guns of the prosecution of Nolan, the gunman who shot and killed Fellow Worker Bagley. Our attorney, Harold Mulks, is assisting the prosecution.

In the case of Henry Tonn, who was recently convicted of criminal syndicalism in Linn County, Iowa, a protracted legal fight has been proceeding to force the county to pay the costs of the printing of the court transcripts of his trial. After carrying the matter to the Supreme Court of Iowa, the defendant won his point. The conviction of Fellow Worker Tonn is now being appealed; and his bond has been set at three thousand dollars. The fellow workers in Sioux City, Iowa, are trying to raise the necessary amount. Tonn was sentenced to an indeterminate term at the Iowa state penitentiary, not to exceed three years.

### Convictions in Kansas.

Fellow Workers William Murphy, Thomas Payne and Robert Dilgar have been taken to the Kansas state penitentiary, at Lansing, to begin serving their sentence, after having been convicted, at Wakeeney, on a charge of "jail breaking." Payne and Dilgar received two years each. Murphy, who preferred a silent defense, and rejected the aid of our attorney, accompanied them to the penitentiary; but the length of his sentence has not yet beet ascertained. Caroline Lowe and Harold Mulks conducted the defense.

The case of Robert Barker, who is prosecuting the sheriff and the stockyards company of Wichita, is still dragging on. The defense has been pleading continually for delays.

### Raids and Arrests in Kansas City.

On December 31st, Fellow Worker Felix Thornton was arrested on the streets of Kansas City, Mo., but later released on bond, charged with vagrancy. That same day, seven police officers came down upon the hall and arrested eleven members, namely: Henry Shaver, John Thorack, J. R. Burns, Felix Thornton, Will Bradley, Stanley Gedmin, Frank Ontrata, Pat O'Keefe, Warren Doile, Robert Barker and F. Zinkoff. During the raid, the representatives of "law and order" tore up and dismantled everything in the hall. Postage stamps, stationery and supplies were stolen. The general appearance of the place, according to the fellow worker who reported the incident to us, was as tho a man-sized cyclone had swept thru the hall. The eleven men were kangarood at the local court, and fined one hundred dollars each. They are now at the municipal farm. Their case is being appealed, and bonds are set at two hundred dollars each. To date, only one of the fellow workers, Robert Barker, has secured bail.

### Solidarity Message from Deportees.

Some time ago, a large gathering of workers, at a mass meeting in the City Hall at Lawrence, Mass., sent a telegram of encouragement to the fellow workers at Deer Island. The imprisoned men have sent the following reply: "We, the class war prisoners, greet the workers of Lawrence and say that, in spite of all tortures and privations that are being inflicted on us by the exploiters, and the constant dragging of us from one prison to another, our indomitable revolutionary spirit remains unbroken and as strong as ever. The more they persecute us, the more inspired we become with our revolutionary ideals, and the more strength we acquire for our further struggle against the oppressors. In spite of the fact that we are behind prison bars, we are with you in the struggle for the liberation of the whole working class."

### Aid from France and South Africa.

Further to emphasize the living fact of international working class solidarity, come two letters, one from France and one from South Africa, each accompanied by donations from workers in those lands who know the details of the persecution to which militant proletarians are subjected in the far-away United States.

One is a letter from some French Syndicalists of

"the Left," enclosing a donation list totaling 202 francs, or twelve dollars. The letter states, in its quaint English: "I most regret not being able to send you more and having collected only such a little sum, but you know certainly how little solidarity feelings are developed among the French working class, and on the other hand there is really an excuse for it just now, for a large number of workers are out of work since many weeks and the general situation is rather dark. Well, may this small contribution bring its little part of help to our imprisoned comrades to whom we send all our best wishes."

The other letter comes from Cape Town, South Africa, and is written by the secretary of the Communist Party of South Africa. The letter says:

"Dear Comrades:

"A few weeks ago I sent you a draft for £13-16-0 towards the Defense Fund of the I. W. W. I have great pleasure in enclosing a second draft for £8-10-0 collected by our branch in Johannesburg, and for which please send receipt, so that we may know it reached you safely.

"The members of the Communist Party of South Africa wish to express their pride in, and deep admiration for the members of the I. W. W., in my humble opinion one of the most militant and courageous bodies of class-war fighters in the world. Very often, steamers and sailing ships passing thru here have carried many Wobblies from the Pacific coast, etc., and always we have found them comrades to be proud of.

"With fraternal greetings from all local comrades, I remain,

"Yours for Communism,

"M. Lopes."

**A Prisoner's Advice.**

At the General Defense Committee's meeting held on January 8th a letter from Forrest Edwards, one of the Chicago indictment defendants, now in Leavenworth, was read and the Committee decided to embody the following quotation from Edwards' letter in the Defense Bulletin:

"I think that the next two months should be chiefly devoted to the task of convincing Mr. Harding that the people expect him to make the liberation of all political prisoners his first official act. Send so many letters and resolutions to Marion, Ohio, that he will despise the sight of the mail man. Send a copy of each resolution in duplicate to President Wilson and to the Speakers of the House and Senate. Hold thousands of public meetings and at every one, large or small, in the street or in the hall, pass a resolution and send it to Marion. He will get them now, whereas, if you wait until he has gone into seclusion in the White House, some secretary will file them all in the waste basket. Urge that personal letters be written and send an occasional telegram to break the monotony. Why not arrange a meeting at Marion and have Bill and others go there to speak, inviting Mr. and Mrs. Harding to attend the big amnesty meeting? Impress him with the idea that the people desire him to make the liberation of political prisoners his first official act."

**Funds Are Needed.**

Funds are urgently needed for defense; and our members are asked to arrange meetings, smokers, socials, etc., so as to replenish the treasury of the General Defense. There is much work to be done in regard to relief and to legal defense; and, without money, it cannot be attended to. Fellow workers, do your utmost to aid our imprisoned members. Do not let them think that your spirit of solidarity is evaporating. Action has always been the way of the I. W. W., rather than words; so let us not have to beg you, but ACT AND ACT NOW!

Make checks and money orders payable to the General Defense Committee, or to John Martin, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

# How I Failed in My First Business Venture

**By "Operator"**

Having bought coal for many years, and always having been liberally supplied with clinkers in the coal, and also having had an eye open for business, it struck me as being possible to make some money in the coal business.

To that end I scouted around until I found a nice place where stones and lumps of clay could be had for the taking and proceeded to blacken them so as to be able to mix them with real coal. I bought a couple of tons of coal and did the mixing myself so as to not give the scheme away to any outsiders. This way of doing business was to be a secret with the firm. I had some business cards printed, distributed them, and awaited results. Customers appeared in due time and everything looked as rosy as could be. I already commenced to figure how much I would be able to make on every ton of "coal" sold and figured that if I could open up on a bigger scale my fortune would soon be made.

But, alas! I had not taken into consideration that I had entered on a field of business that already was well "regulated." One day there appeared on the scene a solemn-looking individual and summoned me to come down to a place in the loop, a place the address of which I was not to reveal. I asked what authority the solemn-looking individual had to summon me like that, and if he belonged to the police force. He said he did not, and added that if I cared any for my own interest I had better come.

Curious to know what it was all about, I went down to the place mentioned. There I found about

a dozen of men, if possible even more solemn-looking than the fellow who had summoned me. I was told to be seated, and so they began to ask me questions.

First one wanted to know if I didn't consider it a fraud on the public to deliberately mix stones with the coal that I sold. At first I pretended not to know whereof he spoke, but then he got mad and started to give me a lecture about decency and business honor. When he was thru talking I asked him if I didn't have the same right to charge for coal and deliver stone as the rest of the "coal" dealers. Then he got madder yet and nearly choked, so another of the wise men spoke up and said:

"All of us assembled here are coal dealers, and we want to tell you that your business has been watched from the start, and we think that you are going a little too strong. If people complain, and you can convince them that that is the way the coal comes from the mines, they will probably grumble a little, but they will pay. But if the coal customers get wise to your trick where you go nature one better, they will certainly not stand for that. They will demand an investigation, and if such a thing is once started, nobody knows where it will end. So as a matter of self-protection we intend to stop you from butting in on our business, and we assure you that we have the necessary power to put you out of business any time we want to. We know that you have sent out circulars thru the mail and we will have you arrested for defrauding thru the mail if you do not do as we tell you."

At first I tried to stand up for my rights as a free citizen living in a country where trade is "free," but I was soon convinced that my case was hopeless, and so I resigned to my fate. So ended my first business venture.


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**Is to Work for Industrial Unionism.**

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# The Scenery Spoiler

**By Card No. 247770**

IT was a splendid highway, a masterpiece of engineering, as the newspapers of the state had pointed out when it was first opened for traffic. As the tourists rolled along in their luxurious limousines over the smooth-surfaced, new road which followed one of the big rivers down to the Pacific Coast, they waxed enthusiastic over the magnificent scenery. But the "bindlestiff" with the big roll of blankets on his back did not notice the grandeur of the snow-capped peaks in the distance, nor the ever-changing beauty of the valley below. Only one thing was on his mind, expressed by the three letters j-o-b. A job—if he could but find a job so he could again fill his stomach with food three times a day! Two years ago, when the road was being built, it had been easy to find a job, but now it was different.

Shifting his bundle to ease the weight he noticed the remnants of one of the construction camps a short distance from the road.

"Why," he exclaimed, "if that isn't the old camp where I used to work!"

A little farther away, where the road swung out around the face of a cliff, he stopped to look up at the towering granite wall.

"Seems it was only yesterday when I worked here," he mused. "Up there is that shelf where I pretty near went down when I slipped. I sure would have broke my neck if old Mike wouldn't have grabbed me in time." He could almost see cheerful old Mike turning the drill while the young Swede and himself were swinging the hammers and it seemed as if he could hear again the rhythmic sound of steel on steel. He turned and looked over the railing, set on top of a slanting high wall, which followed in a perfect curve the low side of the highway, the rocks being fitted without mortar. "Some job, it sure took some sweating to get some of them big stones into place, dangerous, too. I wonder what became of that Dago who got his leg smashed down there? I have never seen him since they pulled him out from under the rocks. Yes, some job, but it sure looks pretty now that it is all finished."

A big motor truck coming around the curve interrupted his thought, and he stepped over to the other side of the road to get out of the way. A horn sounded behind him and a big touring car coming from the other direction almost came to a stop before the man with the bundle of blankets had a chance to get out of the road. The occupants of the car looked curiously at the rough-looking "bindlestiff," and a cultivated feminine voice was heard from the tonneau of the automobile as it passed by: "Why do they allow those tramps on the highway? They and their horrid packs are spoiling the scenery."

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*With reinless lust and laughter imbeeile.*
*What say you, sirs? No? not your meaning? well,*
*In Heaven's name your proper purpose tell.*
*Development and trade? I understand*
*More elearly. You would seize the natives' land*
*And "edueate" till they beeome as these,*
*Your helpless tools o'ertask'd. Then tell us, please,*
*Upon what ground you join us when we blame*
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# INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

*March, 1921*

The I. W. W. at the Grave of Karl Liebknecht

Fiftieth Anniversary of the Paris Commune

The Founding of the Industrial International

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# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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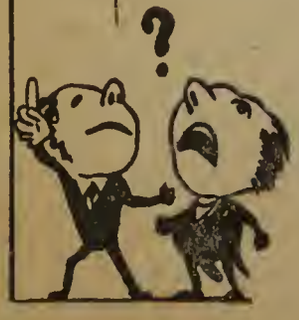
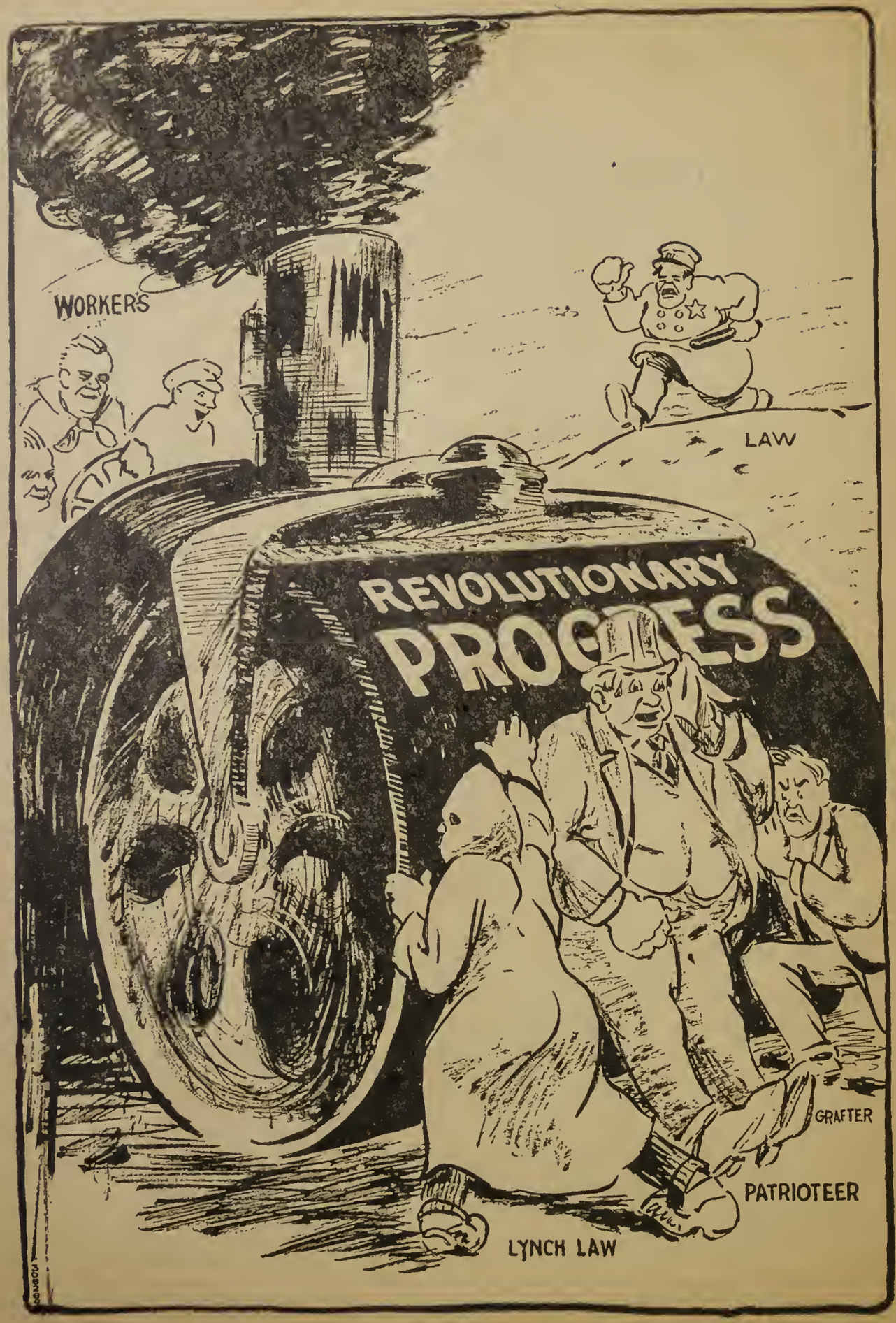





THE STEAM-ROLLER

# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Vol. 1, No. 2 MARCH, 1921 Serial No. 2

## AT THE GRAVE OF KARL LIEBKNECHT

By Theodor Plievier

A DAMP westerly wind swept over the lowlands of North-Germany. Heavy clouds and drizzling rain moved over the earth and changed the face of the landscape. Snowy fields were transformed into gray and muddy plains, and the brilliant white snow that covered the streets and squares of the City of Berlin was turned into thick turbid waters.

Melancholy indeed was this Christmas day, celebrated in honor of the Messiah, who two thousand years ago walked the earth and called upon the poor and oppressed to fight against the powers of darkness. Clouds, dull and oppressive, hung like a funeral pall over the roofs of houses and drooped to the very pavements of the streets. The town presented a chaotic appearance: fog, rain and gusts of wind chased each other up and down its broad avenues; here and there one could occasionally catch fleeting glimpses of that colossal agglomeration of stores and churches, tenements and palaces, factories and workshops, known as the City of Berlin, in which millions of slaves of German capitalism live, work, fight and die.

Such was the appearance of Christmas day of the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty, and sad were the thoughts of a small crowd of men—not quite a dozen—who had left a suburban railway station and were walking down a deserted street. After passing the last house on the outskirts of the town they came to a huge arch,—the entrance to the Cemetery of Lichtenberg.

This grave-yard has an interesting history. Some fifty years ago it was founded by the municipality of Berlin as a burying-place for the poor and the outcast, for those unfortunates who died in the streets, in charitable institutions, hospitals and prisons, for those derelicts, men and women, who had not the price of an "honest grave." But, with the passing of years, it has gradually been transformed into the final resting-place of the bold and courageous men and women of Germany, of its pioneers in art and science, of its lovers of liberty, of its rebels against oppression in whatever form. Many a writer, many a scientist of world-wide fame lies buried here in this perfumed garden of roses. As one passed along its avenues and winding paths, lined on both sides with an infinite variety of flowers and shrubbery, one became aware that the Cemetery of Lichtenberg was, besides, one of the most beautiful in all Germany.

The group of men, carrying a big wreath of white and red roses, with a broad ribbon of the deepest red suspended from it, passed bare-headed a field of about two hundred mounds,— graves of the victims of barricade-fights in the streets of Berlin. The very names even of some of these martyrs of the class struggle will forever remain unknown to posterity. All of them fought and died for a great cause,—the

Karl Liebknecht's grave is seen at the extreme right. Next to him rests Rosa Luxemburg. The others are graves of workingmen slain in Berlin uprisings.

liberation of the workers. Since November, 1918, the victims of the class-war in Germany number about seven thousand. This pile of dead bodies, this sum of wasted lives is the heavier a charge against the existing government at it calls itself a Socialistic one, and is elected and supported by the workers themselves. It is an everlasting "memento-mori," a call of seven times thousand brutally murdered souls to carry on the revolution until its bitter end, until the establishment of the economical power of the proletariat.

The men walked on until they came to a spot where thirty eight brave hearts had found their last resting place after a life of struggle. Here one of that group of pilgrims, George Hardy, the representative of the Industrial Workers of the World, reverently laid the wreath upon one of the mounds. The plain granite block at the head of that grave revealed the name of **"Karl Liebknecht."**

The Industrial Workers of the World had sent its representative across the ocean to join hands with the European fellow workers, to pay homage to the martyrs of the German Revolution, and to bring greetings of courage and solidarity to the struggling Proletariat of Europe from the revolutionary labor movement of America.

This little group of men, assembled around Karl Liebknecht's grave, represented the class-conscious workers of many lands. Their presence on the consecrated ground where lay buried one of the most valiant fighters for the liberation of the working class, whose life was like a blazing star lighting up the path of progress, symbolized the historic mission of the workers of the world:—the abolition of wage slavery, exploitation, and the private ownership of the means of life, and the establishment of Labor's Commonwealth.

To the Workers the Earth and all the Fruits thereof!

The grave of Karl Liebknecht showing wreath of flowers placed there by George Hardy, I. W. W. delegate to the Berlin Industrial Union Conference.

# The German Martyrs and the I. W. W.

**By Tom Barker**

FELLOW Worker Hardy and myself landed in Berlin on a bitterly cold day. A piercing wind was blowing from the Russian plains. Water was frozen solid, and icicles hung from bridges and the eaves of houses. To keep warm one had to be on the move all the time, for coal is rationed, and consequently scarce. Food is also scarce, and those who deserve it the most get the least. Children are pale and stunted, especially those born during or since the war.

Berlin is now a dirty town. Huge heaps of blackened snow are piled along the sides of the streets. Old army uniforms are still in evidence; here and there one catches sight of an army cap or a pair of trench boots. The old discipline, however, is gone for good. The police system as it was known in the time of the Kaiser has broken down.

Altho hunger thins the ranks of the workers, the rich eat as well as they ever did, and live as luxuriously. The big hotels are crowded, and bacchanal dances are given by the favored supporters of the regime of Social-Democracy. Back of the government stands the Trade Union Central organization, which is the German counterpart of the American Federation of Labor. All that the Germans accomplished thru their pseudo-revolution was to exchange one political autocracy for another.

During the little time that we could spare from our work at the Syndicalist Congress we visited places of historic interest in the proletarian struggle. By a remarkable coincidence the huge police general headquarters was gutted by fire the first two days we were in Berlin. During the revolutionary outbreak this place was the center of many fights, and the walls are marked with machine gun fire and bombing. We visited the Reichstag Building and

Delegates to the Berlin Industrial Union Conference at the grave of Karl Liebknecht.

saw the huge statue of Bismarck, from behind which the government troops, armed with machine guns, mowed down the revolutionary workers. We went over this historic ground, still resplendent with the monuments of by-gone soldiers, kings and statesmen, and had the revolutionary uprising explained to us by men who themselves had taken part in it. In fancy we saw William the Last scuttling like a rat for safety, and the war-tired soldiers and workers battling with the police and state troops for the possession of public buildings. The old bureaucracy tottered in a few days, but the bourgeois apostles of Social-Democracy saved the institution of private property by using the power which fortune had put into their hands to put down the revolutionary aspirations of the workers.

One day we walked out to the Lichtenberg Cemetery where sleep most of the 1700 martyrs of the German Revolution killed in Berlin. The cemetery, covered with a white sheet of virgin snow, presented a solemn and inspiring appearance. Within a stone's throw from the gate we found the splendid monument erected to the memory of Wilhelm Liebknecht, the famous father of an equally famous son. Near him sleep Hugo Haase, the murdered Independent Socialist leader, and Paul Singer, the one-time leader of Social-Democracy. But we were seeking the tombs of other men, and so we passed on down the long paths, lined on both sides with black marble slabs, until we reached a place where sleep thirty-eight of the heroes of the German class war, including Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Before we arrived nature had deposited a counterpane of snow over the last resting place of the dead. The graves were literally smothered underneath beautiful wreaths, for there is never a day that some person or organization does not bring offerings to the fallen warriors. Thru the covering of snow we could see the red flowers of the bouquets and wreathes. It was so beautiful that it seemed as if nature herself had conspired with man to adorn their graves.

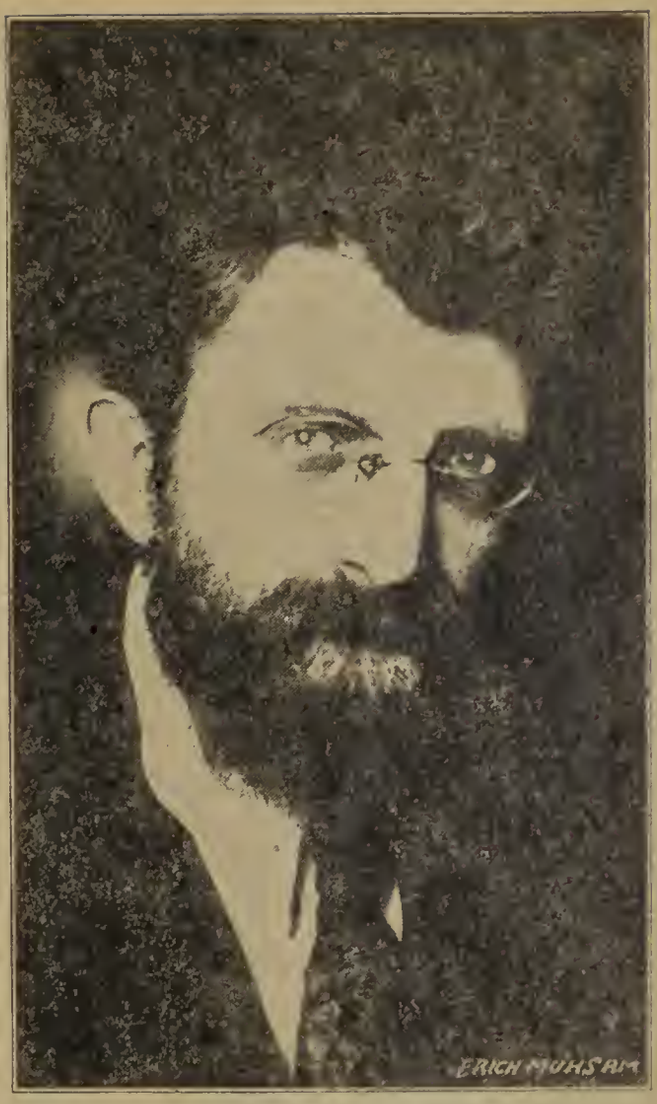
By the side of Liebknecht and Luxemburg rest many of the bravest hearts that ever beat in Germany. Is it not strange that out of all the German millions who died in the war against the Allies, these few martyrs who gave their lives for the good cause of liberating the working class from wage slavery receive more tender thought and solicitude than all those who died in the

capitalist war? They still live, and one cannot visit the graves without recalling the words of another heroic German, legally murdered in Chicago in 1887: "There will come a time when our silence will speak louder than the voices you strangle today."

On Christmas Day we again visited the cemetery, and Fellow Worker Hardy placed a wreath bearing the inscription of the Industrial Workers of the World upon the grave of Karl Liebknecht. That wreath is a token of the community of purpose that exists between the revolutionary industrial workers of America, Germany, and all other countries. It is an earnest of a fraternity and solidarity that not all the hell-born ingenuity of capitalism can dissipate or sidetrack. It is an indication of a real understanding for the future, that will make our class invincible.

Wilhelm still lives at Amerongen, and Ebert and Noske still preside over the national destinies. But Labor is moving underneath; flags are missing, decorations are unknown, unrest is in men's blood. The time is fast getting ripe for a movement to arise that will rally the workers around the banner of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, that will sweep into oblivion the odious regime of Social-Democracy and establish in its place the Domination of the Working Class.

Long live the Revolutionary Dead! Long live the Revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World!




**Erich Mühsam, Socialist writer and lecturer, sentenced during the April, 1920, uprising in Münich, Bavaria, to 15 years imprisonment.**

# Eugene V. Debs

**By Jessie Wallace Hughan**

**If he had wept and kissed the hand that smote;**
**If he, the rebel, had inclined the knee,**
**And cried, "I yield me to your gracious mercy!**
**Spare but my freedom and I sin no more"—**
**We might have pardoned him his grievous crime.**
**But, lo! he stood erect and unsubdued,**
**And flung defiance from his three score years:**
**"I yield not till oppression's self shall yield;**
**I ask no freedom till the world is free;**
**I crave no mercy till the prison door**
**Swings out for all the thousands you have bound!"**
**It he had cringed and kissed the hand that smote,**
**We might have pardoned him his grievous crime.**

# The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Paris Commune

By George Andreytchine

## INTRODUCTION.

ON MARCH the 18th of the present year the working class of the whole world will celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Paris Commune. Half a century ago, on the 18th day of March, 1871, the French people rid themselves thru a heroic effort of the shackles of the bourgeoisie and established the reign of Labor's Commonwealth. But, alas, it lasted only two months and ten days, for on May 28th thirty-five thousand workers, defenders of the proletarian regime, were massacred and the Commune was overthrown. Since then fifty long years have passed, fifty years of slavery and subjugation of the working class. The French bourgeoisie is still supreme, and France is today the bulwark of international reaction. The hour of the workers has not yet arrived, but the signs are multiplying that it will not be long in coming.

To fully grasp the historical significance of the Paris Commune, let us in retrospect consider the great events that preceded it. History, in order to become a true science of the evolution of mankind and of its institutions, ought to be completely rewritten. As is it taught in the schools today it is but a subterfuge for the perpetuation of the capitalist order of society.

Nothwithstanding the bourgeois historians, it is the workers who made possible the Great French Revolution. They underwent the greatest privations, fought like tigers and jealously vigiled over the conquests of the revolution, thinking that the end of their economic slavery had come. The historian Germain tells us that 80,000 workers had organized themselves into a "general coalition," and that the masters sent a petition to the government in which they demanded to be "saved from the tyranny the workers exercise over them." Thereupon the National Assembly passed the infamous Chapellier Act, which was introduced on May 17th, 1791, and which prohibited association of the workers and collective demands for increase in wages. This law was the wedge which made the initial split between the newly-created bourgeoisie and the proletariat as classes. With the passing of years this split grew into an impassable chasm. During the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 the workers attempted to take the power away from the bourgeoisie, but these attempts were drowned in blood. The history of France since 1791 is the history of a continuous sanguinary struggle between capital and labor, which reached the climax in 1871 in the Paris Commune.

## THE PARIS COMMUNE.

The adventurer Louis Bonaparte, who had overthrown the Republic in 1851 by taking advantage of the dissentions among the bourgeoisie, allowed a band of politicians and financiers to rule France, but they advanced its industrial development and she became a great commercial country. The Second Empire brought with itself a wave of chauvinism, and as France badly needed the rich Rhine provinces which belonged to it before the downfall of the First Empire, war with Prussia was inevitable.

It broke out in 1870, when the internal stability of the Empire was greatly shaken by a workers' revolt led by the French section of the First International—The International Workingmen's Association. Before the war was declared 200,000 of them marched in the streets of Paris, singing: "All peoples are our friends, and all tyrants our foes!"

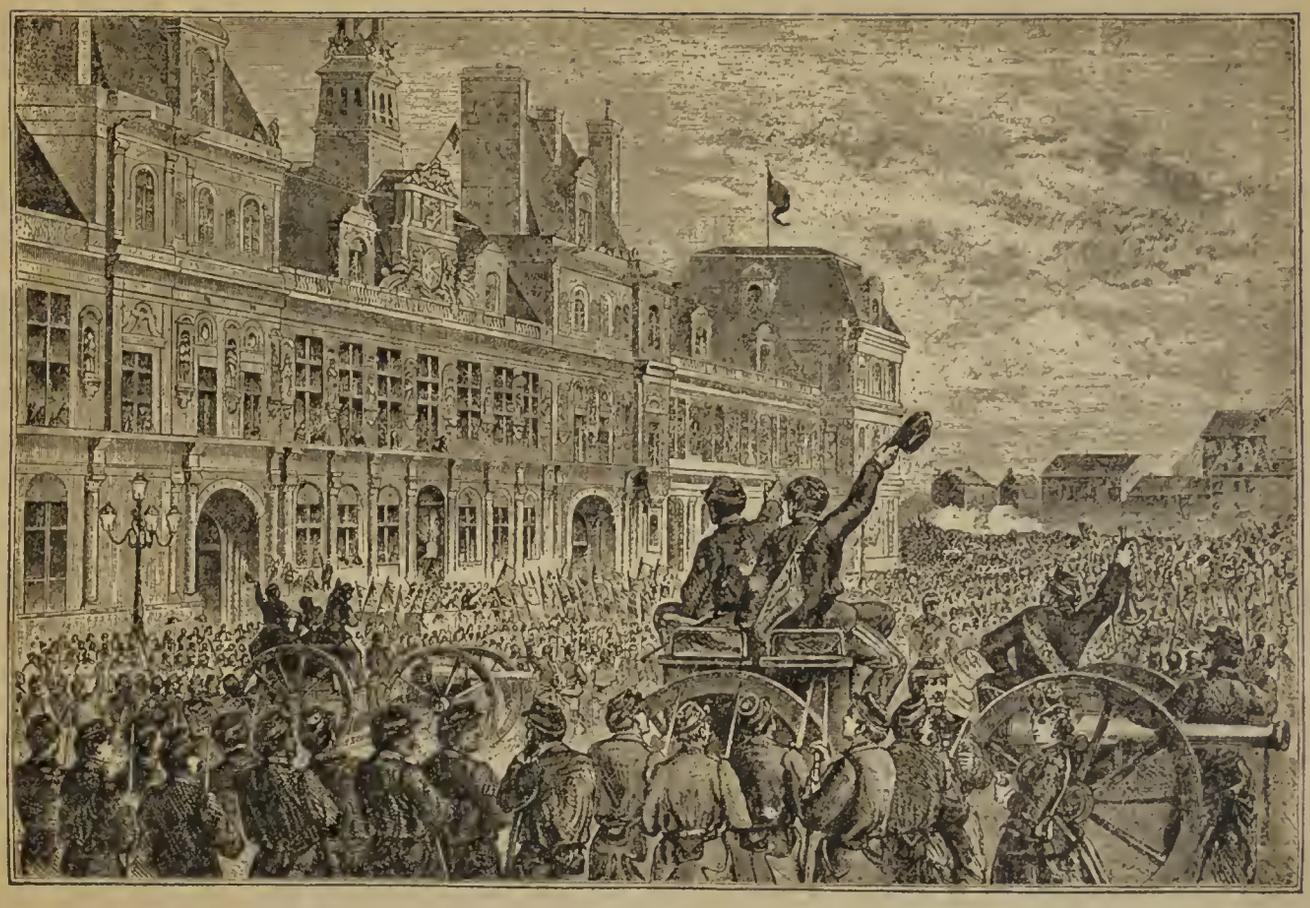
They wanted peace. After the fall of Sedan, the workers of Paris, now armed and organized in the "Garde Nationale," overthrew the Second Empire and proclaimed the Republic. That was on September 4th, 1870. But the proclamation of the Republic did not radically change the situation: the reactionary bourgeoisie remained in power thru the gorilla Thiers, who managed to fool the masses.

The workers never trusted Thiers; he was the high priest of the bourgeois cult of **property.** He hated the workers and he was planning to outwit and disarm them. He conspired with Bismarck, his supposed mortal enemy, the invader of his country, to suppress the workers' battalions of the National Guard. But the National Guard, composed of the whole armed population of Paris, 250,000 of whom were workers and small proprietors, had already organized itself for defense of the people's interests.

When Thiers signed the capitulation of Paris on January 28th, 1871, he thought the propitious moment for the disarmament of the proletarian battalions had come. But he was mistaken. They refused to obey Thiers and his generals.

## THE FIRST SOLDIERS' COUNCILS.

During the month of February the National Guard organized the first meeting of the battalion delegates—the **first soldiers' council** in proletarian history. These delegates elected a Central Committee, destined to play a decisive role in the first days of the Commune. Among the delegates was one young book-binder, Eugene Varlin, leader of the French section of the First International. Thanks to his



THE PROCLAMATION OF THE COMMUNE

organizing genius and marvelous vision, the revolutionary workers got hold of the Central Committee.

Thiers had the impudence to pass a law suppressing the 30 sous paid daily to the workmen-soldiers of the National Guard, and another law giving legal right to the landlords to demand rent payment, which was abolished during the siege of Paris.

This act of his infuriated the armed workers. On top of all this, Thiers appointed a Jesuit as commander of the National Guard, whom the Central Committee refused to acknowledge.

### 18th OF MARCH.

Thiers was planning to subdue the armed workers, but they had plenty of cannon and machine guns. This cannon was made during the siege by popular subscription and was the property of the National Guard.

Thiers ordered a few detachments of infantry and artillery to go and get the cannon. The order was issued at 2 o'clock in the morning of March 18th. When the government troops approached Montmartre the National Guard, with women and children, all prepared to defend their cannon, met them and after a few shots were exchanged, most of the government soldiers raised the butts of their guns in the air and went over to the people's side. The generals who commanded them, Clement Thomas and Lecompte, were hoisted on bayonets and killed. These two were the torturers of the National Guard and they were guilty of the murder of innocent workers.

As soon as Thiers heard of the fate of his two henchmen he fled to Versailles, after having denounced the Central Committee as brigands. Marx says that he called upon the National Guard to come to the rescue of the government, but out of 300,000 only 300 responded. No wonder he felt safer in Versailles, where he could conspire against the workers unmolested.

### THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

On March 18th the Central Committee of the National Guard captured without any great difficulties the State power and became the provisional government. Paris was in jubilation: Cries of "Long live the Commune" were on the lips of all the exploited and oppressed. In its first manifesto the Central Committee said: "The proletarians of Paris, amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs . . . They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmental power."

But the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes. So the Parisian Communists, just

GALLIFET CHOOSING HIS VICTIMS FROM RANKS OF THE COMMUNARDS

like their Russian comrades in 1917, instead of using the obsolete state apparatus of the bourgeoisie, adopted a new one, fitted for the new struggles and new tasks. They called elections for the Commune on March 26th, and on March 28th the Commune was proclaimed from the City Hall, and the Central Committee relinquished its power, except in military affairs. The Commune elected commissars to take care of the state affairs and sent civilian delegates to the National Guard to watch over the safety of the Commune.

### WHAT THE COMMUNE ACCOMPLISHED.

The majority of the members of the Commune were working men. They wanted to carry out their revolutionary program, but the war for the defense of Paris absorbed their attention and energy. The rurals and the French soldiers recently returned from Germany began an offensive against the Commune.

The Commune, as Marx says, was not a parliamentary body, but a working executive and legislative at the same time, just like the Soviet Government in Russia is today.

"The first decree of the Commune was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people." In order to show its abhorrence for militarism the Commune decreed Napoleon's monument on the Place de Vendome to be demolished.

It stripped the police of its political attributes and power, transferring them to responsible members of the Commune. All functionaries in all institutions, whether elected or appointed, could be recalled.

The Commune paid everybody, from its own members downwards, workingmen's wages. Marx says: "The vested interests and the representation allowances of the high dignitaries of State disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves. Public functions ceased to be the private property of the tools of the central Government. Not only municipal administration, but the whole initiative hitherto exercised by the State was laid into the hands of the Commune."

The Commune ordered rent payments to be postponed. It suppressed the sale of objects at the pawn shops in Mont-de-Piété. It abolished conscription, separated the Church from the State and suppressed the budget for cults. It decreed a pension of 600 francs to the legitimate or illegitimate wife of every National Guard killed in battle with the foe.

### TAKING OVER THE SHOPS.

The most important decree of the Commune was the one taking over the abandoned shops and giving them to the workers' organizations to manage. The decree, issued on April 17th, 1871, reads in part as follows:

> "The Commune of Paris:
> Considering that a great number of shops have been abandoned by those who direct them, in order to escape their civil obliga-

SHOOTING OF THE COMMUNARDS AT MONTHMARTRE

tions, and not taking into account the workers' interests;

Considering that by this cowardly abandoning a great number of works essential to the communal life have been interrupted and workers' lives endangered;

Decrees:

The Workers' Syndical Chambers are called to institute a commission of inquiry having for its goal:

1. To make statistics of all abandoned shops, as well as an exact inventory in what state they have been found and the tools of labor therein;

2. To present a report establishing the practical conditions for a prompt exploitation of these shops, not by the deserters who abandoned them, but by the **Co-operative Association of the Workers employed in them;**

3. To elaborate a project of a constitution for these workers' co-operative societies" . . .

The militant leaders of the International and the unions were very anxious to begin the "expropriation of the expropriators" but the defense of the Commune prevented them from carrying it out.

## THE CAUSES OF FAILURE.

The State power was in the hands of the proletariat, but the social revolution cannot be made by decrees, especially when the enemy is at the gate. Besides, the workers were neither organized nor educated in the science of social revolution. In order to have a successful revolution, a great portion of the workers must have developed a sense of class consciousness, and they must be organized in their particular class institutions, having the necessary apparatus for combat and defense, and ready to take all direction, political and economic, into their hands.

At the time of the Commune the workers of France and the rest of the world were very weak, and consequently could not direct such a movement

In spite of the brilliant leadership of a group of revolutionists, such like Varlin, Pindy, Duval, Arnoult, Vaillant and others, the International did not take part in the Commune as an organization; only its militants worked and fought for it. The peasants were the most formidable foe of the Commune, and they, as soldiers, defeated it, fearing it would take away their little farms.

The main cause of the weakness of the Commune was the lack of a directing dominant party. The members of the Commune were a mixture of Proudhonists, Bakounists, Blanquists and very few Marxians, if any.

### THE MAD VENGEANCE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

The heroic workers of Paris fought like tigers, but the enemy had greater power. Had the Communards been a little more practical, they would have pursued the Thiers mercenaries the first day of the revolt, and would have destroyed them completely. But once they quit Paris, the workers left them alone to prepare the counter revolution.

On May 28th, after a valiant struggle of 70 days, the last forts were taken by the Versaillese. Belleville and Menilmontant fell and the savage massacre of the workers began. The bourgeoisie waded in workers' blood. Over 35,000 men, women and children were murdered by Gallifet. The grave diggers were working overtime in the cemetery Père Lachaise, where lay the greatest number of the brave Parisian Communards. "The 'Wall of the Federals'—where the last massacre took place—remains today a dumb but eloquent witness to the frenzy of crime of which the governing classes are capable as soon as the proletariat dares to stand for its rights."

Eugene Varlin, the young leader of the Commune, was killed on the last day of the defense. With him fell the Commune.

**The heroic deeds of the Paris Commune are held in sacred memory by all the workers of the world. The spirit of the Commune has now been brought back to life by the Russian working class. Long live the Commune!**

# The Industrial Workers of the World

By Laura Payne Emerson

I stood by a city prison,
In the twilight's deepening gloom,
Where men and women languished
In a loathsome, living tomb.
They were singing! And their voices
Seemed to weave a wreath of light,
As the words came clear with meaning:
"Workers of the World, unite!"

As it was with Gallileo,
And all thinkers of the past,
So with these Industrial Workers,
Tyrants' shackles hold them fast.
In the bastiles of the nations,
They are bludgeoned, mugged and starved,
While upon their aching bodies
Prints of whips and clubs are carved.

Yet with spirits still unbroken
And with hope for future years
They are calling to their fellows:
"Come, arise! and dry your tears.
Wake, ye toilers, get in action,
Break your bonds, exert your might—
You can make this hell a heaven,
Workers of the World, unite!"

Hail! ye brave Industrial Workers,
Vanguard of the coming day,
When labor's hosts shall cease their cringing
And shall dash their chains away.
How the masters dread you, hate you,
Their uncompromising foe;
For they see in you a menace.
Threatening soon their overthrow.

John T. Murphy, delegate of the British Shop Stewards to the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, speaking in Moscow at the funeral of John Reed.

# Causes for War - 1921

M. SCELLE, professor of international law at Dijon University, presents an arresting classification of the causes for war, which he declares are more numerous in 1921 than in 1914. He lists them as follows:

1. A portion of Asiatic Turkey is pregnant with immediate conflict, even among the Allies. Four or five nations are engaged in this struggle.

2. Baltic competition is more bitter than ever.

3. The Saare Valley contains the germs of a conflict for the future.

4. The blaze may break out in the Ruhr at any moment.

5. Patchwork reconstruction of Poland, the Danzig corridor and the isolation of East Prussia are so many wasps' nests of trouble.

6. Silesia is a burning question. Teschen puts Poland and Czecho-Slovakia in brutal opposition.

7. Jugo-Slavia cannot achieve her unity.

8. Reactionary Hungary is simply awaiting her hour to spring upon her neighbors.

9. Austria cannot live alone.

10. Bulgaria is sulky and stealthily is plotting revenge.

11. Greater Greece of the Sevres Treaty is an absurd and impossible conception.

12. Roumania is threatened by her neighbors both on the Bessarabian and Transylvanian flanks.

13. Anglo-American rivalry.

14. Antagonism of the Japanese and Americans in the Pacific.

Over the whole dark picture the shadow of Bolshevism throws still darker gloom.

He ends this statement with an appeal to his fellow citizens to take new interest in foreign politics and to reject the dictations of secret diplomacy and extreme chauvinism.

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*A Journal of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism*

H. VAN DORN, Editor

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# Industrial Efficiency

INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY has been the by-word of big business for the past decade. Numerous study courses on that subject are today being given by various institutions. Many universities thruout the country are teaching business administration; statistics of economics and industrial and social research are being everywhere applied to the problems of life. Even the church has taken up the serious consideration of contests on the industrial battle ground. Research along similar lines has of late been conducted by many different bodies representing divergent interests and lines of thought.

The most interesting of these investigations is made public in the Steel Strike Report of the Inter-Church World Movement. It made a strong impression upon the leaders of industry, inasmuch as it was compiled by ethically-minded people of the upper class, who had no particular economic interest to defend, but simply stated the actual facts about the workers in the steel industry. This human document may become a public possession if Senator Walsh of Montana succeeds in his fight against the reactionaries.

Big business studies industrial efficiency from the point of view of profits. Its object is to "produce as much as possible for as little as possible"; in other words, to obtain "maximum production for minimum endeavor." It regards only money and machinery, forgetting the other two important factors in production, namely—men and management. These four must always be considered in any study of industrial efficiency.

Capitalist efficiency consists in producing an article as cheaply as possible. Capital regards labor as a mere commodity to be bought and sold in the open market. It is now working for the "open shop" as against the "closed shop," simply because it believes that by increasing the number of men without jobs it will decrease their wage-earning capacity, thereby decreasing labor costs. So many hours of labor enter into the manufacture of an article, so many capital charges enter into the same article: the capital charges and the labor charges are put in the same category by the business efficiency engineer.

Here is where the workers' engineer steps in and makes a clear-cut distinction between the manufacture of products for profit and the manufacture of products for the service of the community. Industrial efficiency has come to stay, and all that is necessary is to shift the point of view from the cost of commodities in terms of dollars and cents to the cost of commodities in terms of men and management.

The competitive system, which pitches one industry against the other in order to grind out of each the utmost production, is also bound to bring about a mental attitude of competition in every other department of the social system.

Industrial efficiency is not opposed by the worker as such, but only when it is practiced by the employer for the purpose of bringing the labor value down to its minimum, in order to increase the return on the capital investment. Labor then steps in and says that industrial efficiency should pass from the field of economics for economy into the field of sociology for ethics. It is the ethical value of men that must be considered in the struggle of contending groups within the same industry; even competition may have exerted a centralizing influence. Today it is the co-operative spirit in industry that will bring about a co-ordi-

nation of activities and will do away with wasteful processes.

The workers' viewpoint of industrial efficiency is that of experimentation. Paraphrasing St. Paul, we may say "Prove all industrial systems; fight those that are detrimental to the worker's growth, and approve those that improve his body and soul for the benefit of the community in which he lives."

In order to arrive at a co-ordinated system of efficiency it becomes absolutely essential for all industries to work in harmony with each other; that brings us to the need of an

## INDUSTRIAL CONSTITUTION.

The appearance of constitutions in many countries, and of many books in exposition of them, and of many leagues in defense of them, proves that there is a subconscious feeling of the value of constitutionality. Dr. Charles E. Beard's book on "The Economic Interpretation of the (Political) Constitution of the United States" is an attempt to interpret the American constitution from the industrial point of view. Inasmuch as that constitution was created one hundred and forty years ago, before the advent of industry, it became a purely political document intended to preserve the rights of the nation, but today it already has nineteen amendments, and each amendment has more and more of an economic and even a social significance, thereby detracting by that much from the political character of the constitution as a whole.

Allan L. Benson's book on "Our Dishonest Constitution" is another timely study bringing to light the endeavor of the master class to hide their "economic rights" behind political jargon.

The Mexican constitution of 1917, which became the horror of investors of capital in Mexico, was another attempt to bring the value of constitutionality into the field of economics.

Last, but not least, the constitution of the Russian Soviet Government is proof positive that industrial constitutions are indispensable for the efficient administration of industry.

America is not behind the times, having already shown the beginnings of the industrialization of its legal code. Governor Allen's Industrial Court in Kansas, carried to its logical conclusion, would bring about an industrial constitution with proportional functional representation of the different departments of the industrial system.

Here again, the worker has no objection to an industrial constitution. The question is to define what sort of an agreement the different industries will enter into within the social system of production and distribution; in other words, who shall be the party of the first part and who the party of the second part. Party of the first part are the workers of one industry, and party of the second part are the workers of the other industries; all, co-ordinated, become party of the first part as producers, as well as party of the second part as consumers. An industrial constitution, national, and even international, in its scope, is what the workers need; a constitution similar to that of the Industrial Workers of the World is necessary for the proper functioning of industry. Eventually it will become a fact, for the welfare of each is the concern of all.

In order to have embodied in this industrial constitution the fundamental principles of functional efficiency, it becomes necessary to have

## INDUSTRIAL REPRESENTATION.

Thru industrial representation we can have from the different activities of the industrial system a proportional representation of workers in each functional unit. Out of each functional unit in the different shops, we can get the committees representing the trades and professions within each department of the industrial system. Another growing evidence that industrial representation is becoming a functional necessity is that the old territorial representation with its constant gerrymandering does not prove at all effective in establishing industrial efficiency; rather, it is an obstacle to that end. But when each trade or profession within the industry has its proportional functional representation in that in-

dustry, and that industry again has its proportional synthetic representation within the economic system of co-ordinated industries, then we can say that we have arrived at a natural selection of the different workers within the industry, and men and management will then be fully represented as constituents of Labor's Commonwealth.

When the interests of the workers within their respective industries and within the economic system are truly represented, we can frame an industrial constitution which will make it possible for social efficiency to bring about the maximum of production with the minimum of endeavor, whereby the whole community will be benefited, and not merely, at as present, the private owners of industry.

This industrial representative body, meeting in assembly to frame an industrial constitution with the objective of efficiency, will bring to all the workers the economic justice for which they have been fighting. The class struggle will then be translated into human solidarity. Owners of industry will be, along with others, workers in industry, and the managers of industry will be the duly elected representatives of the industrial units, answering thereby the age-long cry for

**INDUSTRIAL EQUITY.**

The efforts of the Industrial Workers of the World in carrying on the work of its Bureau of Industrial Research is evidence of its desire to solve, for the benefit of the working class, the industrial problems that confront the workers of the whole world.

The I. W. W. Bureau of Industrial Research, thru The Industrial Pioneer, offers the hand of fellowship to all those who strive for industrial efficiency in the interest of the proletariat. Those who work for the interest of the capitalist class are challenged to defend their position by the presentation of facts, by arguments based on actual conditions in American industry.

We, the workers, do not beg for Christian charity; we demand economic justice and industrial equity. We are ready to prove that man was not made for industry, but that industry was made for man. Man, therefore, must receive first consideration.

Man—the source of labor, and labor—the life of man, are the only investments that demand a 100 per cent return. All production is for the producer: the worker is entitled to all the fruit of his toil. The Class Struggle must go on until capitalism is swallowed up in the victory of the working class. Then, and not till then, will civilization become a fact.

**Rafael Mallen,**
Labor Statistician.

# Industrial Research Bureau of the Industrial Workers of the World

The Bureau takes pleasure in announcing to the membership and officers of labor organizations its intention to carry on an extensive investigation into every field of activity of the present industrial system of competition.

To that end, the Bureau asks the co-operation of all those interested in the actual economic facts underlying the present system of production for profits, which disregards the welfare of the workers.

It urges every progressive organization to investigate its own industry, and to discuss with its membership the function it plays in the present class struggle.

The co-ordination of authentic data from the corresponding investigations shall be of mutual aid in determining what sort of an industrial organization the workers need. Intelligent thought must precede wise action.

**Rafael Mallen,**
Labor Statistician.

# Life on the New York Water Front

**By Card No. 200824**

IN these days of unemployment and hard times, it is interesting to observe the mode of life of the sea-faring men of the great port of New York. How life here has changed in the last eight or ten months! The port was then booming with capitalistic prosperity; every wage slave was a contented animal with his belly full of food and with whiskey a-plenty, easily obtained at the blind pigs for the moderate consideration of 50 or 75 cents per drink. The sailor, fireman and longshoreman worked hard and were content; the benevolent shipowner rubbed his hands and pocketed about nine-tenths of what his employees had produced. Hardly a ripple showed itself on the tranquil sea of docility. Yes, those were the happy days!

Now, however, the port presents a different picture: Ships are laid up by the hundreds, and more are added to them every day. The seamen have been thrown on the beach to shift for themselves, until at some time in the dim and distant future their masters will again require their services. The time has arrived for them to tighten their belts, for pork shops are hanging so high that they are quite out of reach. Some of these sailors, not being able to raise the 35 cents necessary to pay for a filthy bed at one of the numerous sailors' "uplift" institutes, have to "carry the banner" up and down the dirty, dark streets of the New York water front during these cold winter nights.

In New York there are a number of institutes whose specific purpose is the "uplift" of the strayed and wandering sons of the deep blue waves. First among them comes the "Seamen's Church Institute of America," with quarters in a magnificent mansion on South street, large enough to accomodate at least a thousand sailors every night. Besides this there is the Seamen's Friends Society, the Seamen's Service Center, the Seamen's Bethel, several reading rooms and a "Home" conducted by the valiant mates of the Red Triangle, the "great" Y. M. C. A., and several others.

By describing one of these institutes we will convey a fairly accurate idea of all of them. The first person the newcomer meets at the door is the private policeman, a former slugger and strong arm man from the Bowery, very likely an ex-strike-breaker and gun-man. If you cannot prove to his satisfaction that you are a bona fide seaman, you will find yourself in the next instant flying thru the air, having been propelled by a pair of strong arms and a stout boot. If, however, you are an honest-to goodnes sailor, you are welcomed with open arms, for you are the legitimate prey of the house. You are invited to rest there and recuperate from your arduous labors, and to gather enough strength to be able again to resume your noble calling at some time in the distant future.

The sailor's physical and spiritual needs are here well attended to. He sleeps in large, airy rooms, the approximate size being 5 by 8 by 8. The rooms are luxuriously furnished with a bed, a chair, a miniature table, a Bible and three clothes hooks, and also with a notice posted on the door informing him that the management is not responsible for anything that he may lose during his "visit". And the "losses" seem to be quite a common occurrence, as the underpaid employees of the house seem to have no hesitation in adding, now and then, to their meager wages by "pickings" from the roomers.

The banking department takes care of Jack's savings for an indefinite length of time,—without interest, of course;— the institution must have something for its trouble, don't you know. The restaurant supplies short rations at high prices, but the fact that it is located under the same roof where he sleeps makes Jack patronize it. So his physical needs are well taken care of as long as his money lasts.

So now we come to that highly important subject—the spiritual needs of our noble Jack. Here the institution is supreme, and I cannot help paying tribute to its versatility. Let us look at the program: Service, Sunday morning at 10:30 in the Chapel of our Savior; Bible class, Sunday afternoon at 2 P. M. in the Reading Room,—Mrs. Broomhandle, the house-mother, is the teacher; evening service and Home Hour at 7:30 P. M. in the Concert Hall. Besides extra services are held from time to time when a surplus of heathen seamen are around who need an extra lift on their thorny path to heaven.

Every Monday and Friday the sailors are treated to moving pictures and a concert, with a gospel service thrown in for good measure on Tuesday. The concerts, sometimes regular vaudeville performances, are entertaining, in a way, the singers and actors being mostly mediocrities from some obscure theatre. While they are parading their talents and exhibiting their ability, a philanthropic lady, interested in the welfare of African savages and American sailors, is thumping the piano. But far more interesting than the professionals are the amateurs, sweet young things from the different girls' schools in the city and vicinity, young ladies aspiring to become our future Geraldine Farrars and Anna Pavlovas. Tho their art is nothing to go into raptures about, and tho many of them strain their vocal chords terribly trying to reach the high C, all this is amply compensated for by the sight of their lithe bodies and fascinating limbs. I have seen the eyes of that crowd of sturdy seamen transfixed in a gaze of admiring wonderment, oblivious of all else under the sun.

Around the hall runs a gallery for specially invited guests, benevolent ladies and gentlemen who thru the medium of their dollars assist in guiding our faltering footsteps on the paths to heaven. The looks that these gentry bestow upon the stalwart Jacks are half curious and half amused, and remind one of the inquisitive gazes that visitors at a zoological garden throw at a strange species of animal.

Another highly popular diversion of the house is the checker games, and all day long one may watch the "sharks" skin the "suckers". On the oiled floor of the washroom one also often sees the dice rolling merrily along; of course, the private policeman comes every once in a while to "stop" the game, coughing loudly from a distance to give warning that he is coming.

The ministers of the gospel are in evidence everywhere; they are of all creeds and denominations, always ready with spiritual advice, always eager to put a fellow right with his heavenly captain. They occupy spacious offices tastily furnished with easy chairs, typewriters and beautiful stenographers.

* * *

The sailor in New York is a union man, a union man to the core is he: He is organized one hundred percent in the great American Federation of Labor. To be sure, five or six different organizations are represented on the same ship, but what of that? Are not all of them in allegiance bound to Brother Gompers, who has sacrificed his life-time for the cause of labor? What does a sailor know about the wants of a fireman, anyway, or a dishwasher about the wants of a messboy?

The sea-farer, having an unlimited amount of time on his hands, is hard pressed for a way to spend it, even tho the hunt for a new master consumes a good portion of it. So the Seamen's Union has started an educational campaign. Additional tables have been moved into their large hall and pinochle cards are being supplied free of charge. Checkers and dominoes are also quite popular. Of course, to make the games interesting they are generally played for "small stakes." It will readily be found, however, that besides being interesting these games are also the means of providing the old-time "sharpers" with a nice, soft living. According to a large sign on the wall, gambling is, of course, "strictly prohibited."

The maritime unions of America can be set down without exaggeration as the most trusted auxiliaries of the exploiting ship-

owners. One has only to listen to a speech by a delegate or secretary to realize what puppets they really are. A case in point is the hostility shown by the American unions towards the Marine Transport Workers of South America. They are the only unions that have refused to transfer members of the South American organization into their own, and they have even punished their own members for transferring into the M. T. W. All this because the M. T. W. organizes all the marine transport workers into one union, while the A. F. of L. organizes them into five or six. The very fact that employment agents, masters and mates of ships, clerks and others to whom the sailors apply for jobs, always ask for the union card, should be enough to put anybody on his guard and open his eyes to the fact that everything is not right with the worshipers of the clay idol Gompers.

So the time of the sailor in New York is fairly well occupied. He listens to honey-tongued ministers who tell him about the glorious golden cobble stones up above, he attends the free entertainments given by "uplift" societies, where he can admire the daughters of the petty bourgeoisie, he gambles in the union hall and shoots dice on the tiled wash-room floor of "his" institute. As long as he has money he is an all-around "good boy," and does not rebel against these conditions or against his sleek and well-fed union officials. When his money gets low he frequents the cheap "beef stew joints" on the water front, where the dishes are fine and ten cents cheaper than in the ordinary restaurants where working men eat. The authorities, by the way, have of late reported an alarming disappearance of cats and dogs in the city of New York; it is also being rumored that the lap-dog-nursing ladies of Fifth avenue and Riverside Drive are taking special precausions to protect their pets when taking them out for an airing. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the Bowery bread lines are growing longer day by day and a steadily increasing number of the toilers of the sea are showing a decided preference for that part of the city at a certain hour of the day.

So the sailor is forever swimming in a whirlpool of fake "uplift" services, tenth-rate leg shows, petty gambling and graft. No other class of workers is so skillfully cajoled by the puppets of the masters as the sea-faring men. Is it any wonder that they are so slow in realizing their degraded condition? Let us hope that the present lean years will make their gray matter more plastic and receptive of new ideas. Let us hope that the germ of industrial unionism will eventually penetrate the skulls of more and more seamen; it is reasonable to expect that it will, for as their stomachs will get emptier their vision will grow clearer.

Even now there are to be found on every outbound ship two, three or four red-card men, who generally bring back with them a number of converts at the end of the trip. These converts, fighters for the principle of industrial unionism, will keep multiplying until the maritime job trust of the American Federation of Labor will be overthrown and on its ruins will be built a real fighting organization of the toilers of the sea, the Marine Transport Workers of the World.

# The Inefficiency of Capitalism

**It is evident that our present industrial organization is faulty, just as the crude steam-engine is because it wastes energy. The charge of inefficiency, weakness, and crudity made against the present order need not be based upon sentiment about rich and poor or class jealousy, but upon mathematical calculations which can be made as soon as statistical departments turn their attention to the problem.**

**It is clear to any unprejudiced mind that a reorganization of industry is both necessary and desirable, not that one class may benefit at the expense of another, but that the energy and wealth wasted in an irrational system may be saved to humanity, and that the bare struggle for a living may not occupy the best hours of the workers' lives.**

**Charles Beard.**

# "Old Dry Bones"

**By W. I. Fisher**

IT WAS a warm, dry Saturday afternoon, the latter part of August. The wind blew gently and lazily in small gusts up the dusty, block-paved Fourth Street past the Quimby Hotel in Portland, Oregon. Down the street from the direction of Burnside came a tall, lanky "working-stiff" of the skinner type, as indicated by his easy, swinging stride and stiff-rimmed hat, so much in evidence with mule skinners of that period. As he ambled along he was suddenly stopped by a small "twister" that blew a diminutive cloud of dust in his face.

"Some whirwind," volunteered another lanky individual, sitting tipped back in his chair against the front of the Wobbly Hall.

"Y-e-s," returned the one addressed, in a peculiar drawl, in sharp contrast to the other fellow's quick, incisive tone. "Yes," he repeated, glancing up at a few small cumulus clouds that showed thru the murky atmosphere, "looks like a shower in a day or two."

The person addressed arose and offered to the stranger a chair and a copy of "The Industrial Worker," which the latter accepted, and after sitting down proceeded to read. After reading for a full half-hour the stranger laid the paper upon his knees and looked dreamily up toward the clouding sky.

"Well, what do you think of the paper?" asked the Wobbly with the calked shoes and stagged-off overalls.

"Oh, it's all right," assented the skinner, and relapsed into a dreamy, provoking silence. After enduring the silence for a few minutes the lumberjack asked:

"Just blown into town, Slim?" The latter nodded assent.

"Where from?" asked the lumberjack, whom we will call the Soap-boxer.

"Oh, from Idaho, worked on an irrigation ditch," returned the other, familiarly known as Idaho Slim.

Thereupon the Soap-boxer launched upon one of his famous discussions of the economic question, which continued for the next hour, and was joined into by a motley bunch that drifted in and took a hand in the argument. The discussion finally switched off to an attack upon the "sky pilots," which seemed to rile Idaho Slim.

"See here, fellows, let me tell you that you are gettin' nowhere by attackin' the church. You're only gettin' yourselves in trouble an' turnin' the religious people against you, an' you know you can't buck religion, for nearly everybody is religious."

For the next half hour the crowd was swamped in a fury of argument. Idaho Slim, overwhelmed by the rapid-fire pros and cons, became silent and let the Wobblies thrash it out. The Soap-boxer at last got up, stretched his arms and yawned.

"Well, who is going out to sell literature? Don't all speak at once," said he. Several volunteered.

"Better come along, Slim, I'm going to eat a bite and will be ready in an hour."

An hour later the soap-box was set up at Second and Burnside and the Soap-boxer held out for three quarters of an hour, propounding the gospel of industrial unionism.

"Well, Slim, what do you think of the I. W. W.?" he went right to the point after getting thru with his talk.

"The union's all right," came the evasive reply, "an' your ideas are good, but I don't care to join any union. But if I did, it would be the I. W. W."

"Why not join now?"

"Got my private reasons," returned Slim, slowly shaking his head.

"Well, good night, Slim, think it over," and the Soap-boxer departed.

He appeared at the hall the next morning about eight o'clock.

"Good morning," said he to the secretary. "Have you seen that long, dreamy streak of misery, that mule skinner from Idaho around this morning?"

The secretary looked up for a moment and shook his head.

"Well, I am going down the Columbia and will be gone a month or two, unless I get the can tied to me."

"When do you go?"

"Tonight," and out thru the door he went.

After wandering about town for a couple of hours he turned up Fourth Street and walked in the direction of the Plaza, situated across from the Court House. On a bench facing the "gunman" statue sat Idaho Slim.

"Good morning, Slim!"

Slim returned the greeting and presently the two men were engaged in a friendly conversation. Not a quarter of an hour had passed before the Soap-boxer again referred to the question of joining the union. Slim slowly shook his head and replied:

"I have my private reasons."

"What are they?"

"Well, since you seem to be a decent sort of a chap I will tell you altho I suppose you will think I am very superstitious. You see it is this way. While I don't ordinarily believe in dreams, yet this dream came to me three times and you know they say three times is a charm. I dreamed I was ridin' on a freight on the Inland Empire near the Idaho line, and the train went into a sidin' to let a mixed passenger and freight pass that runs up into that God-forsaken country. Me and another bo who

was beatin' his way was spied by the hard-boiled shacks and they wanted us to dig up or stay off. The con finally flourished a shootin' iron and told us to stay off unless we dug up. Well, the train pulled out without us. I was very thirsty and looked around for a place to get a drink. Across the track from us upon a little hill stood an old shack with a lean-to behind it. At the left a little way down-hill was an old scraggly-topped and gnarled bull-pine with a large boulder at its foot. The bo and me goes up to the shack and looks around but finds no water. The shack was padlocked, and so we goes around behind to the lean-to and finds an old shovel and pick. We pick them up and goes down to the bull-pine and begin to dig at the lower side of the boulder."

"What were you diggin' for?" said the Soap-boxer.

"Don't know, unless it was for water. However, we continued to dig until we struck a wooden box with rusted iron bands upon it. Well, we broke into it and lo, and behold!—a pile of gold! Genuine gold! Shinin' yellow gold! Well, we was excited some and the way we picked up that gold and let it run thru our fingers made our hearts flutter. Well, to make a long story short, we counted the whole bunch: fives, tens and twenties,—sixty thousand in all. Some pile! We divided it evenly, went and broke the lock off the shack and found several grain sacks, sacked it up, caught the next freight and beat it for God's country."

"The Soap-boxer smiled broadly, shook his head and said:

"You'e not banking anything on such stuff as dreams are made of?"

Idaho Slim slowly shook his head.

"Don't know as I do, but life is a gamble, and I might as well gamble on a dream as on cards or roulette. Perhaps it is an illusion, maybe Socialism is also. If it comes true I am in clover, if not, I do not lose anything."

"That's true, but what are you going to do while waiting for your fortune?"

"Just wait," said Slim with a finality that made the Soap-boxer look keenly at him and realize that he, also, would have to wait until Slim was ready to join the union.

"Well, good-bye, Slim, next time I see you I hope you will have a card."

* * * * *

Nearly three years passed. In the meantime the Soap-boxer had taken part in the Spokane free speech fight, the Aberdeen free speech fight, and the mill workers' strike in the latter town, and had just come into Portland from Salem, where a petty strike was on with the Oregon Electric. As a matter of course he turned toward the Wobbly Hall. As he entered his eye caught sight of a figure that seemed familiar. Looking a little closer he caught sight of a Wobbly button. When the man looked up the Soap-boxer recognized his old friend Idaho Slim.

"Hello, Idaho, see you've got a button, when did it happen?" Slim looked puzzled for a moment, then, recognizing his friend the Soap-boxer, he smiled, grasped his hand and replied:

"Nearly a year ago, am in it to the end, that is, until the parasites go to work."

"But," said the Soap-boxer with a quizzical smile, "how about the box of gold that you dreamed about you were to get?"

"Oh," said Slim, with a gesture of disgust, "everything came to pass just as I dreamed except—well, I'll tell you what happened. You see, last July I thought I'd take a trip up into that God-forsaken country out from Spokane on the Inland Empire railroad. Well, as the train got down along the Idaho line we went into a sidin' to let a mixed freight and passenger train pull by that came from that desolate state of Idaho. Well, as I climbed out of the box-car to shake myself a little another bo ambled out of the car ahead. Just then the head shack crawled over the train and sized us up.

" 'Where you headin' to?' We told him we were headed for Idaho.

" 'What yer ridin' on?

" 'Nothin'.

" 'It'll cost yer one buck to ride this train,' he said with an air of finality. Well, we argued the question and let him know that we didn't think him so important and if we took a notion we would ride anyhow. Seein' he did not make much impression upon us he went back and got the 'con.' The 'con' came up with a swagger and said:

"Do you bums think you're goin' to take this train?'

"I told him bein' as we were not in the habit of carryin' off freight trains we intended to let the train carry us. Boy, it would make you laugh to see how that riled him. His face got as red as a beet and he was silent with bustin' anger for a moment. Then, with a string of cuss words, he pulled out his smoke wagon and said:

" 'Damn your lousy hides, if I catch either one of you bums on this train when she starts up I'll jest see how well this shootin' iron will carry bullits thru your d—d carcass.'

"Well, he stood around with his smoke wagon in his hand until the train pulled out, when he swung into the caboose. The other bo looked at me and laughed:

" 'Some hard-boiled con!'

"Well, bein' quite thirsty I looked around to see if a place was near to get a drink. Across the track upon a small hill was an old homestead shack with a lean-to behind it. At the left, a short way down the hill, was a gnarled and scraggly-topped bull-pine that had at its foot on the lower side a large boulder, just exactly as I had seen it in my dream. Well, the other bo bein' thirsty, too, we both went up to the shack to see if we could get a drink. We didn't find any water around and the door bein' pad-locked we went back to the lean-to and there we found an old pick and shovel. In a flash it came

to my noodle that this was the very shack I had seen in my dream. Everything was there as it should be. The shack with the lean-to, the scraggly bull-pine with the rock at its lower side, the pick and the shovel. I then related my dream to the bo and he said:

" 'Well, may be there is somethin' in the dream. A little diggin' will tell the tale!'

"We grabbed the pick and shovel and went to work just like it was a case of life and death. Pretty soon after diggin' a little over two feet,—kerplunk!—the pick went right thru a rotten plank! In fact the whole box (for that was what it proved to be) was so rotten it was held together only by the iron straps."

"Well, what was in it?" interjected the Soap-boxer.

Idaho Slim shrugged his shoulders, made a deprecating gesture with a grimace of disgust, and replied:

"An old dry skeleton, probably a homesteader starved to death up in that God-forsaken country."

"What did you do then?" asked the Soap-boxer.

"Do? I was for quittin' then and there but the other bo wanted to dig some more and we dug about a foot more into the hardpan until it ran into solid rock, after which we quit. Well, the bo blamed me for it all and was as mad as a hornet, and started to walk to the station about six miles away toward Spokane, and me followin'. I was feelin' pretty blue myself and caught the next freight back to Spokane, got a job diggin' a sewer and on my first pay-day got this card."

With that Idaho Slim shoved his red card over to the Soap-boxer who took it, opened it, and after a thoro inspection remarked:

"See you are paid up for the year."

"Yes," said Slim, "and that's the way I'm going to keep it until we put the last parasite to work."

Replacing the card in his pocket Slim leaned forward and said, with an impressive gesture:

"Don't you see, Fellow Worker, that all the good the workers will receive from capitalism will amount to no more than was in that old abandoned grave at the foot of the old scraggly bull-pine—**OLD DRY BONES.**"

# Crafts on the Sea

**This Life, thru which we madly strive,**
**Is but a narrow sea**
**Between two vast, two boundless shores,**
**Unknown Eternity.**

**Each in his frail craft launches out**
**From one dark, shadowy land,**
**And we know that at least the storm-tossed boat**
**Will reach the other strand.**

**One soul, sailing o'er the mysterious sea,**
**Striving some goal to reach,**
**Is like to one shining, foam-washed shell—**
**One shell on the far-stretching beach.**

**For some the journey is o'er when commenced,—**
**For some it is four-score years;**
**And the joys and woes are as one glistening drop—**
**One drop in an ocean of tears.**

**We contend with each other for power and wealth,—**
**A wealth that is rotten at core;**
**And our jostling and striving is merely a race**
**That hurries us on to the shore.**

**In doubt and despair we cry aloud**
**To those gone on before;**
**But echo alone makes faint reply**
**From that dimly outlined shore.**

**Mrs. J. C. Coons.**

# "California Oranges"

By J. A. Stromquist

IN THE popular mind the words "California" and "oranges" are complementary. This is not to be wondered at, for California's production of citrus fruits,—oranges, lemons and grapefruit, with lesser quantities of limes, citrons, etc.—is larger than that of any country in the world. Confining ourselves to the United States alone, California produces several times as much fruit as Florida, her nearest competitor, and altho several other states, such as Arizona, Texas, Mississippi and Louisiana, produce considerable quantities, their combined production is not large enough to make any appreciable showing alongside of the huge total of the Golden State. According to the statistics for 1920, just published, California produced in that year 18,700,000 boxes of oranges and 4,500,000 boxes of lemons. The gross returns to the growers were, for the oranges at the rate of $2.75 per box, $51,425,000.00, and for the lemons, priced at $0.60 per box, $2,700,000.00.

As may well be surmised, orange growing is not a game for the "poor man", and the "cockroach" type of labor exploiter has been quite effectually frozen out as well, a fact over which the average Wobbly will shed no tears. Here and there can be found a few five acre groves, but "commercial groves" are ten acres and up—mostly "up"—there being holdings of several hundred and even thousand acres. The picking, packing and marketing of the fruit is done co-operatively by a number of "fruit growers' associations". These "co-operative associations" are part of the fruit trust, and among them may be found such giants as the Earl Fruit Co., Armour and Co., of Chicago, which in addition to the citrus fruits, also handles all kinds of dried and canned fruits and vegetables, as well as several other well-known corporations.

In an economic undertaking of the magnitude of the citrus fruit industry there are required, of course, the "services" of a great number of wage slaves, a great portion of these—possibly a majority —being "itinerants", employed only during the picking and packing season. Taking California as a whole, the season extends from the latter part of October till the beginning of June. However, this must not be taken to mean that employment in any one district is continuous for that length of time. As far as citrus growing is concerned, California is divided into two separate districts. The first, which has the greatest production, comprises what is generally known as Southern California, the chief producing counties being San Bernardino, Riverside, Los Angeles and Orange. The fruit in this district attains maturity starting with the month of January, and the picking is usually finished by the first of May, except in Orange County, where,

WASHINGTON NAVELS

WASTE LANDS IN THE ORANGE BELT. FROM SMILEY HEIGHTS, REDLANDS, CALIF.

owing to the cooling winds and fogs from the Pacific, the fruit is longer in maturing, and picking sometimes goes on thruout July and even August. The other district, which has rapidly developed within recent years, comprises parts of the great interior San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys. Here, owing to the great summer heat and absence of fogs and sea-breezes, the fruit matures earlier than in Southern California, and picking generally commences about the first of November and is finished about Christmas time. The methods of picking and wages paid are also somewhat different in the two districts. In the Central California district (contained, mainly, within Tulare County) the fruit is rushed off the trees, as fast as possible and without too much regard for ripeness and digestibility, in order to reach the "early market". The "inspection" to which the fruit is submitted—in order to ascertain that is possesses a certain sugar-content which accompanies ripeness—is, of course, largely a farce, like all similar "supervision" under the profit system. Owing to the "rush", as well as to the fact that picking in this district commences before the usual winter slowing-down of other work has fully set in, the wages there have been generally better than in Southern California. However, a great deal of the work is done on the piece-work basis, at so much per lug-box, and this gives a chance to the strong-backed and weak-headed seizzorbill —who belongs to the same species of animal as the "jypo" in the timber country—to "wade in" and try to kill himself, which would be a small loss, indeed, were it not that all others have to suffer for his sake. Before the war the prices for picking, in the Tulare district, varied from 4 to 6 cents per box, according to the quality of the picking and the state of the labor market. After the war had produced a shortage of labor the average price jumped to 7 or 8 cents per box, and in certain cases as much as 10 cents was paid. What this means may be understood when I say that only a very fast picker can pick his hundred boxes per day, and keep it up. In order to accomplish that it is essential that the trees be of fair size, well kept and bearing a heavy crop of good-sized fruit. It is needless to say that those conditions are not often to be found. Therefore, allowing for all types of trees, and sizes of fruit, as well as for poor crops, it is safe to say that the average day's pick does not come over thirty boxes. Hence it will be seen that the wages leave considerable room for improvement. When paid by the hour, 50 to 60 cents was the rule in this district during the season just closed. The principal centers in the Tulare County district are Porterville, Lindsay and Exetu.

In Southern California the picking is usually done by day-work,—nine hours being considered a "day". The picking is largely done by the packing-houses, with "gangs" of about six men each under a "straw-boss", with a "picking-boss" visiting the various orchards where picking is going on, and acting as overseer. The wages paid here are always lower, the picking being done in mid-winter and early spring, when there is always a surplus of labor. As far back as 1910 the day's wage used to be two dollars, or a little over 22 cents per hour. In 1914—after the cost of living had begun to "skyrocket" —the hard pressed slaves could endure it no longer

ORANGE GROVES, REDLANDS, CALIF.

and in Redlands (one of the principal centers), they "took the bit in their teeth" and actually went on strike. This strike of the unorganized—partly due to the agitation of a few "old-time" Wobblies—was finally lost, tho stubbornly fought. The cause of failure was the usual one,—**lack of solidarity among the slaves and perfect solidarity among the masters,**—here represented by the large orange growers and packing house corporations. But shortly after, due to the increasing scarcity of "help" they found it expedient to raise the rate by degrees until in 1920 it stood at $3.60 per day, or 40 cts. per hour. In the same year the pickers also insisted upon free transportation to and from work, and "made it stick". This is an item of importance, as many orchards are situated several miles away from the workers' "homes". Considering that the hours of labor have not been lowered, these gains were very small indeed. Now the wages have been cut to 35 cts per hour, even lower in some localities, and transportation has been discontinued. Add to this the fact that winter in South California is the "rainy season", much time being lost on this account, and it will be seen that the slaves in the orange growing district are now even in a worse position than they were before the war.

Concerning orange-picking as an occupation, it cannot be denied that for those who relish outdoor life in a generally pleasant climate it has its advantages. The surrounding scenery is often inspiring, and the golden fruit, vividly set off against the dark green of the trees, is a lovely sight. But orange-picking is an occupation requiring considerable strength and agility, which bars the employment of women and children. After a day's toil the "orange glommer" is usually "all in", and has not much stomach for romantic reflections. In picking a canvas sack is used, weighing, when full, about 50 lbs. It is carried suspended by a strap over the shoulder. Also, each picker carries a ladder, which has to be moved at least four times for each tree. The picking is done with a small clipper, and great care has to be exercised in order not to cut or bruise the fruit, thus leading to its deterioration in storage, and to this end the "bosses" watch with jealous care. There are many other drawbacks. For instance, early in the season, before the rains have commenced, the trees are often very dusty with black smut—an excretion of the black scale-insect which infests the groves—mingled with fertilizer, etc. As a result the unlucky "glommer" returns after his day's work as "black" as the proverbial "nigger", and badly needing a bath. This condition, however, is improved after the rains. In badly pruned trees the hands are often torn by brambles and dead-wood. Even the much-boasted California climate is not without its drawbacks. For example, in January—which is here the one month of real winter,—the morning temperature is often as low as 30 and 25 degrees above zero; while this may seem a mere trifle to the Easterner, here, where noon of the same day may show as high as 80 degrees, the effect is felt very keenly. A temperature of 30 degrees is near the "danger point" for oranges, and when it goes lower, as it sometimes does,—they freeze. Picking oranges on a morning when the temperature is, say, 30 degrees above, and everything is overlaid with a heavy hoar frost, is no joke. The yellow spheres are like ice-balls, and one's hands become paralyzed and "achy", until the sun climbs high

enough to warm things up a bit. The melting frost, dripping off the leaves as water, wets one to the skin. Finally, most orchards are planted in peas, vetch, etc., or allowed to grow up in rank weeds, as a cover-crop,—and this miniature "jungle", dripping with water, soaks one's feet and is a frequent cause of colds and rheumatic attacks. Again, in the latter end of the season—say, in April and May—the "orange-glommer" often swelters in a temperature of 100 degrees, and over, in the shade. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, there is a charm about the orange country that attracts annually thousands of wage-slaves, and with the attainment of a "decent" standard of wages and working conditions—possibly only thru organization on the I. W. W. plan—it would, no doubt, furnish a pleasant change to many slum-bound workers, while waiting for the final end of capitalist misrule.

Organization has never yet been attained among the "gatherers of the golden fruit". Gompers and his "inner circle" of labor-fakirs, have not yet seen a way whereby to levy on "the orange-glommers" for their support; nor has the I. W. W. ever made a sustained and consistent effort to gather them under its banner. To be sure, in the "good old days" of the early I. W. W., there were, for a time, "mixed locals" maintained in Redlands, and one or two other localities. These organizations were, however, mere propaganda centers, kept alive by a few enthusiasts, and in form unfitted to cope with centralized capitalist control of the citrus industry; they never got much of a foothold among the slaves. This field, therefore, is practically a virgin one, and the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W. should not need to be told of the importance of "tackling the job"—and **soon.** With the present conditions and temper of the workers here, I feel safe in asserting that **a determined and persistent effort could not fail of bringing great results.** Let us remember that the "orange-glommer" during the "off season" works as a lumberjack, construction worker, or at gathering deciduous fruit, or vegetables, in other sections of California. Therefore, by getting him "on the inside" we will close a dangerous gap in our A. M. I. U. in the west. On the other hand, let us not forget that by organizing the citrus industry we will be "up against" the Earl Fruit Co., Armour and Co., et. al., and will thus be putting the axe to the root of the gigantic **food-trust,** which now monopolizes the nation's food-supply, thereby preparing ourselves to victualize the coming industrial revolution. Let us also recollect that "man liveth not by bread alone", but also by fruit, vegetables, esculent roots, peas, beans, etc., etc.—all of which are produced in California in the greatest abundance. Let us therefore not be content with the annual "harvest field drive", in the corn and wheat producing states of the Middle West. Let the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union—as an organization—get behind this, and when the year's harvest drive ends up in North Dakota let the organizers and all other foot-loose Wobblies hie themselves to the orange groves of California, and continue there the good work. On the whole—especially as compared with the East, or Middle West—the California climate is pleasant in winter, and **the oranges are good to eat**—just as good for a Wobbly as for a bloated parasite.

The difficulties are many, it's true. Large numbers of Philippinos, Japanese and Mexicans—who are difficult to reach—complicate the problem. **But these difficulties must, and can, be overcome. It is a matter of urgent necessity for the A. W. I. U. of the Industrial Workers of the World to attend to this matter of organizing the California fruit pickers, and to do it soon.**

**By the time this article reaches the readers of "The Industrial Pioneer" the present orange-season will be nearly over, it will be high time to lay plans for a comprehensive campaign for next winter, and this is earnestly recommended for the favorable consideration of the next convention of the A. W. I. U. But whether the convention acts or not, let the call go out for all determined and foot-loose Wobblies "to make tracks" for California next fall; to arrive at Exeter, Lindsay or Porterville by Oct. 15th to Nov. 1st. Let us organize the orange-belt and get ready to "glom" the beautiful golden fruit for ourselves.**

TWO "GOOD" MEN AND — BLIND.

# Technique and Revolution

By G. Cannata

(Continued from the February Number.)

## CHAPTER III.

### INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUE AND THE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

THE difficulties that the proletarian regime has met in Russia on the field of production have caused considerable discussion in revolutionary circles as to the future problems in the management of industry. It has been said "that the workers must develop their technical ability," and begin to exercise under capitalism a certain share in the control and management of the various industries. The Industrial Workers of the World has already established a Bureau of Industrial Research and many revolutionists have advised that the workers pay more attention to the technical functioning of the shops in which they work.

I believe I have demonstrated in the previous chapter that the industrial collapse which we have witnessed in Russia is due almost exclusively to causes of a local and particular nature which a proletarian regime will not be called upon to face in the home of modern capitalism—western Europe and America. If we are witnesses today to critical conditions in the economic life of these regions, such is the case because capitalism as a politico-economic system is disintegrating before our eyes; its underlying principles offer no way out of the morass in which the entire world has been thrust by its last and most monstrous crime—the World War.

Still this moral failure of capitalism is co-existent with the maximum technical development of its industries. During the war, industrial science has made notable advance in practically all the belligerent countries; splendidly equipped mechanical establishments have sprung into existence in new localities. Today, the healthiest part of the capitalist structure, the part which the revolutionary workers must inherit intact, is organized productive industry. To a communist world, which has different factors determining the rate of the productive process, a factory today in idleness has the same potential value as one in full function; for capitalism, it is a sign of crisis and bankruptcy.

Even tho the problems of industrial management which the workers' regime must face in the western countries are not as complicated or difficult as many people think, the fact remains that the subject is still of sufficient importance to merit the serious attention of the labor organizations today. The essential business of the fighting organs of labor is that of building up working-class power for the final overthrow of the capitalist system and for the exercise of **political domination** after the revolution in order that all measures taken may reflect the class interests of the proletariat. The problem of revolution is primarily a problem of power; it is merely as a secondary, but still very vital matter, that the revolutionary workers must consider the subject of future industrial management.

The revolutionary environment is at present infested with dilettanti literateurs and "philosophers"; it would be quite a calamity if the interest in industrial science should now produce a similar crop of technico-scientific "experts." Technicians are not made overnight by the reading of a book, or by a few months' course of study. Studies of this nature require a secondary school education as preparation, to be followed by at least a four-years' evening school course; the resultant "technician" will then be innocent as a new-born babe until he has had several years' assiduous practice in actual industrial work. It is practically out of the question, then, that any number of revolutionary workers should make a particular effort to become industrial engineers; in most cases, they do not have the necessary preparation, and the exhausting labor of the shops does not leave any surplus mental energy for evening study. It is not by measures of this kind that the problem must be met.

The industrial technicians in modern industrial countries are no longer a privileged caste; the popularization of university education brings scientific studies within the reach of the sons of the workers, as well as of the various bourgeois groups. Many technicians in the United States today are the sons of workingmen, and because of their superabundance, their social status is not far removed from that of the manual laborers. A recent circular of the American Association of Engineers, a very "respectable" organization of technicians counting over 25,000 members, makes the following comment on the present sorry plight of this category of producers:

> For a long time it has been generally known that engineering has been the least appreciated and poorest paid profession. A large part of the work of engineers has consisted of designing, constructing and operating projects for financiers who have taken most of the credit and practically all of the profits. Most engineers are employees and there is a tendency on the part of the general public to consider engineers as a whole as members of a technical trade rather than as members of a profession on a par with law and medicine.

This depreciation in the social prestige of the technicians has already given birth to several at-

tempts at professional unionization among them; the American Federation of Labor organized a National Local of Technicians over three years ago which today counts thousands of adherents. This in spite of the fact that trade unionism applied to the peculiar situation of the technician is a most ridiculous enterprise predestined to certain failure. A category of workers which totals only a very small per cent of the factory personnel, and whose work has no very immediate effect on production, is by itself absolutely impotent before the power of the employers.

The attempt to draw the technicians within the sphere of labor unionism must not, however, be abandoned; the proposition ought to be tentatively advanced even at this early stage, and it will certainly find fulfillment during the final phases of the workers' growing control over industry. This work can be efficiently accomplished only by the revolutionary industrial unions, which are already conscious of their historic function and are preparing "the new society within the shell of the old." In Italy, where the power of the workers' organizations is a social factor that practically overshadows all other centers of moral cohesion, the revolutionary labor unions are already in a position to talk very definite business on equal footing with the technicians, and are taking the necessary steps to assure their co-operation to an eventual proletarian control of industry following a revolution.

The industrial union that has developed power can really offer a valid help to the technician in his efforts to better his conditions, if the latter will place at the disposal of the union his extremely useful education and knowledge of industry. An understanding between the revolutionary proletariat and the industrial technicians is much to be desired in the pre-revolutionary period; to the extent that it is possible, the latter must be convinced that his place in the class-struggle is by the side of the manual workers with whose co-operation the functioning of modern industry is rendered possible.

The industrial unions that have reached a certain considerable development ought to create a literature covering in a descriptive way the history, development and technical functioning of the industry. This literature would serve to implant in the workers general notions on the industries in which they work and the problems thereof, and will render them competent to exercise their share of control in industry during the revolutionary period. With this object in view, I believe, the Industrial Workers of the World has established its Bureau of Industrial Research, and if the literature issued by this institution is compiled with competence, the I. W. W. will again have placed itself in the vanguard of all labor organizations in matters that affect the vital interests of the workers.

The labor organizations have another duty to perform in relation to the future exigencies of industrial technique, namely, they must make their organic structure conform to the structure of productive industry itself. In the amount of study and attention that has been given to this subject and in the perfection of the organization plans, the I. W. W. towers above all other labor bodies in the world.

The I. W. W. organizes the workers in **factory** and **job** units, in **industrial branches** and in **industrial unions**; each organization unit attempts to organize **all** the workers in a given industry, from the most inexpert laborer to the most famous technician. This autonomous organization of producers, in carrying out its anti-capitalist struggle, will gradually force from capitalism part of its profits and of its authority over industry, and prepare in its bosom the future forms of industrial management, to be applied when capitalism is overthrown.

The essential function of the labor organizations today is the preparation for the **capture** of capitalist industry; incidentally, they must study the problems of **management** and take the steps necessary to assure the continuance of production during and after the revolutionary period.

## CHAPTER IV.

## INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUE UNDER COMMUNISM.

In spite of the fact that the capitalist era will stand out in history as the period in which the theoretical sciences and industrial technique have had their greatest development, there are characteristics and tendencies inherent in the present system of production which circumscribe and limit the application of science to industry with the object of reaching the maximum of perfection and efficiency.

The fact is that while the industrial specialists enjoy a certain amount of freedom and authority within the bounds of the productive unit, the more general and more important measures affecting industry as a whole are discussed and decided in the offices of the corporations by speculators, financiers and promoters, sometimes without even consulting competent engineers, and always from the viewpoint of prospective **profit** rather than the exigencies of production.

The capitalist system is essentially a system of production for **profit**; this is the original sin that corrupts the morale of modern industry. Such a system may to some extent fill the needs of humanity, but always with the accompaniment of enormous waste and losses in the productive economy; the markets are today glutted with useless and even harmful products which have only one all-sufficient merit: **they will sell.** Relatively inefficient industrial enterprises are able to continue operations solely because they function within a large margin of profit; new precesses, inventions and vast projects are often not applied because the immediate effect of their application would be damaging to some of the established industries. The profit-motive in industry acts like a deadly poison in demoralizing and

perverting production at the very source. Every far-sighted technician must realize that all his efforts towards efficiency and perfection in industry are often drawn by his employer into useless or even harmful channels.

Another obscure aspect of the present system of production is revealed by the attitude of the manual workers towards their daily task. A system based on oppressive authority in the factory must of necessity bring with it those manifestations of class antagonism which so often paralyze and demoralize industry. A worse factor, perhaps, than the incessant strikes and lockouts which characterize modern industrial warfare is the attitude of continuous indifference and hostility which the worker under capitalism displays.

The bourgeoisie, which was once able to inspire ingenuous and ambitious youths to prodigies of creative effort thru the mirage of success and riches, has to-day lost the faith of most workers, who are turning elsewhere for a new source of inspiration and enthusiasm. It is impossible to exaggerate this moral bankruptcy of capitalism which is so clearly observable in detail in these first years that follow the World War.

How can there ever be real efficiency or a fruitful application of industrial science to an economic world saturated with antagonism, disorder, confusion and indifference? Only a solution which will remove the causes of proletarian discontent and give birth to a new feeling of responsibility, co-operation and enthusiasm in the ranks of the workers will cure the ills of present-day society. This is the historical task of Industrial Communism.

Even in the direct utilization of the possibilities of industrial improvement, the bourgeoisie has not used excessive intelligence and competence. In its origin, the capitalist class was energetic, enterprising and even adventurous, ready for any speculation which promised profits. But in the subsequent phases of industrial development which brought about the establishment of the great productive enterprises, inexhaustible sources of rich earnings, the bourgeoisie assumed different psychological attitudes. A conservative and cautious spirit animated many of the industrial "nouveau riches," who were excessively proud of the methods which had made them rich. This species of "self-made" captain of industry, quite free from any scientific culture or technical competence, is quite common in new and rich countries like America; they could not exist in the environment of intensive and refined exploitation of western Europe.

Among the modern nations Germany is probably the only one which has elevated technical science to a primary asset in world eminence. In certain branches of the practical sciences, its accumulations of literature, knowledge, systems and personnel have no equals in the entire world. It was essentially this technical superiority that gave to Germany before and during the war that enormous productive power so notably out of all proportion to her visible resources.

There is no reason why the entire world should not be quickly brought up to the same standard of productive efficiency. To-day, however, technical knowledge is purposely monopolized and hidden, by nations as well as by companies and individuals; such are the deleterious effects of capitalist usances in relations to industrial technique.

What would be the probable attitude of the workers in power towards this factor? How would communism affect the application of modern industrial science to production?

First of all, communism in industry substitutes cooperation for competition; centralized management for individualistic and socially irresponsible control. Production would have as its motive the satisfaction of social needs, and not the gathering of profits; it would be logically ordered on the basis of scientific calculation and thru a system of universal accounting, in order to always maintain a perfect balance between production and consumption, avoiding the periodic crises of overproduction and starvation which travail capitalist society.

The productive organism will be pervaded by an ever-present sense of social responsibility, and in general the criteria that will inspire industry will be those of the revolutionary proletariat coming into power. This class is to-day animated by a bold experimental spirit on the politico-economic field which coincides well with the mental attitude of industrial technicians, essentially explorers and pioneers in the practical sciences.

We may well foretell that communism, which is the antithesis of capitalism in every respect, will solve all the problems raised by the present moral decadence of capitalism. Even in Russia, torn by a thousand difficulties of local character, communism already serves as the inspiration to a great healing effort of industrial reconstruction. This is what a hostile critic, Bertrand Russell, writes on the subject:

> "The third class in the bureaucracy consists of men who are not ardent Communists, who have rallied to the Government since it has proved itself stable, and who work for it either out of patriotism or because they enjoy the opportunity of developing their ideas freely without the obstacle of traditional institutions. Among this class are to be found men of the type of the successful business man, men with the same sort of ability as is found in the American self-made trust magnate, but working for success and power, not for money. There is no doubt that the Bolsheviki are successfully solving the problem of enlisting this kind of ability in the public service without permitting it to amass wealth as it does in capitalist communities. This is perhaps their greatest success so far outside the domain of war. It makes it possible to suppose that, if Russia is allowed to make peace, an amazing industrial development may take place, making Russia a rival of the United States. The Bolsheviki are industrialists in all their aims;

> they love everything in modern industry except the excessive rewards of the capitalists."
> (The Nation: July 31, 1920)

And this is what Robert Williams, a member of the English Trade Union and Labor Party Delegation to Russia, observed there:

> "I saw the great engineering works of Putiloff and Somora near Nijni Novgorod and observed the heartiest cooperation between the management and workers. In fact I found in all departments of industry, trade-unionists and their leaders cooperating with technicians and commissars. The truth is that while in capitalist Europe generally capital and labor are at death grips, in Russia the government and the people are cooperating and coordinating in a most remarkable manner. The world needs no further proof that men and women will make sacrifices for social and collective well-being, while they will hamper output and stultify organization under a capitalist regime where private profit is the only motive and rewards are for the privileged few."
> (The Liberator, August, 1920.)

In relation to production, then, communism may be considered as a liberating impulse which will bring into play in the great army of producers all the potential forces of hand and brain, today repressed by a system of discord and oppression.

In the new society of free producers, the industrial technicians working in full cooperation with the manual workers, and animated by a new enthusiasm, will accomplish that perfection in industry which will give to the world the material well-being, and the eternal splendor which distinguishes the civilizations of the Great Builders.

IN UNION THERE IS STRENGTH

# The Wastes of War

**By The I. W. W. Bureau of Industrial Research**

## INTRODUCTION

ONE of the major wastes attributable to the present industrial system is war, and the preparation for war. Such waste may be classified into the following main headings:

1. Men killed and wounded in battle.
2. Men withdrawn from production to serve in armies.
3. Men and women withdrawn from production of necessities to make war munitions, and carry on war services.
4. Property destroyed in battle—arable lands, live stock, ships, etc.
5. Raw material wasted in manufacture of war munitions—powder, guns, projectiles, battleships, tanks, aircraft, barbed wire, etc.
6. Death and disease among civilian population due to epidemics, starvation, shortage of doctors, nurses and medical supplies—caused by war.
7. Eugenic weakening of racial stocks due to fact that those most fitted to be vigorous fathers are at the front.

Thus in war, and to a less extent in preparation for war, a large fraction of the able-bodied population ceases to produce the things—the food, shelter, clothing, fuel, power, etc.—which society needs to maintain itself, and goes over to productive idleness in armies, or the production of munitions of war having no other purpose than to damage and destroy. As a result the remainder of the population, which is still producing, have to support not only themselves but this vast unproductive mass of fighters and war-workers.

**Diversion of Labor Due to War in the United States. ***

| Occupation. | Number. | 1918 Per Cent. of Male Producers |
|---|---|---|
| Men in France fighting | 1,400,000 | 4.7% |
| Men in France behind lines | 600,000 | 2.0 |
| Men in army in U. S. | 1,700,000 | 5.7 |
| Men in navy | 550,000 | 1.8 |
| Total men in army and navy | 4,250,000 | 14.2 |
| Men in war work in U. S. | 7,150,000 | 23.8 |
| Total unproductive men | 11,400,000 | 38.0 |
| Men in non-war work in U. S. | 18,600,000 | 62.0 |
| Total men of producing age | 30,000,000 | 100.0 |
| Old men and boys | 24,000,000 | |
| Total males in U. S. | 54,000,000 | |

From this table it is clear that during 1918, 38 per cent., or more than a third of all males of producing age, were either in the army or doing war work. It cannot be taken for granted that all of them were unproductive, for some war workers continued to produce, or at least to assist in the distribution of the necessities of life—food, clothing, etc.; but the great majority were absolutely unproductive, and had to be supported by the remaining productive workers. Thus the war brought about a waste of at least a third of the man-power of the United States. In the belligerent countries of Europe, the ratio is known to be very much larger, England, for instance, with a population of 46 millions, or less than half of ours, maintained 5 million men under arms, necessitating the withdrawal from civil life of over one-half of all producing males.

It is known that in 1917, 38 million men in the world were under arms, and it has been computed that for the four and one-half years of the great war, an average of 20 million men were constantly in the field, necessitating the non-productive work of at least 80 million men behind the lines (ratio 4 to 1)—a total of 100 millions of the world's able-bodied producers doing nothing more valuable than trying to kill each other, and destroy the earth's carefully constructed physical property—its farms, factories, cities, ships and raw material.

In the United States, in addition to the men engaged in war work, the War Department reports, for 1918, 2,250,000 women withdrawn from the ranks of producers to do war work.

## WAR CASUALTIES.

The most careful record yet available of the casualties of the great war has been compiled by Professor L. Bogart of the University of Illinois. His figures are as follows:

**Casualties of the Great World War.**

| | Known Dead | Seriously Wounded | Otherwise Wounded | Prisoners or Missing |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All. Pow. | 6,938,519 | 3,437,740 | 8,516,497 | 4,653,522 |
| Cent. Pow. | 3,060,252 | 2,857,772 | 5,485,542 | 1,330,078 |
| Total | 9,998,771 | 6,295,512 | 14,002,039 | 5,983,600 |

Of the "prisoners and missing" it has been estimated that at least half must be added to the total of the dead—as modern warfare, among other things, has perfected the science of blowing the soldier into unrecognizable atoms with a high degree of efficiency. Making this allowance, and also classifying the wounded according to hospital averages of recovery, the total casualties (of combatants) may be restated thus:

* Report of Secretary of War 1919.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Dead—** | | |
| Known dead | 9,998,771 | |
| Presumed dead (½ missing) | 2,991,800 | |
| | | 12,990,571 |
| **Wounded—** | | |
| Restored to normal 44.5 % | 9,032,410 | |
| Ability permanently reduced 52 % | 10,554,761 | |
| Totally disabled for life 35 % | 710,434 | |
| Total wounded | | 20,297,605 |
| Total easaulties so far as known | | 33,288,176 |

That the world war was infinitely more bloody than any previous wars, is well illustrated by the following table:

**Loss of Life in 19th Century Wars.**

| | Dead. |
|---|---|
| Napoleonic wars, 1790-1815 | 2,100,000 |
| Crimean, 1854-'56 | 785,000 |
| Prussian-Danish, 1864 | 3,500 |
| Prussian-Austrian, 1866 | 45,000 |
| American Civil War, 1861-'65 | 700,000 |
| Franco-Prussian, 1871 | 184,000 |
| English-Boer, 1899-1902 | 9,800 |
| Russian-Japanese, 1904 | 160,000 |
| Balkan, 1912-'13 | 462,000 |
| Total | 4,449,300 |

War tends to undermine the health of soldiers in a very serious way, quite apart from wounds. Thus mustard gas affects the eyes of 72 per cent. of its victims, rendering them permanently blind. Trench fever affeets permanently the heart-action of 20 per cent. of those suffering from it. Shell shock has wrecked many good men for life. It is reported that of 2,437,450 German soldiers in hospitals in June, 1916, 750,000 were suffering from pulmonary tubereulosis, 600,000 from heart and nerve diseases, and 500,000 from intestinal diseases. During the first year of the war 86,000 men were dismissed from the French army beeause of tubereulosis, tho they were physically sound when aeeepted. Cerebro-spinal fever raged in the British army (a trench disease) in 1915, and its survivors are reported in most eases as eomplete physical wrecks.

**Civilian Casualties.**

The Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918, was a direet outeome of the war. It killed 6 millions of people over the world, of whom 1,250,000 were in the United States.

Famine, disease and starvation exacted a toll estimated at 800,000 in Roumania. Serbian and Austrian eivilians killed by famine, "spotted typhus" and disease totalled 1,000,000. Two million eivilians perished in Russia during the war from war eauses, and of Poland in 1916, it was elaimed that "one-third of a generation, the youngest, has practieally eeased to exist due to famine, pestilence and starvation." At the end of the war, an American traveling thru Poland found that ehildren under six years of age had almost all perished. The loss of civilian life in Germany due to war causes has been placed at 813,000. Over 100,000 civilians died on the high seas because of mines, submarines, etc. Unknown thousands perished by reason of air raids.

In fact, it may be fairly estimated, according to Professor Bogart, that as many civilians lost their lives due to the war, as did soldiers in the field, thus bringing the total number of deaths for which the war was responsible up to about **25 millions.**

It has been estimated that to replace the numbers lost by war casualties in the male population between 20 and 44 years of age, will require 10 years for Great Britain, 12 years for Germany, 38 years for Italy, and 66 years for France.

**Money Costs of the Great War.**

The expenditures of the various governments for war purposes do not give more than a general picture of the wastes involved. Inflation of currency, failure to distinguish the physical quantities of material and plant diverted and destroyed, combine to render money costs unreliable as a true index of what the world has lost by reason of the war. Some idea of the staggering expenditures involved, however, can be gathered from the following table, which shows the money eost to the end of the war only. Since November, 1918, vast additional sums have been spent:

| | |
|---|---|
| Great Britain | $ 35,334,000,000 |
| France | 24,313,000,000 |
| United States | 22,625,000,000 |
| Russia | 22,594,000,000 |
| Italy | 12,414,000,000 |
| All other allies | 8,457,000,000 |
| Total Allied Powers | $125,737,000,000 |
| Germany | $ 37,775,000,000 |
| Austria | 20,623,000,000 |
| Turkey and Bulgaria | 2,245,000,000 |
| Total Central Powers | $60,643,000,000 |
| Grand Total | $186,380,000,000 |

The total war cost to November, 1918, is thus seen to be 186 billion dollars, and in the intervening two years to January, 1921, it is safe to assume that the grand total has reached considerably more than 200 billions of dollars. Of this almost inconceivable amount, perhaps half was expended for necessities—i. e., food and clothing for the army, shipbuilding, etc.—the other half (and perhaps more) was worse than wasted in powder, shot, dreadnaughts, poison gas, guns, tanks and submarines. One hundred billions of money, involving the labor of millions of men and women, and millions of tons of good raw material, hurled away in a blind chaos of futile destruction!

**Property Losses.**

Aecurate compilations of property losses are very difficult to make, and it is doubtful if the exaet losses will ever be known. Agricultural experts question whether vast areas of Belgium, France and Poland, which have been churned and riddled by trenehes and shell-holes, and saturated with nox-

ious gases, chemicals, liquid fire, and other substances which destroy the productive properties of the soil, can be made fertile for many years to come. Should time confirm this hypothesis, the loss will not be measurable.

Belgium covered 12,000 square miles, and practically the whole area save a strip along the west coast was invaded. Crops were taken, factories denuded of machinery, mines destroyed, cotton spindles wrecked, pillage and wanton destruction systematically carried out.

In France 8,000 square miles of agricultural lands were laid waste; 500,000 buildings damaged, of which 250,000 were completely destroyed. It is reported that 1,500 schools, 1,200 churches, 377 public buildings, and over 1,000 industrial plants were totally wrecked. Railroads, bridges, power plants and other public utilities were systematically put out of commission. The loss of agricultural implements in France is estimated at 2 billion dollars, and in addition, cattle were slain, fruit trees cut down, and 1,200,000 acres of forests laid waste. The coal mines in the Valenciennes basin, and the iron industry of Briey were seriously damaged in the retreat of the Germans.

Similarly the Russians in Poland destroyed mine shafts, crops, bridges, railroads, machinery, industrial plants and public utilities. Serbia, Roumania, East Prussia, Austria, Italy and the Ukraine, also, suffered disastrously.

Professor Bogart estimates the total property damage of this nature at about 30 billion dollars, as follows:

**Summary of Property Loss.**

| | |
|---|---|
| France | $10,000,000,000 |
| Belgium | 7,000,000,000 |
| Italy | 2,710,000,000 |
| Serbia, Albania, Montenegro | 2,000,000,000 |
| British Empire | 1,750,000,000 |
| Germany | 1,750,000,000 |
| Poland | 1,500,000,000 |
| Russia | 1,250,000,000 |
| East Prussia, Austria, Ukraine | 1,000,000,000 |
| Roumania | 1,000,000,000 |
| Total | $29,960,000,000 |

**Loss of Merchant Shipping.**

The gross tonnage of sea-going merchant vessels lost from August 1, 1914, to November 11, 1918, is officially stated as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Great Britain | 8,899,659 |
| Norway | 1,177,001 |
| France | 888,783 |
| Italy | 846,333 |
| United States | 825,417 |
| Greece | 345,516 |
| Denmark | 240,860 |
| Holland | 203,190 |
| Sweden | 200,820 |
| Russia | 182,933 |
| Spain | 167,865 |
| Japan | 120,176 |
| Other allied and neutral countries | 929,156 |
| Total, Allies and Neutrals | 15,027,718 |
| Central Powers | 370,674 |
| World Total | 15,398,392 |

—Baer in "Washington Labor."

**Is it any wonder that our school teachers and college professors are paid starvation wages, when only one per cent of our national appropriations is spent for education, and ninety-three times as much for our past and future wars?**

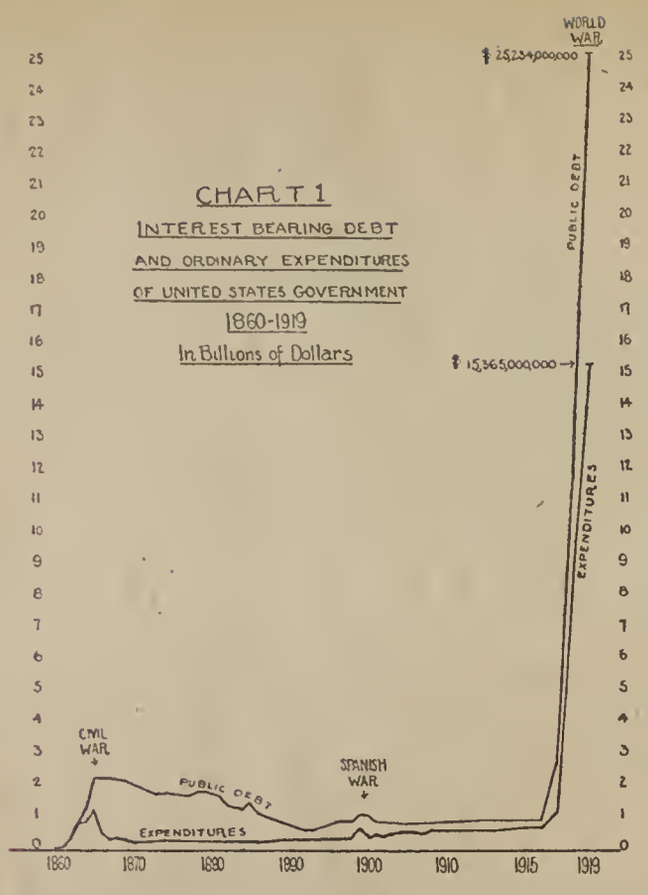
The actual number of ships sunk is not available, but estimating an average merchant ship at 5,000 tons (probably a high average) it would appear that at least 3,100 good vessels together with their rich cargoes now lie at the bottom of the sea, a total loss chargeable to war. The money value of this loss has been placed at $7,500,000,000.

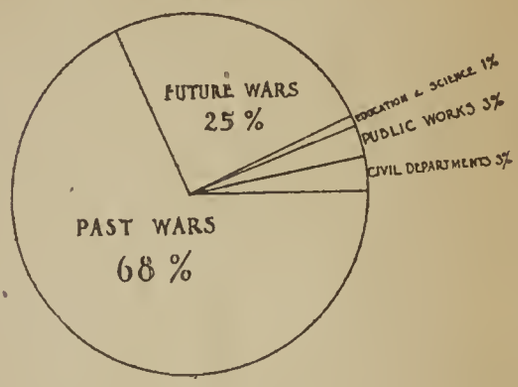
**War Relief.**

In addition to the losses in men and property above recited, the sums raised for war relief work must be classified as part of the wastes of war. While much of this money represented purchases of food, clothing, recreation, etc., and therefore not properly to be classified as waste, great sums went for medical supplies and for repairing the ravages of war damages. Had there been no war, expenditures of this nature would have been quite unnecessary. The following table shows the American war relief total:

| | |
|---|---|
| Red Cross | $250,000,000 |
| Y. M. C. A. | 55,000,000 |
| Jewish Welfare Board | 20,000,000 |
| War Camp Community Service | 15,000,000 |
| Knights of Columbus | 11,500,000 |
| Y. W. C. A. | 5,000,000 |
| Salvation Army | 2,500,000 |
| American Library Association | 1,000,000 |
| Total | $360,000,000 |
| United drive of 1918 | 203,000,000 |
| Rockefeller Foundation | 3,000,000 |
| Belgian Relief | 9,000,000 |
| Other contributions | 50,000,000 |
| Grand Total | $625,000,000 |

Other belligerent countries, also, raised great sums for war relief work, but the totals are not available. Canada, it is known, contributed 92 millions.




| | AMOUNT | PERCENT |
|---|---|---|
| PAST WARS | $3,855,482,586 | 68 |
| FUTURE WARS | 1,424,138,677 | 25 |
| TOTAL WARS | 5,279,621,263 | 93 |
| CIVIL DEPTS. | 181,087,225 | 3 |
| PUBLIC WORKS | 168,203,557 | 3 |
| EDUCATION & SCIENCE | 57,093,661 | 1 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 5,686,005,706 | 100 |

**Neutral Countries.**

Not only did the belligerent countries pay a staggering toll to the wastes of war, but many of the neutral countries suffered as well. Shipping losses for neutrals have already been exhibited, but in addition it has been estimated that the war cost neutrals 2 billions of dollars by reason of guarding frontiers, trading losses, interruption of manufacturing, and so forth.

**Eugenic Effect of War.**

Kellogg in his book on "Military Selection and Race Deterioration," published by the Carnegie Endowments, comments on this aspect of war waste as follows:

> An army * * * "is composed exclusively of men, its removal thus tending to disturb the sex equilibrium of the population and to prevent normal and advantageous sexual relations. Next, these men are both all of the age of greatest life expectancy after reaching maturity, and of greatest sexual vigor and fecundity. Finally, they are men none of whom fall below, and most of whom exceed, a certain standard of physical vigor and freedom from infirmity and disease. And for each of these men so removed from the general population, at least one other man falling below this standard, has been retained in the civil population. All this is, in effect, the establishment of a kind of selection, a military selection, whereby a most desirable element of the population is restrained from contributing its full and its particularly important influence in the determination, thru heredity, of the racial standard of the population."

The decrease in births during the period of the war down to the end of 1917, is stated to have been 500,000 in Great Britain, 1,100,000 in Austria, 1,500,000 in Hungary, 2,600,000 in Germany and 833,000 in France.

**United States Government Expenditures.**

The effect of the war on the annual expenditures of the United States government is strikingly shown in the accompanying chart (Chart 1). In the 60 years since 1860, such expenditures never crossed the billion mark, save in the Civil War (1865), and in the years of the great war. In 1919 "ordinary expenditures" according to the Statistical Abstract —not including special outlays, or the postal service—reached the phenomenal total of $15,365,000,000—which is as much as the aggregate of all expenditures during the 40 years from 1870 to 1910, or more than the aggregate of all expenditures during the first hundred years of the existence of the United States government from 1790 to 1890.

Appropriations of the government for 1920 are shown on Chart 2. Here it appears that of the grand total of $5,686,000,000, $5,280,000,000, or 93 per cent. is devoted to past and future wars—civil departments, public works, education and science only receiving 7 per cent. of the total. Thus a bare 7 per cent. of the resources and activities of the government are devoted to rendering the citizens of the country useful and constructive service, while 93 per cent. is devoted to the wastes of war.

OUR BENEVOLENT CAPITALIST.

# The Glass Industry

By Robert Grayson

THE MAKING of pottery marks the transition of the human race from savagery into barbarism. Second only in importance to pottery as a cultural advance is the discovery of glass, dating much later. While the exact period of this discovery is not known, there exist proofs that mankind had made it as early as 4000 B. C., and well-preserved specimens, estimated to be about three and one half thousand years old, have been found in the ancient tombs of Thebes. These consist chiefly of beads and of small containers. It is debatable as to what race made the discovery, both Egyptians and Syrians claiming the honor; moreover, the historian Pliny relates a story concerning the origin of glass which may hold some truth. He tells of a group of Phoenician mariners who camped one evening on a river bank in Palestine. Unable to find stones on the sand upon which to rest their cooking utensils, they pressed into service some lumps of soda from their cargo. The action of the heat fused the soda and the sand, the result being a viscous mass which became transparent after cooling.

The Greeks and Romans learned the art of glass making from their neighbors on the Nile, and as early as the reign of Nero clear or crystal drinking vessels, such as tumblers, cups and goblets, came into use and found high favor among the patrician class. The history of the workers in glass is unknown. We may read where a ruler or noble prized good works in the art, but everything concerning the craftsman has been obliterated.

After the Romans, the greatest masters in the art of glass manufacture are the Venetians and Muranians. The former so revolutionized its processes as to permit of much lower cost, thereby placing the article for the first time into extensive use. Furthermore, they are credited with having introduced glass into Western Europe. Jacob Verzelina, who migrated to England about 1550, made both window-panes and table ware until his death in 1606.

At Stourbridge, England, a factory for the making of window ware was erected in 1619. The close proximity of fire-clay mines accounts for this institution. This leads us to a description of the composition of glass and the technique of its manufacture.

## COMPOSITION.

Glass is a hard, brittle, viscous, non-crystalline substance, either transparent, opaque or translucent. It is the result of a fusion of silica and active mineral fluxes or solvents, including alkalies, earthy bases and oxides. Silica is found in a free natural state among flints, quartz and sand. Sometimes the first two are used by pulverizing them, but the latter is in most general use.

In this country many kinds of glass are made. Potash, lime, and soda are important ingredients. The war closed the commerce with Germany, where a practical monopoly of potash obtains, and as this is the most purifying element in the composition of glass ware the product has been since 1914 of an inferior grade so far as crystal ware is concerned. Various chemicals are fused with the silica and alkalies to effect coloring.

## TECHNIQUE.

It is said that ancient glass makers worked the molten mass around a core of sand, which was afterward removed. But eventually it dawned upon them that the use of a pipe with a hollow stem would permit the blowing of the glass. We will now treat of this phase of the industry; in passing we will remark that the container for the molten glass is a clay pot capable of resisting enormous heat, and that a glass factory furnace is usually a cylindrical form of brick with a number of apertures communicating with the various pots of molten glass within.

A "shop" is the group of workers necessary for the completion of certain glass patterns; at the head of each "shop" stands the blower. The first to come into contact with the glass is a semi-skilled worker called a "gatherer". By means of dipping the end of a long, hollow iron pipe into the glass and then turning it, any desired quantity of glass can be gathered. This is rapidly carried a few feet to a bench covered with a plate of smooth, hard metal, where the glass is rolled. The gatherer then elevates the pipe and blows into it, thus beginning the shape. It is then passed to a skilled mechanic, the blower. He stands about two or three feet above the floor lever on a small, movable platform called a "dummy". This "dummy" is equipped with the mold, and on each side of the mold are devices or pedals to open and close it.

Having placed the molten mass into the mold, the blower closes it and then blows into the pipe, turning it at the same time. When the glass has been blown to the limits of the mold confines it is removed, still on the pipe, in a bottle form, and handed to the boy who "cracks off". At intervals several of these "bottles" are taken by another boy and placed in the lehr, a long kiln where a tempering process follows. Finally it emerges to be finished by having the rough neck cut off by a machine, and the sharp edges slightly melted to make them smooth. The article is then ready for shipment. It should be observed that in all this

work there is but one fully skilled worker, who is assisted by a semi-skilled one and several unskilled juveniles. In many cases I have seen aged men, women and even imbeciles perform these unskilled tasks.

Besides this blowing into molds considerable work is done without the aid of molds. This is called working "off-hand". In this work the pipe is used and also callipers, seissors, and wooden blocks and sticks, to fashion the desired artiele. In all proecsses of glass blowing it is necessary to have air pipes under whieh the molten glass is somewhat cooled before being blown.

The largest department of flint glass manufacture (elear or crystal) is the press department. Here a lump of the glass is dropped into a mold, either plain or figured, and a lever releases a plunger whieh fits the mold and forms an artiele. The figured mold is one that has been arranged by a mold maker with a pattern, and glass pressed into it reeeives the pattern impression. Window glass is made of mueh harder material, and it is rolled on long, flat surfaces. For some years past attempts have been made to manufacture glass eoffins, but the eost of production is so high that this invention is as yet in the experimental stage.

## DECORATING.

For high worth in a decorative sense eut and engraved glass comes first. The eutting and engraving is done when the glass is cold, or in its natural finished state. Cut glass is made both from plain and figured blanks. In the first ease steel wheels ealled "mills", covered by a thin layer of wet sand, fine alundum or earborundum, impress the glass with the main cuts. This is ealled "roughing." The sand is then removed by various stones, both natural and artificial, with water running on them. The finer cuttings are added by the stones.

This is ealled "smoothing", and of all the skilled trades eonneeted with the glass industry it is eonsidered the most skilled. Wooden and felt wheels and rag buffs smooth the surfaee, and the article is then immersed into a eombination of powerful aeids whieh produee the brilliancy of heavy eut glassware. The proeess from the figured blank is the same exeepting the roughing, whieh is eliminated.

Engraved glass is done by skilled meehanies using either copper wheels or stones, and the finished produet eonsists ehiefly of scrolls, flowers and animals. It is highly artistie.

Etehing by means of acids, as well as by sand blast, are still other and eheaper ways to decorate the surfaee of glass-ware.

## FUEL.

The old Muranians used wood to produee the heat for melting a "bateh" of glass. It is still used in parts of Italy, but Bohemia, Germany, Belgium, Franee and England depend ehiefly on eoal for the heating units, and in this country natural gas belts have given rise to numerous glass plants, sueh as those existing in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas and Oklahoma. Gas is the best fuel for the work, but in eertain places it has been exhausted, partieularly in parts of Maryland near West Virginia and in Central Kansas. Sometimes oil has been substituted with a measure of sueeess, but frequently a factory will move away to another spot where nature still has gas wells spouting. An interesting case of this sort eame to my notiee several years ago at North Baltimore, Ohio. I had oeeasion to visit a eemetery there one afternoon in the fall of the year, and going aeross a wide field I saw the furnaee of a glass house. But that was all. The holes were there, and the furnace was intaet, but long grass waved at its base, and no other trace of the industry was in sight. It was a large and prosperous plant some twenty years ago, but the stoppage of natural gas eaused the firm to remove to West Virginia. I cannot deseribe how I felt, and how lonely that furnace looked, where once the busy workers had fashioned all manner of glass, and then had departed, leaving this solitary ghost as a reminder of the past.

## SCIENTIFIC USES.

Most of the ware made for the use of surgeons and chemists is done by a braneh ealled "lamp working". Tiny pipes are used, and the heat is derived from gas rapidly driven thru a jet. As the progress of the seientist advanees so too must advance the art of the lamp worker, and all sorts of lenses, tubes, syringes, measuring glasses, thermometers and phials, unknown to the glass worker of other times, must be blown by these workers.

## MACHINE INVENTION.

The glass industry as a whole received its share of benefit from the diseovery of steam and elcetric power, but until 1903 the mechanical tasks of the glass worker were very mueh the same as they had been hundreds of years ago. In that year Miehael Owens of Toledo, Ohio, invented a machine to blow bottles. It now has been so improved that any bottle from a half-ounce eapaeity to a 12 gallon demijohn ean be automatieally blown. The invention was first scoffed at by those glass workers most eompetent to speak for their trade, but this eontempt was silenced in 1909 when 49 machines, eaeh with six arms and a produeing power of 111 gross every 24 hours, produced a grand total of 1,700,824 gross bottles. To aeeomplish the same amount of work by the former methods the service of 1320 skilled blowers would have been required.

As this maehinery is constantly being improved it is not too much to say that the entire ancient, highly skilled and very exclusive glass trade may soon be revolutionized, and the erstwhile aristocrats of pipe, dummy and seissors redueed to the unskilled stratum, inevitable to so many crafts, and uniformly dreaded by the craftsmen. The decorating trades requiring skill have been greatly

speeded up by the introduction of manufactured stones with qualities of abrasion, making for more work. The relative importance of machine inventions in this line is small, as it is rather of aesthetic value and cannot pretend to the primary social importance as the other branches of the industry.

## ORGANIZATION.

I believe that the remnants of the once strong Green Bottle Blowers' Association still command practically all of the blowers of bottles from its craft union vantage (?) point. There is no strong sentiment for a change in the form of unionism as far as the skilled workers are concerned. The hours are eight and one-half, with both day and night shifts. The wages are hardly in excess of one dollar an hour, with the general post-war tendency to decline. For many years this organization was in constant wrangling over jurisdiction rights with the American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

The window glass workers are without an organization, with the possible exception of a few company unions, where the factory manager is also the president of the union, and as such appoints the factory committees.

The American Flint Glass Workers' Union is the most powerful order of glass workers in this country. It grants charters to groups of seven or more employees. It is composed of glass workers of more than thirty departments of what is known as the flint glass industry. With most of its locals in the States it also has several in the Dominion. There are usually around one hundred and twenty locals, and the total membership hav never exceeded 11,000. At the present time it perhaps falls short by several thousand of this mark. About seven-eights of the members are workers in the hot metal departments. They work eight and one-half hours, with alternating night and day shifts, Saturday afternoons off.

The remaining eighth is composed of cutters and engravers who work nine hours for five days and five hours on Saturday forenoon. The president of the order recently published statistics as to wages for the entire trade for the past year, the average being $34.00 per week.

In 1916, at Toledo, a movement for industrial unionism reached its zenith and its failure, when the present head was elected by a big majority on a reactonary program, defeating a bulb blower who stood for industrial unionism.

At the time of the First Convention of the I. W. W. in 1905 the Flints, then at war with the A. F. of L., which had characteristically scabbed on them, sent two delegates to the convention. They had no power to act, but the active one, then president of the union, T. W. Rowe, made a revolutionary speech, and acted thruout with much zeal. His coleague, Wm. P. Clarke, since become president, also took part in this convention. They reported to their membership, but never affiliated, subsequently forgetting their grievances against the Gompersian horde and rejoining the fold of sheep.

This organization has in the past waged many strikes, but it is now avoiding them without regard to the condition of the members. It publishes a monthly journal, which might be a good medium of education, but is kept in check by the officialdom, and its pages recount chiefly the sports of the members, bewail the loss of beer, and frequently are filled with incitation to violence against the radicals.

The Union is somewhat in advance of the tactics of Mr. Gompers in that the various departments of any one plant support the others in case of a strike or lockout. The union at present assesses its members one per cent of their wages, but in cases of necessity it goes much higher. The initiation fee is three dollars to all but foreigners, who are penalized for not having had the good sense to be born in the U. S. to the extent of ten dollars. In case of strikes or lockouts the union pays weekly strike benefits of seven dollars after the expiration of the second week.

It holds an annual convention, and an annual joint conference with the organized employers of the National Association of Pressed and Blown Glass Ware Manufacturers at Atlantic City. The officials of the union, together with executive members of the various departments, represent the workers. On these occasions the heads of the Flints and the employers hold "unofficial" meetings and compare lists and blacklists of radicals and agitators.

From the Flint officialdom to the employer's side is but a short step, as is evidenced by the long list of Flint officials and executives who have become superintendents, factory managers, foremen, and officials of the Manufacturers' Association. At the present time there is not a trace of progress, and but little hope can be entertained that the union will become in the near future either industrial or revolutionary.

However, the Industrial Workers of the World need not view the glass factory as a place where all hope is dead, all opportunity for industrial unionism shackled; it should appeal directly to the vast numbers of unskilled who are unorganized and not eligible to membership in the Flints. When a firm employs a hundred skilled workers it probably has four hundred unskilled. No sympathetic bond exists between the craftsmen and the unskilled in a glass house, and when the boys strike the men not only work with scabs, but help to recruit them. Also, there are many non-union glass houses, such as the ones in Columbus, Ohio, Sand Springs, Okla., Dunbar, Okla., Mt. Pleasant, Pa., and elsewhere.

Child labor is widespread, which is especially appalling when one considers that many of these children work night shifts. Very small boys toil thru the weary watches of the night around infernos of molten glass, which drawfs their bodies and ruins their lives.

In the same way that many unskilled work

with the few skilled in the flint shops, do they work with them in bottle and window glass plants. The vast majority of them have only heard of the I. W. W. from the corrupt press, from craft unionists, and from all who denounce it. They regard the I. W. W. as a band of outlaws roaming about with torches of destruction, and as being confined to the wheat fields and lumber camps. They have never seen its literature, have never heard its speakers, and really dread it.

The glass worker should be taught the principles of revolutionary industrial unionism. He should be made to see the lines of class demarcation. He should be so educated that in every wage-earner he will recognize a fellow worker, a fellow sufferer, with the same master class over him, the same chains upon his limbs and the same shambles to rise from to industrial freedom.

It is reasonable to expect that our first appeal would find the greatest response among the unskilled, but the propaganda should not be confined to them alone. At the present time the I. W. W. can best function as a mighty machine for the dissemination of its ideas. To the great mass of divided, deluded, miserable wage slaves it should be the leaven of revolt. The wages of the unskilled slaves around glass houses being uniformly low, with speeding-up devices on all sides, the I. W. W. will find among them a fertile field for sowing the seeds of class solidarity.

At this time there is an industrial union of glass and pottery workers in the I. W. W. It must have a nucleus of active members, and therefore the fellow workers forming it should be welded together to more successfully and systematically foster the growth of industrial organization among the glass and pottery workers, for the furtherance of immediate demands as well as for the final drive against the citadels of power, pelf and place; for the consolidation of militant, class-conscious labor and the establishment of industrial democracy.

■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

# To the Russian Red Guard

**Sons of the Dawn! No more shall you enslave**
**Nor lull them with your honied lies to sleep,**
**Nor lead them on like herds of human sheep**
**To hopeless slaughter for the loot you crave.**
**For now upon you, wave on mighty wave,**
**The iron-stern batallions rise and leap**
**To extirpate your breed and bury deep**
**And sow with salt the unlamented grave!**

**Accursed Monster—nightmare of the years—**
**Pause but a moment ere you pass away!**
**Pause and behold the earth made clean and pure—**
**Our earth—that you have drenched with blood and tears!**
**Then greet the crimson usherer of Day,**
**The mighty Proletarian Dictature!**

**Ralph Chaplin,**
**Federal Penitentiary,**
**Leavenworth.**

# The Story of the Sea

By Tom Barker

(Continued from the February Number.)

## CHAPTER 5.

### THE SHANGHAIERS.

ONE can hardly deal with the question of the marine transport industry without touching upon the old-fashioned business of "shanghai-ing." We are glad to say that it is now disappearing. Some years ago it was very prevalent in ports of the United States, England and South America, reaching its highest mark in the ports of the last-named continent. It really had its origin in runaway seamen who hid themselves away from the authorities while waiting to get another ship. The desire for freedom on the part of the seamen of the period really originated this vile and iniquitous system. In return for the services of the man who was accomodating him, and using his offices to supply him with another ship, the man signed an "advance note," which gave this individual the right to collect one or two months' wages belonging to the man after the ship had cleared the port. From these beginnings grew up that business of shanghai-ing, in which the shanghaier was involved with the captains. Sometimes the consuls were in the game; at times also officials of the various missions got their "whack" out of the proceedings. Even the sanctified "soldiers" of the Salvation Army have had their fingers in the pie. From efforts to protect and assist the runaway seamen was developed a monstrous system of blackmail, thru which these harpies stripped the seamen of their money before they had earned it.

#### Tommy Moore's Way.

Shanghai-ing reached its high mark in Buenos Aires, which is the largest port south of the Line, and the biggest sailing-ship port in the world. More men are shipped on foreign-going ships in that port than in all the other ports in South America combined. Owing to the fine climate and the amusements, which are unexcelled by any other city in the world, it is also a favorite port for paying off men. Let us suppose that a sailing ship arrives in the roads of the River Plate. The men will probably be taking in sails when Tommy Moore's motor launch comes alongside. Tommy has a body-guard of half a dozen big toughs with him. He climbs the rope-ladder, shakes hands with the waiting captain, and then the two clear down below into the captain's cabin, where Tommy's bottle of whiskey is opened up. After a conversation with the skipper Tommy comes out on deck and roars out to the men in the rigging who are just finishing stowing sails, "Come on, you fellows, you're all going to pay off." The crew meekly swing down to the deck, and within half an hour they have their bags packed, and pass into the waiting launch and the hands of Tommy's body-guard. In an hour or so the launch runs down the South Channel and across to the Boca, where the men land. Their traps are dumped in Tommy's boarding house —save the mark—in Calle La Madrid. This place, curiously enough, passed into the hands of the Marine Transport Workers in 1919, after Tommy went on that long voyage that both shanghaier and shanghaied alike must make. In this dump the bunks were placed closely against the wall, so that is was as much like a foc's'le as any place could be. The food was usually salt-horse, borrowed from Tommy's skipper friends.

Now, in all probability these men may have had six months' wages coming, but all that they were likely to see would be a ten peso bill—about $4.00—which they were free to spend on **"vino carajo,"** or on any other chained lightning or weed-killer that they fancied. The rest of the cash was cut up between Tommy and the skipper. You will observe, therefore, that there would be a good profit on Tommy's boarding-house. At times some of the men used to kick, but Tommy's body-guard was always on the spot, and the result was generally disastrous for the one who kicked. At times they emptied one of the men out on the street, which meant that his only way of getting a living was to go on the beach, or go to the "campo." The shanghaiers had the jobs in their hands. There was no organization at all. These men would stay at Tommy's "dump" until he got another ship for them.

A man might be married in New York, or have his home in Bergen, but that didn't count with Tommy. He would probably ship that man to Callao or Melbourne. A man had to stifle his desires and keep a quiet tongue, otherwise he was apt to get his hair combed with a piece of gas-pipe. When Tommy got you a ship you went, either voluntarily or insensible, and that was all there was to it.

Before a man went to sea he had to sign an advance note for one or two months' pay which went to the shanghaier and his clique. For this he would receive, if he was fortunate, a suit of dungarees, a pair of fine-looking, highly polished paper sea-boots, a bar of soap and a bottle of alleged whiskey or caña. There are men who have been thru Tommy's dump a dozen times, and can still be met here and there. The story of shanghai-ing is one of the most enthralling in the world.

#### Some of the "Heads" in S. A.

Tommy Moore is dead. He died in bed. He made a fortune out of the business, and his son has today a big contracting firm in Buenos Aires. Another great "identity" was "Black Jack" in Rio de Janeiro. After the union was organized in Beunos Aires in 1919, a bunch of Scandinavian seamen gave Jack a beating-up one night and put that gentleman on crutches. They made a thoro job of him, as Scandinavians usually do. Up to September, 1919, "Big Fred" Williams was the chief shanghaier in Rosaria de Santa Fe. When we started the union

and crippled his business he wanted to join the union, boasting that he had been a member for thirty years of Havelock Wilson's burial society. He is a Swede and stands about 6 ft. 1 in. His complexion is ruddy, and not from the sun, either. He was somewhat ruddier when three Finn sailors—whom he had once shanghaied—met him in Buenos Aires one night after the union started.

Until May, 1919, "Big Pete" Frederiksen was the big gun in Buenos Aires, after the departure of Tommy Moore for his last anchorage. Pete was "Big Fred's" brother-in-law. Denmark has the misfortune to own him as a citizen. After we had broken up his business, he and his colleagues attempted to start a scab union solely for "Scandinavians." The secretary resigned his job after he had received a slight concussion one dark night from a mysterious captain who interviwed him near the transporter bridge in the Boca.

The shipping for British ships was usually handled by an individual named Nelson, a Russian. This fellow was in good standing at the British vice-consulate in Calle San Juan. He was round the consulate far too much for its reputation. It is also true that the vice-consul preferred to ship men from him rather than from the Sailors' Home, altho he is a most disreputable character. While the war was on, the German officials in Buenos Aires were very anxious to repatriate their countrymen for military service. They gave this job over to a Dane named Bangtsen, who used to get the men berths in Scandinavian ships, from whence they arrived ultimately in Germany. But Señor Bangtsen was a clever man, in fact, he had the makings of a diplomat in him. He paid a visit to the British authorities and sold the information that the men in question were on such and such a ship. The result was that the ship was held up in the open sea, and the Germans taken off and interned. Bangtsen used to shanghai men on the American schooners. After the union started he ran into a big fist more than once.

"Stockholm Charley" was another well-known "identity", who had a reputation for swiping men about half his size and half-killing them. O. L. Kruse was once a waiter but found that shanghaiing was more lucrative. It is said that he used to make 25,000 pesos a month from fees, etc. He also owned a big bar near the "Green Corner," but the sailors smashed it up for him one Saturday evening in December, 1919.

### Some Stories of the Business.

Writing of shanghai-ing, reminds me of Tommy Moore once shipping a dead man. When he was thrown aboard a ship in the roads with the rest of the drunken sailors, the captain looked at him and said, "He looks pretty bad." "That's all right," replied Tommy, "he's only drunk. He'll be all right tomorrow morning." But when they tried to get him out, he wasn't all right, so they had to get a piece of old sail-cloth, and place him to rest in the waters of the River Plate.

There was once a conscientious skipper who hated the shanghaiers and who decided to pick his own crew. This didn't fit in with Tommy's requirements at all. When the captain was drinking in a bar one night, his drink was drugged. When he awoke three days later, he found himself on the high seas on a sailing-ship, signed on as an able seaman and bound for the other end of the earth.

"Big Pete" himself was once shanghaied, when he was a "runner"—he was learning the business—for Tommy Moore. Tommy and Pete took a crew of fifteen men out to a ship waiting in the Roads. Pete went aboard with the crew, and Tommy stayed on the boat. The captain counted up and found there was a man short. He bawled to Tommy, "Hey, Tommy, there's a man short." "Is that so?" replied Tommy. "Well, then, you'd better take the runner. He'll do." With that he pushed the launch away from the ship and left Pete aboard as a sailor. It took Pete two years to get back again.

### What It Meant to the Seamen.

The shanghaiers made their money from the unfortunate and unorganized seamen. They spent it like water. You could see them at the race meetings at Palermo every Sunday afternoon, where they used to literally wash the floor with champagne. Motor-cars, prostitutes, big hotels and plenty of high-priced booze were the results that these harpies got out of swindling the seamen. Jack the Sailor footed the bill for the lot.

Villainies were perpetrated upon him If he stood on his feet like a man he was driven to become a "beach-comber." A sailor was nothing in the scheme of things. He had no organization, no friends, and no one to assist him. The consuls despised him, the captains logged him to their heart's content, and the missions, as usual, worried more about his spiritual needs than his material comforts. He might be a union man in New York or London, but his union could not help him in South America, nor did it ever cross their fat heads that it was at all necessary. The native unions didn't speak his language, and he didn't speak theirs. The police authorities gave the shanghaiers carte blanche to follow their odious business.

In Europe and the States the shanghaier has changed his name to the more euphonious "shipping-master." His existence is not seriously attacked by some of the marine unions, which are notoriously short-sighted. The ports of the world are infested with "beach-combers." They are the cast-offs of the sea. Some are loafers, but many are good men and true. This army is growing, and hungry and unemployed sailors and firemen can be found everywhere. But they are waking up. The march of events and the drive of the machine process is compelling these outcasts to come together in the Great Brotherhood of the Sea. Their nationalities, their religions and their tongues may differ, but they suffer from the same privations, live the same lives, and die the same deaths. They have the same ruth-

less masters and the same grinding poverty.

**From all the corners of the Seven Seas they are coming together in One Army. The black night of disorganization and ignorance is clearing for ever from the face of the ocean. The bright sun of the Marine Transport Workers' Union, international and universal, is rising in the East. The sea is roseate with the coming day, and on the foc's'le head there are many watchers waiting to greet the Day of Emancipation.**

**Men of the Sea! Let us encircle the ocean routes and the docks with ONE UNION, ONE CARD and ONE OBJECTIVE. Long live the democracy of the stokehole, the engine-room and the galley!**

**All power to the Workers of the Sea! Long live the Industrial Republic of the Ocean!**

## CHAPTER 6.

## MARINE TRADE UNIONISM.

### The Old and the New.

In 1805 the navies of England and France fought the battle of Trafalgar. The ships were of wood, and were propelled by the wind. In their day these wooden walls were the pride of the sea. The hopes of mighty nations hung upon their old-fashioned guns, and their press-gang enlisted crews.

Time has flown and industry has changed. The one-time efficient ship, "H. M. S. Victory" lies in Portsmouth Harbor, while near her lie the battle cruisers and the furtive submarines, which today are the arbiters of naval supremacy. They are the results of inventive genius applied to the fiendish art of human destruction. They are scientific, speedy and dreadfully accurate. They are new, the "Victory" is old. One modern battle cruiser could sink a thousand "Victory"s in two hours. We live in a scientific age when the new triumphs over the old the iron ship over the wooden one, the steamer over the barque, and the oil-burner over the coal-burner. The international shipping trusts have annihilated the small national groups by swallowing them.

Old forms of organization have to give way to new. Forms of working class unionism of twenty years ago are now obsolete and useless. Marine trade unionism has outgrown its usefulness; it belongs to a dead age, that of the sailing ship. It was an organization of tradesmen united to protect their trade interests and to monopolize their skill. It believed then, and believes now, that the capitalist class has a right to exploit the working class. It perpetuates the idea that the skinners and the skinned have interests in common. By working hard and long, said the old trade union official, a worker is both helping himself and his employer. He attempted to make the workers believe that the more they produce the more will they receive for their labor in the form of wages.

Such notions have long ago been exploded by Karl Marx, the famous economist, upon whose teachings has been founded the new movement of the advanced workers of today. All the great triumphs in ship-building, and advances in ocean traffic have made but very little difference to the marine worker. On the contrary, there is more unemployment, more hunger and poverty among the toilers of the sea than ever before. The deck-hand on British ships works the same hours as he did in 1887, after the formation of the National Seamen's and Firemen's Union. It is true that wages have gone up since the war, but the rise does not compensate him for the rise in the cost of living. He has to pay three or four times as much for his clothes as formerly, and the quality is abominable. Very litte change for the better is to be found in the treatment accorded him, in his wages and accommodations, when compared with the improvements that have taken place for the officers and the saloon passengers. There are many ships afloat where the crew have to eat in the same quarters that they sleep in, and quite a large percentage where there are no baths for the firemen when they come from their tiring work below.

### Our Wages and the Bosses' Profits.

When we guage the so-called advance in wages we must do so in the comparative sense. To do so we must ask ourselves the following question: "Do the marine workers get a larger or a smaller portion of the productivity of their labor than they did thirty years ago?" Everyone knows that they get far less than they did formerly. We know that the marine workers manned the ships during the dangerous period of the war, and were as well off at the close of it as they were at the beginning, while the ship-owners reaped tremendous profits, scandalous dividends. As long as shipping is operated under private ownership, the conditions of our life will become worse, while those of our masters will become better. Hence, if we are out for anything at all, we must organize for the definite control of industry. We must organize to end our slavery by the One Big Union.

The power of our masters has grown tenfold. Our existing trade unions have made no such advance, altho the number of their members has increased. In plain words, the existing national unions and the so-called international unions are like so many wooden warships at the mercy of one giant battle cruiser straight from the fitting yards. Our unions are obsolete, their structure is defective, and while their guns make a big noise, they are actually more dangerous to their own crews than they are to the enemy. They have no speed, and have as much direction as a derelict. Their national anthem is, "Work, boys, work, and be contented." That is also the national anthem of a lunatic asylum. Their flag is the yellow flag of ignorance and cowardice. The working class movement can never march ahead on the international battle-field as long as these forms of disorganization exist. Just as the bow and arrow is useless against the machine gun, so also is national lapdog trade unionism useless against the Capitalist World Octopus of Ocean Transport.

### Great Britain's Funeral Societies.

In Great Britain we find three unions of seamen and firemen. The National Seamen's and Firemen's Union is the coffin society led by Mr. Havelock Wilson, M. P., C. B. E., etc. This outfit is now water-logged, and the man at the wheel is seated in a bath-chair. In Glasgow and Southampton the Seafarer's Union holds sway. This union was born from a squabble between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Emanuel Shinwell, who has conferred upon the Seafarer's the honor of possessing him to guide their barque towards the doldrums. Some time ago Mr. Shinwell received a sentence of six months at one of His Britannic Majesty's rest-cure Homes for participating in the 40-hour strike in Glasgow. While he was in, Mr. Wilson set to work to corner up his opponent's membership. The Hull Seamen's Union was formed as a break-away from Mr. Wilson's fold. It has very strong objections to foreigners who do not have the good sense to be born in Great Britain or India.

Germans, Austrians and Turks are refused membership in that union. The German Ambassador, needless to say, goes quite often nowadays to Buckingham Palace, and as I sit writing this, the yellow Mr. Legien, of the lap-dog German trade union movement, is sitting beside Jouhaux and Bob Williams in the Holborn Restaurant at the Hard Labour Congress.

### "The Old Man of the Sea"

We cannot touch upon marine unionism without discussing Mr. Havelock Wilson, M. P., C. B. E., etc. This ancient barnacle is a dead weight on the body of the marine workers of the world. His own constituents are tired of him. He is a Liberal in politics, and so reactionary that labor is going to oppose him at the next election. He is a cast-iron dictator; the rules of his union make it impossible for him to be ousted. His retarding influence is as baneful upon the great organization that he controls as that of "Grandpa" Gompers upon the American Federation of Labor. No advance can be made of an international character as long as Wilson's Funeral Society retains its prestige. There are overseas unions that have done more for their members in one year than Wilson's union has accomplished for its members in 33 years.

Intelligent marine workers will remember that it was Wilson who used his power to stop Ramsay MacDonald from going to Russia some few years ago. It was on one of his scab ships that three of the best men in the Swedish working class movement were sentenced to death. The "Amalthea" carried men to break the Swedish dock strike in 1908. Only a few weeks ago efforts were made to fill the places of striking Belgian sailors by members of Wilson's Union. The Coffin Society, in short, is in the hands of the Chamber of Shipping. Havelock Wilson received the Order of the British Empire on the recommendation of the British Government while the war was on. Some of the other members of the union received the same honor. Every working man knows quite well that these baubles are not given out for helping the men who toil, but for bull-dozing and side-tracking them. Wilson and his creatures caused the tabling of a resolution by the Italian seamen's union in Genoa at the International Seamen's Congress a few months ago, calling for action to compel the foreign imperialists to cease their blockade of Soviet Russia. He allowed the eight-hour day for seamen to be defeated by one eighth of a vote. His seamen and firemen are receiving £15 a month while in the United States the seamen and firemen are receiving about £24 a month.

Wilson, in addition to being a paid official of his union is also a Member of Parliament in the House of Commons. That brings him in the nice little sum of £400 a year. There are now possibly about a million unemployed in the country, but that does not trouble in the least "the ancient mariner" who is not fit to look after one job properly, never mind two. There are large numbers of unemployed marine workers who could hold down either of the jobs as badly as he does. His organization is well hated thruout Europe, for his Coffin Society holds the Belgians, the Dutch, the Danes and the Spaniards from doing anything for themselves. The organ of the German Seamen's Union, "Seemansbund", says that Wilson's union is 'merely a minor appendage of the British shop-owners'.

### "Some" Supper

There is one thing that ought to be engraved in letters of gold on his monument when in the fullness of time he becomes entitled to one, and that is the fact that he accomplished more for British seamen than even Lord Nelson did. Nelson managed to get his men bread on two days a week. Wilson, however, contrived to get HIS men bread on three days a week, the remainder of the days being, of course, "biscuit" days. Possibly when the world's seamen use the last coffin for this funeral society, British seamen will be able to have bread seven days a week as a right, — and not as a privilege.

We have great pleasure in reprinting the following account of the "Annual Dinner of the British Seamen's and Firemen's Union", and we ask the members of this and other unions to read it carefully and ask themselves what they pay their union dues for. The excerpt is from London "Solidarity", the organ of the Shop Steward's movement.

### Lions and Jackals at a Feast

"The National Seamen's and Firemen's Union held their Annual General Meeting at the Memorial Hall, London, during the first week in October, 1920. The 'Annual General Meeting Dinner' took place at the Holborn

Restaurant on October 5th, at which prominent ship-owners were present, and also representatives of the Government departments. Along with most of the officials of the Union, they were well fed and wined, at the expense of the members of the Union —tho we doubt with the consent.

"They certainly did themselves well.

"It will interest those seamen and firemen who are paying one shilling per week to the organization to obtain better conditions, and who expect the Union to fight the shipping magnates, to know that the dinner consisted of EIGHT courses. We would give the menu (which of course, was printed in French, as all high class menus are), but we feel it would be likely to incite to riot the thousands of sailors and firemen who are now hanging around union and shipping offices in all the ports of the kingdom, unable to get ships, or food for themselves and their children. Thomas Chambers, C. B. E., Treasurer of the Union, was wine steward, and he carried out his duties (on this occasion) with great honor. He was warmly complimented by the ship-owners present on "the lavish supply of very fine wines". They are certainly judges, and apparently Chambers has had some experience before and knows their tastes by now.

"The toast list was as follows:—

"First, 'The King'; with several knights, baronets, C. B. E.'s and other stiffs present, "George' would naturally take first place.

Then the 'National—or isn't it Gnashional —Seamen's and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland', coupled with the names of J. Havelock Wilson, Esq., C. B. E., M. P., C. B. E. This toast was proposed by the Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M. P.

" 'The Shipping Industry' coupled with the names of Sir Joseph Maclay, Bart., W. J. Noble, Esq. (President of the Chamber of Shipping), and Henry Radcliffe, Esq. Proposed by Sir Montagu Barlow.

"After that 'The Guests' coupled with the names of Sir Walter Kinnear (Controller of Insurance Department, Ministry of Health) proposed by Councillor Peter Wright (Mayor of Newport).

"Presentation by Thomas Chambers, Esq., on behalf of the officials and members of the N. S. & F. U. to Mrs. Havelock Wilson.

"Quite a nice slap-up little dinner, let me assure you. Of course, after the champagne had begun to work, things got a bit lively, but nothing serious. Unparliamentary language WAS used, but with quite good feelings between the lions and the jackals. Nothing was said about the rank and file in any of the speeches, but doubtless arrangements were made as to their future in conversation".

Time and time again have conferences been deferred between the union and the bosses. On every occasion some excuse has been brought forward. First it was the Genoa conference, and then it was to wait until the Wilson Coffin Society swallows Comrade Shinwell's remaining members. Now matters have been deferred until after a meeting is held in Brussells, which, according to Mr. Wilson's recent speech at Marseilles, is going to perform wonders for ALL the seamen of the world. We are just wondering what kind of "junk" is going to be handed to the marine slaves by the bath-chair Moses who has been leading his tribe by the nose thru the Egyptian desert. We are afraid that there is a long sojourn coming in the desert to create the necessary stamina to lead us to the "Promised Land".

**Other British Marine Workers.**

In Great Britain there are separate organizations for officers, engineers, wireless operators, and all those engaged in the steward's department. Thus on a British ship we can easily find the members of five or six unions, and possibly in addition a few men who are members of no union whatever. Each man owes allegiance to a different union, which gives him feeble protection in home ports, and none at all in over-seas ports. This is the principle of craft unionism, the gospel of despair. The workers are divided into sections, so that they may be attacked one at a time by the powerful shipping interests. One section goes on strike, just like the wireless telegraphists did not long ago, while the other union men go on working, easing perhaps, their trade union consciences by paying a sixpenny levy to support their poor brothers, who—sob!—are on strike.

The basis of marine unionism in Great Britain is rotten to the core, and neither fine-sounding names nor aggressive talk can alter that fact. It amounts to suicide on the installment plan. Altho most of the unions are within the Transport Workers' Federation, it does not prevent them from acting as they have done in the past. The axe has to go to the root; the spirit and structure of craft unionism must be destroyed. And we must remember that even an Industrial Union of British Marine Workers cannot attain its objective if it confines itself solely to the ports of the United Kingdom. **Capitalism is scientific in its structure and international in its scope; the Unionism of the Workers of the Sea must also be scientific in its structure and international in its scope.**

# Defense News

**By John Martin**

THE LAST STAGE of the legal fight to free our fellow workers involved in the Chicago case has been entered. On February 28th, our Petition for a Writ of Certiorari was filed with the Supreme Court. What the outcome will be, we are not at the present time in a position to say. Should our Petition be denied, it will mean that those out on bonds will be compelled to return to the Leavenworth penitentiary and, with those who were never released on bond, serve the remainder of their long sentences—unless the workers of this and other countries demand the release of all our prisoners and stand ready to enforce such a demand with their economic power. A Petition for a Writ of Certiorari will also be filed in the Sacramento case. In the Wichita case, we are now awaiting the decision of the Appellate Court.

### RELEASED ON BOND

We have succeeded in obtaining the release of Fellow Workers M. Sapper and F. Grau, two of the Wichita defendants, on bond. We are greatly handicapped in obtaining bonds for the Wichita men inasmuch as the Appellate Court has ruled that outside of cash and Liberty bonds, only local property located within the State of Kansas will be accepted as bail sureties. Therefore, anyone having Liberty bonds on hand is requested to place them at the disposal of the General Defense Committee to be used for bonds. Cash loans are also acceptable. It is imperative that those fellow workers are released on bonds before the Appellate Court renders a decision in their case, inasmuch as after a decision is rendered, they will not be eligible to bond.

### PERSECUTION STILL GOING ON IN FULL FORCE

From California comes the report that at the present time nine fellow workers are being held in the Los Angeles jails. Five of them—Edwards Peters, Henry Maflin, E. O'Rourke, T. F. Olsen and A. Shorken—are being held on charges of Criminal Syndicalism. Two of them—Frank Rice and Karl Kasemeyer—are awaiting jury trials for vagrancy; they were selling the "Industrial Worker" on the streets of Los Angeles when arrested. The charges against the other two—Gudson and Murphy—have not yet been ascertained. The California District Defense Committee and the local committee organized in Los Angeles are taking care of these and other cases pending in California.

Fellow Workers Philip Taft and James Fitzpatrick were arrested on the streets of Kansas City, Missouri, on February 3rd, and a charge of vagrancy placed against them. However, Caroline Lowe succeeded in having the case dismissed when it came up for trial.

The case against Fellow Worker Roland Stevens, Fort Wayne, Indiana, who was arrested on the morning of September 28th, 1919, and charged with inciting to riot has finally been dismissed thru the efforts of Attorney Mulks. Stevens has been at liberty on a $5,000 bond.

In the cases of the deportees held in the East, deportation was secured on all cases on February 2nd with the exception of the cases against Ephraim Kertz and S. Diankosky. The Department of Labor is still holding Kertz at Ellis Island on the pretext that his deportation papers have been lost. The New York Defense Committee is looking after the matter and is trying to obtain his release or to compel the Department of Labor to deport him. Diankosky is being held on account of his refusal to sign his passport.

### SPEAKERS ROUTED FOR THE DEFENSE

Fellow Worker Harry Lloyd's speaking tour for the Defense has been very successful. He has so far spoken at several of the towns on the Mesaba Range, besides at Duluth, Superior, Minneapolis, Sioux City, and Kansas City. In Minneapolis, besides holding his regular meetings, he appeared before most of the A. F. of L. local unions and was received with much interest. As a result of these visits, nearly every day brings a contribution to the General Defense fund from one of these local unions

Fellow Worker Ralph Chaplin has been routed on a Western tour for the Defense. His tour will include all the larger cities on the northern route between Chicago and Seattle. After arriving in Seattle, he will be routed by the Northwest District Defense Committee.

### MONEY BADLY NEEDED FOR DEFENSE

The General Defense Committee is under a constant heavy financial drain due to the many cases which have to be defended. Unless immediate and more general financial help is given than has been given us in the past months, we shall not be able to look after the defense of our imprisoned fellow workers in such a way as they should be taken care of. Under no circumstances can we afford to slack up now. We must not let those who fell in the clutches of the law thru their organization activities be neglected. Make all checks and money orders payable to the General Defense Committee and forward them to John Martin, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

**DO NOT FORGET THE REHABILITATION FUND!**

# To Soviet Russia - An American Workingman Speaks

By Charles Ashleigh

YOU HEAR a lot about Russia in the papers nowadays; an' about them Soviets.

I'm not quite sure about what Soviet means; the papers speak about them as though they was a disease. But Ivan, the guy who works along with me in the shop, says as how it just means Council—a workers' council.

An' about all I used to know about Russia was that they had a stiff called a Czar there, an' he used to send lots of working men and women to a place called Siberia whenever they tried to make their life a little easier.

Then they got rid of the Czar, an' started a bran'-new republic. But I wasn't much het up about that, 'cause I knew that in a republic, you can have starving or overworked men an' women; an' little kids without enough to eat . . .

But then I read that the workin' people of Russia had started in to run things for themselves; that they were trying to run the factories and plants an' other things for themselves; an' that they wouldn't let no kids go hungry.

An' that sounded pretty good to me. I've got kids of my own, an' I'd like 'em to get a chance to have a real education, with college an' all. So I figured: If that's what them Soviets is doin', they're about all right!

But the papers kept on printin' pictures of fellers with long, wild whiskers; an' with bombs an' knives in their mitts—blood-thirsty lookin' characters, they was.

So I says to Ivan, who works with me, I says: "Say, Ivan, you don't look much like these here Russians they puts into the cartoons. I guess you ain't a real honest-to-God Russian."

So Ivan says: "Come along with me, an' see some more of 'em." An' I goes with him to his boardin'-house, an' there's a whole gang of 'em; an' some of 'em did have beards, right enough, but they was workin' stiffs, like me; so I figures: "It don't much matter what way a guy wears his hair. It's what he's got under it!"

An' sure enough, those guys had some real horse sense. An' they was just like you an' me, even if they did talk funny English. An' they explained some things to me.

An' now I know better than to believe the newspapers!

So I says to Soviet Russia—an' to the workers there—

Go ahead, boys! There's some of us here as understands you, an' knows what you are driving at.

You've got the hardest job any bunch of workin'men ever had in the world; an' you're tacklin' it like men.

An', by God! if you really make a whole job out of it—an' it looks as though you will—we fellers on this side, an' the stiffs in France an' Germany an' England an' other places, is likely to get all kinds of high-flyin' ideas too. An' I guess the boss would just hate that! He don't want us to think we can run things for ourselves.

But we over here are watchin' an' waitin' an' thinkin', brothers! An' we may do more than just wait an' watch! We may start right in to get rid of our own masters!

So, here's our hands, you Russian lads, an' here's our hearts! Up from the dark places where we work an' live, we are sendin' you a sign of brotherhood.

For workers are workers, the whole world over. An' we know what hunger is, an' bein' out of a job, an' watchin' your kids go hungry, an' bein' insulted by some swinish boss; so we're blood of your blood, an' bone of your bone; an' we're with you!

Here's to you, Russia of the Workers' Councils! You're the new great light, shinin' in on me an' mine.

An' by your light we'll steer our way, over the hard, tough places to a new power an' a new life!

CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH OF RUSSIA

# Labor Demands Resumption of Trade with Russia

**We reprint below a circular letter received from the Phoenix Central Labor Union:**

February 6, 1921

TO THE VARIOUS SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:

**Brothers:**

The following resolution, regularly adopted at the last meeting of our Body, was amended to permit sending a copy to Central bodies thruout the country.

We ask that you give it consideration, and if in accord with its spirit, provide for its being read before the local unions affiliated with your body.

Fraternally,

**Ed Huffman, Secretary**
**Phoenix Central Labor Union.**

TO SAMUEL GOMPERS,
PRESIDENT, A. F. OF L.:

Whereas, we, the Phoenix Central Labor Union, after many years connected with the A. F. of L., during which we have been schooled to expect a Moses to lead the hosts of Labor forth from economic bondage, now realize the fact that our A. F. of L. gods have feet of clay; that if these officials move in our interest, it is only after they have received a vigorous shove from the workers upon whose backs they so nonchalantly ride. Therefore, Mr. Gompers, we are constrained to thus address you:

Do you realize that millions of men and their dependents face starvation in this country because of unemployment, because of stagnation in industry, because we now have a period of over-production—that ever recurring phenomenon of the capitalistic wage-system for whose continued welfare and existence you have ever shown such tender solicitude?

Do you know that in Russia, that country where today one finds the only Government on earth conducted by and for the people who do useful work, millions of our brothers, after successfully defending their workers' Republic from the treacherous assaults of international capitalism, now endure hardships, privation and want, for lack of clothing and shoes, medical supplies and canned milk, paper and dishes, machinery and farming implements—in a word, the varied products of our farms, mines, mills and factories, while their Soviet Government stands ready to purchase these products with either gold or exchangeable raw commodities?

Here in the Salt River Valley of Arizona, our largest industry is the raising of long staple cotton, which Wall Street, because of no market, is forcing out of the hands of the producers for a fraction of its value. Do you know that Russia has announced she will purchase the entire world's surplus of cotton?

Are you so blind to the welfare of those you purport to serve that you cannot see your duty clear to demand in the name of the unemployed workers of this country that trade relations with the Russian Soviet Government be established?

When the jackals of capitalism demanded the life-blood of the workers for the protection of their markets and credits, you dramatically announced you were "a living, breathing, fighting man," and behind the smoke of "Make the world safe for democracy" you valiantly led us to the slaughter. For that democracy we still fight, and thanks to our Russian comrades, the plan of successful battle begins dimly to unfold. The workers of all countries can and will free themselves from wage slavery.

How cruelly and maliciously were the workers seduced in the World War is now apparent to all. Can it be that you alone have not yet recovered from the poison-gas attack of Wall Street? Or are we to understand that your "galvanic, dynamic energy" can be aroused only in the service of the exploiters? The time is near at hand, Mr Gompers, when you must speak out in the real interest of Labor, or make way for one who can and will.

For the present, Mr. Gompers, to the end of relieving immediate distress both at home and abroad, you are instructed to humbly supplicate the powers that temporarily be—a task to which you have shown yourself peculiarly fitted—to lift the economic and commercial blockade against Soviet Russia.

Resolved, that these our sentiments and views above set forth, after receiving the official endorsement of the organizations composing this body, be forwarded to President Gompers and published in the labor press.

# The Berlin Conference of Syndicalist and Industrial Unions

**By H. Van Dorn**

ON DECEMBER 16th, 1920, a conference of representatives of Syndicalist and Industrial unions took place in Berlin, Germany, called for the purpose of forming a revolutionary Industrial International. The following organizations were represented:

| Organization | Country | Membership | Delegates |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ind. Workers of the World | America | 100,000 | George Hardy |
| Freie Arbeiter Union Syndicalisten | Germany | 150,000 | Fritz Kater<br>Max Winkler<br>Rudolph Rocker<br>August Souchy<br>Franz Barwich<br>Theodor Plevier |
| Union Syndicalisten | Czecho-Slovakia | 2,000 | Gust Pogonski |
| Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina | Argentine | 200,000 | Tom Barker |
| Comité Syndicalist Revolutionairc (961 groups) | France | 300,000 | Victor Godonnèchc<br>Jean Ceppe |
| National Arbeitssccretariat | Holland | 40,000 | B. Lansink<br>E. Bouwman |
| Sveriges Centralorganisation | Sweden | 32.000 | F. Severin |
| Shop Stewards, Workers' Committees | England | 200,000 | Jack Tanner |
| Total Membership | | 1,024,000 | |

The Italian and Spanish delegates had been prevented from appearing at the conference due to their imprisonment. No alternates were sent. Denmark sent a letter of approval, but could not be present owing to financial conditions prevailing within the Syndicalist Union.

Fratcrnal delegates were present from the French Communist Party, the All-Russian Trades Unions and the Russian Communist Party.

On the morning of Dec. 16th Fellow Worker Winkler of the "Frcie Arbeiter Union Syndicalisten" called the conference to order and delivered an appropriate addrcss of welcome. He pointed out that this was the first conference of revolutionary Industrialists since the war began, the last one having taken place in London in 1913, when the Syndicalists met from various countrics with 35 delegates present.

The delcgates then reported on the economic conditions in their respective countries, and dwelt especially upon the persecution of industrialists by the mastcr class. When thcy hcard from Follow Worker Hardy of the persecutions, jailings and lynchings of the mcmbers of the American I. W. W., they were greatly astounded. They could hardly believe that such things took place in this far-famed "land of the free and home of the brave."

The following resolution was adopted:

> "Resolved, that this Congress of Revolutionary Syndicalists, held in Berlin, herewith demands the release of all political prisoners from capitalist governments, and calls the attention of all rcvolutionary unions to concentrate upon the capture of thc marine transport industry—capital's most vulnerable point —to effect a general action for the release of all class war prisoncrs. We also great all comrades behind prison walls, and will do all in our power to effect their speedy release."

A resolution protesting specifically against the persecution of the I. W. W. was also passed. It reads as follows:

> "Rcsolved, that this Preliminary Conferencè of Revolutionary Syndicalists and Industrial Unionists do hereby most emphatically protest against the continued persecution of members of the I. W. W. by outrageous scntences, brutal treatment and murder, and pledges itself by various methods to effect their release from prison, and to stop the atrocities practiced against them; and further, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the United States President and the Department of Justice."

Another resolution of great importance, moved by Delegate Tom Barker and carried unanimously, reads as follows:

> "Thc members of all thc following revolutionary organizations are entitled to membership in the corrcsponding organizations in other countries without paying any transfer or initiation fee. They shall be acccpted upon cqual tcrms and enjoy full privilcgcs therein: U. S. A., I. W. W.; Australia, One Big Union or I. W. W.; Mcxico, I. W. W.; Chile, I. W. W.; Germany, Freie Arbeiter Union Syndikalisten; Czecho-Slovakia, Freie Arbeiter Union Syndicalistcn; Holland, National Arbeids Scerctariat; Sweden, Arbetarcentralorganisationen; Denmark, Flagopposition Sammcnslutning; Francc, Comité Syndicalist Revolutionaire; Norway, Norske Syndicalist Federation; Grcat Britain, Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement; Spain, Confederacion General del Trabajo; Italy, Union

Sindicala Italia; Argentine, Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina; Uruguay, Federacion Obrera Regional Uruguaya; Canada, One Big Union.

The French delegates stated that their organization was one of committees inside the General Confederation of Labor, and that they were federated together, first, into local centers and then into district and national federations. This will make it possible to strike against capitalism concertedly, as far as France is concerned. This revolutionary organization is also affiliated to the Third International.

After a great deal of discussion about the comparative merits of political and industrial action, during which much valuable information was elicited, the Conference adopted the following program:

### RESOLUTION.

"(1) That the Revolutionary Industrial International be based on the class struggle and the domination of the working class.

"(2) That the Revolutionary Industrial International shall fight for the destruction and removal of the economic, political and moral system of the capitalist regime, and stands for the creation of a free Communist Society.

"(3) That the Revolutionary Industrial International declares that only the working class itself is capable of destroying the economic, political and immoral system of slavery under capitalism, and only by the sharpest application of their economic power, which culminates in Revolutionary Direct Action of the working class in attaining their ends.

"(4) That the Revolutionary Industrial International stands on the basis that the construction and regulation of production and distribution is the aim of the economic and industrial organizations of each country.

"(5) That the Revolutionary Industrial International shall be an autonomous body independent of any political body, and in case the Revolutionary Industrial International has decided upon some question and a political party or some other organization agrees to it, or vice versa, then the execution of the decision can be carried out together.

"(6) That the Conference sends out a strong appeal to all revolutionary organizations of Syndicalists and Industrial Unionists of all countries to respond to the call of the Provisional Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions to attend the Congress called by them to be held on May 1st, 1921, for the purpose of forming a permanent International of the Revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World."

As is seen by the above resolution, the Conference went on record to be represented at the forthcoming Moscow Congress of Industrial Unions, where will finally be completed the formation of the Industrial International, incorporating all the revolutionary trade and industrial unions of the world.

### COMMUNATING COMMITTEE

It was resolved that an International Committee be set up to communicate with similar organizations, and acquaint them with the results of this Conference. Delegates Rocker (Germany), Tanner (England), and Lansink (Holland), were appointed. The last named will be the Secretary, with offices at **Nassanhere, 101, Amsterdam, Holland.**

In commenting upon the significance of the Berlin Syndicalist and Industrial Conference, we can do no better than reprint an article by **Enrico Leone,** the Italian Syndicalist writer and theoretician, which appeared in the **Guerra di Classe,** the official weekly publication of the **Unione Sindacale Italiana,** issue of Jan. 22nd, 1921. The Italian Syndicalist Union has over 600,000 members and is heartily in favor of the action taken at the Berlin Conference. **Enrico Leone** was up to a month ago professor of political economy in the University of Bologna, and is internationally known as a deep thinker and keen analyst in the fields of economics and sociology.

### COMMENTS ON THE BERLIN INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE, BY ENRICO LEONE.

The report of the first International Industrial Conference is a historical document whose importance cannot be exaggerated. In contrast to the "party" congresses, in which emerge the personalities of those most expert in the art of making a noise around their own names, the only modest preoccupation of the participants in the Berlin Conference is the future destiny of the world of labor.

Theoretical Syndicalism—as elaborated in the Neo-Marxist critique—was probably unknown to the men who met in conference. Yet, with remarkable coincidence in detail, they consecrate in practice its theoretical conclusions. They proclaim, in fact, that Marx, as represented by the politicians who have reviewed and corrected him in order to provide for themselves personal successes and fortunate political careers, places in the front rank questions of "political" character, and ignores the "direct power of the working classes," which finds expression in the struggle on the economic field. It is practically the same accusations that Proudhon made against the followers of his great rival. But the Syndicalist revision of Marxism (with the "Divenire Sociale" in Italy, and the "Mouvement Socialiste" in France), has convicted of ignorance or duplicity the "false followers" of Marx, by showing what Syndicalist conclusions may derive from Marxism, considered in its most essential spirit.

Syndicalism hails in Sovietism, as a fundamental structure inspired by the needs of the producers, the principle which must demolish any eventual official governmental mechanism: therefore it does not believe that the present Bolshevik policy, which is directed towards a dictatorship thru the new-born Communist Parties, rallied at the last hour, can be conciliated with the true nature of the social revolution.

Today, as in no other epoch of history, revolutionary Syndicalism is called upon to perform a rescuing labor for the struggling proletariat, inspiring it with the ethical sentiment of individual pride, preventing its possible descent to the status

of a brute mass, which a party of dictators presumes to maneuver according to designs that are elaborated over the workers' heads.

The anti-pedagogic nature of the industrialist forces must accustom the proletariat to conceive the revolution as **its own undelegable struggle,** in which there must be no compromise with the capitalist and unproductive classes on the one hand and in which, on the other hand, no arbitrary powers will be accorded to "party leaders," always ready to transform the virtues of the masses into their own personal glory. The revolution must be the direct and heroic effort of the proletariat, which carries its cause in its heart and its vibrant poetry in its profound soul. The aspirants to historical celebrity, eager to earn today the right to the marble monuments of posterity, and wishing to strip the organized workers of their direct liberating power, in order to create a new State in place of the old, entertain an "autocratic" revolutionary conception, which might compromise the liberation of the working classes and defeat their historical mission. Proletarian Syndicalism is deeply conscious of the ridiculousness of a "political" outlook on the social revolution, which is to be the result of the creative effort of a party of leaders and statesmen, who propose to people the future "Socialist" world with patrons and dictators of the proletariat, by them insolently declared unable to free itself.

Syndicalism does not hesitate to denounce these dictatorial knight-errants of the revolution, whose directing corporation they wish to become, as men **in whom the ambition for the realization of their views surpasses the faith in the full and creative power of the working class.**

At Moscow the Syndicalists, by advocating the independence of the revolutionary unions from all parties; by consecrating the principle of economic action in antithesis to the "coup d'état;" by insisting on the liberty of the producers as against a misunderstood principle of authority which might make of them subjects after a new pattern, substituting the necessity for revolutionary defense with extra-militaristic means, will apply a very necessary corrective force to the revolutionary movement. Their words will be listened to by the masses of Red workers of Russia, who will develop a deeper affection for their Soviets and Industrial Unions, in order to render possible a social reorganization thru the direct and spontaneous efforts of the producers, and will see the diminishing significance and importance of legal and governmental forms, in which a "party" always vigilantly guards its lordship over the multitudes, and to which a relaxed enthusiasm of the masses for the Revolution might develop a spirit of resistance and a consequent return to the past.

Revolutionary Syndicalism may anticipate remedies to the delusions which the Bolsheviks of the Third International are running into by placing excessive reliance on the Socialist-Communist parties of Europe, assigning to them a revolutionary mission in full contrast with their political traditions, with their parliamentary and reformist nature, with their inevitably democratic objectives.

The Syndicalists can well avoid the possible results of this delusion, by forming and expanding the class International of Red Unions, which by hammering into **real accomplishments** the arduous programs of vain party eloquence, may succeed (by stimulating to action the more powerful Unions of the Amsterdam International) in realizing the formula voted at the Conference of Berlin:

"The creation of a free Communist society can come only from the Unions of Workers and Peasants, and not from a dictatorial state based on the domination of a political party."

**LIBERTY EQUALITY FRATERNITY and DEATH**

# The Class War in Spanish-Speaking Countries

By Frank J. Guscetti

## SPAIN

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN SPAIN is growing more intense every day and the issue between the workers and the capitalists with their political parties of various shades and their armed forces is getting ever sharper. The development of a more intensive labor organization in the Peninsula during the last few years is a very interesting study. Spain got its full share of war contracts, and gold flowed toward it during the last few bloody years to an extent unheard of even in the days of the preciously laden galleons of old. Most of this trade went to Barcelona, as the most important industrial and commercial center of the Peninsula, while Bilbao and Valencia also shared in war prosperity.

We see today the Spanish **peseta** at its lowest point, declining as fast in exchange value as the currency of vanquished and victorious countries that took part in the war. As a consequence, the Bank of Barcelona finds it necessary to suspend payments, marking the gravest financial crisis in the history of the country, with the Bank of Spain unable to come to its rescue. In the meantime, the bourgeois press harps on the fact that the Catalan capitalists had opposed increased export duties during the height of war orders on the plea that they were to devote their profits to expanding and bringing up to date the various manufacturing industries concerned, in the interests of a transformed and modernized industrial Spain. Even the regionalist, Senator Cambo, leader of the Catalan seperatists, now echoes the cry: "What has become of the enormous gains of the war period?" And no answer is forthcoming, except financial ruin and social chaos, longer bread-lines than ever before and misery on all sides among the workers and the middle class.

And while the crisis has developed, the new civil governor of Barcelona, with the effective aid of the gunmen forming the so-called **"Sindicato Libre,"** or "Free Union," has, according to the bourgeois press, wiped out of existence the powerful movement of the **"Sindicato Unico."** Not only active members of the Syndicalist movement, but even lawyers, as in the case of the liberal deputy Leyret, who had defended Syndicalist cases in the courts, have been attacked and shot down openly in the streets, thus actually practicing what the bosses' associations and their controlled press have for so long accused the Syndicalists of doing.

To set the matter right, let us note here that the "sindicato ùnico" is not a definite organization but a form of organization, first proposed and provided for in the 1918 Congress of the Regional Confederation of Labor of Catalonia, which originated in Catalonia and later spread to other parts of Spain and to Portugal, and which today is earnestly discussed in Uruguay as well as other Spanish-language countries. The term "sindicato ùnico" is applied to the close grouping of all local and craft units into a "single union" in each industry, or a single mixed union where one industry predominates. So effective did this form of organization become, that it stirred the **Asociación Patronal** of Barcelona, the local merchants' and manufacturers' association, to utmost activity in combating it, brought on a prolonged series of strikes and lockouts, caused the reorganization of the bosses in a national federation, resulting in a long list of incarcerations and persecutions as well as deportations, effected the pact between the Syndicalist and the Socialist unions in September, and was indirectly responsible for the organization of the assassins and freebooters called the "Sindicato Libre," who have endeavored to institute a reign of terror without hindrance from the authorities.

We have just received a letter from the general secretary of the **Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo**, asking us to give publicity to the infamies of the Spanish bourgeoisie, in which he tells us that the union is not only holding its million members, but is constantly growing in numbers and power all over Spain. He says, among other things: "Our unions have been declared illegal and we are being shot down openly in the streets by bands of outlaws under the protection and in the pay of the authorities and the bosses' associations. Hundreds of our comrades have been detained in military camps and prisons and in dungeons, and thousands are conducted over the highways of the country, on foot, in mid-winter, resulting in the death of several, that we know of. These infamies, more fully dwelt on in our manifesto to the international proletariat, have forced us to ask for the moral support of the proletariat of the whole world, and in order that our fellow workers the world over may take immediate steps toward refusing to handle any and all goods proceeding from, or destined for Spanish ports. You are perhaps aware of the fact that we are defending ourselves in the fight that has taken on the character of open war without quarter. The spirit of our confederates, numbering over a million, and constantly growing, is good; we are more determined than ever in the struggle, which, tho practically confined to Catalonia during the past two years or so, has now extended to and is general in Asturias, the Levant or Valencia region, Andalucia, Aragon and Vizcaya, in which regions our ideas are taking concrete form and growing remarkably, especially among the peasantry and agricultural workers."

From "La Vie Ouvriere" we learn that dispatches

to the bourgeois press from Barcelona say that "22 terrorists," among them the "meneur syndicaliste" Angel Pestaña, have been incarcerated in the Montjuich of infamous memory. These "terrorists" of the capitalist press dispatches are apparently but militant Syndicalists of the National Confederation of Labor of Spain, and it is quite likely that the 22, or some of them, have been taken from the concentration camp of Mahon, in the Balearic Isles, to be kept more securely, or to be the easier done to death in the dungeons of Montjuich.

It is to the Mahon prison camp, on the isle of Minorca of the Balcaric group, that a number of the best known militant Syndicalists were taken about December 1st, 1920, when the new civil governor began to get in his work. Among the group was Salvador Segui, perhaps the ablest tactician of the Spanish Syndicalist movement, formerly secretary of the Regional Confederation of Labor of Catalonia during its period of phenomenal growth, 1918-1919, who has been jailed a number of times before. He is a captivating speaker and a deep student of the labor movement.

The **Union General de Trabajadores**, or General Union of Workers, is entirely dominated by prominent members of the Socialist Party, and has been ever since its organization in 1888. During the last few years it has been losing its foothold in the same degree that the C. N. T. has made rapid gains. It is fast being driven to join forces with the C. N. T. and dump the politicians overboard.

After the pact of September, 1920, with the Socialistic U. G. T., it was the splendid outline of fundamental principles urged by Segui that cleared up the situation, not only as regards the pact with the Socialist unionists, but also as regards the Russian revolution and the Communists. He pointed out the necessity of the U. G. T. separating itself from the party, and asserted his belief that only the workers in their union organizations could realize the ultimate fruits of the class struggle, and that, necessarily, any other element or organization stood in the way. He pointed out that the Socialist Party is but the latest expression of the radical parties of the bourgeoisie, and that true Syndicalists must therefore oppose it, emphasizing the fact that the failure of the present regime of capitalism is essentially the failure of parliamentarism, regardless of shades or colors, Socialist or Communist, that the Communists would have to expend much energy disputing political control, while the syndicates are alone eminently fitted to carry out the revolution and assure its ultimate success. The workers' syndicates must exercise dictatorship, admitting that such is necessary in the period of transformation, as they alone will have a mission to perform, since upon them will rest the responsibilities of production and distribution. While stressing the duty of defending the Russian Revolution at all costs, Segui, with most of the C. N. T., believes it important to note the fact that they are not obliged in any way to submission to Soviet Russia, which would mean acceptance of all the methods employed by the Russian Communists. The revolution in Spain, they say, will without doubt be quite a different thing from the one that took place in Russia.

However, the C. N. T. voted at its December, 1919, Madrid congress to affiliate with the Third International. Here is the resolution, adopted unanimously:

"The National Committee, as a résumé of the ideas expressed by the different comrades who spoke on the question in the session of December 17th, with reference to the subject of the Russian Revolution, propose the following:

First: That the **Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo** declares itself the firm defender of the principles which gave form to the First International, sustained by Bakounine;

Second: That it declares its provisional adherence to the Third International, because of the revolutionary character of its present directorate, and until the organization and holding of the International Congress in Spain, which is to lay the basis upon which will be founded the real International of the workers."

Continued persecution prevented the C. N. T. from carrying out its plans and sending out its intended call for an international Syndicalist congress.

The **Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo de España**, or National Confedaration of Labor of Spain, was organized on September 14th, 1911, at Barcelona, by delegates representing 28,000 organized workers, mostly grouped in local and autonomous unions, the big majority being located in the Catalonia region. It was founded at the height of the reactionary Canalejas regime, with wide-spread protests against threatened international war over Morocco, and with big strikes on every hand. A demonstration after the congress, in protest against the rule of reaction, resulted in wholesale imprisonments and brutality against the new-born Confederation, and it has been in the thick of the fight ever since, so much so that it had neither time nor opportunity to hold a congress until December, 1919, during a momentary lull in the unrelenting fight against it on the part of the Spanish master class.

On the 18th of December, on the eve of the parliamentary elections, a statement was published in certain liberal newspapers of Madrid in which the C. N. T. declared that it would consider the agreement entered into with the U. G. T. in September, 1920, as null and void. It accused the U. G. T. of open treason, because at a moment when decisive and energetic action could have put an end to the governmental oppression from which the militant members of the advance guard of the labor movement had been suffering for two years, the Socialist Party, influencing the U. G. T., preferred to divert the union's attention to political interests, instead of uniting in joint action, which the crisis required. It stated that thereby the Socialist Party prevented the movement of protest from attaining the desired

end. The Socialistic U. G. T. was charged with collaborating with the bourgeois element and with opposing the action of the Syndicalists.

**The statement terminated with the following unequivocal and ringing paragraph: "We re-affirm our anti-parliamentary convictions, and we ask all workers not to vote, not to help to forge the chains which will be put around our necks, even if these chains be gilded, as are those which the Republicans, the Radicals, and the Socialists hold out to us.**

**"We call upon the proletariat of the world to aid us in our struggle against Spanish persecution and political intrigue."**

## ARGENTINE

That the reign of unparalleled reaction, which began with the tragic second week of January, 1919, during the revolutionary general strike, has spent its full force and is receding, is evidenced by the holding, undisturbed by the authorities, of the first extraordinary congress of the non-conformist wing of the F. O. R. A. (**Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina**, or Argentine Regional Workers' Federation), the liberation by order of the national executive toward the end of December of nearly two score political prisoners, and the congress and changing of the P. S. I. or **Partido Socialista Internacional** into the Communist party.

There were 193 delegates present, representing 192 affiliated unions and 56 autonomous or independent unions, in attendance of the congress of the non-conformists of the F. O. R. A., formerly known as the "F. O. R. A. of the Fifth Congress," or "Quintistas", but now calling itself the **F. O. R. A. Comunista**, which it seems, has not borne out the high expectations of many of its partisans and participants. A lack of fixedness of purpose and much uncertainty of methods and tactics, if not indeed of principles, prevented better and more lasting results. As much as the regular F. O. R. A., sometimes called "of the 9th congress" or "of the 10th congress", merits criticism in parts and on occasions, our ardent fellow workers of the new **F. O. R. A. Comunista** must learn that criticism alone or a predisposition to insisting on individual plans of action instead of on a common and constructive program, will get them nowhere.

One concrete accomplishment seemed to be the adoption of a universal card and dues stamp, but later reports seem to modify this by apparent agreement that local unions will still retain their own books and stamps.

The delegate of the independent union of the Marine Transport Workers of South America, (I. W. W.), Fellow Worker José S. Pica, presented a plan of organization covering all industries and closely following the I. W. W. chart, which was very well received indeed, and favorably and widely commented upon in the radical and labor press.

Included in the liberated political prisoners are E. Garcia Thomas, Hermenegildo Rozales and Atilio Biondi, formerly editors of the anarcho-syndicalist daily, **Bandera Roja**, (The Red Flag), who were sentenced in July, 1919, to six years' imprisonment, after their paper had been suppressed and a notable trial and appeal had taken place. But the Siberia of the Argentine Republic, the penal settlement of Ushuaia, in the Antartic regions of Ticrra del Fuego, still holds its hostages of the class war in the antipodes, among them the undaunted Radowiski, whose very interesting story I would like to present here, but must postpone on account of lack of space and time.

The formation of the Communist party now gives Argentine three Socialist or Communist Parties. A majority of the municipal council of the capital city, Buenos Aires, which contains one-fifth of the population of the nation and is of larger proportionate importance commercially and industrially, are Socialists of one shade or another.

Just a few words about the F. O. R. A.: It was first organized in 1901, and adopted a declaration of principles resembling in a general way the preamble of the I. W. W. In its fifth congress, in 1905, there was a partial split between those who devoted their attention almost exclusively to the eight-hour day movement and those who were after the organization of the workers for the overthrow of capitalism, the latter winning out. In the 9th and 10th congress, the intransigeants took a more extremist attitude than ever, while a majority supported the so-called moderates, who have since been in control, and who have surely built up a powerful organization. In an open letter published some time ago, in reply to critics, Secretary Sebastian Marotta claims 80,000 affiliated members for the regular F. O. R. A., apportioned in 534 syndicates. The strongest single union in the federation is the F. O. M., or **Federacion Obrera Maritima**, (Maritime Workers Federation), made up mostly of coastwise and ferry boats plying the river Plata and tributaries. The efforts of the shipping interests to break up this the strongest union in South America, has forced strike after strike upon it, of incredibly long duration. They have recently come out of a strike lasting about a year, and entered the "ferry-boat strikes," in which the government took a hand against the union.

A splendid example of industrial solidarity occurred during the recent "ferry-boat strike," where twenty ferry-boat workers refused to man the boat after it had been loaded by scabs. The twenty were promptly arrested for obstructing necessary public transportation in violation of a recent federal law, and were loaded on a special train on way to jail, but the train crew and the yardmen at Basavilbaso refused to move the train, and they were arrested in turn. The twenty ferry-boat strikers were then put on a special car and the latter hooked to a thru train, but as soon as the crew were made aware of the incident, they also refused to move their train until the car was disconnected, which

was done after some more trainmen were discharged.

The strike of the Naval Constructors' Union against the Mihanovieh shipping interests, altho about a year old, still endures, and this union still is among the solid ones of Buenos Aires.

## BRAZIL

In Brazil, as in practically every country in the world, labor organization has gone on apaee, in spite of repressive measures, deportations and the general undeveloped condition of the country in its social and industrial life. Here, as elsewhere, intrigues and selfishness divide the workers and retard their progress.

The numerous deportations have been due to the faet that the number of the workers who rebel against the masters are predominantly foreigners, to the extent of perhaps 90%,—about 80% being Portuguese. The native workers have had their patriotism "worked on" and have responded to the treatment. A huge "patriotic eampaign" has been launehed in favor of eultivating the national spirit as against "foreigners", but its very intensity and ardor is undoubtedly going to have a contrary effeet. They are endeavoring to stir up the Brazilians to believe that they are being robbed and that their rights are being invaded by the foreigners, especially the Portuguese. And, unfortunately, large numbers of the workers, who are not as yet class-conscious, are responding to the anti-foreigner and patriotie campaign of misrepresentation.

But tho they may be able to deport all active agitators and stir up patriotic fury to fever heat, they eannot deport ideas nor the causes of diseontent. Many of us continue in our endeavors to spread the truth. But the difficulties in our path have increased and the disastrous results may be seen in some formerly promising unions. For instance, the Textile Workers Union, which in 1918 had 16,000 members, now numbers only about 3,000, the others having been raked in, by intimidation and insidious propaganda, by none other than the Catholic Union, which serves as a sort of entertainment eenter, maintained by subsidies of the industrial masters, assisted by the **venerable** pastors of the various flocks and congregations which abound in this fertile country. In these unions money seems to be plentiful, in common with dancing, singing, eard-playing and praying.

The flourishing Typographical Union of yesteryear has suffered from factional differenees and a general strike that failed, until now there are only about a dozen members in the local union.

Perhaps the one union that has been able to maintain itself in something like its former strength is that of the Construction workers.

In the southern districts labor conditions are more eneouraging.

You perhaps already know of the Third Brazilian Labor Congress, held in May of this year, 1920. As the first congress was held in 1906 and the second in 1913, these congresses are more than a ten-day wonder. The last congress brought together a larger and more representative gathering by far than any former affair of the kind in Brazil, and promises well for future organization. The I. W. W. preamble was read at the Congress and was well received. Literature had been sent by New England members of the I. W. W. and some of it was reproduced in the labor press. The Congress turned down completely all invitations to join Gompers' so-called "Pan-American Federation of Labor".

## CHILE

It is remarkable how international capitalism can "get away" with anything, including wholesale murder, when the spirit of the workers is not aroused. We have reeeived various confirmations of the barbarities recorded in a recent number of this publication as oecurring under the "white terror" of the Chilean bourgeoisie. News have also reaehed us of the torture of our Fellow Worker José Domingo Gómes Rojas, I. W. W. member, student and poet of widely reeognized attainments. One of the forms of torture he was subjected to was having cold water dropped on him in his cell, drop by drop, for long periods. He was driven insane, and his sensitive constitution being unable to stand the strain, he died. His funeral brought out forty thousand people, of all ages and both sexes, paralyzing the industrial and commercial aetivities of the capitol city of Chile for the day, and tying up local transportation completely. The cortege was formed at the offices and halls of the Students' Federation and passed in front of the palace of "La Moneda," the seat of government, as well as in front of the tribunals of "justice", as a protest against the oceupants of these institutions, who had stirred the "patriotie" mob to acts of violence and incendiarism that marked the beginning of the recent reign of terror thruout Chile. At the cemetery additional stands had to be provided for the speakers who addressed the multitude in memory of our brave fighter and poet, who was relentlessly persecuted beeause of his being a member of the I. W. W. Among the speakers was one of the editors of the radical review **"Numen"** (Inspiration) and ex-president of the Students' Federation, Santiago Labarea, who had been indicted but was not as yet aprehended. Police officers, learning of his presence, endeavored to reach him and arrest him, but the dense crowd would not open up the way for the poliee, and Labarca was enabled to finish his address and get away. But he was arrested later.

Many of those who filled the jails have been released on bond, and trials have started. Among those to whom provisional liberty on bond was denied is the former secretary and one of the main organizers of the Chilean I. W. W.—Juan O. Chamorro. A new beginning is being made by a group of earnest workers and students, as was to be

expected after all the enthusiasm that went into the making of the I. W. W. here last year. They have issued two numbers of **Accion Directa** (Direct Action), issuing a ringing challenge to the newly inaugurated president in the first issue, advising him that he will be held strictly accountable for close adherence to his promises of free speech, free press and unrestricted right of organization. The history of the development of the Chilean I. W. W. is one of the most interesting chapters in American labor history, and we hope to give an account of it at some early date.

## CUBA

The cost of living has soared upward in Cuba as in all other countries, and the financial crisis has hit the workers hard. The "forward-looking" bosses have been fearing a spontaneous uprising, and recently attempts have been made to make it appear that an uprising of the blacks against the whites was imminent. But in reality, the economic disturbances in the Wall Street controlled republic and the policy of labor repression have brought about an intolerable condition of affairs, and the "blacks" are the capitalist wretches of Wall Street, and the local capitalists and speculators in sugar and in the life of the people.

An epidemic of strikes swept Cuba during 1920, and many unions have been forced out of existence by the organized power of the bosses, backed up by the cynical government of the jackal Menocal and the sugar barons. Few workers' publications have escaped supression. Open assassination is being resorted to in the cane fields in the present harvest to forestall any attempts at organization, as letters received direct from the cane fields and sugar mills inform us. The employees of the Havana Electric Company had their union broken up for them by the good 100% American directors and superintendents of this corporation, and these workers are endeavoring to reorganize.

American managers of such corporations as the Havana Electric in Cuba, the Armour and Swift concerns in Uruguay, Argentine and Chile, and other similar corporations, are accumulating for all except working-class Americans of the U. S. the well-merited contempt, if not hatred, of thousands upon thousands of mercilessly exploited and hard-driven workers of the countries mentioned, to whom the very word "American" or "Yankee" is a by-word of hate. It is for this special reason, as well as on general principles, that it is highly important and desirable that we lose no opportunity to show our fraternity and solidarity with our fellow wage-slaves of Cuba, Mexico and Central and South America.

## MEXICO

The much-heralded congress of the so-called Pan-American Federation of Labor was duly held in the City of Mexico as per schedule, but the representation was such as to require a change of name, if not indeed the dissolution of the pet creation of old man Gompers. Sammy was quoted as stating to a Mexico City newspaperman in an interview upon his arrival there, that the I. W. W. did not exist, but this glib generality did not satisfy nor convince the Mexicans. It is now seriously up to Sammy to prove that the high-sounding "Pan-American Federation of Labor" really exists.

The remarkable thing about the affair is, not who was there and what was done, but rather the many Pan-American countries (practically all of them) that were neither represented nor intended to be represented. Organized labor in Brazil definitely refused to have anything to do with Sammy's pet creation; Argentine, ditto; Uruguay, the same; Cuba was only represented in two or three unions, who authorized Santiago Iglesias of Porto Rico to "handle" their representation; Chile, absent; Ecuador, absent; Peru, absent; Bolivia. absent; Paraguay, absent; Venezuela, absent; Costa Rica, absent; Nicaragua, absent; Panama, absent; Honduras, absent.

The Mexican I. W. W. has met with much success in its renewed activity in Tampico, lining up many new members and putting the Oil Workers' Local Union on its feet again, as well as rendering valiant support to the Mexican administration and aiding materially in the regular publication of "El Obrero Industrial", their official organ, which appears regularly each month with good industrial union and fundamental organization propaganda matter. **More power to it!**

# The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions

By A. Lozovsky

(Continued from the February Number.)

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the struggle of the Russian trade unions on the social revolutionary front the labor organizations in Western Europe and America became revolutionized. The labor masses streaming into the unions brought about a change in the old decrepit organizations. The trade union bureaucracy who reigned unchallenged in the unions during the war, began to feel that their position was becoming unstable. In England a movement for direct action is growing up in the old unions. The Miners' Union, Transport Workers' Union and the Railwaymen's Union formed a triple alliance and put forward demands which the bourgeoisie cannot concede. A series of gigantic strikes has shaken England, and if the government has come out of it unharmed, it is only due to the fact that the leaders strove to substitute fighting by agreements, and at all costs to find compromises. Within the old trade unions in England there is growing up a Shop Steward movement which, however, is rather a number of groups of revolutionaries of like opinion than the factory committees in the Russian sense of the term. The British Shop Steward organizations exist simultaneously within and outside of the trade unions. They stand for the revolutionary class struggle, the violent overthrow of the capitalist system, put forward the Soviet System as a substitute for the parliamentary system, and put forward the demand for labor control. Altho the British Shop Steward Movement is not yet sufficiently formed and its ideas not yet clearly defined, it is nevertheless a revolutionary class protest against the trade union bureaucracy and its hope of a peaceful solution of the age-long conflict between capital and labor. If the as yet weak Shop Steward committees were confronted by a completely unanimous trade union movement then the revolutionization of the British labor movement would be a matter of the distant future. But the fact is that the trade unions themselves—not the leaders but the broad masses—are pressing to the left with the progress of events. The Shop Steward committees in their struggle rely on the sympathy of the masses; and as MacDonald said in one of his speeches, the left wing in the British Movement is very weak in normal times, but acquires considerable weight and importance immediately a serious social conflict arises. In order to render a complete picture of the British trade union movement it is necessary to point out that the Irish Trade Union Congress resolved to affiliate with the Third International and that a number of Irish trade unions are leaving the British organizations owing to their compromising tactics. The seven million workers organized in trade unions in England represent the following picture:—at the top there is the bureaucracy, nine-tenths of whom are hopeless compromisers; at the bottom there are the discontented worst paid sections of the workers, comprising the militant sections of the Shop Stewards movement, and in the center there are the average workers tied by training and a mountain of prejudice to their fatherland, but gradually, under the influence of the severe lessons of life, emancipating themselves from the delusion of a peaceful, gradual and constitutional solution of the social conflict. At all events there are sufficient elements of the new trade union movement in England for the new international center to rely on at least a section of the organized British workers. This was proved by the conference called in London on March 11-12 on the initiative of the Workers' Committees. Nearly 200 delegates were present at this conference, including representatives of eleven local branches of the Railwaymen's Union, three branches of the General Laborers' Union, six branches of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, four South Wales Miners' branches, two branches of the Yorkshire Miners, two branches of the Electrical Trades Union, branches of the Building Workers' Industrial Union, and a number of branches of other unions and political parties. All the resolutions of this unofficial conference were saturated with the revolutionary class spirit. The resolution on the nationalization of the mines says, "the continued existence of the capitalist system of production is leading to the ruination of mines. The conference calls upon the workers to set up an industrial apparatus thru which they can take the control of the means of production and distribution into their own hands." The conference expressed itself in favor of direct action and a general strike, as a means of securing satisfaction of the miners' demands. It also carried a resolution of greeting to Soviet Russia, and congratulated the Red Army on the brilliant victories it has achieved in its struggle against the united forces of the capitalist governments, and expressed its solidarity with the Russian Workers' Soviet Republic. In a special resolution the conference expressed regret at the inactivity hitherto displayed by the British workers in connection with the attack of world capitalism on Soviet Russia. Besides this, the conference demanded the independence of Ireland, sent greetings to the workers of Egypt and India, and demanded the withdrawal of British

troops from, and the granting of independence to, these countries. It declared against raising the productivity of labor under the capitalist system, and in a special resolution declared that the existing Parliament and organs of local government suited the requirements of the capitalistic system and served as a means for the legal enslavement of the workers. Soviets, or Workers' Committees, are recognized by the workers of all countries to be the best weapon for the overthrow of the capitalist system, and the best organ of administration in a Communist Republic. Besides other resolutions the conference resolved to welcome the Third Communist International formed in Moscow, and to call upon all organizations represented at the conference to accept the Communist platform and affiliate to the Third International. The conference urges upon all those participating in the conference to see to it that their organizations leave the Second International and the Labor Party and affiliate to the Third International. These resolutions indicate that within the British labor movement there are small but nevertheless revolutionary groups of workers who have completely broken with the Second International.

**The Headquarters of the All-Russian Trade Unions and of the International Council of Trade and International Unions, Moscow, Russia. John Reed's funeral procession in the foreground.**

The situation in France is somewhat different. The patriotic attitude taken up by the Confédération Générale du Travail during the war called forth protests from a number of syndicates already at the end of 1914. In december, 1914, Pierre Monatte, the editor of the Syndicalist organ **"La Vie Ouvriere,"** resigned from the C. G. T. and published a warm protest against the war policy of the former revolutionary Syndicalists. A "Trade Union Defense Committee" was formed in Paris around which grouped all the international elements in the trade union movement. This committee is part of the "Committee for the Re-establishment of International Connections" which is composed of two sections—trade union and Socialist. At the end of the war the left wing was considerably strengthened, and at the congress at Lyons, September, 1919, the minority received one third of the votes. From September, 1919, the influence of the left wing slowly but surely grew, and a large number of unions, including the Paris Metal Workers, Railwaymen, various local miners' unions, builders, leather workers, textile workers, and a number of department organizations, expressed themselves in favor of affiliation to the Third International. When the decision of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions to set up a new center for the revolutionary class unions became known in France, it met with great sympathy from the left wing unions, and the daily organ of the revolutionary minority, **"La Vie Ouvriere,"** at the head of which were Monatte and Rosmer, spoke categorically against the Amsterdam International and for the new Trade Union International.

In Italy the situation is different, first, because

for a long time two organizations have existed, one, revolutionary Syndicalist—The Italian Syndicalist Union—and the other, the reformist General Confederation of Labor. But the stand of the Italian proletariat, its revolutionary anti-war position, compelled the moderate leaders of the C. G. T. to conduct an international policy in agreement with the Socialist Party. At the end of 1919 the revolutionary Syndicalist unions expressed themselves in favor of affiliation to the Third International, while the C. G. T. not only avoided giving a definite reply to the questions raised by the revolutionary epoch, but participated in the Berne and Amsterdam Conferences and even in the Washington Conference. This opportunist policy of the C. G. T. roused considerable dissatisfaction among the masses, and various unions began to ask their Centers why they did not affiliate to the Third International. The Executive Organ of the Confederation, in March, 1920, made vague replies to these questions, from which one could gather that it did not wish to say anything definite for or against the Third International. Meanwhile various unions passed resolutions wholly conforming to the platform of the Third International. Thus, for instance, the general conference of the Italian Metal Workers' Union, which took place in the beginning of 1920, definitely expressed itself in favor of affiliation to the Third International. This was the general temper that reigned in the majority of the Italian unions in the middle of 1920.

In Spain also two organizations existed, one patriotic, headed by Vicente Bario, and the other, which arose during the war—revolutionary Syndicalist. The new organization had its base in Barcelona, with its industrial proletariat and old Anarcho-Syndicalist trade unions. For the last two years the National Confederation of Labor of Spain, as a result of its revolutionary tactics, has dominated almost the whole of the trade union movement of Spain. Out of the million organized workers in Spain, 800,000 belong to the revolutionary Syndicalist Confederation of Labor, while only 200,000 belong to the opportunist labor unions headed by Vicente Bario. The program of the General National Confederation of Labor of Spain includes the violent overthrow of capitalism, and revolutionary class struggle against the bourgeoisie and the compromisers who co-operate with it. At its last congress, the General National Confederation of Labor of Spain resolved to affiliate to the Third International. In view of the fact that the congress was held semi-illegally and the government had forbidden a discussion of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the threat of dispersal, the congress did not pass any resolution on this question. One thing is clear, however, and that is that three quarters of the organized workers of Spain stand for the revolutionary class point of view and are prepared, not in words but by action, to fight the capitalist class.

In Germany the trade unions have all the time been unanimous, that is, if the weak Hirsch-Dunker and Liberal unions are not considered. The Free Social-Democratic unions entered the war with a membership of two and a half millions, of which only a third remained after the end of 1915. But at the end of the war we see in Germany, as in all countries, a tremendous growth in the revolutionary movement. In the middle of 1920 the membership of the German trade unions stood at nearly eight millions.

The German trade unions were the most powerful apparatus and the main buttress of the military policy of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, and in spite of the defeat of Germany the influence of the trade union bureucracy remained even after the war. The excellently organized and controlled trade unions of Germany are to a very high degree adapted to crushing the revolutionary spirit of the workers. Here the struggle is much more difficult than in other countries. The trade unions are the buttress of the Scheidemann regime; during the Kapp affair, and the government crises connected with it, the deciding factor in constructing the ministry was the trade union leader Legien. As a result of the reactionary policy of the German unions there arose an opinion in favor of the revolutionary elements leaving the trade unions, which in spite of their revolutionary exterior are deeply reactionary and play into the hands of the governing bureaucracy. Besides the labor unions having a membership of 60 to 70 thousand there are in Germany revolutionary-syndicalist organizations with a general membership of nearly 200,000, and it is possible to find in these organizations strong support for an international center of revolutionary class unionism. Inside the Legien unions there is at the present moment a solid minority which is fighting against the old policy. The Metal Workers' Union with a membership of 1,800,000, the Textile Workers' Union with a membership of 450,000, the Leather Workers' with 200,000 members, and the Berlin Council of Trade Unions are already in the hands of the Independents, which means that they will soon pass into the hands of the Communists, for the inconsistent and half-hearted policy of the Independents compels the workers, not only formally but actually, to break with the old compromising and half-hearted policy.

It is sufficient also to recall the severe struggle which the rank and file members of the trade unions in the Ruhr Basin conducted against the Scheidemann and Noske regime to be able to say that ground for a revolutionary class struggle in Germany is sufficiently prepared; it is only necessary to be able to take advantage of the revolutionary energy of the mass, and this can be done least of all by forming separate unions isolated from the masses.

**(Editor's Note:—Owing to unforeseen circumstances we are not able to publish the whole of the second half of the above article in this issue. The remainder will appear in the April number.)**

# Book Review

### TRADE UNIONS IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

**Pub. by The Labour Research Department, London, 50c.**

An exceptionally good book, to be studied carefully by radicals who are working within the trade unions of the United States. This book offers a collection of first hand documents tracing the growth and development of the trade unions in Russia and the responsibility thrust upon them by the Revolution.

The collection was compiled by the Independent Labour Party Information Committee and the International Section of the Labour Research Department from authentic documents furnished by the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions.

"Trade Unions in Soviet Russia" has had a wide circulation among British workers. Evidence of this may be seen in the strong position taken by them thru the Councils of Action in preventing the mobilization of British troops against Soviet Russia during the last Polish retreat.—R.M.

### CONDITIONS OF LABOR IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES.

**By W. Jett Lauck and E. Sydenstricker. Funk and Wagnalls Co., New York City. $1.75.**

A careful study of Conditions of Labor in American Industries is a very essential requirement of those who are interested in the labor game. The Government has had thousands of investigations in every field of human activity; many of these investigations have been good and useful, others have been useless and wasteful. None of them have been from the proletarian point of view, leading up to workers' control of industry. Statistics relating to the conditions of capital are abundant. There are many agencies whose sole purpose is to investigate industrial conditions and make daily reports to the members of the master class, thus enabling them to perpetuate their control over the worker. They know the rates of interest, of profits, of rent, and of any other kind of expense, including wages and taxation. They know the percentage of risk certain investments are subject to, but they create reserves to "protect" them, and build large navies at the people's expense to "protect" their foreign investments.

When it comes to investicating the conditions of labor in American industries, one has to search high and low to find accurate data, which will be of value to the labor advocate. The authors of this book do not draw any conclusions, they only state facts and let the student do his own thinking. But when this little book is touched with the magic rod of Karl Marx it becomes pregnant with dynamic power, which cannot but help change the conditions of labor in American industries to an extent that only the future will tell.—R. M.

### DEBS AND THE POETS.

**Edited by Ruth Le Prade. Pub. by Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, Cal. 50c.**

Debs has broken thru the clouds of American slavery into the glorious light of Liberty among the immortals!

His name rings sweet in the ears of hundreds of thousands of workers in America and the world over. Tho his body is held prisoner in Atlanta, his courageous spirit proclaims to the whole world his determination to stand by his decision against the imperialist wars of the master class.

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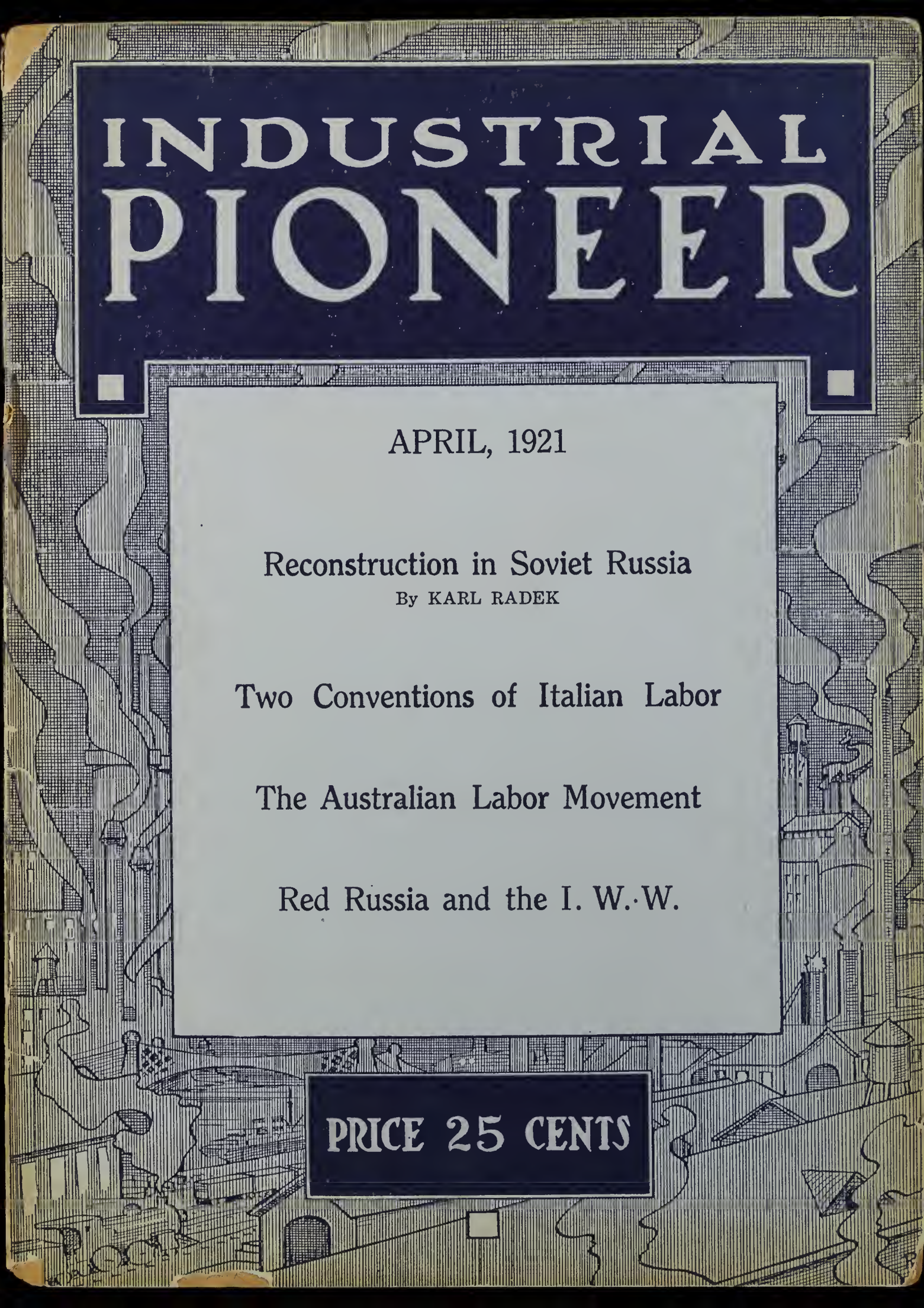

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Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

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These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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OUT OF SUFFERING AND DEATH ARISES THE SPIRIT
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# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Vol. 1, No. 3 APRIL, 1921 Serial No. 3

## Red Russia and the I. W. W.

**A Letter from Tom Barker**

RED RUSSIA is passing from the war period to that of industrial construction. The Red Army, after its great victory over the White forces of General Wrangel, is demobilizing for the new fight on the industrial front, where problems are more complex and intensified. It is, I think, quite true that very few other countries could have withstood the combined forces of war, hunger and cold for nearly seven years in the way that Russia has done. Her people have an enormous power of resistance, which has left them still sturdy and strong in a contest that would have destroyed the more nervous Americans and Britishers by the million. The Russians have also enormous recuperative power, and I am sure that there is no country in Europe, excepting perhaps Norway and Sweden, where the general mass of the people are so healthy and vigorous. Such is their power of both resistance and recuperation that their health and vigor is maintained on food which would probably utterly ruin the fastidious stomachs of Western peoples.

Red Russia is alive to the needs of the moment. The end of the war and the pressing problems of economic reconstruction have precipitated an intense discussion upon the role of the unions in industry. The long series of wars upon nineteen fronts against the mercenary White Guards and the agents of world capitalism could only be waged by a highly centralized political and military organization. When one reflects upon the woeful state of both the political and military organizations after the fall of czardom and the Kerensky regime, one can see the tremendous organizing work that was necessary to throw a sense of direction into the aimless rabble, and by enthusiasm, propaganda and ceaseless hammering weld it into the most powerful of all modern armies.

Judging by what I have seen of the Red Army, the blood-stained imperialists of the West have as much opportunity of reducing Russia by their own dissatisfied and semi-mutinous troops as they have of unloading their shoddy goods on the inhabitants of Mars. The next time Russian armies have to march to repel an invader, they may probably not maintain that solicitude for staying within their own frontiers. The small Baltic states can neither fight nor permit outside troops to pass thru their poverty-stricken lands. Finland is about to open trade with Soviet Russia, and Latvia is talking in a very conciliatory strain. The Polish imperialists cannot at present afford to give vent to their diseased policy of overrunning Europe and murdering the Jewish race. Roumania may give some trouble, but a little reflection will teach her to remember the ignominious trashing she received from the Germans in 1917, after she declared war in the usual high-sounding phrases so current among people who are bankrupt in everything else. So, undoubtedly, the efforts will come thru agents, smuggled in, to re-organize the counter-revolutionary elements still existing to some minor extent in Russia. These trouble-making gentry who could well spare themselves for some other much worthier cause—say, the white slave traffic—will find their work both hard and dangerous. The only satis-

slogan, "War on the Bourgeoisie" is not a platitude, and the person—whatever his label—who works to bring more war, misery and hunger upon the Russian workers and peasants will thereby probably receive more attention than he bargains for.

As for the blockade, its effects are breaking down. It is true that highly essential things are lacking, even elemental things, but, as I have already said, the Russian will grow strong upon half the bread which he could eat. Russia's harvest under normal conditions will feed her for five years. Last year was a bad crop year, but nevertheless the people obtained, despite this and the occupation of the best crop lands by the White Bands, nearly sufficient to feed everybody. Bad transport, engines in foul repair, dynamited bridges, destroyed track, all these have hindered the distribution of bread in some of the districts, which have gone hungry, while other districts have had a superabundance. But the best of the winter is over, and in two and a half months the country work will be in full swing, hundreds of thousands of men and women will go back to the land, the zealously guarded seed will be sown and then Nature herself will prove to the "big men with warped minds" that the blockade has been broken—not by Allied politicians, but by the Russian workers and by Mother Nature! Ploughs are being repaired, here and there one sees a tractor being assembled. God knows how it came here; but it is going to send up the total of food produced in this great flat fertile country. Next year food will be plentiful. Vegetables and fruit will be a welcome change to the salt fish and the heavy bread. The damaged bridges will be repaired, three "sick" engines will become two "healthy" ones, the tracks will be regraded and ballasted anew, and, little by little, the feeble transport arteries will throb with new blood.

Russia is so great, so immense. Time is of little or no account and her people are slow. But there are 180,000,000 of them, and parasitism is almost destroyed. A little from so many, is ever so much more than the intensified complicated efforts of the workers in the capitalist world, working on weapons of destruction, or objects for the gratification of parasitism and all the odious professions which are bent upon perpetuating parasitism. A gorgeous and glorious year opens before Russia. It is the first year of Peace, the first year when her workers can turn from the anxiety of overthrowing her class enemies, and can enter upon the greatest work of construction that ever devolved on any people in history. If half the energy can be utilized in the reconstruction of industry that has been used in the organization of the Red Army, then success, while slow, will be assured. Such a condition of affairs is a challenge to the finest mechanics and inventors in Europe. Tools are lacking; labor is mostly unskilled. The crying need of the hour is for mechanical and technical workers; the war has killed off nearly all of them. Russia is overrun with theoreticians and draftsmen, but what she needs are men who can construct, men who can build. For instance, in Moscow there are thousands of large hotels and dwellings unfit for habitation simply because all the heating and plumbing arrangements have become disorganized and unusable. But a few I. W. W. men came into town, and under the leadership of one plumber, and with a scanty collection of tools, the obtaining of which "was like drawing teeth," they began to solder and mend, and to put huge buildings back into use again. A little industrial experience is worth a great deal in Russia.

Russia is not perfect, but perfectly organized social systems do not fall from heaven; a great social transformation is not brought about by simply exercising the powers of pure logic. The bursting of the shell of the old society does not result in a full-grown economic chicken strutting gaily forth into the world. The period of transition is now on. The counter-revolution is not yet dead, nor is the bourgeoisie, either of Russia or of the world, ready to relinquish its designs on this country and its enormous resources. I was held up at Yamberg, the frontier station, for six days. From there I could see, half a mile away, a wrecked railway bridge blown up by White Guards, which had meant the loss

of hundreds of rail miles, and perhaps the death of 10,000 workers thru starvation caused by the breakdown of the transport system.

As to the future in Russia, the I. W. W. may have little fear. Industrial construction is the essential thing, not for the moment but for many years to come. This implies economic organization, unionism, but not according to the outer-word conception of it. Speaking a week ago at the All-Russian Industrial Union of Miners, I said: "It is true that the mines in which you work, or in which you will work, are swamped by water, the machinery rusted and useless, or entirely destroyed by the White Bands, but bad as all this is, they are **your mines!** And bad as things are, are you not a thousand times better off now than the mining slaves of the great capitalist countries, who toil to enrich their masters, contract pthisis, lead-poisoning, and all the other ills and evils of the capitalist system?"

And so it is! It is so difficult for men who have lived all their lives under a capitalist dictatorship to realize the real position of the industrial workers in Russia. The full power is actually diverting to their hands. A few are opposing this, but certainly least of all men like Lenin or Bucharin, Tomsky or Zinoviev. I don't believe that they desire to maintain one iota of power on the day the industrial workers are ready to assume it. But as I have said, the industrial workers are few in an immense country. Besides, as yet, the industries, owing to lack of fuel and raw material and defective transport, are only beginning to operate in part. So it is evident that while the power of the industrial workers is growing, and not merely growing, but loudly and clamorously asserting its growth, it is still a step, and possibly a fairly lengthy one before the full administration of Russia will fall entirely into their hands.

And to those who may disagree, I say, "Look at Russia!" The I. W. W. can help Russia greatly. The I. W. W. is respected in Russia more than any other outside organization. It is respected for its many fights against the American, Australian and South American authorities, and even more for what the I. W. W. have done, and are doing today in Russia. If ever there was a field for work, lasting, permanent work, it is in this country. Mechanics, engineers, turners, blacksmiths, tool makers, mechanic's laborers, Russia wants you, and if possible, your bag of tools. And I tell you that you can fight the American boss from Russia, by building a proletarian civilization that will demonstrate to the workers of the whole world how stupid they are to tolerate the vile system of greed, piggishness and misery that prevails in capitalist countries. Industrial unionism is coming into its own in Russia, and as soon as the outside enemy is punished sufficiently to learn to leave well enough alone, all production will be carried on only to supply, to quote my old friend, John Benjamin King, "the economic wants of society." The State will disappear, and people will live naturally, humanly and beautifully.

Fellow workers, you know as little of Russia as Russia knows of you! They have "put something across" and have lighted Eastern Europe and Northern and Western Asia with the Red Star of the Proletariat! Less criticism of Russia based upon lies and distorted facts, and more real help and desire to assist will be to the advantage of all. Remember how much Russia has done, and how little we of the outside would have accomplished, and do not presume that our experience is the sum-total of the world labor movement.

Industrial Workers of the World! If you are tired of keeping a boss, or of being continually broke, there is room and a welcome for you in Red Russia. In this country every ton of iron ore and every extra truck of coal is a nail in the coffin of capitalism, whereas in **your** country they mean only a speedier way to hunger and the road. Summer is coming and you will get all the food you want, and you can grow up with something in Russia, instead of going down with nothing in the land of hypocrisy, Wilson, Standard Oil, bull-durham, stool pigeons, bull pens and lawless law. Bring your card with you, and have it paid up!

Moscow, Feb. 1, 1921.

# Toward a Definite Syndicalist Policy

SYNDICALISM in the labor movement is a relatively recent phenomenon. It has had its eminent theoreticians, especially in the Latin countries of Europe, but in its practical manifestations, this remarkable philosophy is the spontaneous result of the experience of labor in its endless struggle for emancipation. Being a movement of the rank and file, a growth from the most fecund tho humble depths of human society, it has with difficulty established international connections, such as the political parties enjoy for many years. The ideas of men find a ready unity across obstacle and distance; much more significant is the joining of hands of mighty labor groping by its own painful but heroic efforts towards the goal of emancipation.

The London conference before the war and the Berlin conference held recently are the only efforts ever made at syndicalist international organization. It is all the more striking, in view of this relative isolation, to what an extent unity of thought has been achieved in the world syndicalist movement. This coincidence of purpose and policy is significant in that it establishes syndicalism as a definite and powerful world-factor to be reckoned with in the labor movement.

We reproduce below extracts from recent writings of authoritative French, Italian and Spanish syndicalists on the much-discussed problem of the relation between Communist Parties and Syndicalist Unions. The reader will notice how closely these views tally with each other and with the prevalent ideas in the I. W. W. on the subject.

## THE ITALIAN SYNDICALIST UNION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(Extracts from an article by **A. Faggi**, Acting Sec.-Treas. of the Italian Syndicalist Union.)

What, then, shall be our attitude towards the new Communist Party? As a class organization, we shall first of all declare our absolute independence and most rigid neutrality, even towards the Communist Party. This does not exclude, naturally, the possibility of the most neighborly and friendly relations to the new party. If this organism is really a nucleus of vital revolutionary elements, we cannot ignore it, we must be its good friends and allies, even tho we function in a different field and must maintain our own characteristics, which do not admit of alterations; our organization needs no tutors, it cannot and must not become a submissive pupil.

As to the individual militant members of the Italian Syndicalist Union, just as there are many to-day that belong to the Socialist Party, so there will be, and in a larger measure, many who will belong to the Communist Party. It is undoubtedly true that this new body exercises considerable fascination among our members and the reason is easily explained. To our way of thinking, the situation is mature for a revolution in Italy; it can be successfully attempted. In order to triumph, it requires a revolutionary organism in which are earnest and authorative men who should say the word "go". The proletariat will be with these men. Can the Communist Party assume this vital revolutionary role? Will its men rise to the exigencies of the occasion? Whoever answers affirmatively to these questions naturally joins the Communist Party, remaining also an active member of our Union.

For my part I believe that the Italian Syndicalist Union must be considered — in harmony with the syndicalist conception — the most important single factor in the coming Italian revolution. This belief does not eliminate the possibility that in the decisive period that we are traversing, a political organism such as the Communist Party should exercise a great influence in the revolutionary preparation, especially if it were to purge itself of the infection that afflicts the Socialist Party, and that Karl Marx once called "electoral or parliamentary idiocy".

There is one point upon which it is impossible to agree with certain com-

munists. It is in reference to their absurd pretention of wishing to **monopolize** the revolution, making it in effect a party or even a sect affair.

In speaking of labor unions, these communists seem to consider them as organisms that must pass under their command; the Communist Party would thus assume all the destructive and creative functions of the revolution. It is by this road that our friends arrive at the conclusion of the **Communist Dictatorship,** which in the thoughts of many of them has taken the place of the **Proletarian Dictatorship.** All this is in absolute opposition to our ideas and represents a serious danger to our class. In our eventual dealings with the Communist Party we Syndicalists must always avoid the appearance of sanctioning a principle, harmful in itself and potentially fatal to a workers' revolution, namely: the supremacy of the political group over the Union and consequently the diminution and alteration of the self-sufficient, autonomous organizations of labor.

The Italian Communists cite as an example the Russian revolution — undoubtedly rendering it an evil service — in which they pretend to see the dominance of a political party over all the manifestations of social life.

In Russia, evidently, it is the **Soviet** which dominates and controls social activities. It may happen that in Russia, thru the Soviets, the directing functions may fall to the men of the Communist Party. But this phenomenon simply indicates a condition in which the Russian revolution took place and is presently developing. In Russia, the workers did not have Unions developed to the point that we have reached in Italy; our proletariat has reached a further stage of class-consciousness and maturity. Consequently, even tho we recognize that in Russia the revolution was the fruit of the audacity, the genius and the enterprise of the virile and marvelous body of men that constitute the Communist Party, thru the instrumentality of those magnificient organisms — the Soviets, it must not necessarily follow that exactly the same course should be followed in Italy.

With us, a Communist Party may have educational, inspirational and similar functions — just as other political groupings have in a varying measure — but the Union cannot surrender the creative functions peculiar to the organism which unites in one powerful body the producers of all social wealth, and therefore destined to the historical task of building the new society.

The organized workers may require more education, more organization, better tactical and moral disposition for the supreme effort — but the indispensable practical and technical factors of social reconstruction are with them and not with the lawyers — in the Union and not in the Party. It is the revolutionary Union that must in the event of revolution furnish the thousands of humble proletarians able to reorganize and administer industry, and the elements for the successful guidance of the local and central Workers' Committees. It is in the Union that even today the unmistakable lineaments of a new society are appearing, just as it has been the Union that has raised our fellow workers to their present stage of maturity, and which will create the psychology and the ethics of the coming society of free producers.

No party can advance pretensions to the **Dictatorship** over these workers, who have in themselves the secret of all future victories: the proletariat alone, collectively as a class, must dictate to the enemy class, which it must destroy in the transitory period of revolutionary consolidation in which the new civilization of the producers purges the earth of the lurid survivals of the capitalist order.

The new Communist Party may degenerate into a sterile and disagreeable sect if it does not take these facts into account; it may, on the other hand, be worthy of the highest consideration and support if, permeating itself with our syndicalist viewpoint and spirit, it should duly appreciate these brief considerations.

# THE SYNDICAT AND ITS RELATION TO THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

**By Salvador Segui**

(Former secretary of the Regional Federation of Labor of Catalonia, Spain, and active militant in the National Confederation of Labor; jailed in Barcelona, March-April, 1919; leader in the Madrid congress of the N. C. of L., December, 1919; arrested and deported to Mahon prison, Balearic Isles, December, 1920, and now confined with Angel Pestaña and others, in the infamous Montjuich fortress, Barcelona, where Francisco Ferrer and numerous other political prisoners were incarcerated, tortured or executed.)

What we desire more than anything else to eliminate from the General Union of Workers (the socialist **Union General de Trabajadores**) is the influence of the Socialist party. The workers who form the Union should no longer continue under the tutelage of a "foreign element". This "foreign element" is the Socialist party. It is possible that it is composed in its entirety of workers—of hand or of brain; nevertheless its function is very distinct from ours. We believe that the class struggle, which we must necessarily maintain, cannot be realized by any other body than the syndicat, the union of workers as workers. Any element or organization other than the syndicat or workers' union stands in the way rather than helps in the struggle.

Our methods in the struggle are completely different from the methods of the bourgeoisie, just as our field of action must also necessarily be different. The Socialist party cannot be considered as other than a prolongation of the radical parties of the bourgeoisie, of the which it is the last expression. Our organization, our Union, must act, therefore, not in accord with the Socialist party or as its adjunct, but rather contrary to it or against it.

The same reasons that make us stand aloof from militant socialism cause us to eschew the political contests or elections. We are anti-parliamentarians, as the whole world knows. The failure of the present regime is the failure of parliamentarism; and, it is for this reason that, even tho some confidence might otherwise be inspired in us in behalf of parliamentarism, we would still continue to repudiate it, as it would be folly to accept it now that its uselessness has been demonstrated.

No, we shall not accept this heritage. The syndicats have a mission to fulfill which is separate and apart from all election contests and their influence. Our intervention or participation in the elections would serve to give the present regime a sort of an injection which would permit it to artificially prolong its existence a little longer. But we do not nourish any sympathy for the present regime.

It has been said, with pretense of converting us, that we should accept the political contests, and that the Russian Communist Party, which now assumes the responsibility of power in the republic of the Soviets, participated in the elections to achieve its triumph.

Our attitude towards the Russian Revolution, beyond the limits of sympathy, is that of allies disposed to defend it at all cost. But this does not obligate us to a submission which we ourselves could not respect, nor to a complete acceptance of all the methods employed by the communists of the former empire of the czar.

Without it being considered that these words signify censure, as all that we read about Russia tends to show that our comrades there acted in the best manner possible, yet, we believe that the revolution will have to be a very different thing in Spain from what it was in Russia, and we also believe that the power will not be in the hands of a political party, no matter how good the intentions of such a party might be, but that the power will be in the syndicats because it is the syndicats, the unions, after all things are taken into account, that alone will have a reason for being, and will have a mission to perform, since upon them will rest the responsibilities of production and distribution.

The dictatorship—admitting that in the period of transformation from the bourgeois to the communist state we may have need for a dictatorship—must be exercised by the syndicats because it is in the syndicats where resides all the power of that class

which must necessarily make the revolution as well as insure its ultimate success.

The Communist Party would inevitably have to dispute its mandate with other parties which would stand in its way, and, in order to retain its power the Communist Party would have to expend much energy which would necessarily be urgently needed to correct defects of organization in the new society then being born.

With the syndicats, none of this would happen. However warm the discussions might be within the syndicat or union, the different contenders or factions would sooner or later arrive at an agreement, for the simple reason that it is much less difficult for people directly and intimately concerned to agree on questions of administration or of production, etc., than on speculative problems.

We understand that the power, or to state it better, the duty to attend to the economic needs of society, of the new communist society, is really the exclusive attribute and function of the syndicats or unions.

The various philosophic, social and art schools may and will flourish better, without any doubt, apart from the material life and freed from the tread-mill struggle for existence, and their different conceptions would then take on a tone of true nobility and disinterestedness which they would never be enabled to assume while subordinated to the passions and everyday needs of the material side of life.

## DECLARATION OF THE FRENCH DELEGATION TO THE BERLIN SYNDICALIST CONFERENCE

The French delegates presented the following declaration of principles:

We, the French delegates, are of the opinion that all revolutionary syndicalist organizations should unite in one single body to put up a united front against international capitalism and against the Reformist Amsterdam International. By dividing the forces of revolutionary labor into two Internationals we could only help capitalism and the Yellow Amsterdam International.

The French Revolutionary Syndicalist Minority, organized within the reformist General Confederation of Labor (Générale Confederation du Travail), comprises Syndicalist-Anarchists, Revolutionary Syndicalists and Socialist-Communist Syndicalists.

We are of the opinion that these same elements can enter into the formation of the Red Industrial Union International at Moscow. The French Revolutionary Syndicalist Minority already has affiliated to the Third International. Our point of view is reinforced by Zinoviev in a speech at the last congress of the Russian trade unions, in which he declared:

"I believe there is place for all unions to participate in the coming conference. It is not necessary to exact from participants recognition of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Communism and the Third International. It is sufficient to place before them the question: Amsterdam or Moscow. There must come to Moscow only those who do not wish to go to Amsterdam."

The Industrial Union International of Moscow will be what the Revolutionary Syndicalists who will enter it will want it to be.

The main problem before us at the present time is the formation of this International, which will be capable of taking revolutionary action when the time arrives. This is no time for us to enter into lengthy discussions of questions of only secondary importance.

We should first of all agree on a program of class-war and direct action in order that there may be formed within our trade unions the necessary complementary organs (Councils and Workers' Shop Committees) which will be prepared when the time arrives to fulfill their functions of taking over the factories, of re-organizing them and of continuing the work of production and distribution after the revolution.

By voicing our intention to come to Moscow, we do not want to convey the impression that we subscribe to the platform of any political party. It would be unjust to place the Communist Party of Russia, which has made the revolution, on the same

level with the more or less opportunistic political parties, parliamentary and otherwise, which exist in the different countries at present still under capitalist domination.

By adhering to the Red Industrial International the French Syndicalist Minority has not been influenced in its conduct by any political party. This Revolutionary Minority has formed Revolutionary Syndicalist Committees in all the French Reformist Trade Unions; the purpose of these Committees is to propagate the revolutionary doctrines of direct action and the class struggle, and to give to the reformist management of the trade unions and confederations, and to the General Confederation of Labor as a whole, a revolutionary direction.

In this work the French Revolutionary Syndicalist Minority is not following the advice or instructions from any political party; it has, however, declared its readiness at its last congress to co-operate with other bodies for the abolition of wage slavery.

It is in the above spirit that the French Revolutionary Syndicalist Minority asks all of the organizations represented at the Berlin Syndicalist Conference held in December, 1920, to affiliate to the Red Industrial International and to send their Delegates to the Congress that will take place in May, 1921, in Moscow. At this Congress a definite plan of action by all revolutionary labor bodies there represented will be formed.

**The French Delegation,**
**V. Godonneche,**
**Jean Ceppe.**

# Two Conventions of Italian Labor

**By G. C.**

ON THE WEEKS beginning January 15th and February 28th of the present year, the Italian Socialist Party and the General Confederation of Labor, its economic reflex, held their national conventions in the socialist municipality of Leghorn. The importance of these conventions to the Italian people and to the world labor movement cannot be overestimated; one Leghorn daily declared that they were the most important single events since the armistice in their potential influence on the destinies of the Italian nation.

The Socialist Party delegates, to the number of over three thousand, met in the Goldoni Theater. They represented the strongest single party in Italy, with over 210,000 members, 156 deputies in the Chamber, and the most important industrial municipalities and provinces under their political control.

Still the glory and pomp of power could not conciliate the most heterogeneous gatehring of "socialists" imaginable. The metallurgical workers' agitation of last October had bared to the view of the Executive Committee of the Third International, and to a large body of Italian workers, the essentially conservative soul of the loud-spoken, phrase-monging politicians. When the moment for revolutionary action came, the Maximalists of the Bologna Congress, the men who had been to Soviet Russia and had attested their revolutionary faith before the officials of the Third International, deliberately sabotaged the workers' movement and sent the Italian proletariat reeling back into the depths of disillusion and despair. When the Revolution reared its unkempt head brusquely before them, the politicians refused to recognize it.

A heated, controversial correspondence with Moscow followed; Zinoviev reproved Serrati, the Centrist leader, bitterly and to the point of offense; the party disintegrated into a half-dozen groups of varying views, which merged into three main divisions: the extreme Left, led by Bordiga, Bombacci, Terracini; the Centre, with Serrati, Baratono and Lazzari; the Right, with the old and crafty politicians Turati, D'Aragona, Modigliani, etc.

It was the general feeling that the Leghorn Convention could have but one outcome: a complete

THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST DELEGATION AT A RECENT SOVIET CONGRESS
**Sitting at the table, left to right: D'aragona, Graziadei, Zinoviev, Bombacci, Serrati, Dugoni.**

split. The popular expectations were verified, the only surprise being occasioned by the completeness with which the ambiguous and fluctuating elements of the Centre gave themselves into the arms of the Extreme Right when they faced the inevitable alternative. The essential opportunism of all politicians was here unmistakably revealed; two years ago the Centrists of today steered their Socialist Party into power and prominence on a program which satisfies the popular demand for Revolution and Soviets; today they renounce Revolution and substitute the formation of Soviets with the more convenient task of conquering more offices in the bourgeois political structure. It is to the great credit of the Moscow Communists that they have finally seen thru this duplicity: they state clearly in their telegram to the Convention that "the general revolutionary circumstances (in Italy) give them the External Appearance of being more to the Left than the Centrists of other lands."

The Third International was represented at the Convention by the Bulgarian Communist, Kabaceff, who made known to the delegates the views of the Central Committee in no uncertain terms. On the first day of the Convention the following telegram from Moscow was read:

> "Dear Comrades: The attempts of our representatives, Zinovieff and Bukharin, to participate in your Congress have not had the results hoped for thru no fault of ours (they were barred out by the Italian Government). Moreover, Comrades Serrati and Baratono, who had declared their intention to come to Russia, have not come. Therefore we send to you with this telegram our fraternal greetings and the following message:
>
> "We have followed thru the columns of your journals the struggle of the last months between the diverse tendencies of your party. Unfortunately the actions of the Communist Unitarians, at least the actions of the heads of the faction, have confirmed our most unfavorable expectations. In the name of unity with the reformists, the unitarian leaders are as a matter of fact ready to separate from the communists and also from the International.
>
> "Italy is crossing at present a revolutionary period, and it is for this reason that the reformists and the centrists seem to be more to the Left than those of other lands. Day by day it has appeared more clearly to us that the faction headed by Comrade Serrati is in reality a faction of centrists, to which only the general revolutionary circumstances give the external appearance of being more to the Left than the centrists of other lands.
>
> "Before knowing how the majority at your Congress will be constituted, the Executive Committee declares officially in an absolutely categorial manner: the decisions of the second world congress of the Communist International obligates adherent parties to break with the reformists. They who refuse to effectuate this schism violate an essential law of the International and put themselves outside the ranks of the International. All the unitarians in the world cannot convince the International that the editorship and the inspiration of that arch-reformist review, the "Critica Sociale" (Turati's journal), are favorable to the dictator-

THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN SESSION IN THE GOLDONI THEATRE, LEGHORN, ITALY

The streamer above the picture of Karl Marx reads: "Workers of the World, Unite!"

ship of the proletariat and to the Communist International. No diplomacy will convince us that the faction of the concentration is favorable to the proletarian revolution. Those who wish to bring the reformists into the International wish in reality the death of the proletarian revolution. They will never be of us.

"The Italian Communist Party must be created at any odds (**in ogni modo**). Of this we have no doubt, and to this party will come the sympathy of the proletariat of the entire world and the warm support of the Communist International.

**"Abbasso il reformismo! Viva il vero partito comunista italiano!"**

After six days of heated discussion in which the gulf between the contending factions widened increasingly, the matter came to a head with the vote on the motion to join the Third International under the conditions outlined by Kabaceff—strict observance of the 21 points, including expulsion of the reformist wing of the party.

The vote on the motion was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| For (Communists)..... | 58,000 |
| Against (Center and Right)..... | 111,000 |
| Abstained from voting..... | 50,000 |

The Communists abandoned the convention and proceeded to hold one of their own in which the Italian Communist Party came to life.

* * * * *

At the convention of the General Confederation of Labor about 1,750,000 workers were represented, of which almost a million are embraced in the powerful Agricultural and Metallurgical Workers' Federations. Transportation is the Confederation's weakest point for neither the Syndicat of Railway Workers nor the Federation of the Toilers of the Sea belong to it; these are extremely radical and efficient independent industrial unions.

The struggle which materialized at the Leghorn Convention of the Italian Socialist Party had its counterpart in the Convention of the G. C. of L. Communists and moderates fought for supremacy and the latter won out in the test vote. On the motion of the Communists to withdraw from the Amsterdam International and join the Third International, the vote stood 1,300,000 against and 418,000 for. The convention approved the closest co-operation between the Confederation and the Socialist Party, the withdrawal from the Amsterdam International, and possible co-operation with Moscow on the basis of national autonomy in the policies to be pursued in the future. Here also the ambiguities of Centrism triumphed. That socialism which seeks the conquest of the bourgeois governmental mechanism for its own purposes of political dominion has again fooled a large section of the Italian workers into believing its revolutionary protestations.

A very competent appraisal of the significance of the split in the socialist forces from the pen of Angelo Faggi (formerly editor of the Italian organ of the I. W. W. and at present acting secretary-treasurer of the powerful Italian Syndicalist Union) appears in "Guerra di Classe," of January 29th, 1921. This is Fellow Worker Faggi's comment on the situation:

"Evidently the Communist Party is destined at its birth to meet great sympathy and powerful support in the ranks of the Italian workers. Nursing the hope of imminent revolution, they find themselves today suffering bitter disillusion. Still, their general tendency is to rebel against their betrayers, and, veering instinctively towards a more precise and decisive stand, they naturally sympathize with whoever preaches the most extreme doctrine. From this point of view, the Communist Party will have a large following, especially because of the fact that on the political field it will be the authorized representative of the Third International.

"To what extent the new Communist Party can satisfy the hopes of the proletariat, it is difficult to foretell at this early stage. It is better to see it in action before hazarding a judgment which may be either too pessimistic or too rosy.

"As to the influence that the new party will have in the ranks of the General Confederation of Labor, it is impossible to foretell. It seems that the Communist Party, thru its most authorative leaders, has expressed the determination to support this organization in order to gradually conquer and transform it. It is a fruitless labor that the Communists are attempting, to our way of thinking. Still we have read with pleasure the writings of many members from the rank and file of the party who sustain the only clear road in the economic field it outside of the G. C. of L., and precisely in the Italian Syndicalist Union. If,

**In the centre, Filippo Turati—a potential Italian Scheidemann.**

**Above the cross, the Centrist leader G. M. Serrati. The most prominent figure in the Italian Socialist Party, in 1903-4 editor of "Il Proletario" in New York City.**

> then, the split in the Leghorn Congress will not have an immediate repercussion in the ranks of the G. C. of L., to the point of causing a secession of the forces controlled by the Communists, some effect of this nature it will surely have, especially as the G. C. L. is bound to follow the Socialist Party in an increasingly conservative policy, all communist efforts to the contrary notwithstanding."

If we were politically minded and believed that the fate of the Italian workers was entirely in the hands of the warring political sects and factions, the situation would indeed appear dark to our anxious eye. But fortunately such is not the case; the Italian workers are developing thru continuous warfare on the economic field a remarkable capacity for independent action; almost one million workers in the Italian Syndicalist Union and the railwaymen and seamen's unions, repudiating all political tutelage, are a living example of this new spirit. The metullurgical workers' movement of last October is an indication of the possible future tactics of Italian labor, and the workers have learned a great lesson from that memorable uprising.

Norman Matson writes in the March Liberator:

> "In the first great industrial struggle they took over the now famous 500 factories, and holding them, turned to their previously unconsulted leaders for advice. Out of the maze of contradictory, ambiguous accounts of that tense moment, one remembers the story of the night of waiting. In the factories of Turin and Milan not a red worker slept. Would their political and industrial advisers—Serrati, D'Aragona & Co.—tell them to hold the line or retreat? The order—formulated by the men who now lead a party purged of bolsheviks—was "Retreat—evacuate!" A young Torinese told me: 'The disappointment crushed us. Some of us wept that night!' "

Today Italy is practically rent by civil war; in the first week of March, the Italian workers, goaded by the bourgeoisie's white guard, the "fascisti," have been driven to retaliation. General strikes, riots, and a guerilla warfare in which the troops have used machine guns and three-inch cannon, have spread from Trieste in the North to Bari in the extreme South. The dead on both sides number close to one hundred; the wounded reach many times that number; thousands have been arrested. Still the Socialist Party maintains that the time for revolution is not yet at hand.

**To the millions of Italian workers surging forward under the impellent urge of hunger, unemployment and reaction, the Italian Syndicalist Union alone has a virile message of hope and deliverance; to them it says constantly:**

**"Do not weep; do not retreat; do not wait for orders; keep right on fighting on your own initiative and the world shall be yours, and the riches thereof."**

## CAPITALISM MAKES WAR INEVITABLE

**This monstrous thing called war will occur again! Not because any considerable number of people want it, not even because an active minority wills it, but because the present system of competitive capitalism makes was inevitable. Economic rivalries are the warp and woof of capitalism.**

**Today the rivalries are economic—in the fields of commerce and industry and finance. Tomorrow they will be military.**

**Already the nations have begun the competition in the building of tanks, battleships and airplanes. These instruments of destruction are built for use, and when the time comes, they will be used as they were between 1914 and 1918.**

**Again there will be the war propaganda—subtle at first, then more and more open. There will be stories of atrocities; threats of world conquest. "Preparedness" will be the cry.**

**Again there will be the talk of "My country, right or wrong"; "Stand behind the President"; "Fall in line"; "Go over the top!"**

**Again fear will stalk through the land, while hate and war lust are whipped into a frenzy.**

**Again the most stalwart men of the nations will "dig themselves in" and slaughter one another for years on end.**

**Again the truth-tellers will be mobbed and jailed and lynched, while those who champion the cause of the workers will be served with injunctions if they refuse to sell out to the masters.**

**—Scott Nearing in "The American Empire."**

*The Industrial Pioneer*

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## THE STATUS OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA

IN THIS ISSUE of The Industrial Pioneer are printed three articles dealing with the labor situation in Soviet Russia. Controversy has been going on for some time past on the share that organized labor should assume in the management of industry and in the functioning of the Soviet Government. As will be seen by a reading of these articles, the Soviet Government is at present completely in the hands of the Communist Party, which numbers some 500,000 members. The labor unions in Russia, on the other hand, number 6,500,000 members. Altho they have a great deal to say about the management of industry, the supervision and co-ordination of industrial life is entrusted to the Communist Commissars. Of late a strong demand has arisen among a portion of the unionists that the major functions of the State should be taken over by the industrial unions. The names most prominently associated with this movement are those of Alexandra Kollontay and Schlapnikoff; at the other extreme stand Trotzky and Bucharin, with Lenin occupying a central position. Karl Radek, whose article appears in this issue of The Industrial Pioneer, and whose views on this subject coincide closely with those of Lenin, was at one time Soviet ambassador to Germany, and served on the Soviet delegation to the Brest-Litovsk and Riga peace conferences.

These articles are printed in order that our readers may get a more accurate understanding of the situation in Soviet Russia. It is exceedingly difficult to judge what ought to be done over there by trying to apply principles which are adaptable to America and to other highly industrialized countries. The industrial population of Russia forms only 15 per cent of the people, the other 85 per cent constituting the agrarian population. But since the Soviet Government rests primarily on the 15 per cent of the industrial population, and yet at the same time has to satisfy the demands of the other 85 per cent, it is apparent that they have a task on their hands of no small proportions. It is not for us to say what the Soviet Government should do to solve its difficulties. We rest assured that in the course of time these difficulties will be solved in a manner satisfactory to all concerned.

## POLITICAL VERSUS ECONOMIC ACTION

There seems to be a great deal of uncertainty concerning the real meaning of political and economic action.

In everyday parlance the meaning of these terms depends very much upon the person using them. When, for instance, a pure and simple trade unionist speaks about economic action he means the going out on strike for more wages and shorter hours. When a democrat speaks about political action he means the going to the polls and the casting of votes for aldermen, mayors, congressmen and other legislators. When, on the other hand, a thorogoing industrial unionist uses the expression economial action he does not simply mean striking for more wages or shorter hours; he understands by this term any action which his union may take, irrespective of the ends to be attained. To illustrate, should the members of his union go on strike for shorter hours, this would be economic action. But should they go out on strike for the liberation of class war prisoners, that would also be economic action; and

lastly, should they lock out the employers and take over the industry in which they work, this would likewise be considered as economic action.

From the point of view of the adherents to political parties, the last two instances will be cited by them as examples of political action. They would claim, for instance, that a general strike proclaimed for the purpose of liberating all class-war prisoners is a political act; likewise, they would claim that a parade of strikers for the purpose of enrolling the sympathy of a city populace is also a political act.

It seems to us that in determining whether an act is political or economic, we ought to consider the source from where it emanates, and not the ends that it has in view. Any action that originates and is carried thru, directly or indirectly, by an economic organization should be considered as economic action; likewise, any action which originates and is carried thru by a political organization should be considered as political action. This would save a great deal of misunderstanding and ill feeling caused by squabbling over the meaning of words which in themselves really are of little importance to the working class.

The trend of the times is away from the political towards the industrial way of running society. Political administrations are becoming obsolete for the simple reason that they do not satisfy the needs of the hour. Lenin has expressed this truth very succinctly by saying that we should substitute the "administration of things" for the "administration of persons." In this new scheme of things the industrial unit is to be taken as the point of departure instead of the territorial unit, which makes it impossible to give the necessary attention to industrial requirements. Political organizations are left-overs from an order of society which is fast sinking into oblivion. While they, as yet, perform useful functions in most countries, the shadow of extinction is upon them.

It is quite possible for economic organizations to function in the field at present commonly occupied by political organizations. The Russians have made a good beginning along these lines by the organization of the Supreme Council of National Economy. This Council will eventually take over the functions at the present time performed in bourgeois countries by legislators and political governmental departments of labor and production. The idea prevails in the minds of a great many people that in the labor movement it is absolutely essential for a political party to serve as a unifying influence between the different labor organizations. This concept is, of course, borrowed from the role that the Communist Party has played and is playing at the present time in Soviet Russia. It is doubtful, however, that in highly industrial countries it is at all necessary for a political party to assume these supervisory and unifying functions. It seems conceivable to us that the labor organizations themselves could create organs to take over the work commonly assigned to political bodies, whether they be Communist or otherwise.

## NIKOLAI LENIN ON EFFICIENCY.

"Keep accurate and conscientious accounts; conduct business economically; do not loaf; do not steal; maintain strict discipline at work." These slogans, which were justly ridiculed by revolutionary proletarians when they were used by the bourgeoisie to cover its domination as a class of exploiters, have now, after overthrow of the bourgeoisie, become the urgent and principal slogans. And on the one hand the practical realization of these slogans by the toiling masses is the **sole** condition for the salvation of the country, which has been shattered by the imperialistic war and by the imperialists (headed by Kerensky), and on the other hand, the practical realization of these slogans by the **Soviet** power, with its methods, and on the basis of **its** laws, is necessary and **sufficient** for the final victory of Socialism.

# For a Concerted Plan of Action

By H. Van Dorn

THE TIME has arrived for the Industrial Workers of the World as an organization, and for each member individually, to ask these questions: Where do we stand? Why are we not growing faster? What should be done to make the I. W. W. the power that it should be in the American Labor Movement?

Conditions were never so good for the growth of the I. W. W. as they are today. Unemployment, lowering of wages, the open shop, hunger, lockouts, persecution—these are the things that make the workers turn their eyes to the radical movement as the only way out of the morass of capitalism. These are the things that the I. W. W. will grow strong on, and that, if proper advantage is taken of the opportunities as they present themselves, will make of the I. W. W. in the not distant future the **one big power** in the American Labor Movement.

A thoro discussion from all angles of the problems confronting the I. W. W. is especially desirable in view of the nearness of the Thirteenth Convention; more, it is imperative, if the I. W. W. is to play its proper role in the great impending struggle between the forces of labor and capital, which already throws a threatening shadow athwart the continent.

For the purpose of clarity of thought let us divide our discussion into three parts, dealing with the necessity of

(1) **A definite I. W. W. policy,** which will be mainly a discussion of principles.

(2) **A concerted plan of action,** wherein the policy arrived at will be applied to particular problems.

(3) **The creation of organs for the execution of the I. W. W. plan of action.**

### For An I. W. W. Policy

The situation that prevails in American industry today is unique. All previous unemployment crises were of a temporary nature, whereas the unemployment of today is here to stay. For this reason our policy, built upon the past experience of the organization, will have to be revised to conform to the changed situation in industry. Consequently, our plan of action for organizing industries will also have to be revised.

During the war this country produced not only enough goods to supply the current needs of the people, but also a tremendous volume of work was done to manufacture war munitions and other commodities for the prosecution of the war. Since the signing of the armistice all of the man-power that was previously engaged on war contracts has been thrown into other fields of activity. For a time a good deal of this man-power was absorbed in the production of goods that were exported to South America, to Europe and to other countries, as well as in catching up in industries which had been neglected during the war period, such as the building of automobiles, residences, factories, etc. By this time, however, the country has completely caught up with its neglected industries, and the man-power that was previously engaged in work of this nature has been thrown out of employment. To aggravate the situation, the export trade is but a shadow of its former self. American manufacturers shipped to Europe exports to the value of some three billion dollars, and afterwards found that they could not collect on this trade on account of the greatly depreciated exchange value of European currency. Our exports to South America and other countries also have greatly fallen down. To make things worse, wages are being cut for the workers who still are fortunate enough to have jobs, which in turn means that the purchasing power of the money that they receive will not be as great as it was when wages were high, so that so much less commodities will have to be manufactured to supply the needs of the

country, which in its turn will throw more people out of work. There is no reason to believe that anything will turn up to accelerate production. In the course of the coming years, should the incoming Republican administration be far-sighted enough to open trade with Soviet Russia, it will help matters for a while, but even this cannot be looked upon as permanent relief. The Russians can only use so much machinery and other manufactured goods, and the supplying of these commodies would only be a drop in the bucket of unemployment in the United States.

It is exceedingly important that the situation outlined above be clearly understood and emphasized, for it changes the whole complexion of the industrial situation. Labor organizations which answered the needs of the working class in years past will no longer do so under the changed circumstances. Millions of men and women out of work will make it practically impossible for labor organizations to fight for shorter hours and more wages with the same tactics that have been used in the past, and win out. Furthermore, those labor organizations whose backbone has been their ability to give to their members bigger wages and a closed shop, will find themselves utterly useless. For instance, in the past the only reason why working people joined the different A. F. of L. unions was because by doing so they got more wages, shorter hours and better conditions than if they were not members. As soon as these craft unions are no longer able to offer these inducements to the workingmen, naturally these workingmen will not join them, and those who already belong to these craft unions will gradually drop away. This leads us to the conclusion that the craft unions comprised within the American Federation of Labor from now on will be losing both in numbers, in prestige and in influence, and will in the course of some years practically go out of existence. Added weight is given to this prediction by the inability of these unions to uphold their present wages and working conditions, as has been demonstrated time and again during the last few months when wages have been cut and these unions have submissively accepted these cuts, as well as the lengthening of hours.

Altho not with equal force, the same argument applies to the independent industrial unions, such as the Amalgamated Textile Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and others. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have been locked out in the City of New York by employers for months, in an attempt to break up the organization, and there is no reason to believe that the employers will not be successful in this attempt. The Amalgamated Textile Workers are practically useless as a labor organization to the silk weavers in the East.

As for unorganized workers to go on strike in isolated instances under the present circumstances is utterly foolish, for they have not the ghost of a chance to succeed. Whenever any group of men, heretofore unorganized, go out on strike they are doomed to lose, for there are thousands of men and women to take their places. Therefore, for any craft organization to try to line up members at the present time with the plea of giving them shorter hours and more wages is attempting the impossible. It would amount to nothing else than a conscious attempt at deceiving these unorganized workers.

As a consequence of the conditions outlined above, among the rank and file of the unorganized as well as the organized the sentiment for the radical labor movement, as exemplified in the Industrial Workers of the World, is growing stronger day by day. The conditions are forcing the working class to understand that nothing short of complete industrial unionism will make it possible for them to fight capitalism. It is primarily on this account that wherever one may go at the present time, whether it be the West, the Middle-West, or the manufacturaing centers of the Eastern and the New England states, one will find a strong sentiment in favor of the I. W. W. And what is more important, this sentiment is growing stronger as the days go by. These workers are getting to be actually hungry for somebody to come along and tell them

what to do, and how to organize in order to put up a solid front against their masters. The only organization which is capable of doing this is the I. W. W.

In order to meet the situation successfully, we have to adopt

**A Definite Plan of Action.**

In outlining our plan of action we ought to keep two things in mind:

(1) That we gain the confidence of the wokers only by telling them the truth, and not by giving rash promises.

(2) That we must always lay special emphasis on the necessity of the workers taking over industry and running it for the benefit of the whole community instead of for a few individuals.

It has been the experience of branch secretaries all thru the country that wherever unorganized workers go on strike they very often apply to the I. W. W. for organizers. These workers may number only a few hundred, or they may form but one department in a big industrial establishment, and the chances are twenty to one that they will lose out. Now, should the I. W. W. send organizers to help them with this strike, it should always be the duty of these organizers to impress upon the minds of the strikers that the chance of winning their demands for more wages, shorter hours, or whatever else they may want, are very slight, but that they will have accomplished much indeed if they will line up in the I. W. W. and thus become part of a nation-wide organization, whose aim is primarily to abolish the whole system which makes strikes possible.

It ought to become readily apparent to all open-minded Wobblies that in view of the changed conditions the field for the I. W. W. has greatly widened. We should not only try to line up members individually, but we should also get into other labor organizations and try to get them over into the I. W. W. bodily. We should get away from the habit of condemning other labor organizations just because they may have the A. F. of L. label or some other label on them, and should remember that the rank and file in any labor organization are simply workingmen who are as much subject to persuasion as the unorganized. We should keep uppermost in our minds that if the organization that a workingman belongs to is not capable of offering him a solution for his troubles he will cast around for some other organization which is capable of doing so.

To illustrate the above contention, let us cite a few instances from recent history in the labor movement. A few months ago the Amalgamated Textile Workers in Lawrence, Mass., took a vote to affiliate with the O. B. U., and this motion came within 75 of being carried. This action was of an entirely spontaneous origin, as the members of this union had come to realize the uselessness of an independent union such as the Amalgamated Textile Workers. Now, it is reasonable to expect that with a certain amount of concerted action within the Amalgamated Textile Workers during the months to come it will be an easy matter to swing this organization bodily into the I. W. W. Another instance: some months ago the switchmen in Chicago and in other cities revolted against their Brotherhood and formed what are known as "outlaw" Switchmen's Associations. This only goes to demonstrate that the old form of organization was not adopted to meet the needs of the switchmen under the changed conditions, so that they were forced to form another organization. It is reasonable to expect that with a certain amount of hard work, agitation and education within the "outlaw" Switchmen's Associations it would not be a hard matter to take them bodily over into the I. W. W.

Some fellow workers will object to this line of argument on the grounds that when men are taken into the organization in great numbers thru the taking over of other unions they are not educated well enough to be of any substantial use to the I. W. W. This argument is fundamentally wrong, for there is nothing on earth to prevent the I. W. W. from educating them after they become member of our organization. Furthermore, they would bring into the organization funds which could be used for the purpose of spreading propaganda and educational matter not only among themselves

but also among other workers in different industries. This in turn would bring in more members, who in turn would bring in more funds, which could be used for the putting out of more educational propaganda, which would bring in more members. In this way we would establish a steady rotation of funds, education, organization, more funds, more education, more organization, which would make of the I. W. W. a power in the labor movement of America undreamed of at the present time.

As a further argument for the necessity of the I. W. W. extending its sphere of activity, let us consider the transportation industry. Is it not futile to imagine that we will be able to line up individually in our Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520 the hundreds of thousands of men who now belong in the big railway Brotherhoods—all the brakemen, conductors, firemen, locomotive engineers, switchmen, maintenance-of-way men, etc.? These Brotherhoods are at present so solidly organized that it is unreasonable to expect for anything short of an earthquake to shake these members away from their respective organizations in the course of the next few years. While we are doing everything in our power to get in as many individual members as we possibly can into our Railway Workers' Industrial Union, why should we not at the same time get on the inside of the Brotherhoods and also do everything in our power there to create sentiment for the I. W. W., to educate the workers, and, should the opportunity present itself, to take over some of these unions, or at least locals, bodily?

Those members who object to these "boring from within" tactics should remember that conditions today are not what they were in the past. Their stand in the past was perfectly justified, because at that time the craft unions had something to offer to the working class, and it was exceedingly hard for revolutionists to make any appreciable progress within these organizations. At the present time, however, practically all craft unions are bankrupt and have nothing to offer to their members. Their members are in a condition of extreme dissatisfaction, and will get more so as the months go by. The counseling of agitators within their midst will be eagerly listened to, and, should conditions permit it, their advice will be followed. This leads us to the third part of our discussion, which is

**The Creation of the Necessary Organs for the Execution of the Program Outlined Above.**

It will generally be admitted that the following four industries are the most essential, so to speak the pivotal, industries in this country:

(1) Transportation.
(2) Steel and Iron.
(3) Mining Industry.
(4) Food Industry.

Outside of having organized a small portion of the mining industry, the I. W. W. has no hold whatsoever in any of the four industries mentioned above. The big problem, therefore, is this: How are we going to proceed to organize these industries?

Such Industrial Unions as are at present functioning within the I. W. W. have a General Organization Committee, the so-called G. O. C. In the smaller unions, altho theoretically they also have a G. O. C., this G. O. C. as a rule does not function, the union being handicapped in the matter of finances. In those industries in which the I. W. W. does not function there are no G. O. C.'s to lay plans for organization work to be carried on there. Consequently, it ought to be apparent that what we need is some sort of a central organ, the specific function of which will be to carry on organization work in industries and localities which at present are not included in the field of activity of the already existing I. W. W. Industrial Unions.

What we need, therefore, more than anything else at the present time is a **Central Propaganda and Organization Bureau.** The functions of this bureau could be outlined as follows:

(1) To gather vital data about industrial conditions all thru the country.

(2) To route speakers and organizers to districts which present the most favorable conditions for organization work.

(3) To prepare propaganda

(a) Of a general nature, which could advantageously be spread among all classes of workers, dealing with general questions, such as unemployment, break-down of the capitalist system, the necessity of organization, etc.

(b) Of a special nature, to appeal to workers engaged in separate industries and under distinct working conditions. To illustrate: the getting out of leaflets which would appeal specifically to the automobile workers all over the country, to the packing house workers, to the coal miners in West Virginia, etc. It is to be understood, of course, that in the preparation of this literature the Bureau would work in the closest conjunction with the G. O. C's of the respective Industrial Unions.

(4) In its work, this Bureau should overlook no factor which would react to the benefit of the I. W. W. It should concentrate as much on the spreading of favorable I. W. W. sentiment within already existing labor organizations, and should endeavor thru organizers to capture some of these organizations bodily, if the opportunity should present itself, as on the lining up of individual members. In co-operation with the G. O. C's it should see to it that the right men are placed in the right places and that they work according to orders for the benefit of the I. W. W., and not according to their personal whims. This brings us to the necessity of

**The Strictest Discipline in the Carrying Out of This Organization work.**

We might as well make up our minds now as at any other time that if the I. W. W. is to attain power in this country it has to learn to instill the spirit of discipline within its ranks. One of the weaknesses of the I. W. W. in the past has been its haphazard, unsystematic way of doing things. Let us constantly bear in mind that unless we become at least as efficient and as well-disciplined as the capitalists, that we will never be able to successfully take over the functions that the capitalists are performing today. To be able to the better to grasp the importance of discipline, let us present a concrete illustration:

Suppose the G. O. C. of the Railroad Workers' Industrial Union decides that the conditions prevailing in the repair shops of a particular railroad are especially favorable for carrying on I. W. W. propaganda and organization work. Having made this decision let it get its men on the job, and let those members who already are on that job understand that a special effort is to be made to line up that particular repair shop. The G. O. C. should then gather all data respecting the conditions, wages, sentiment and any particular situation that may prevail in that shop. Thus prepared, it should draw up a detailed plan of action. It should then communicate its plan of action to the members on the job and it should make them understand that they are absolutely expected to carry out this plan and not to work according to their personal likes or dislikes. Whoever is not willing to conform to this action is to be shoved aside as not fitted to function on that job. This will virtually amount to the formation of machines. A machine is a term greatly disliked by some of our members, but let them remember that in reality it is nothing else than a co-ordination of the efforts of a militant minority.

Let us, therefore, coin these new watchwords for our future organization work: **Efficiency and Discipline.**

* * * * *

The writer of the above article earnestly hopes that it will provoke constructive thinking in the membership, and will eventually lead to fruitful activity for the creation of a bigger, a stronger and a more powerful I. W. W.

# ORGANIZATION

By James Kennedy

ALL WEALTH is produced by labor being applied to the natural recourees of the earth. Wherever labor and natural resources come togcther, there industry springs up—a job eomes into existence. The wealth produced on the job is divided in two parts. Part goes to the workers in the form of wages and part to the capitalists in the form of profits. Thc share of eaeh is determined by the amount of eontrol they exert over the job. On every job therc are two conflicting interests. The capitalist wants to make the biggest possible profits in the shortest possible time. To aeeomplish this he must get as mueh as possible out of the workers and must give them as little as possible. He wants hard work, long hours, low wages, and low running expenses, which make rotten conditions. The workers are on the job to make a living. To this end they must have short hours, high wages, easy work and good eonditions. This conflict of interest is the eause of the struggle that goes on between workers and employers—the class struggle.

In this as in all struggles the side with thc most power will win. Thc seeret of power is **organization.** The capitalists are few in number. They do no useful work but live as parasites off the labor of the workers. They are entirely unneeessary to the running of industry. They perform no useful function in society. But they are organized, and by virtue of their organized power they control the natural resourees of the earth and the machinery of production, and only allow the workers aecess to them on condition they can make a profit off their labor.

The workers are absolutely necessary to running industry. They furnish the labor power without whieh not a wheel would turn. But they do not control their own labor power because only a small percentage are organized. Being forced to deal as individuals with the organized power of the capitalists they are helpless and have to accept whatever conditions the employers see fit to impose on them. On all jobs where the workers are unorganized their standing is little better than that of work animals—of cattle. They only receive enough in the form of wages to enable them to keep in working condition, just as a four-legged beast of burden is fed enough hay and grain to enable tim to furnish motive power for his master's wagon. If an individual worker voiees a protest he is diseharged. This causes no inconvenienee to the boss, for it is easy to get another to take his place.

But when the workers begin to organize, a change takes place. When all the workers on a job, or even a fair percentage of them, make demands the boss cannot diseharge them without shutting down or seriously crippling his job. Fear of stopping or reducing his profits forces him to make concessions. He will try to compromise. Just how much he will eoneede depends entirely on the strength of the workers' organization. Where the workers are unorganized the eapitalist holds undisputed sway. He has complete eontrol of the job. But on every job where the workers are organized there are two contending forces—that of Labor and that of Capital. Unorganized, the workers are powerless and must tamely submit. With organization they gain power and are able to dispute the eontrol of the eapitalists. Hence, where the workers are organized, hours, wages and eonditions are always better than on unorganized jobs. Provided, of eourse, the workers' organization is genuine and not a fake controlled by the bosses.

### Workers Organized to Produce.

Organization is the keynote of power and suceess. Without organization nothing worth while can be aeeomplished. Even wild animals and birds know enough to organize for mutual proteetion. By organization and eo-operation primitive man was able to overeome the beasts and reptiles of the primeval forest, and rise to eivilization. Without the workers being organized to carry on industry, production would stop and the world would go back to savagery.

When a man goes to work in the woods his object is to get wages—money. He wants to make a "stake" and to make it as big, as easily, and as quickly as possible. He cares nothing about the profits of his employer. When a lumber company hires men to work in the woods their object is to make profits, and to that end they must get out logs. They are not concerned with the welfare of the workers. Thus we see there are two distinct objects to be accomplished—that of the workers "organized"—arranged in interdependent groups each co-operating systematically with the others so as to work to the best advantage and produce the greatest results. One set of men fall the trees. Others cut them up into logs. One man acts as hook tender; others set the chokers. A fireman keeps up steam in the boiler, and the engineer runs the donkey. Some load the logs on cars and the railroad erew haul them out of the woods. Some act as riggers, and some as cooks and flunkeys. The whole crew is working together systematically to get out logs—to accomplish the object of the company—and they work successfully. They get out many logs and make big profits for the company because they are organized for that purpose.

Suppose the same number of men were to go into the woods, and instead of working in an organized manner, each one was to work as an individual.

Suppose each carried in his own tools, his own food and his own cook-stove; built his own shack, did his own cooking, cut his own roads, and tried to get out logs all by himself. How much headway would they make? We all know they would accomplish practically nothing. If a boss put men to work that way they would consider him insane. They would not accomplish his object of making profits. Yet that is exactly how the great majority of men go to work to accomplish their own object. Have unorganized men any reason to consider themselves sane? They co-operate systematically to produce wealth for their employers, but not to protect their own interests. Small wonder hours are long, wages low and conditions rotten.

Occasionally we hear of a number of men breaking out of jail, but who ever heard of such a break from a lunatic asylum? It takes organized action to break out of captivity, and it is a well-known fact that lunatics never organize.

### Industry Run Entirely by Workers.

The workers in each camp co-operate to get out logs. Each camp is a unit in the producing organization controlled by capitalists. All of the camps of a lumber campany co-operate to supply the sawmills. The production and distribution of lumber is carried on by the co-operation of loggers, railroad men and sawmill workers. These producing organizations are composed entirely of workers, either by hand or brain. Foremen, superintendents and general managers are all workers, as well as the men who do the actual manual labor on the job. To the extent that they take part in managing and organizing industry they are useful and necessary, but their renumeration is usually out of proportion to the value of the work they perform. In this way they are subsidized or bribed by the company to prevent them from combining with the other workers to take control of industry. These company officials are known as salaried workers and are usually part workers and part parasites. As a rule the higher officials of a company are also stockholders, and to the extent that they draw dividends they are parasites. The work of a general manager may be worth $10,000 a year, but if he receives a salary of $100,000 a year then he is 10 per cent worker and 90 per cent parasite. If in addition to his salary he draws dividends of $100,000 a year then he is 5 per cent worker and 95 per cent parasite. Besides performing their useful and legitimate function of managing industry these officials, under the present system, play the part of slave-drivers to speed up the workers and produce the greatest possible profits for their masters. They are also used to spy upon the other workers and prevent them from organizing. But altho the workers are divided and some are used in a manner detrimental to the others, the fact remains that industry is run entirely by the workers.

### How Industry Is Controlled.

Each camp is controlled by a foreman, who in turn is controlled by a walking boss or superintendent. Each department of a sawmill is controlled by a foreman, and control of these is centralized in the hands of the superintendent. Logging and sawmill superintendents are controlled by the general manager from the head office of the company. The general manager is controlled by the board of directors, the members of which are usually large stock-holders; and the board of directors is controlled by the stockholders. Thus industry is run by workers and controlled by parasites. Under the present system all officials, from strawbosses to general managers, are rated by their ability to grind profits out of the workers.

### Hundred Per Cent Parasites.

While a small amount of stock may be held by individuals who are part workers and part parasites, by far the greater part is held, and all control exercised, by one-hundred-percent parasites. For instance, a person may hold millions of dollars worth of stock in the Lumber Trust, but take absolutely no part in the management of the industry. His sole occupation is drawing dividends. He may never even have seen a logging camp or a sawmill. Such people live in million dollar mansions or swell hotels, surrounded by luxury and extravagance. They have residences in different parts of the world, and migrate from one to another with the changing seasons. They travel in palatial steam yachts, luxurious pullmans and high-priced touring cars.

When the lumber worker is wading thru snow with the thermometer showing 40 below zero, or slinging heavy rigging thru mud and rain, he may find some comfort in the thought that high rolling parasites who live off the product of his labor are playing golf at Palm Beach or sailing on the sunny waters of the Mediterranean. Or when trying to sleep in a filthy, unsanitary, vermin-infested bunkhouse, inhaling the stench of drying socks and the sickening germ-laden odor from the slime-covered floor, it may be an inspiring thought to the "timber-beast" that in a palatial mansion in a land of perpetual summer where the soft night breezes waft the perfume of roses and honeysuckle thru the open windows, tended by liveried lackeys, entertained by the entrancing strains of an all-star orchestra, sated with rare wines and costly foods, and surrounded by amorous, languorous-eyed females, his masters are holding a "brilliant society function." When a lumber worker is unable to keep his family in decency or is condemned thru poverty to a life of "single blessedness," let him ponder the fact that his labor makes it possible for some parasitic timber-thief to buy a diamond necklace for his lady friend's lap-dog; and that lack of organization on the part of lumber workers makes this state of affairs possible.

While the old financial pirates who stole the timber lands were men of criminal instincts and anti-social character, it cannot be denied they had shrewdness and ability. But the descendants of

these men who inherit their vast wealth, enjoy it without having made the slightest effort to gain it, and wield the enormous power it places in their hands, may be entirely lacking in ability of any kind—may even be degenerates of the Harry Thaw type.

**How the Parasites Are Organized.**

The capitalists are organized, not to produce wealth but to separate the workers from the wealth they produce. They are the robber class. By fraud and violence they have stolen the natural resources and the machinery of production and by fraud and violence they hold the workers in subjection and continue to rob them. In most industries the capitalists are organized into trusts by means of which they reduce competition among themselves to a minimum. Those industries, which are not trustified and in which the majority of the employers are small, such as agriculture, are controlled by trusts in other industries on which they are dependent, such as the railroad trust, the packing-house trust, the harvester trust, and the banking trust. These trusts, by controlling transportation, markets, supply of agricultural machinery, and credit, have reduced the farmer to a condition in which he is just as effectually exploited as a wage worker. The various great combinations of capital are all interlinked by means of common ownership of stock and interlocking directorates. While there may be many thousands of stockholders in the different companies which go to make up a trust, the control is centralized into the hands of a very few men who own large blocks of stock. By means of "rigging" the market these trust magnates are able to force the prices of stock down when it suits their purpose to buy, and to put prices up when they are ready to "unload." In this way they loot and plunder the smaller stockholders who are known in Wall Street as "shorn lambs." Another way in which the big stockholders rob the small ones is by forming subsidiary companies. For instance, the controlling stockholders of a railroad often form construction companies, and let contracts to themselves at profiteering prices.

There are many ways in which the interests of different groups of capitalists conflict. Where such is the case the advantage always rests with the biggest capitalists. They can install larger and more expensive machinery, manufacture on a larger scale, produce cheaper and so undersell their competitors till they put them out of business, or force them to sell out at their own terms. Great financial interests which control railroads are also engaged in many other lines of business, such as lumber and mining, and they can stifle competition by withholding cars from their rivals. Big capitalists can maintain the strongest lobbying committees at Washington and are better able to bribe Congress to make them presents of the natural resources of the country. Consequently the control of industry is constantly becoming concentrated into fewer and fewer hands, and in the near future we may expect to see control of the industries of all countries concentrated into the hands of one gigantic world-wide trust.

Altho the interests of capitalists conflict in many ways, and big capitalists prey on small ones, their interests are all identical in maintaining the system by which they rob the workers. On this point they all recognize their community of interest, and display solidarity. To protect their interests as a class and to hold the workers in subjection they are united in commercial clubs, boards of trade, chambers of commerce and similar organizations of a class nature.

By means of their wealth the capitalists control the government, press, schools, colleges, churches, theatres and moving picture shows. They use these institutions to control the minds of the workers and prevent them from realizing their true position in society. By control of the press and the means of communication, such as telegraph and telephone lines, they suppress news of interest to the workers, or distort and color them to suit their own purpose. By false teaching and cunningly devised propaganda they make the workers think they are free and independent "sovereign citizens," while as a matter of fact they are dependent for their very existence on permission to toil for a master. By theoretically placing the ballot in the hands of all citizens they lend an appearance of truth to the outworn fallacy of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." By their control of schools and colleges they propagate the lie of "equal opportunity" and teach the economic falsehood that the interests of labor and capital are identical, and the requisites for success are honesty, industry and loyalty to employers. Subsidized churches preach the divine right of property, and counsel meekness, obedience and self-denial. Theatres and moving picture shows ridicule the revolutionary movement, glorify scabs, and show how the chief sucker on the job may rise to affluence by marrying the boss'es daughter.

Literature is also prostituted to capitalism. The reading matter dished up to the "public" in the form of "popular novels" and magazine stories is of the cheap and trashy variety. The "heroes" of this intellectual slush are the kind that rise from poverty and win success by being good dogs for their masters and traitors to their fellow workers. The purpose of the detective story is to bluff the workers into submission by creating in their minds an exaggerated idea of the ability of "Sherlock Holmes" and all his scabby tribe, whose intelligence, in actual life, is of the lowest order. Such literary garbage is widely advertised and reviewed, and sold by the car-load, while books and writings dealing with facts are refused publication, or if they do get into print, are limited to a small circulation, being boycotted by the capitalistic press.

When fraud and deceit fail to hold the workers in subjection violence is used. The beast of capitalism throws off his cloak of democracy and shows

himself in his true colors. The machinery of a servile state is called into action. Anti-labor laws are passed. Injunctions tie up union funds and prohibit workers from striking. Corrupt judges sentence workers to long terms in the penitentiary for the "crime" of being active in the labor movement. Police and detectives frame up on active union men. Mob rule is stirred up by the press. Union halls and offices are raided. Workers are kidnapped, beaten, tarred and feathered, deported and murdered. Private armies of gunmen shoot down strikers and rape, torture and murder their wives and children. All who dare to question the right of the ruling plutocracy are hounded and persecuted and terrorism holds sway.

The capitalists have organized the workers to produce wealth. They themselves are organized to rob the workers. And they have organized all society to protect their stolen property and privileges. They are strongly intrenched in power, but this is no reason for discouragement. The capitalists are strong, but not with their own power; they are strong with the power of the workers. Industry is the source of all wealth and of all human power. Only the workers can run industry, for only the workers have the labor power. Therefore all human power comes from the workers. Without workers, capitalists could not exist, but without capitalists workers could live as human beings, instead of existing as beasts of burden as they do today. The power of labor is the greatest in the world, in fact it is the only human power in the world. Without labor to produce food, clothing, shelter and fuel, human life could not exist. Without labor to feed, clothe, equip and transport them, armies could not fight; governments could not function; scientists could not study; professors could not teach; editors could not write. All human activity would come to an end.

Without the power to produce wealth there could be neither financial power, political power, intellectual power, military power, nor any other power. The workers do not control this power because they are not organized for that purpose. Lacking control of their own labor power the workers are reduced to the level of cattle, mere beasts of burden toiling to produce wealth for their masters, whenever their masters see fit to give them permission to toil. Organized in such a way as to control their own labor power, the workers can control the world.

To organize means to come to a common understanding as to the end to be accomplished, and then to work systematically together for the attainment of that end.

# Mr. Block Has the Blues

They laid me off. Ain't that a shame?
I worked so hard. I'm not to blame.
I never kicked when pay was small.
I worked and worked and that was all.
One day a Red came up to me
And said: "Look here," says he,
"It's wrong for you to work so fast,
You'll lose your job; it will not last.
When goods pile up in store and bin
The boss will say with pleasant grin:
" 'Get out, you Block, and—very well—
If you don't like it go to hell.' "
I told the Red: "Don't talk to me,
To hell with your philosophy."
My boss he heard it and he said:
"I'm awful glad you're not a Red.
Speed up now, show your loyalty,
Curse all the Reds and stick to me."
The Reds I cursed, faithful and true—
Now look at me, I'm feeling blue.

E. R.

# On the Threshold of the Great Work of Reconstruction in Soviet Russia

By Karl Radek

## I.
## THE ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN RUSSIA

WORK—that is the password that lives in the consciousness of millions of adherents of the Soviet, and which must be translated into knowledge and faith on the part of all the working masses of Russia. Indeed, all the differences arising within the Russian Communist Party grow out of the difficulty of grasping the complicated conditions in which the process of economic re-construction must proceed. In this article, which is to serve foreign comrades as a guide, these differences may best be presented by directing attention to the conditions under which the Communist Party has to execute the decisions of the Congress of Workers' and Peasants' councils.

Soviet Russia is a country with an 85 per cent agrarian population. The Soviet government is not a purely industrial government. It called itself from the first day of its existence a Workers' and Peasants' government. Many of its opponents and adherents believed that this was merely a nominal title in order to lure and quiet the naive little peasant; since the government is entirely in the hands of the Communist Party and since the left-wing social revolutionists have deserted it, this erroneous assumption seemed even more justified. But this was incorrect. Simply because no peasant party sits in the Soviet government, the millions and millions of peasants in Russia do not disappear. Without their co-operation neither the defense nor the reconstruction of Soviet Russia is possible. In the Red Army, which in its majority was a peasant army, the class consciousness of the peasant was made keener, and political intelligence was imparted to them. Altho they take no part in the government thru a separate party, the government is compelled to consider their interests and their sentiments. Now, when the peasants have the feeling that the danger of the return of the Junkers has disappeared, now when the government must demand fresh sacrifices from them, in order to bring industry into operation, thru the assurance of provisioning the city population, the government must naturally give the peasant class special considerations.

After three years of imperialistic wars, the industrial classes have bled and starved for another three years for the dictatorship of the workers. Tortured by hunger and cold, they have often wavered and hesitated. But always the Communist Party was able in the hour of danger to arouse in them the necessary energy to continue the work in the factories and to place a hundred thousand of them at the head of the administrative machinery of the state and at the head of the army.

Not only did they hunger for victory and fight for it, but they renounced a great part of the rights which belonged to them according to the Soviet constitution, and which needed to be sacrificed on account of the dire necessities of the war. Since their most energetic leaders were at the fronts and were sent on economic and administrative missions from one end of great Russia to the other, the proletarian mass organs of the dictatorship, the Soviet and the unions, were crippled. The working class was compelled to yield when, in place of their elected representatives, frequently revolutionary and non-revolutionary bureaucrats took matters into their hands, which must inevitably lead to special abuses in an impoverished country. They had to exercise patience, when all available clothing was reserved for the army, when bread went to the front, while they received herring-tails or raisins. Now the possibility of peaceful labor for a certain time appears to be at hand. If it was possible during the war to charge all abuses and deprivations to the account of the war, the masses must now be given the possibility to find for themselves the means for removing the abuses and diminishing the deprivations, and to convince themselves how much of their burdens can be removed, and what they must still bear for the purpose of overcoming needs. The dictatorship of the proletariat was not suspended, as the Mensheviks of the whole world shrieked, when the organs of this dictatorship were restricted. But now when, perhaps only temporarily, no war exigencies require the mailed fist of the proletarian dictatorship, the needs of the hour demand that the organs of the dictatorship be restored to that class the defense of whose interests constitute the real purpose of the dictatorship.

The trade unions, which the Bolsheviki had already captured under the rule of Kerensky, have fought during the three years of civil war side by side with the party, with the Soviets, in a true sense of the word, for the maintenance of the dictatorship. Not only did tens of thousands of members of trade unions go to the various fronts because of mobilization, but other tens of thousands went voluntarily and fought with weapons in their hands as soldiers or Red officers for the workers' dictatorship. When the Soviet Republic needed thousands of experienced men for the organization of provisions, the trade unions gave them. And when the hungry workers in the factories grumbled, when it was necessary to get seamstresses to produce 15,000 army coats a day, altho they were hungry, cold and bare-footed, these trade unionists went to the factories and to the homes of the workers in order to overcome their fatigue thru persuasion and explana-

**Peasants listening to speakers from the propaganda train "Lenin" at the station of Sosovo, in Siberia.**

tion and to make them forget their hunger. On them primarily the masses exercised pressure, and they who had been until now accustomed to the organization of the battle corps, for the improvement of the condition of workingmen thru strikes, were compelled to make it clear to the masses that only thru work can the needs of a proletarian regime be met. Quite true, the trade unionists, oppressed thru too great a division of labor, are not even in Soviet Russia people with the broadest mental horizon. They have not sufficient leisure to think out all connecting issues, and yet they frequently take more sober thoughts than those leaders whose task it is to keep their eyes directed towards the entirety. As all of Russia, they were continually diverted thru the civil war from adjusting the problems of production, altho they recognized, ever since the first congress, held after the October revolution, the role which the trade unions must play in production. The trade unions comprise 7,000,000 workers. It is clear that under the conditions of Russian transportation, with the small number of trade unionists left by the war in the trade bureaus, they could not remain in sufficient contact with these masses. But that does not alter the fact that these seven millions of more or less organized trade unionists are the proletarian basis of the Soviet government, that the comrades conducting the trade unions and the 500,000 Communists in them are the connecting link between the six and a half-million and the Soviet government.

These premises are not grasped with sufficient completeness in a first attack on the problems which confront the Soviet government and the Communist Party by all comrades or by all groups which have crystallized out of the party. Industry can only be built up when the independence of the working class is developed. The organs of this mass, if they are to be separated according to kinds of production, are the trade unions. Therefore, the control of production must lie completely in the hands of the trade unions—so declares a group of the unionists under the leadership of Comrade Schlapnikoff. The unions will succeed better with the problems of production than the best workers' bureaucracy, to say nothing of the civilian specialists who, accustomed to large means, are compelled to go slow in view of the poverty of technical equipment in Soviet Russia, even if they were able to handle the workers properly or to arouse in them the necessary enthusiasm.

This tendency overlooks a small fact. In a country with 85 per cent of peasants, the re-construction of industry is impossible without the confidence of the peasants that their interests shall be considered, that they shall not be plundered by the industrial workers. If the industrial economic plan can be accomplished thru an organization formed from representatives of the production unions, the general economic plan cannot conceivably be accomplished without the co-operation of the organs of the state, which have to put in order the agrarian question and that of matters of subsistence, and which are not constituted of trade unionists. Only

a general economic plan should be considered, because bread is as necessary for industrial production as coal and iron. This point of view alone makes it impossible to hand over the direction of industry exclusively to the unions. Also, there has accumulated in the general economic organs of the state a mass of experiences which cannot be discarded; for instance, the enrollment of the specialists, as long as they have not been completely assimilated by the unions, can be more easily done by official means than thru the medium of the unions. Then there is the further consideration that the unions—certainly not thru their own fault, but owing to the conditions under which they have functioned—are very little prepared for the direction of production. Their technical comprehension is small; even their production propaganda is in its infancy.

This last observation is the point of departure of the position of Comrade Trotzky and a group of very competent unionists like Holzmann and Kasior. The latter emphasize the weaknesses of the union and, besides, insist that in their present state the unions are still incompetent to conduct production. But yet they consider the direction to be the task of the unions in a proletarian state. Thence they conclude the necessity of reconstruction, of reorganization of the unions. Thence also comes their preoccupation with thoughts of production and their induction of new members who have learned in the economic organizations and in the Red Army to direct great enterprises unemotionally and energetically. Their point of view tends to reform, with all their powers, the unions from the top down, that is, to take away a part of their independence, in order that they may become in the future the directors of production.

What has been said above concerning the direction of producting thru the unions in the discussion of the point of view of the group of Schlapnikoff, we need not here repeat for the group of Comrade Trotzky. The same is true here. What should specially be considered in this case is the danger of his conception that the unions have no task but to increase production. One might perhaps accept this formula, for in a workers' state every organ of the mass of the workers must serve the principal task, and that is production. The points which make Trotzky's passionately maintained point of view dangerous are the following: In the unions we have only half a million Communists against six and a half million workers without party. This indicates how great is still the function of the union as the educator of the masses towards Communism and as the intermediary between the Soviet government and these millions. Trotzky is, indeed, quite right when he maintains that this educational function cannot be accomplished outside the demands of production, but he cannot deny that there is an independent problem, a problem which in the first place consists of the great task of persuasion, and not primaritly of direction or command. When Trotzky declares that in a workers' state, not the unions but the government must care for the material welfare of the workers, he tells only a part of the truth. Lenin is entirely right, when contrary to Trotzky, he declares that the Russian government is a government of the workers and the peasants. If weapons like strikes are inadmissible and unnecessary against such a government, there is not the slightest doubt that the state has an interest in controlling a mass organization which feels the pulse of the workers and which is always concerned in securing as much as possible for the workers from the state. One might complete the thoughts of Lenin to the effect that because no peasant party is represented in the workers' and peasants' government, which might represent the peasants' interests in the coalition by means of pressure on its partner, the battle between the workers and the peasants is conducted in the heart of the Communist government itself.

The latter has always before its eyes an 85 per cent peasant population and an industrial population of only 15 per cent. This may often lead to slips and errors of calculation. If the government wishes to retain under its feet its only secure basis, the proletarian, it is to its interest to be subjected constantly to the pressure of the unions, its constant controlling factor. The second danger in the attitude of Comrade Trotzky lies in the fact that the reconstruction of the unions from above may easily lead to their bureaucratization and militarization. Specifically, for this reform, there should be considered the tens of thousands of comrades who have during the last two years passed thru the great school of the Red Army. Now, Trotzky is entirely right when he calls attention to the fact that the Red Army was by no means formed solely thru compulsion, not even primarily so. Conviction, spiritual persuasion, played a great part in its formation, and the comrades who have formed the army are most certainly equipped to hold places of command and advice in every other post under the Soviet Republic. However, the differences in the methods of work on the field of attack and in industry are immense. Where every error may cause the death of hundreds, where one must decide the most important matters in a few minutes, cooly and unemotionally, and must carry them thru, the will to command is of more importance than the will to convince. Truly, the questions relating to the rebuilding of production require energetic attack; not an easy-going direction, but the will to have things moving in the shortest possible time. But since psychologically the consciousness of danger, due to delays in the factory, does not burden the masses as much as on the field of battle, every harsh attack would damage production, rather than promote it. Naturally, the Soviet government cannot renounce compulsory measures against comfortably negligent elements, simply because they hold the labor club, but its main method must be persuasion, agitation, which work more slowly but all the more surely.

II.

As in all discussions, opposed points of view are crystallized into catch-words, or are at least so characterized. Thus the position of Schlapnikoff's group is known as "Syndicalists." That of Comrade Trotzky has adopted the slogan of "Production Democracy," but is called by its opponents "Bureaucratic-Militaristic." That of Lenin is spoken of as "Worker Democracy." All of these designations have only very limited value. The tendency of Schlapnikoff acknowledges the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletarian state, which was never true of the Syndicalists. Those circles of the party grouped about Trotzky do not consist of bureaucrats nor of military blusterers. They represent, so far as their energy goes, by no means the least considerable portion of the Commuist Party, and their military gruffness is of too recent origin to have a permanent effect on their characters.

Trotzky's own choice of a slogan, "Production Democracy," need not be contradicted on theoretical grounds. Democracy is the system of the bourgeoisie by which it rules the masses, giving them certain political rights but keeping in its hands all means of production. In speaking of a Workers' Democracy, the addition of the term "Proletarian" indicates that the tools of production and the power belong to the proletariat; in short, that the old political conception of democracy has succumbed to a gentle disintegration. The use of the concept "Workers' Democracy" has also the specific purpose of accentuating that the proletarian dictatorship is coming or seeking to come to the position where it will not only be supported by the working class, to defend their interests, but also to represent them thru the mass organization of the proletariat. Production democracy has no meaning at all unless it be an interpretation of the motto: "Who does not work shall not eat." In this is expressed a means to an end, but not the purpose of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But we may well drop these explanations of the history of dogma, for Trotzky is not concerned with the introduction of a new theory or the proclamation of a new policy, but rather with avoiding the accusations that he is developing production by militaristic-bureaucratic methods. He is concerned with the determination of a universally acknowledged fact, namely, that the Proletarian Democracy in Russia can only maintain itself by learning to produce.

And that it will do. It will do so because there is in the Russian working class, in the Communist Party, enough energy to make that Soviet republic, which they have defended on the field of battle, secure thru their labor. In this the entire Communist Party, enough energy to make that Soviet Republic, means are of such a nature that they could not grow into antagonisms, which might impede the increase of production. The Communist Party is completely in agreement that the unions must participate in this work in growing measure. Even their program declares this. As soon as the trades unionists re-

**A deserter from Wrangel's ill-fated army. To judge by this fellow's appearance is it any wonder so many of Wrangel's soldiers deserted and revolted?**

turn from army service and get back to the trades and shops, the increase of their participation in the direction of production will follow of itself. Nobody can or wishes to renounce their aid. That Schlapnikoff's demand for the transfer of production to the unions is not absolutely law and gospel is quite apparent from the simple fact that the great majority of unionists themselves admit themselves to be for the time being ill adapted to exercise this function. Should we then attempt to adapt them by throwing them into the great kettle to be stewed and roasted into condition under the direction of the military and economic cooks? The military comrades themselves must first adapt themselves to the new tasks in economics and they have not less to learn than the unionists, altho possibly in other directions. Is the party to renounce the persuasion of the unions? No one dreams of it. Anyone who reproaches a Lenin or a Zinoviev because they are basing themselves on the neutrality of those unions, which they have fought all their lives, makes himself ridiculous. Naturally, the party to whose discipline the comrades in the unions are subjected

as much as all others, will permanently control their policies, beeause the party is the most exalted instance of the labor movement, beeause it alone has a comprehensive theory of the labor movement. But it will do its duty to the unions with the understanding of the special tasks and methods of the unions. It will carry this out not in a spirit of guardianship but in the spirit of broad communistic guidance.

The influencing and adaptation of the unions to their new tasks are not new problems in principle but are new as parts of a program to the extent that they now confront the proletariat; and to these problems the party will direct all the forces available. Among these are the eompetent comrades from the army and eeonomic organizations. But the party will say to them: You are not entering the unions as clever instructors for stupid unions, but so that you may adapt yourselves to the new tasks and learn to execute them. The union organizations daily take a great part in the conduet of production. The differences between the concrete proposals of the various groups of the party in reference to this partieipation are not at all great. Actual experienee will have to show what must be added and what subtracted in this field. Inasmuch as the unions, in their entirety or possibly by special adjustments, become more and more incorporated into the direction of production, they will not become bureaueratic ehancelleries.

For the achievement of their tasks they will not at all need to be officialized formally. Quite on the contrary, official government adoption would only hinder them in the execution of their tasks. So long as only a half-million of the seven million trade unionists belong to the party there is the proof that they are not yet filled with the spirit of communism, the foundation of the Soviet Republic. Under these circumstances the formal officialization of the unions would only impede the Communists in the accomplishment of their tasks. The unions will exercise governmental functions and the better the Proletarian State and the unions co-operate the sooner will reluctance to an official adoption disappear, but the more eertainly also will such officialization become unneessary.

This is the status of the debated questions of the Communist Party in Russia. The bourgeois press and the Mensheviki have always prophesied that the Communist Party would perish because it had throttled the workers' democraey, the freedom of discussion in the ranks of the working elasses and their organizations. Now that the party is discussing publicly the differenees of opinion concerning the unions as it diseussed those arising from the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and those concerning the organization of production, in order to arrive at a unified decision of this important question of the Russian revolution, the bourgeois and mensheviki press is prophesying that the Communist Party of Russia will perish beeause it does not hush up its disagreements but diseusses them. It is the strength of the Russian Communist Party and working class that they understand how to waive discussion when the moment of battle has arrived and that they discuss, and diseuss thoroly, when preparations for new battles are the subject. The discussion has already polished off some of the rough spots. And when the party deeision will have been reached the party will stand like a "roek of bronze" on which the enemy will break his teeth. The great task of economic organization will be eompleted even if our enemies disturb us. The eongress of workers' and soldiers' couneils has submitted to the Russian working class and to the world proletariat no plans which can only thrive in an idyllic world where the sheep and the wolves pasture peacefully together. The plans are battle plans against the bourgeoisie of the world. If we get a breathing spell these plans will be completely realized. If we are compelled to fight on with weapons in our hands only a part of the great plan of construction can be realized immediately; but the world bourgeoisie will have to repay for this disturbance of our labors. In a battle with arms we will secure the necessary conditions of a reconstruction, possibly somewhat retarded but all the more complete.

# The Star is Risen

**Russia is free! The Star in the East**
**Is risen. Nor scourge of czar nor priest**
**Shall e'er again with blight and sorrow curse**
**The children of our green-valed, native earth;**
**The banner sweeps o'er boundless northern plains—**
**Speed the glad message, Brotherhood now reigns.**

**The Alpine slopes take up the welcome cry—**
**They place the crimson signal in the sky;**
**While England's workmen answer from the sea,**
**And give the pledge that all men shall be free.**
**Far to the westward echo answers clear,**
**Awake, O Labor, for the dawn is here!**

**J. C. C.**

# Conference on Scientific Organization of Labor and Production in Soviet Russia

ON Jan. 20-28, an inaugural conference took place in Moscow for the scientific organization of labor and production. Over 150 engineers, professors, and highly skilled specialists, including representatives of various trade unions and industrial organs interested in the organization of labor, participated. The diverse political tendencies at the conference met on the platform laid down by the Communist Revolution in the field of labor anl production.

The conference was opened by comrade Gvosdiev (ex-minister for labor under the Provisional Government), chairman of the Organizing Committee for convening the conference, who remarked that the conference was the first experiment of its kind on the organization of labor not only in Russia, for, as far as is known, such a conference has never taken place anywhere else in the world. The aim of the conference was to throw light on the fundamental questions of the scientific organization of labor in industry and to create a central organ able to exercise a daily influence over the building up of national industry in the sphere of the organization of labor.

In the exchange of greetings that followed from various labor organizations and the Socialist Academy of Science, one was recurrently reminded of Lenin's celebrated phrase to the effect that happy times are coming for Soviet Russia, when, instead of politics, our conferences will discuss questions of industry and production, and when engineers, technicians and savants will take the place of politicians. Verily, the whole proceedings of the conference confirmed this supposition.

Comrade A. Bogdanov, in his report, pointed out that Man's organizing experience, up to present times has not, as a whole, been scientifically systematized. This experience was accumulating and taking shape, but it was elemental and unconscious. All science handed down to us is essentially a systematization of the organizing experience in a given field. Under the capitalist system, this systematization has been developing in the direction of individualization with an utter disregard of the experience of other systems.

We know the science of the structure of an army and of a factory but we do not know the general organizational tasks which could lead to the attainment of a harmonious system in various fields.

In characterizing Russian industry as it stands today, comrade Bogdanov pointed out that, for organizing production in Russia in its present state, it is necessary first of all to carry out a careful census. Let us suppose that after such a census we learn that we have such and such a number of the population, so much labor power of a definite degree of skill, and so much incapables, including here also the training of new men. We would then be able to calculate how much of one or other articles of consumption, raw material, or implements we need, and get the correct calculation of an economic entity.

Speaking of the importance of technical progress in industry, comrade Bogdanov asserted that the technical revolution, in spite of all difficulties, is possible of realization in Russia, even more so than in any other country. The progress of every technical revolution is obstructed by the vitality of the old enterprises, the reconstruction of which demands a great realignment of the economic forces. From this point of view, the technical revolution in Russia has a clear path; all kinds of improvement are applicable in all spheres of industry.

The main work of the conference was conducted in Sections, the conclusions and decisions of which are of tremendous importance not only in relation to the new "science of the organization of labor", but also for the industrial life of Soviet Russia itself.

Among others, Professor Chalpanoff, from the Section of Psychology of Labor, made a report on the function of psychology in the organization of labor. "Only psychology"—said Professor Chalpanoff—"can solve the still problematical questions of labor. It studies the influence that is exercised by exhaustion, will, effort, rest, etc., upon the productivity of labor. The function of psychology consists in discovering the factors which render it possible to produce the greatest amount of products with an expenditure of the same unit of time and effort. It should lay down the path of adapting the machine to the individual piculiarities of the worker, to his abilities, perception, mind, will and so on. It should define when the worker begins to feel tired, and how he is influenced by monotony and variety of work, etc. It must define the fitness of each worker for a definite specialty, it must go into technique and create a type of psychologic-engineers."

Doctor Granovsky remarked that the time had come to solicit the aid of technicians, economists, and physiologists in the question of the organization of labor. "The application of human labor in the industrial processes should be based on the systematic study of labor power from the point of view of biology and sociology, using for this aim the methods of natural history and social science. At the present time, the Commissariat for

Labor is organizing a State Institute for the experimental study of human labor and investigation into scientific-concentration and education, which is to work in close contact with the evonomic administrative organs and the industrial organizations of the workers."

Professor Gredeskoul made a report on "Taylorism and Socialism".

Engineer Polynkovsky, speaking on the introduction of scientific methods of organization under present conditions, declared that we must accept the principles of the organization of the labor process outlined in the Taylor system. When this business was in the hands of the capitalists, it was the source of great evil, but now, when this process is in the hands of the workers themselves, the latter need entertain no fear of the scientific organization of labor. The bad aspects of Taylorism need cause no dismay if the working masses take the matter up in a practical manner. When the training of the working masses will have been accomplished a great industrial wave will sweep over the whole country.

At its last sitting, the conference adopted a multitude of proposals and practical measures put forward by the Sections, in the interests of the scientific organization of labor. Finally, the presidium proposed the following general resolution, which was adopted by the conference.

(1) By the scientific organization of labor should be understood, organization based on the careful study of the industrial processes with all the accompanying factors and circumstances. The basic method here is the calculation of the expenditure of time, material, and mechanical labor in terms of things, the analysis of all collected data for the purpose of securing the symmetrical and most advantageous plan of production;

(2) The essential basis of scientific organization is the work and deductions of psycho-physiology, reflexology, and hygiene in relation to the process of labor and to the endurance of the worker, this being the sole means to preserve economy of production and the interests of the workers themselves.

(3) While recognizing the merits of Taylor and his collaborators in the establishment of a scientific method of organization and a rational utilization of the technical factors of production, the conference considers the identification of the conception of "scientific organization of labor" and the "Taylor System" erroneus, in view of the fact that the latter conforms to the principles of the scientific organization of production only in the above quoted case; whereas it has unscientific aspects, aiming chiefly at the excessive augmentation of labor effort in disregard of the sum-total of energy at the workingman's disposal.

(4) In view of the extreme disorganization of the economic life of the republic, which individual organizers unacquainted with the method and accomplishments of scientific organization strive to alleviate, the necessity arises of paying special attention to the methods of scientific organization. These methods open up wide possibilities of a sure, rapid, and systematic improvement in the industrial position, and they should therefore be widely used and encouraged.

**A Tartar coal miner of the Caucasus on the market.**

(5) In conformity with this an organ should be created which, basing itself on the workers organized in the industrial unions, would set up a symmetrical system of measures for the carrying out of the methods of scientific organization.

The chairman, Professor Bekterov, in closing the conference, made a resume of its work, and expressed himself as follows:

"Our conference, in my opinion, forms an historic event for our country. It not only spent its time on theoretical work, but it has even afforded practical results. Having made the first step to define the practice of the scientific organization of production, the task of the next conference will be to negotiate and reach an agreement with the working elements who will be fully represented thereon."

# How Industry is Managed in Soviet Russia

THE MANAGEMENT of industry in the present time in Soviet Russia is as follows:

The Supreme Council of Public Economy is the central organ, defining the production program for separate branches of industry, and regulating and managing industry; in the provinces there are the local councils of public economy. Each branch of industry, in its turn, is managed and regulated by the Head Department in the centre, and by the corresponding section of the Provincial Economic Councils in the localities. Finally separate industrial enterprises or their combines are managed by the Shop or District Management.

All organs managing industry have as their basis the industrial unions. The apparatus of management is constructed wholly on this basis.

The guiding apparatus of the Supreme Economic Council is the Board, which at the present time consists of 13 persons, formed by agreement with the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions (A. C. C. T. U.). The Boards of the Provincial Economic Councils (P. E. C.) consisting of 3 to 7 persons, confirmed by the Board of the S. E. C., are elected by the local Executive Committee in agreement with the local provincial T. U. Council; the Chief Industrial Departments are appointed by the Board of the S. E. C. in agreement of the Central Committee of the corresponding trade union, and in the event of disagreement, with the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions. The District Management of enterprises is preliminarily indicated by the District Conventions of representatives of the workers of the corresponding enterprises, and is confirmed by arrangement with the Provincial Branch of their trade union, with the Chief Department of the corresponding branch of industry or with the Prov. Econ. Council according to what category the concern belongs to, the second or third. The management of an enterprise is appointed by the District (or by the Chief) Management.

The management of industry is thus based on the industrial trade unions, and the trade unions and their amalgamations take part in the organization of national economy just as they take part in organizing the apparatus for the regulation and management of industry. Hence, the trade unions and their amalgamations only formally take part in organization of the managing apparatus, i. e., they agree on one or another candidate put forward by the organs of the Supreme Economic Council; others apart from agreement also put forward their candidates which form the majority; and finally the degree of pariticipation by a third class is deeper; they not only participate in the organization of the managing apparatus but also in the organization of industry itself, so forming an absolute minority.

In summing up the participation of the wide labor masses in the organization of industry, the Board of the Supreme Economic Council establishes the fact, that the participation of the workers in the organization of industry was business-like and creative. The following table characterizes the degree of participation of the workers in the organs of management:

**Table Showing the Proportionate Representation of Manual Workers, Technical Experts and Office Employees on the Supreme Economic Council, and as Factory Managers.**

**Personnel of the Supreme Economic Council and Prov. Economic Councils:**

| Workers | Per cent | Technical Experts | Per cent | Office Employees | Per cent | Total Personnel |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 908 | 61.6 | 451 | 30.7 | 58 | 31.0 | 188 |

**Committee Factory Managers:**

| Workers | Per cent | Technical Experts | Per cent | Office Employees | Per cent | Total Managers |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 726 | 63.5 | 398 | 34.9 | 37 | 26.4 | 142 |

**One-man Factory Managers:**

| Workers | Per cent | Technical Experts | Per cent | Office Employees | Per cent | Total Managers |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 74 | 51.4 | 31 | 22.2 | 19 | 1.7 | 1,143 |

**Total:**

| Workers | Per cent | Technical Experts | Per cent | Office Employees | Per cent | Total Members |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 108 | 57.2 | 22 | 11.8 | 114 | 7.7 | 1,473 |

Here we have 61 % of workers, among whom are many prominent administrators and organizers, and 30 % of experts, with whom we cannot dispense, especially now, when wide industrial perspectives of peaceful construction have opened up before the Supreme Economic Council.

The labor management changed its character in the course of the work itself. At first, large collegiates stood at the head of the management in the centre, in the districts, and at the enterprises, a thing which made necessary to have representatives of all kinds, of departments to decide all questions co-ordinately. These collegiates also aroused the mistrust of the workers to the administrative-technical personnel and the officials, i. e., the department representatives. In proportion as the corresponding collegiates actually united the management in their own hands, the department representatives became superfluous; part of the workers became so familiarized with the work that they were actually able to conduct it themselves and the former distrust gave way. Parallel with these changes, there took place the transition from wide representative collegiates to narrow business directorates of one-man management.

At the present moment, most of the factories and works have gone over from collegiate to one-man management; out of 2,483 enterprises 2,183 are under one-man management and 300 under collegiates.

It must be emphasized that in the practice of economic management at the present time the principle of automatic representation of separate institutions in the organs of management is already done away with, and we have at present gone over to the principle of organizing the guiding collegiates or appointing confirmation of the activities of each industry or its branches by the corresponding guiding organ of the State on the basis of business considerations. Owing to this, the possibility is avoided of friction or misunderstandings between the trade unions and the organs of economic management, in view of the fact that persons belonging to the organs of industrial management or the leaders of these organs, are responsible before the corresponding central committee of the trade union, and on the other hand the responsibility for the preparation in the execution of their tasks rests with the organs that appointed them, and with the trade union in agreement with whom they were appointed.

The Central apparatus of the Supreme Economic Council is split up into three groups of sections. First of all the Board of the Supreme Economic Council itself, six sections, with the aid of which it established the industrial plan for the current year and carries out the general leadership of industry. These sections are:

1. The commission for production which receives separate production programs for separate branches of industry, which are examined and submitted to the Board for confirmation.

2. The Financial, Economic and Accounting Sections, which examine the balance sheets of both central and local economic organs and which finance industry.

3. The Utilization Commission, which establishes the plan of distribution of the products of industry (its personnel also comprises representatives of the Food Commissariat).

4. The Council of Supply and Distribution (in process of formation), which confims the program of the distribution of semi-manufactured products which require finishing, and conducts all the technical work of distribution and supply.

5. The Factory Statistical Section.

6. Section for Provincial Contact, which conducts communication with the local Councils of Public Economy.

The second group are production sections, there being 15 of them, in accordance with branches of industry. They directly manage and regulate the corresponding branches of industry, in respect to which they oversee the execution of the production programs and orders, they distribute the raw material, take account of manufactured products, subsidize the enterprises of the last group that are of special state importance. The contact of the production sections in the local organs of public economy is under the Provincial Councils of Public Economy.

The third group of sections are: 1. Industrial administration. 2. Inspectorate. 3. Juridical Section. 4. Editing and Publications, etc., which can be defined as auxiliary sections.

In each province, the local economic council is the organ directing and managing industry; i. e., the Provincial Council of Public Economy, organized on the same lines as the Supreme Council.

The local councils are spilt up into corresponding industrial sections: Metal, Textile, Chemical, Electro-Technical, etc., which are directed by the Boards of Economic Council on one hand, and on the other hand are likewise subordinated to the corresponding production sections, where they present their balance-sheets and whence they receive instructions and orders as to the management of the industry under their auspices and on their territory.

Enterprises of the second and third groups are under the management of the local councils. Thus the local councils subsidize the enterprises under their management, according to a budget, substitute and appoint directors, etc. At the head of the sections of the local councils are men confirmed by the Board of the Local Economic Council in agreement with the corresponding Trade Unions. In order to keep pace with the growth of work caused by the Federation of other Soviet Republics, local councils for public economy have been created. These now number 81.

# From Berlin to Moscow

By E. Bouwman

I.

THE CONFERENCE at Berlin succeeded beyond our expectations, not only as regards the discussions that took place, but also as regards the number of those who attended it. Two important resolutions were adopted. First, that all the participants of the Berlin conference will be present at the congress of the International of the Red Trade-Unions in Moscow and that the Centrals of the various countries that were not represented at the conference be prevailed upon to take part in the congress to be held at Moscow; second, an agreement was reached on six points which will form the basis for the discussions at the congress for the participants of the Berlin conferenee.

We do not mean to imply that all who took part in the conference at Berlin were united on all points. This was by no means the case. As appears from the discussions (a full report of which was published in "De Arbeid") different tendencies were represented; the divergent opinions clashed, both as regards fundamental questions and questions of organization. Distinctly above all, however, sounded the parole: **To Moscow!** Not a separate Syndicalist International, but **ONE single International of all the Industrial Workers of the World** to be brought about in co-operation with the International of the Red Trade-Unions.

This was the message which Comrade Hardy of the I. W. W. brought with him from America. Our friend Barker from the Argentine and the Dutch delegation expressed the same opinion, whereas, of eourse, Comrades Jaek Tanner of the Shop Stewards in England, Victor Godonneeke and Jean Ceppe, Minority C. G. T. in Franee (which parties have already joined the International of the Red Trade-Unions) entirely agreed with us.

Only the German Syndicalists, represented by Comrades Fritz Kater, Max Winkler, Rudolf Rocker, August Souehy, Frank Barwich and Theodor Plivier, supported by the Deputy of the Swedish Syndiealists, Franz Severin, were in opposition on this point. This side repeatedly declared: "We are Syndicalists and what we want is a Syndicalist International;" whereas it was clear eaeh time again from the deliberations that especially the German Syndicalist movement has become fast-rooted in the anarehistic doctrines, as was formerly the ease for a long time with the Independent Trade Movement in Holland. At all events the Germans wished to go to Moscow; with a resolution, however, that not only would have widened the breaeh between themselves and Moseow, but would also have made it impossible for them to come to an understanding with the different revolutionary Trade-Centrals that have not yet joined the International of the Red Trade-Unions.

No one who is at all at home in the industrial workers movement will be surprised that on this point especially the Russian delegation, represented by Comrades S. Belinsky and Grebelskaje (who also represented the International of the Red Trade-Unions) came in conflict with the German Syndicalists. Belinsky maintained the standpoint that the first task of this conference must be to choose between Amsterdam (A. T. I.) and Moscow (R. I. I.). Between these two there is no meanway, and therefore the formation of a separate Syndicalist International would simply increase the confusion still more in the international revolutionary trade movement than was the case at the moment. The representatives of the I. W. W., the Argentine, the Minority C. G. T. of France and the Dutch delegation were entirely in aceord with this standpoint. The Dutch delegation aimed at striving to find a common working-basis for the revolutionary trade movement of the world to meet the International of the Red Trade-Unions on. On the other hand, the German Syndicalists and the Swedish Deputy placed themselves on the basis of the resolution passed by the Syndicalist Congress which was held in London in 1913, and that goes out from the idea of forming a Syndicalist International. Moreover, the condition was made that only the organizations that accept the federative standpoint could take part in the formation of this international.

By aceepting this resolution it follows that a eentralized organization like the I. W. W., which like almost all the Revolutionary Centrals in the other eountries has organized in its ranks besides Syndicalists, also Communists and Anarchists, would not be able to work in the purely Syndicalist International as it is intended by the Germans.

The standpoint advoeated by the Amerieans is, in our opinion, therefore, the correct one and agrees in all respects with that adopted by the Dutch Independent Trade Movement, namely, that we can no more form a Syndicalist than a Communist International. There must be room in our international for the adherants of all parties and all tendencies who accept the standpoint of the class war and who are prepared to join us in the revolutionary struggle against eapitalism. Therefore, all our endeavors should be directed towards the formation of the **International of the Industrial Workers of the World.**

It is a matter for real satisfaction for us that we were able to come to an agreement on this point, whereby the original plan of the Germans to bring about a purely Syndicalist International was frus-

trated. And so is the fact that **the conference fairly generally placed itself on the standpoint that the Centrals of each country shall be perfectly free to decide for themselves upon the form they adopt for their respective organizations.** This makes it all the easier to come to an understanding at the congress in Moscow.

II.

Two other questions dominated the discussions at the Berlin conference. In the first place the question whether the trade movement (also therefore a revolutionary international trades-union) must be independent of political parties; and in the second place, whether or not the revolutionary trade movement had to accept the standpoint of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

**With regard to the first point the delegate of the I. W. W. declared that tho he had instructions to proceed to Moscow for the purpose of bringing about ONE International of the Red Trade-Unions, his organization maintained the standpoint that the international of the trade movement was in no wise to be placed under the control of the Communist III. International, or of any other political party. This standpoint was also expressly brought forward by the Argentine delegation, Holland, Germany and Sweden.**

The delegates of the two latter countries laid somewhat too much stress on the anti-political standpoint. As tho by negating all political action the workingclass will be able to fight out the political struggle against capitalism. This obviously is impossible. The development of capitalism teaches us that as the class contrasts grow more intensified political and economic actions tend to flow into one until finally in a far-advanced revolutionary situation the dividing line between the political and economic sphere falls away altogether.

Belinsky quite rightly pointed out at the conference amongst other things that the anti-political standpoint had become obsolete, as it no longer adjusted itself to the revolutionary stage at this period. Moreover, it is not only extremely dangerous, but also impossible to seperate the political and economic spheres of action.

Suppose, for instance, Russia—where the proletariat has seized the power—were forced to defend itself at the penalty of the annihilation of the proletarian revolution against the onslaughts of its own counter-revolutionary generals who were aided by the armies of the other capitalist countries, such a step would be a political action and only an unrevolutionary mind would say: "We have nothing to do with political affairs." Consequently a Syndicalist International would be compelled to take part in politics.

**But, as Belinsky said, the relation of the Third International to the International Red Trades-Union is something different altogether. Here we have two separate bodies and it is misleading to represent the second as being under the control of the first, as is usually done on several sides.**

The Third International places itself on the standpoint that organisatorily the trade movement should be completely independent; and in the preliminary statutes of the International Red Trades-Union there is no evidence whatsoever to the contrary. A spirit of union, however, we hold to be essential in the political and economic revolutionary organizations of the proletariat. This is necessary in order to force a united front against capitalism and its assistants. We, therefore, must not interpret the word "independent" in the narrow sense thereof, i. e., not in the sense that tends to isolate the trade movement from the political revolutionary movement, for it is quite possible, without following up the instructions of the political revolutionary parties, to work in harmony with them for the one great aim: the libcration of the workingclass from the yoke of capitalism and the realization of the communist state. The reprensentatives of the revolutionary minority of the C. G. T. of France shared our views on this matter. Tho they have joined Moscow they are nevertheless of the opinion that the trade movement should not be dependent on any political party, but should certainly work together with the Third International and the revolutionary parties. The French comrades pointed to Zinoviev, who recently emphatically declared that the attitude of the Third International towards the trade movement differed altogether from that assumed towards political parties, that no doctrinal standpoint is taken up with regard to the trade movement and that in no way will the communist parties interfere with matters concerning the trade movement.

In connection with the above observations Comrade Belinsky proposed an amendment of Point 5, which, however, was rejected, but will be brought forward again for discussion at the congress in Moscow. It will, therefore, not be out of place to say something more about this amendment. Belinsky proposed to amend Point 5 as follows: "That the International Red Trades-Union shall be independently organized, but shall pursue its actions in deliberation and in co-operation with the Third International."

The acceptance of the amendment would not have made any intrinsic differcnce in Point 5 as drawn up by the commission. Belinsky, too, desires to bring about an independent International Trades-Union. But he further wants to obtain a more positive declaration by the revolutionary Trades-Union International of its preparedness to co-operate with the Third International.

Tho personally the writer of this article would have supported Belinsky's amendment, he voted in favor of Point 5 as drawn up by the commission, as it was more in accordance with the instructions which the Dutch delegation had received from the H. A. S. Board.

**To be more clear: We, too, desire to see a revolutionary International Trades-Union that does not dance to the tune of the Third International, or of any other political party.** But this does not do away

with the fact that in the present revolutionary period especially, we have to define clearly the sharp line of division that separates the reformistic from the revolutionary labor movement in the world. On the one side we have the remnants of the Second International and the A. T. I. who are one at heart; on the other side, the growing revolutionary Third International, which is steadily amalgamating into one International Trades-Union. Between these is no midway. Certainly we can expect that the advocates for the Second International will endeavor to carry on the old concern under another name and will so try to re-unite the parties that have deserted the Second International in the Right front of the labor movement and to smooth the way for co-operation with the A. T. I.

Both Troelstra (one of the well-known leaders of the Second International) and Oudcgeest (one of the secretaries of the A. T. L.) spoke in this spirit at a recent Christmas meeting at Amsterdam held by the S. D. A. P. and the N. V. V. of Amsterdam, where Kleerekooper prcsided, and according to whom the meeting was a demonstration of thc indestructible bond bctween the political fight and that of the trade movement. Both speakers intimated that the Second International must be superceded by an international with a tendency to orientate itself more in the direction of the Left (the A. T. I. was to work with it). But we know what to think of such statements when uttered by men who have hitherto gone arm in arm with the bourgeoisie. What does this amount to other than that the leaders of the Second International in conjunction with the A. T. I. are busy forming out of the more moderate and parliamentarian labor movements a united front against Moscow?

Once more—There is no midway. One stands either on the one or the other side of the line. All over the world evidence is accumulating that the process of separation is gradually approaching maturity. In Germany the U. S. P. chose the middle way with the result that the breach was unavoidable; the Right wing was shoved more to the Right and the Left wing more to the left. The same thing occurred in the French Socialist movement. It wished to have nothing to do with the Second International, nor at first with Moscow; not till the cngress held at Tours in 1920, when a change took place and by a large majority it was decided to join Moscow. The development of the trade movement in France is going thru the same experience. So far Jouhaux and his partisans have succeeded in keeping the C. G. T. tied to the A. T. I. Despite these attempts a strong minority in the French Trade Movement has gone over to the Red Trades-Union International, and unless the signs deceive us, this minority will in time become a majority ready to vote for Moscow against Amsterdam.

To vote for Moscow is to vote in favor of the trade movement and of forming **ONE single revolutionary International of the Industrial Workers of the World, which will not permit the Third International to dictate the rules to it,** but will consult with it and work together, in short, will form a united front in the struggle against capitalism. This is the standpoint we have to adopt in this question and which we shall all have to strive to come to an agreement on at Moscow.

Point 5 of the resolution adopted at the conference in Berlin reads as follows: The International Trades-Union (R. I. I.) is entirely autonomous and independent of all political parties. In the event that the R. I. I. decides upon a certain action and political parties or other organizations declare themselves in accord with such an action or vice versa, then the execution of the decision can be carried out together."

This standpoint makes co-operation with the Third International possible; but at the same time presupposes the possibility of co-operation with the Reformistic International. We think, therefore, that this point is formulated too vaguely and prefer the amendment as proposed by Belinsky at the Berlin conference. This also was the opinion of the representatives of the Shop Stewards of England and the Minority of the C. G. T. of France.

III.

Extensive discussions followed on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the second day of the conference the two French representatives declared that the Minority in the C. G. T. (including also anarchists) expressed themselves in favor of the proletarian dictatorship. We are in favor of the dictatorship, they said, because we are revolutionists and all who wish to take part in the irreconcilable fight against the dictatorship of capitalism will have to acquiesce in the proletarian dictatorship for the period of transition. The representative of the I. W. W. shared this viewpoint. The I. W. W. people of America constantly propagate the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hardy, therefore, proposed that the Berlin conference express itself for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This proposal was supported by Belinsky (Russia), Tanner (England), Barker (The Argentine), and the writer of this article, whereas the German and Swedish representatives strongly opposed it.

The chief arguments against the dictatorship of the proletariat were that the time was not yet ripe for it. Rocker stated, they were for a dictatorship by the workers, but against a dictatorship of force by the state. Moreover, the term "dictatorship" did not originate with thc working class; it was an instrument of the bourgeoisie and dates from the time of the French Revolution, when the Jacobins—the party of the petty bourgeoisie—made use of it for the first time. Later it became a source of conflict between Marx and Bakounine and we Germans agree with the latter. Severin of Sweden, too, placed himself upon the same anarchist standpoint against the dictatorship, for according to him

the word "dictatorship" presupposes: the power in hands of the state.

The Germans proposed that instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat the conference should express itself in favor of the Social Revolution.

Belinsky stated rightly that fencing with the words "social revolution" is a mere phrase. That these words say nothing at all is evident from the fact that the leaders of the International of Amsterdam recently carried resolutions with tremendous applause at London, so that these people too speak about "social revolution" and the "revolutionary struggle." But these words in themselves say very little as long as one is afraid to state with what means one wishes to bring about this social revolution.

What we want to know is that we cannot step from the capitalist into the communist social order. Between these two there is a period of transition during which the dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable. Whoever refuses to accept the dictatorship of the proletariat is a reformist, for he infers that communism can only be reached by the road of democracy, along which the reformist social-democrats as well as the bourgeois democrats wish to lead the workers. We must not be scared of the word dictatorship, for we shall then make the same mistake that the bourgeoisie makes daily when it tells its readers again and again how fatal party dictatorship is, that in reality does not exist!

The same bourgeois press, of course, approved entirely of the Noske dictatorship, for the reason, in fact, that is was exercised in the interests of the bourgeoisie and the former rulers against the rebellious German proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat implies the exact opposite. The delegates of the German and Swedish Syndicalists and Comrade Barker (The Argentine) say: "Dictatorship of the workers themselves is all right," and by this they apparently mean by means of the trade unions! But if the trade unions, say, for instance, that of the Syndicalists, with its 32,000 members, were to exercise the power, would not that be a minority as well? And the Russian trade unions with 6 or 7 million out of a population of 180 million? Therefore, we need under the dictatorship of the proletariat a very wide organization. The proletarian dictatorship has no other object than to destroy the bourgeoisie.

On our side we stated at the conference, and we wish to repeat it once more in this article, that the opponents of the dictatorship of the proletariat omit to indicate another way by which to pass from the capitalist into the communist social order. Rocker's statement that the time was not yet ripe for the proletarian dictatorship is a presumptious supposition by which in fact the idea is propagated that the proletariat is not yet ripe for the realization by means of it of communism. One is apt to forget, however, that under capitalism they will never be ripe, in the sense that the workers en bloc can consciously bring about the social revolution, and therefore, one gives the workers a bill payable within eternity by constantly proclaiming that the proletariat is not yet ripe.

What does it matter to us who was the first in history to make use of the dictatorship? Whether it is a system, as Rocker said, that was first brought into practice by the Jacobins; or whether Marx was an advocate for proletarian dictatorship and Bakounine was not? Marx and Bakounine 60 years ago said many things that are still true in 1920, but as they lived under quite different social conditions, they also said things in those days that are no longer true in 1920. What we have to know is that present social circumstances will place us before the fact that the proletariat will have to have the courage to seize the power. It is not for us to fix the moment when this will happen; the historical development will make that out.

The assertion: "We are against the dictatorship by means of state power" is really a confession that one dares not accept the consequences of the revolutionary struggle of the working class against capitalism. For historically it is as sure as anything in the world that capitalism will not voluntarily resign itself to its doom, any more than it will, without offering resistance, permit the workers to seize the factories and the peasants to take possession of the land in order to found a communist state. On the contrary, capitalism and a whole army of satellites, including a large number of unconscious workers who have been set up against their own class by the most unscrupulous machinations, will impede every real attempt at realizing communism. Under such circumstances, i. e., in a proletarian revolutionary situation there is no time for speculations about state and liberty. What will be required then is a social organ representing the power of the proletariat and which, of necessity, is prepared to establish the proletarian power by means of force. Under such circumstances, when not only the bourgeoisie turns against the proletarian revolution, but when most probably a great number of individuals will try to profit by the disorder and "score a great hit," a rigorous dictatorship is absolutely necessary, especially in the beginning.

No one positively declared himself against the dictatorship of the proletariat at the conference. Besides Belinsky, Tanner, Hardy, Godonneche and the present author, Barker (Argentine) too, declared himself in favor of the proletarian dictatorship, while Rocker declared: "The dictatorship of the workers themselves is all right."

The dictatorship is feared only in the case when it is exercised thru force by the state or when it rests in the hands of a few leaders. These are the men who themselves maintain the narrow trade union standpoint and who believe that there the struggle of the working class ends. According to this point of view they see in the dictatorship by means of the trade union movement the true proletarian dictatorship from below. As if no objections

existed against the dictatorship in the minds of some, mostly conservative trade union leaders.

We ourselves have been working in the trade union movement for 18 years and during the last 12 years played a leading part. Our experience is that the daily practical and opportunistic work in the trade unions tends to make it thoroly reformistic. No wonder that so many trade union leaders become entirely absorbed in the practical work. (Work, let it be noted, does not even give a limited satisfaction to the workers nowadays, who take little interest or no interest at all in the great social struggle.) Let it be clearly understood: We have no intention to be malicious towards certain persons. We merely state a fact, namely, the fact that the trade union leaders, even the best and most revolutionary among them, are for the greater part engaged in work of an opportunistic nature. And in this connection we doubt whether the objections against the dictatorship of a few trade union leaders would not be at least at great as against a number of party leaders.

We are therefore just as much against the one as against the other. The chief thing is to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which can only to be attained thru the temporary dictatorship of the working class. This cannot and may not be the dictatorship of a party, nor that of the trade union, but of the organization of labor in the widest sense of the word, i. e., of all who are concerned in the production.

Now, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" can be replaced by "the power of the working class," and it was in this spirit that the conference at Berlin passed the resolution. Essentially there is no difference between these two ideas. It is fighting about a **word.** It were better to trouble less about words in these days of fast approaching capitalist decay and of intensified class contrasts and to pay more attention to the revolutionary struggle which must be directed towards the destruction of capitalism.

The German Syndicalists especially should realize this, instead of alarming the workers by the word dictatorship.

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In these lines we gave an account of the discussions held at Berlin, and our opinion concerning the most important problems which will be treated at the congress at Moscow. In doing so we based ourselves entirely on the principles of the Independent Trade Union Movement in Holland.

The attentive reader will have noted that there still remain points of difference between these principles and those of the Red Trades-Union International. But these are also to be found in every federation of revolutionary trade unions in the different countries. The question is whether the various sections of the revolutionary trade movement in the world will be able to come to an agreement at Moscow. In our opinion this will be possible.

But then we must not go to Moscow to look for contrasts, but to co-operate earnestly in creating **One** Revolutionary Trades-Union International.

# THE SEVEN AGES OF MAN.

**AGE No. 1: THE POLITICIAN.**

**And He Never Grows Out of It.**

# The Australian Labor Movement

By J. Morris

THE LATEST and most authentic information regarding the development of the Australian Labor movement that has been received from that country is to the effect that the mining and transport departments of the One Big Union will become a reality in the very near future.

There are quite a number of interested persons in America who are under the impression that the O. B. U. of the workers of Australia has existed for some time.

Such, however, is not the case, and to all intents and purposes the forming of the two departments mentioned above is the first practical attempt to bring the O. B. U. into being.

If such is the case we are in a quandary as to the actual conditions prevailing in Australia at the present time.

That we may understand and estimate correctly the progress that the Australian worker has made it is necessary to have a general knowledge of the various unions and their activities in recent years. About 90% of the workers of Australia are organized, but as they are separated into approximately 365 different craft unions there is nothing wonderful about it. Even amongst workers of the same trade, such as carpenters, engineers, etc., you will find different unions mutually antagonistic.

There appeared to be no end to this tangle until in the latter part of 1913 the I. W. W. came along with their industrial union propaganda. Immediately a fierce fight began between the old and the new ideas which culminated in the extraordinary development within the rank of the working class that we are attempting to present in this article.

It is unnecessary for us to outline the activities of all the craft unions. We will deal only with the more important ones.

### The Australian Workers' Union.

The biggest union from a numerical point of view is the Australian Workers Union, more familiarly called the A. W. U.

It has a membership of 100,000 and is organized in the pastoral and agricultural industries. A majority of its rank and file are migratory workers because of the seasonal character of the work.

They very seldom pull a strike, as most of the disputes are handled thru the Arbitration Court. Occasionally they indulge in a little job action and it is upon these occasions they display a militancy that is surprising. The officials of the union are reactionary and they do their utmost to prevent the rank ant file from conducting job activities.

Up to the time of my leaving Australia these officials had succeeded in bulldozing these workers into the belief that the O. B. U. is impractical, tho with a rapidly growing militant minority their influence is fast waning. They (the officials of the A. W. U.) are the backbone of the Australian Labor Party (the politicians of the **"labor"** brand), and are continually inculcating into the minds of the rank and file of the union the idea that by electing representatives to parliament they are doing away with the necessity of the strike.

This line of "bunk" is loosing its punch, and to the very evident dismay of the union officials the workers are resorting to job action; in parts of Australia they have even gone so far as to create job committees.

Thru the official organ of the A. W. U., the Australian Worker, the officials are bitterly attacking the growth of the One Big Union idea.

The election of officers is conducted thru a machine that prevents the election of any worker opposed to the policy of the officials.

In order to counteract the propaganda of the industrialists they made the claim that **they** are the O. B. U. and in order to prove it pointed to the presence within their organization of a few workers belonging to craft unions now affiliated with the A. W. U.

They are trying to stampede the workers into their organization but must fail because of their reactionary attitude.

It was these officials who persuaded one group of workers to scab during the 1917 strike on the plea that "it will not affect the strike."

### Coal Miners' Union.

This organization, with a membership approximating to 20,000, is the real fighting unit back of the drive for the O. B. U. The members of this union have a record of struggles with the coal barons that stamps them as a very militant and intelligent group of slaves.

They started the fight for the six-hour day and they appear to be winning out. Their favorite tactic is the "go slow" strike, or as they have it, the "Old Man" strike. Old men work slow, they affirm.

They are quick to rally to the support of any other union that conducts a strike; it was in pursuance of this policy of sympathy that they came in on the 1917 strike.

The union officials are fairly militant and they have for some time encouraged the creation of mine committees.

The union has the habit of so regulating the coal output that the boss is unable to build huge stocks of coal that could be used against the mine workers during a strike.

The miners at Broken Hill stayed out on strike for ten months on the six-hour day issue and improved working conditions. They lost out on the first demand but gained the last.

With this fighting union backing up the new move, success is assured.

**The Australian Seamen's Union.**

The seamen on the Australian coast are an exception to the general run of seafaring men. Taken as a whole they are very militant, but are too easily influenced by their leaders.

Particularly was this the case during the thirteen weeks' strike of 1919. At the present time the militants have control and they are supporting the miners in the new move for reorganization.

Like the miners they are continually striking over one thing or another. The last big strike of theirs gained very little for them. They have the six-hour day in port and an eight-hour day at sea. The many clashes with the bosses have been the means of developing their militancy. The idea of forming ship committees is gaining a foothold and upon one ship this committee declared a "go slow" strike whilst at sea. The union has a membership of 15,000.

The secretary, Tom Walsh, was sent to jail during the last strike because he refused to advise the men to refer their dispute to the Arbitration Court for settlement. He 's a fine type of a man, thoroly understands the labor movement and is a first rate rebel.

The seamen, during this strike, ignored the government and refused point blank to have anything to do with Judge Higgins and the Arbitration Court. The Arbitration Court is a dead letter to them.

Altho they lost out on the six-hour day issue they are preparing for another fight and hope to win out by other means than the starvation strike.

**The Waterside Workers' Union.**

For many, many years this union was considered to be the most powerful union in Australia. At one time they undoubtedly had the boss where they wanted him. High wages and short hours operated for a long time. That was before necessity compelled the master class to organize. Now it is different.

With the growth of the population job competition became accentuated and the union closed its books to prospective members.

The union had preference on the waterfront and if one wanted work he had to carry the union card.

The action of the union in closing the books (at the beginning of the intensification of job competition they raised the initiation fee to a prohibitive level and instituted a procedure of nomination for membership that practically amounted to a closing of the books) was based upon a desire to provide a continuity of employment to its members.

They would be precluded from doing this if all and sundry were permitted to join the union. At the time of the closing of the books they had a membership of about 10,000.

They were a militant bunch, that is as far as the job was concerned, and had a very peculiar habit of quitting the job unexpectedly. This tactic got on the boss'es nerves and when the opportunity offered itself, he smashed the organization. The breaking of this union began with the 1917 strike. The waterside workers came out in sympathy with the railway workers.

The bosses began recruiting scabs and they used the condition created by the union's closing of the books as their main argument in order to entice those who had been prevented from joining the union to help them break this "pernicious organization" that had denied him, the worker, the right to work. The boneheads fell for this line of "bunk" and poured into the bosses' compounds by the hundreds. The bosses then organized them into a union, the "Loyalists' Union," and promised them work in preference to the old union men.

But the bosses discovered that the scabs were very slow and inefficient workers, and when the Waterside Workers' Union officials suggested that the bosses give preference to their members on the grounds of greater efficiency, they immediately complied.

The rank and file had suffered a great deal during the strike, and thru their suffering they saw the mistake of making a job trust of their union. The union books were thrown open and many hundreds of new members found their way to the wharves for work.

The old difficulty of not enough work had again to be met but this time a new tactic was adopted. The old system of loading a ship as rapidly as possible was abolished and no member of the union is permitted to work more than eight hours in one day.

In the days prior to the strike it was a common practice to work right thru, altho it usually meant working seventy-two hours at a stretch, until the ship was loaded.

But now the work must be more evenly distributed and to this end they elect a committee on every ship, on the basis of one delegate from each batch aboard ship and one from each gang working ashore. This committee regulates the speed at which the men are to work. Formerly they loaded or unloaded a ship at the rate of 30 slings of cargo per hour, now they are not permitted by the union to do more than 20 slings per hour.

This is a good start and is indicative of the

development within the organization. The rank and file are supporting the move for an O. B. U. and are very active in backing up the miners and seamen in their attempt to launch the Mining and Transport Departments of the O. B. U.

**The Railway Workers.**

These workers are divided into six different unions, one in each state; five of them generally manage to be working whilst the other is on strike. Most of their strikes were failures owing to the mutual scabbery that is the outcome of their manner of organizing.

Many attempts have been made to amalgamate them into one organization, but all have been abortive.

The militant members within the various sections are attempting to line these unions up into the Transport department of the new organization, and they are confident that they will eventually succeed.

The opposition to this move comes from the old men who are afraid they will lose pensions from the government should they assist in rebuilding and reorganizing their unions.

It was the militant element that forced the 1917 strike, whilst the old workers stayed in and scabbed. The union has a membership of 20,000. All the railways are run by the various state governments and it will be very interesting to watch how the labor politicians, who are in a majority in the State House of New South Wales, will act when these workers begin the offensive.

**The Australian Meat Industry Employees' Union.**

The meat workers were the first to organize along industrial lines. They have done much to break down the craft barriers within the labor movement. Butchers, laborers, electricians, carpenters, engineers, machinists, plumbers and painters were organized into one union and they functioned largely on the job.

If men required work they could obtain it thru the union office only, and no slaves were permitted to hang around the factory gates. No worker could be discharged without the sanction of the job committee. This policy kept the rank and file continually at issue with the bosses and developed a fighting spirit within the organization. The "go slow" strike was frequently resorted to.

The bosses made many attempts to smash the union and partially succeeded in the last attack. This strike is a very interesting one in that it shows how "labor" politicians, when they hold the reins of government, will act.

It happened that a labor government held office at this time and when the bosses in pursuance of a well laid-out policy, locked out the workers in the Alligator Creek meat works, Townsville, this bunch of "labor" politicians gave instructions to the police force of Townsville that the factories were to be protected against possible action by the locked-out slaves.

These workers drove the police from the factories and commandeered all the cattle and sheep for their own consumption.

Immediately, Premier Mr. Ryan, thru his assistant Mr. Theodore, organized a force of some 300 policemen and sent them to Townsville to cope with the activities of the workers.

The journey of some 200 miles to Townsville from Bristane (the seat of government) had to be made by rail, but the railway workers refused to man the trains.

Did this act of the railway workers serve as a deterrent upon the "labor" politicians? Decidedly not!

Did it not occur to the labor government that their manner of "emancipating" the workers from their slavery was not in keeping with the ideas of the workers themselves on that subject?

Maybe it did, but they reasoned that whilst they were fighting for labor's "emancipation" they must not permit the workers to violate property or to run counter to the bosses' institutions.

With their consciences clear upon this point they manifested no mental perturbation during the process of organizing scabs to man the trains. When the police arrived at their destination they immediately proceeded to "hand it out" to the workers of Townsville. The strike was broken and the militants hounded out of the district. The union officials were sent to jail and many workers were shot down in the fights between the police and the residents of Townsville.

The workers, however, do not mind very much a few setbacks of this character. It helps to clarify the issues. It helps to breed a spirit of class hatred, the very essential preursor of solidarity. They are reorganizing their union, discarding its faults and collaborating with the railway workers and the miners on the One Big Union issue. The next strike will be conducted on different lines, more in the nature of a general strike and then, Mr. "labor" politician, your job as a lackey won't be a sinecure.

**"Political Organizations."**

Australia is blessed, or cursed, just as you conceive it, with very few political organizations. We have the labor politicians united under the banner of the "Australian Labor Party," the Nationalist Party, which is composed of politicians, confessedly reactionery, and rats from the A. L. P., and at whose head is the "Hon. William H. Hughes, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia" (rather a high sounding title but there is nothing to it, really), and a flavoring of farmers' candidates. The Nationalist Party holds down all ministerial jobs and is in a majority in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

The "labor" politicians are without exception of the same kidney as Ryan, Theodore & Co. One of the most popular labor politicians, Frank Anstey,

is losing caste with the slaves thru the scabby tactics indulged in by him during the seamen's strike.

The party is but a huge grafting machine that fakes ballots thru its various branches and on all and every occasion seeks to disorganize the working class. When in session in Parliament, the representatives vote in favor of all restrictive legislation directed against the workers. Particularly was this the case during the war. They gave their support to the War Precaution's Act and the Unlawful Associations Act (this latter act is somewhat similar in its application to the Anti-Syndicalst laws of the U. S.).

They toed the mark again on the new Immigration Bill that takes the place of the War Precaution's Act.

Incidents like the Townsville affair are educating the slaves on the futility of parliamentary action, and they are turning more and more toward the industrial field as their only alternative. The daily papers (conservative) estimated that only 40 % of the workers voted at the last election.

The Nationalist or coalition party does not concern us very much. It is frankly and openly opposed to the working class.

It relies for support upon the farmers, capitalists and petty bourgeois elements, as well as upon the aristocratic or skilled workers, such as the masons, carpenters, etc.

It plays the usual game of politics and concentrates on such burning issues as "hanging the kaiser", war indemnity, etc. The profiteers, extremists and bolsheviks are their anathemas.

The Farmers' Party amounts to very little. The "rube" farmer firmly believes that with a majority in Parliament he could counteract the efforts of the big capitalists in their attempts to crush him out of existence. Like the rest of his kind he is dead from the shoulders up.

A particularly interesting move is being made by the Federal Government. A commission has been in session for the last eighteen months trying to determine a basic wage. It concluded its activities by presenting to the government a suggestion that $21.00 per week is the lowest possible wage that could be given to the working class.

The government turned the suggestion down cold and is fathering a new scheme that works out this way:

The basic wage shall be arrived at by estimating how much it costs to keep a single man, and a married man is to be subsidized by the government according to the number of children he possesses. In other words, they've reached the culminating point in capitalist economics. This move marks the end of the day wherein a single man received the same wage as a married man, and it solves one of the many incongruities within the capitalist system, besides helping to speed the day of the collapse of capitalism itself.

**The I. W. W. (Australian Administration).**

The history of the I. W. W. in Australia is a history of the birth, development, and death of one of the most remarkable and extraordinary organizations that has seen the light of day in Australia. In the latter part of 1913 the I. W. W. was officially launched, and from that day on, right up to the end of 1918, when it went out of existence (as an organization) by virtue of the Unlawful Association's Act, it conducted a veritable whirlwind of propaganda. From the very start it met with a great deal of opposition, and to its eternal credit be it said it met every attack with an all-crushing counter-attack.

The members of the Australian I. W. W. overcame almost insurmountable difficulties, until today, two years after they ceased to function, their ideas are the driving force behind the labor movement in that country. Their advocacy of industrial unionism brought against them all the meal-ticket artists within the craft unions, but so soundly and thoroly did they expose these miscreants that their opposition had very little effect.

When we consider the fact that this group of rebels conducted most of their activities during the war period and at a time when the majority of the people were suffering from a war mania, the success attained by them is phenomenal.

When the soldiers had broken up all other meetings of socialists, pacifists, etc., etc., they turned their attention to the Wobblies. There they met unexpected opposition; here they met their Waterloo. The Wobs were better organized than the soldiers and it was only because of this that they continued to hold meetings right to the end of 1918. The Wobs made many mistakes, but they were quick to realize whether a tactic was efficacious or not, and did not hesitate to alter their ideas accordingly.

As a case in point we can state that many of them believed that that they could line the slaves up into their organization and thereby build the O. B. U. As a matter of fact they attempted to do this in the mines at Broken Hill, but when the officials of that section of the miners' union saw that if they succeeded it would mean that they, the officials, would lose their meal tickets, they squashed the attempt at its inception. If the I. W. W. has gone out of existance as an organization, what has become of its rank and file? Have they any secret organization? No! but within the ranks of the working class they, as individuals, continue the work of rebuilding and reorganizing the decrepit craft unions. Whatever action is taken by the rank and file of the Australian Labor Movement in the near future, we can rest assured that behind is that bunch of rebels who blazed the trail of industrial unionism in Australia.

**"Communist Party."**

Oh, yes! Australia has its Communist Party just the same as most other countries and like in all all other countries it is of recent origin. It came into being near the end of 1920, and as within its ranks are united all or most of the various socialist factions that existed prior to its formation it renders unnecessary a detailed account of its component parts. The socialist parties included within the new organization are as follows:—Australian Socialist Party, International Industrial Workers (ex-members of the I. W. W.), Socialist Labor Party and part of Victorian Socialist Party.

Whether this new group will function effectively or not is problematical. Much, however, depends upon the understanding arrived at between the various parties in the new organization. The A. S. P. has very little time for industrial unionism, concentrating mostly upon the "political" field. The I. W. W. are a bunch of industrialists, disseminating their propaganda on the job, whilst the S. L. P. was wont to run candidates for parliament in opposition to their present stable mates, the A. S. P.

Quite a heterogeneous bunch, eh!

**Conclusion.**

No matter how inconclusive this presentation of conditions operating within the Australian labor movement at the present time may be, it is sufficient in itself to demonstrate the presence of a radical change in the psychology of the Australian worker.

Their outlook has broadened and the resultant activities bid fair to carry them quite a long way towards industrial freedom and place them in the vanguard of the movement for labor's emancipation.

Let us, then, study attentively the growth of the One Big Union in that country and let us apportion our credit or censure sparingly, with a thoro understanding of the fact that great objectives are not achieved, nor revolutions accomplished, in a day.

The Australian worker has a comparatively clear field to plow, no racial differences to overcome, no "open shop" difficulties to confront, and besides, having the advantage of possessing an elementary education that enables him to read and write, he can appreciate and understand much in the realms of politics and economics.

The future holds everything for the Australian workingman, and today he is preparing himself for the part he is to play in the building of the new society.

# What Have You Done with The Old Men?

**By Berton Braley**

**What have you done with the old men**
**You've broken by toil and time,**
**Once they were brave and bold men,**
**Now they are past their prime,**
**Now they're aged and useless,**
**Now that their race is run,**
**Now that they're weak and nerveless,**
**Tell us—What have you done?**

**Have you made their hard lives rougher**
**By turning them out, in truth,**
**To shiver and starve and suffer**
**In the world that was meant for youth?**
**Now that they cannot aid you**
**Nor earn their toiler's wage,**
**For all that their work has paid you,**
**How have have you dealt with age?**

**Once they were young and gay men,**
**Toiling to make you wealth;**
**Now they are bent and grey men,**
**Broken in strength and health,**
**Have you fostered these one-time bold men,**
**Or starved them as some men do?**
**As you have dealt with the old men**
**May Destiny deal with you.**

# "Let's Go Into Business"

**By A Worker**

MY DEAR GEORGE:

I RECEIVED your letter yesterday. I was very glad to hear from you. You suggest that you and I go into business and become independent of the big fellows for whom we have to work, and you ask me my opinion of the proposition. Really, I appreciate your wanting to take me into your confidence in such a venture, but the facts to be considered are such that it is impossible for me to be seriously interested.

Of course, little "cockroach" business enterprises sometimes succeed to grow, but I am an electrician and you are a metallurgist in the steel industry. I don't like the business of electrical contracting as carried on by those firms that employ ten, twenty or fifty men. It is a cut-throat game, and these contractors get only comparatively small work. They have plenty of trouble collecting their bills, because they are continually trying to cheat the customer by installing inferior equipment and cheap material. They are organized into associations, but are ever undermining each other. They agree on a schedule of prices in their associations and then go out and double-cross each other. I am, more or less, familiar with this phase of the business and I even know of cases where so-called "legitimate business men" in the electrical contracting business have bought material and equipment that they knew had been stolen from a fellow contractor. They try to subsidize representatives of the trade unions to try and get the unions to discriminate against big general contractors, so that they, the small contractors, can get work sublet to them.

The small business man has outlived his usefulness, and for you and me to try and buck the tide of industrial development is impossible. Only here and there do we see a business where owner or a partnership of individual owners on a small scale survive. Peanut stands, shoe repair shops and sub-contractors are examples, and their "independence" is a libel on the name.

The corner grocery is giving way to the chain store, and the individual drug store is being displaced in the same way.

Even the bell-boys work for a syndicate, "the Tipping **Trust.**"

In no way does the sub-contractor justify his existence as such. He contributes absolutely nothing to progress. Technically, materially and intellectually, he is a parasite of the most useless type. His knowledge of social forces is nil. His time and energy are expended in trying to double-cross his fellow-contractor, in trying to corrupt officials of the Building Trades Unions, in cheating the customer or owner by "rawhiding" mechanics to the extent that good workmanship is impossible. His social status among real industrial leaders and engineers might be compared to that of the hod-carrier's assistant among the old-fashioned aristocrats of labor, the brick-masons. Only (in fairness to all) it must be said that the hod-carrier's helper is a necessary factor and a useful productive worker.

I really like construction, George, but by that I mean to work in a **real** building organization. I like to feel that my work is being used to advantage in the most thoro and efficient manner possible.

Now, who can produce more efficiently in the building line, with less wasted time and material, big construction companies or a whole bunch of little one-horse concerns? It is obvious that the legitimate building organization produces better buildings in less time with much less overhead expense. The large concern has one organization instead of twenty. It has departments working like cogs in a gear; departments of mechanical trades, safety-first engineering, cost estimating, production (with chart schedules and progress sheets), time-keeping, receiving of material, etc. It has a system of tool checking and material checking. It has blacksmiths and machinists to keep tools, equipment and machinery in working order; it can buy in trainload lots instead of by the dozen, by the ton instead of by the pound.

With the possible exception of agriculture, all the basic industries: transportation, mining, public service (telephone, telegraph, traction, electric light and power), metal and machinery, are centralized, developed, organized for big production at comparatively low unit cost. The industry of building construction is well on the way. The day of the sub-contractor is past. His day was in the hand-tool age. Economic evolution has brought the machine age.

When we have our own little individual troubles in "getting by", our job to go to every morning, if we are so fortunate just now, we lose our sense of perspective, if we ever had such a thing. In buzzing around our little sphere of social activity we do not know our position in relation to society, the industries, the state or our fellow men.

Every once in a while we feel the seeming impossibility of putting up with our lot and we look around and see so and so apparently prospering in business. We don't look any farther. We feel the monotony of working for some one and know that we will never own the steel trust or the General Electric Co., but feel that we can at least build up a small business and become independent. It's natural, I guess—the ambition to become a business man, to become independent.

The days of a Carnegie or a Gary to grow up

with a business are past. Those fellows happened to be there and on the job when eonditions were ripe for a steel industry to develop from the scattered hand method and semi-machine method to the monopoly of organized, single ownership, all-embraeing industry of steel and its allied industries.

The opportunity today is not to own but to understand the teehnical and administrativo problems of inter-dependent industry. In the senso of real progress and result of human endeavor, the young man of today employed in industrial teehnical enterprise has opportunity unheard of in the whole history of mankind. Today in the public library I came across a book, entitled "Non-Technieal Chats on Iron and Steel" by Laverne W. Spring, A. B. It is intensely interesting. It explains the history of iron and steel development from the days of pre-historie men down aeross the ages to the modern processes of today.

In the book are sketehes and photographs of the simple, crude implements of the aneients, used in the extraction of iron from the earth, and of others used down the ages to the latest eoke-ovens, blast furnaces, rolling mills, rail mills and wire mills that you no doubt are quite familiar with.

Large scale produetion is here. It is imperfect, of eourse, but it is infinitely farther ahead of a one-man or one-proeess business.

You ean never own a steel mill and I can never own a power development system. But you can learn the management and teehnique of a steel mill and I ean learn the eonstruction of a power-house or any other building operation. We are both in a position where we ean, with no eost to ourselves, learn to stand the eombined experienees of the pioneers in our own partieular line, and quite possibly apply an idea to improve this or that proeess or lay-out.

Society has reaehed a point where industry is not an individual affair, but an affair of soeiety itself. Man is a soeial animal. He lives in communities and works in gangs beeause he is a soeial animal. For the same reason (mutual advantage) he displays the gang spirit in his union, his elub, his ehureh, his lodge, his sehool life, his eountry and most fundamental of all, **on the job.**

He produees not as an individual, but as part of an organization of producers. His individuality and initiative are brought out on his partieular operation, on his partieular part of the job. His is a very important faetor. But that quality in him would never develop anything if it were not for the condition under which he works and experiments. For example, you are engaged in a shop where car wheels are produeed. You hit upon an idea that is a big labor-saver. Were you not working in the shop, or were the shop not existing your idea would never have been conceived.

So you see, George, that wheel-making organization owes you something for a praetieal improvement, but you too have the shop to thank for the eondition which furnished the baekground for your idea to fit. That is eolleetive soeial progress.

**The gang spirit in operation on the job.**

I take real interest in my work and feel pride in seeing the achievements of a construction organization. I feel a social pride in hearing the turbines hum in a power-house; cables carrying eurrents down from the switch-board into the ducts, thru the man-holes to faetories, where shoes and machinery and earwheels are turned out. Shoes for the fireman who keeps steam up for the turbines, and ear-wheels for the gondolas that carry eoal to him from the mines.

No, I don't want to go into business. I want to carry on in the building eonstruetion and possibly improve a system or a method. Particularly do I want to understand thoroly the already established operations and try with my fellow workers to be able to assume responsibility.

The faet that the ownership of industry is largely removed from the real produeers,—the managers, unskilled workers, skilled workers, technieians and elerieal forees, etc.—is only a passing state of affairs. The reason the produeer doesn't get all the benefit of these efficient methods of today is beeause he is ignorant of the thing, he is a part of soeiety and its evolution.

He wants to go into business. He is still thinking in the hand-tool age.

You are on the job. Get to understand the operation in whieh you are engaged in its relationship to the operations before and after the eommodity passes thru your department. Your fellow-workers will either learn or they will die. The fellow who knows his industry will be at an advantage in every way.

His standard of living is higher beeause he generally is better paid.

He is able to jump into a position requiring executive or technieal skill when sueh vacancy oeeurs.

He will fill a tremendously important position when the workers are called upon to assume responsibility.

He ean feel that in knowing his industry he is responsible in a great degree for the labor-saving tools and methods, that some day will be a blessing for himself and his fellow-man.

So you see, George, if it happens to make the Steel Trust rieher a bit, if you stiek and improve a proeess, why worry about it? You and the rest of us will benefit by it some day when the Steel Trust (as a privately owned monopoly) will be where the Government of Kerensky is—along with the League of Nations.

The only thing left of it will be a memory.

Yours sineere friend,

**Clemens.**

# Ship Committees - A Problem in Organization

By Card No. 804943

ALTHO seafaring-men, generally speaking, are dissatisfied with the conditions under which they work, no great attempt has been made by them to secure an improvement.

They have nothing but contempt for their various craft unions, and very rarely do they attend the meetings.

Charges of fraft have been leveled at their officials. Some go so far as to assert that their unions are governed by graft, altho no concerted move has been made to back up this claim.

Supposing the assertion to be correct, it constitutes a refleetion upon the intelligence of the rank and file which permits such a state of affairs to exist.

Our unions are abject failures. We cannot get away from the truth of that statement. Why are they failures? There are two reasons:

1) The lack of interest shown by the membership in their own affairs, and

2) The manner in which the unions in this industry are organized.

We know how impossible it is for a big majority of the rank and file to attend union meetings, did they so desire. Of what use is a union, constructed as at present, to workers who are at sea nine months out of twelve?

It has taken us a long time to regognize this.

It is unnecessary for me to enlarge upon the abominable conditions under which we labor. They are too well known to need any further elaboration.

Recognizing the faults of the present form of organization it is incumbent upon us to lay dawn a constructive program for a union of workers in the shipping industry. A union that is to be of any use to its members must be so organized that it enables the whole, or any section of the rank and file to act immediately the occasion demands it. The present unions do not make provisions for this. It is a common thing for seafaring-men to wait months at a time ere they reach the home port and place their grievances before their unions.

Even then there are, as a rule, so many complaints before the union that it is well-nigh impossible to get any satisfaction. As a consequence we have to suffer under these injustices indefinitely.

If by taking our grievances to the present unions begets us no satisfaction the only logical thing for us to do is to handle our grievances ourselves.

That we may do this we must organize on all ships, a committee, elected from the rank and file of the crew. For effectiveness we must make this committee a real ship committee, that is, it must be thoroly representative of all the workers aboard a particular ship. The committee must, therefore, be comprised of delegates from each department, namely, the stewards, oilers, wipers and firemen, and the deck departments.

The committee shall negotiate during a dispute with the ships officers on behalf of the crew.

No agreements can be arrived at between the committee and the responsible ship's officers unless they have first been ratified by a mass meeting of the rank and file of the ship.

By adopting the above procedure we are enabled to overcome the old difficulty of attending union meetings. Besides, this would give to the rank and file a direct voice in their own affairs, which would permit them for the first time in the history of this section of the working class to absolutely control their own union.

One of the greatest faults of the old style unions is the permanency of its officials. The average union official becomes job-conscious after a while and hates like hell to have to relinquish office and go back to the daily grind of toil under a boss. He schemes to retain his job and stoops to the lowest depths in his endeavours. He plays to the ignorant in the union and eventually becomes reactionary and a menace to the welfare of the rank and file.

With the ship committee operating we will have no use for delegates.

When a worker signs on a ship he, along with the rest of the crew, takes part in electing the ship committee that is to function for him during the trip.

He sees that it is to his interest to support this committee in times of a dispute, and it will therefore be comparatively easy to line him up into the union.

The committee shall collect dues and contributions. Where, then, lies the necessity of delegates? We know that, the way it works out now, before a man can get a job on a ship he must first join a union. If he has not the necessary cash he cannot get the job. Consequently he starves, besides having a hatred of the union. When a strike is declared the boss finds it very easy to get this man to scab.

The boss is very clever in granting us preference, because it is a double-edged weapon in his hands to be used against us whenever we rebel.

He will threaten to withdraw the preference

clause on occasions, and if this ruse fails he will call upon that group of workers who were prevented thru lack of funds from joining up, to assist him in breaking this union that had denied him the right to work.

Of course, these arguments are very plausible, but the fact remains that the bosses get by with them.

However, difficulties such as these will be thrashed out at meetings of the various ship committees, and the great benefit that will accrue from a discussion of issues similar to the above will manifest itself in the growth of understanding of the fundamental principles of the working class movement.

What a blessing it will be to do away with that army of officials now battening and fattening on the working class! When they are back on the job, working as we have to work, they will soon drop that office-chair philosophy.

Of course, someone will say, "We must have some officials." That is certainly true, but as a great proportion of the work will be done by the ship committee, which, by the way, functions in an honorary capacity, very few officials will be required.

A general secretary and some assistants could do the secretarial work, while all disputes affecting the general organization could be handled by a special committee elected for that purpose.

In other words, we could elect a committee every twelve months who will constitute a general executive board of the uniion and whose function it will be to keep in touch with all ship committees and direct negotiations with the bosses during a dispute. This board or committee would not receive renumeration except upon occasions when they would be in session directing a dispute or doing work necessary to the general welfare of the union.

The election of this executive board and the general secretary, etc., should be conducted much in the same manner as the ship committee election, namely, by the vote of the rank and file of the workers on all ships.

The ship committee would direct the voting on each ship and would be the medium thru which all matters relative to the organization are made known to the rank and file.

The general organization should have its headguarters at the port where the majority of its membership are in the habit of signing on, and branches should be established in all other seaports.

When we have abolished this hydra-headed unionism of today and replaced it with one union of seafaring-men we will be a force to contend with.

A body of men organized as we then will be will have no need of going, cap in hand, to our "masters" begging for the right to live.

And when we have taken the step in this direction we will be able to perceive and understand that we are but a part of the transport industry, and there will be born within us a recognition of the necessity of further co-ordinating our forces by forming the One Big Union of Transport Workers.

Our real objective then shall be, not higher wages, shorter hours or better conditions on the job, but the complete taking over of the whole transport industry and conducting it in the interest of the working class.

We workers have starved so long in this land of plenty that we are beginnig to think a lot. We have developed "a new mentality". We are no longer satisfied with what our masters are pleased to give us.

And we can see no other solution of this problem than the complete expropriation of these billionaires who have made their wealth out of the sweat and blood of us workers.

Aye, even if we "go down to the sea in ships" the profits still flow into "their cursed unsatiate tills."

But if we are to achieve the wonderful objective that we have in mind we must first make the initial move, namely, the forming of ship committees.

The fight will be a long and a hard one, but there are plenty of warkers who, if they do not thoroly understand, at least are sympathetic, and if at the beginning we can bring together all intelligent workers we can do very effective propaganda work and give to the average worker a line of thought that will lead him out of the mental wilderness that he finds himself in. The shipping industry is practically a virgin field as far as propaganda is concerned and these workers are rotten ripe for a change.

**The onus is upon us, and so let us begin at once by forming committees on our ships, which will be the nucleus of the One Big Industrial Union of the toilers of the sea.**

# The Story of the Sea

**By Tom Barker**

**(Continued from the March Number.)**

## CHAPTER 6.
## MARINE TRADE UNIONISM.

### Ireland.

IN this "poor disthressful counthry" our fellow workers of the Transport Workers Union command our attention and admiration. Their courage and heroism stand in marked contrast to the cowardly supineness of the British organization. Neither terrorism nor outrages deter them. The great majority are for scientific world unionism, and within their island they are perfecting their weapon to take their stand by the Brotherhood of the Seas and Docks, when it makes its advent. Organizations that live in the world of struggle must generate both clear-minded and intelligent men, men who are in the movement for the sake of their class and not for personal ambition, the degrees of capitalist universities or the thirty pieces of silver of the master-class press. You men on the Cork and Dum Langshaire docks, and you Irishmen who toil on the ships of the world, throw in your forces for establishing the dictatorship of the outcast seaman and the pariah longshoreman.

### Scandinavia.

It is regrettable to know that in Seandinavia the unions are as divided, and their outlook almost as reactionary, as in Great Britain. The late secretary of the Norwegian Seamen's and Firemen's Union reeently received a gold medal from the King for something he had **not** done for his membership. The members "saeked" him. In **Norway** there is, however, a steadily growing spirit among the men for something better. Overseas they are the fighting spirit of unionism, and there are no better men than the boys from the fjords for letting the world know about the necessity for One Big Union. During the recent fights for unionism in the ports of South America, they were the backbone of the Union, ready to picket or strike at a moment's notice. The officers are, in the mass, more democratie, and there is not the air of "stand-offishness" that is so typical of other nations. In **Sweden** the seamen are in the hands of Charles Lindley. He is the same type of man as Havelock Wilson, and was the right-hand man of Herr Branting, the Social Democratic White-guard, when the latter was Premier. The question for the Swedish marine workers is whether or not they can afford to wait until Mr. Lindley is translated to the Kingdom of Heaven. The deep-water Swedes are good fellows and they are good organizers and aggressive.

Early in 1920 in **Denmark** the Firemen's Union went on strike. Prior to that event there were separate unions for seamen and firemen. They were defeated in the bad old fashion, after being sold out by parliamentary bell-wethers. (The term "bell-wether" is a rather good one, and fits the average politician. A bell-wether is an educated sheep which leads the other muttons into the slaughter pen, and then steps back to lead the next batch. The muttons, wihch are very human in their instincts, will always follow their leader. They emulate their two-legged cousins by going into a long sleep after they have been beguiled and soothed by the bleats of their political misleaders). The Union was fined 400.000 crowns, but if the members would consent to work industriously and eontinuously, the government is willing not to colleet the fine. While the strike was on, the ships were worked by scabs from the rural distriets, and these gentry ran the ships to oversea ports where union men belonging to the Yellow Transport Workers Federation, handled the cargo. When I was in Kristiania, in April, 1920, the strike was just declared. The Danish motorship "Afrika" came into port. Her anchors were no sooner down than the seamen and oilers went on strike. They were taken off the ship and sent back to Denmark, probably to jail. The "Afrika" had cargo on board for Lisbon, and the officers and engineers worked her, **the largest motor-ship in the world, and took her down to Lisbon without an able seaman of a motorman aboard her.** So you see, fellow worker, what motor-ships are going to mean to you in the years that are going to come. They will not need you, that's all.

Long distance scabbery is one of the worst evils of our present state of disorganization. In July, 1919, the Finn barque "Lawhill" left La Plata, Argentina, with a scab crew. This was reported by the Marine Transport Workers to the Danish union. When the "Lawhill" arrived in Aarhus, Denmark, she was tied up, and her scab crew were ehased ashore and afterwards heavily fined for their treachery. Isolated actions such as this case shows what a punch a World Organization could develop, as it would make it impossible for scabbery to exist in the marine industry.

In October, 1920, the politicians were ousted from the control of the Danish marine unions, and Fellow Worker Borgland was re-instated in the presidency. In order to avoid the fine, the industry is to be re-organized on Industrial Union lines, and there is to be a break-away from Havelock Wilson's machine. During the strike of 1920, the Danes did **not** get solidarity from the Yellow Amsterdam Federation.

### The Eastern Baltic.

On the Eastern shore of the Baltic, the Finnish Seamen's and Firemen's Union have their centre at Helsingfors. According to Fellow Worker Ahonen, the secretary, the Finns are in sympathy with the creation of a fighting international. I have found Finns in overseas unions to be a fine militant type, very determined and intelligent. Owing to the predominance of the White Terror, the wages and conditions are villainously low. The wages are equivalent to about £3.0.0 English per month. In Reval efforts are now being made to line the workers up, and matters are too unsettled in Riga and other ports to form any idea of the future.

### Germany.

Marine unionism in Germany is in a deplorable state. That is due mainly to the fact that the greater part of German ships are now in Allied hands. The pre-war tonnage of 5,135,000 tons had been reduced to 419.000 tons in June, 1920. Thus the **"Deutsche Seemannsbund"** has lost about 90 % of its former influence. As a result of this the German workers are suffering tremendously, but the spirit that runs thru their publications is far ahead of many other countries. There have been many industrialists deported to Germany from the United States and other countries, and the slavishness that used to be characteristic of German merchant ships has almost ceased to exist. All the ships owned in the old Austrian-Hungarian Empire to the extent of 1,052,000 tons have been confiscated by the Allies, and are now under the Italian flag, and the blue-and-white striped Inter-Allied flag. Hence there are no unions in those district, outside of the Italian Union which has now spread to the Eastern Adriatic.

### Holland.

In Holland we have another advancing body of dockers and seamen, who are fed up with Havelock Wilson and the reactionaries in control. Fellow Worker **van den Berg**, the secretary of the Netherlands Transport Workers' Federation, is a student of advanced forms of organization, and is anxious to see something newer and better. The men are not afraid to strike, but wages are very low and conditions are bad. During their strike of February, 1920, solidarity was extended to the Dutch workers in the ports of the United Kingdom and Argentina. Rotterdam is one of the most promising ports in the world for the new organization.

### Belgium.

Since the war the Belgian Seamen's Union has been re-organized as a part of the National Seamen's and Firemen's Union of Great Britain. The Belgian section, however, has accomplished far more for its membership than Wilson's union has in its 33 years of uselessness. Indeed, in 1919, Mr. Wilson had to issue a warning to the Belgians that they were going too fast. All the fishermen are also organized in the union. In the pre-war days, conditions were very bad out of Antwerp, and until quite recently the companies used to brand their men on the arm with a rubber stamp. The Belgian dockers are very miiltant, and a few months ago tied up three blackleg-loaded ships that came from Malaga in Spain. Antwerp is a very promising place.

### France.

In France the organizations are weak and the wages low. A French officer does not receive as much wages as an American seaman. There is, apart from the official element, quite a good spirit growing up, as was exhibited when the captain of a French ship had the steward arrested in Hull. The whole crew struck and were taken, under escort, back to France for trial. They were sentenced, but speedy action and a strike procured their release. A large section of the men were colored, and from the French possessions. No action was taken in Hull to protect their French fellow workers, altho they are both in the Yellow International.

### The Peninsula.

**Portugal** is in a state of chaos, and at the mercy of several unscrupulous political groups, who are always getting in and then thrown out in their turn. The unions are making headway, but the **cabecillas**—professional chiefs—are still a hindrance.

**Spain** is under the iron heel and the quarters of the fighting organizations are **"clausurada por el gobierno"**—closed by the government. **La Sociedad Naval de Marineros y Fogoneros** of Barcelona exists in secret in the foc's'les, but the leaders are lying in the fortress of Montjuich. The Spaniards are fine fighters for the cause, and right thru the main Spanish ports there are hosts of deportees whose propaganda for the One Big Union is making strides. In the Canary Islands the wages are very low for both marine workers and dockers, being less than half the wages paid in Bilbao and Cadiz on the mainland.

### Italy.

The Italian coast-line is under the control of the **"Lavoratori del Mare"**—the Toilers of the Sea—with headquarters in Genoa. This latter port is one of the promising ports in the world movement. The revolutionary activity among our Italian fellow workers is too well-known to need any extensive description. More than any other nationality outside of Russia they have manifested their manhood, particularly by initiating the blockade on munitions to be used against the Soviets, and afterwards by insisting upon the unconditional release of the Red crew of the Russian Soviet steamer, "Rodosto". These are only two incidents out of many. Genoa is to be one

of the great ports in the reconstruction of the Red Marine International. It is the largest shipping centre in the Mediterranean for over-seas ships.

### The Levant.

The only organizations in the Levant outside of Russia are the Greeks Seamen's Union and a small industrial International Union in Constantinople. Little is known about the Greek organization, but that little is good; the members do not stand for any nonsense from the employers. The Russian port and marine unions have been isolated owing to the blockade, but trade is sure to be soon opened up, and there are orders for at least 500 ships in hands of Vanderlip and Co., of the U. S. A. We may take it for granted that the Union in the Black Sea will be a model organization, and their living and working conditions as ideal as human ingenuity can make them. The Brotherhood of the Sea will receive an enormous accession of strength and militancy from their affiliation.

### The Far East.

There are organizations lifting their heads in the ports of Japan, China, Burma and India. In 1914 Ping Yin, a Chinese, formed a seamen's union in Rangoon, Burma, which possessed a weekly newspaper in Chinese. Lately a union has been formed also in Madras and Calcutta. These things are encouraging, for whether we, the marine workers like it or not, we have to organize together, white and colored, for our common emancipation. We cannot let our race rivalries get the best of our common-sense. There must be One union, or unions that act as one, in Calcutta and Singapore as well as Glasgow and Antwerp. The Eastern people will be easily organized once the language difficulty is overcome.

### Oceania.

The Australian Union has undergone a vast change in the past few years. The reactionary officials have been thrown out of their jobs. Wages are lower than on American ships, but conditions are better. One is now spared the odious sight of a seamen carrying his bedding about with him, and the company, in addition, must supply eating and other utensils. The food is good, and there are opportunities to pay off at almost any port that a man desires. In June, 1920, the seamen and wharf-laborers in Sydney, N. S. W., gave the Labor Government thirty days in which to release the famous I. W. W. Twelve, otherwise they would declare a general strike. Their action forced the release of ten of the men, including Peter Larkin, Tom Glynn, Donald Grant and others, after they had been in jail for nearly four years on trumped-up evidence. The Australian Seamen's and Firemen's Union recently issued a call to the marine workers to establish an international undestanding, and such will be welcomed everywhere thru the Island Continent. In New Zealand the seamen are still in reactionary hands, but the wharf-laborers are a militant section of New Zealand Transport Workers' Federation, and may be relied upon, in the main, to support a move in the right direction. In Westport, N. Z., the dockers used to commence their week's work on each Monday morning by having their union meeting starting at 8 A. M. After they had terminated their own business then they were ready to do the work for the boss. It is a good example to follow, fellow workers.

### North America.

Organization of marine workers in the United States is divided between The International (?) Seamen's Union and the Marine Transport Workers of the I. W. W. The officials of the former union are well paid, and not worth the money. They believe that by lobbying around the Senate House in Washington, they will help the seamen. As a matter of fact, such work never altered anything of importance for the seamen. It is true that the conditions on U. S. ships are an improvement over those prevailing on ships of other countries, but we have to remember that the U. S. is a new-comer in marine transportation, and that she has been compelled to give good conditions in order to attract men to go to sea. It has been necessity more than lobbying that has accomplished things. The Marine Transport Workers are destined to grow and to bind together the marine workers in the United States. The warring craft and graft unions on the New York water-front must give way to the scientific form of organization adopted by their fellow workers in Philadelphia. In the Gulf and on the West Coast the ONE BIG UNION has to come, and the fighting vanguard of the I. W. W. will easily carry the day if they will but bestir themselves. More than the members of any other party or union, are the I. W. W. men scattered around the world. There is no corner of the world where one does not come across the "wobs". They leave a good trail behind them. It is all the easier to make headway because both the American Federation of Labor and the International Seamen's Union insist upon ignoring even the Yellow Amsterdam Federation. The U. S. is big enough and wide enough for the I. S. U.

### Mexico and the West Indies.

In Mexico the I. W. W. has undertaken the organizing of the marine workers, and are establishing locals in Tampico and Tuxpan, both big oil ports. Cuba is becoming quite a red centre, where there have been many strikes of late. Trinidad and Jamaica have also had labor troubles, in which the marine workers were prominent. The world movement need not fear the workers in these countries being behind. They are ripe, when the right men blow along.

### South America.

There are three great maritime nations in South America, the A. B. C. countries, viz., Argentine, Brazil and Chile. In **Argentine** the Port Workers' Federation is one of the most advanced and scientific organizations of its kind. The leaders are fervent industralists, know what they want and how to get it. They have a **fighting** alliance with the Red Transport Workers' Federation, and the Marine Transport Workers, which since May, 1919, has catered for the oversea workers of all nationalities and unions who arrive in the ports of the Republic. The **Federación Obrera Maritima**—the Argentine Seamen's, Firemen's, Officers' and Engineers' Union—is reactionary, but with a big leavening of industrialists. When this organization is lined up with the dockers and the overseas union, then the coast of Argentine will be the closest organized in the world, and the international boss will have his work cut out. The M. T. W. doubled wages, abolished shanghai-ing, reduced hours, and established job control in these ports, a thing that could be accomplished in every maritime country if the workers would only set to work to do it.

In **Chile** the marine workers are organized in the **"Gonte del Mar"**—the People of the Sea—and the dockers and launch-workers (nearly all cargo is worked from the ships to lighters on the West Coast) belong to the Union of **Lancheros y los Estibadores de los Puertos Chilenos.** These are sections of the Chilian I. W. W., which possesses a membership of 28,000 members and is the bane of not only the Chilian, but also the "gringo" capitalist. In the last two years, the organization has spread to Arica in the North and down to Puerto Montt, Corrall, Coronel and Talcahuano in the South.

The port workers in **Brazil** possess many radicals in their ranks, and during 1919 and 1920 many of their members were deported for agitational work in Rio de Janeiro, Bahia and Santos. The conditions on Brazilian ships are scandalous and wages are very low. In many cases the shops are manned with navy men who are paid at navy rates. Since the war Brazil has obtained quite a large merchant fleet, mainly at the expense of Germany. Callao in Peru and Monte Video in the Eastern Republic of Uruguay are also important ports that have to be reckoned with in the business of organization.

### Conclusions.

Something more than a mere International Transport Workers' Federation is needed to bring these workers together into one organization, or at least into such an understanding of one another that they will act as one organization. The black shadow of Havelock Wilson has deterred the movement long enough. The isolated action that we have witnessed during the year 1920 is enough evidence of the present childish way of fighting capitalism. The Danes and the Dutch were both defeated simply on account of a lack of understanding. World Transport is the strategic point of International Capitalism. The marine transport industry is the most cosmopolitan of all industries. The proletariat can never assume control until it conquers the ocean routes and the ships that follow them. The present state of sectional, national unionism reminds one of so many mosquitoes attempting to push an elephant over. Let us consider the enormous power that we are fighting, and climb, for the moment, out of the dingy foc's'le or the grimy port where we work. When the dockers in Liverpool discharge the grain from a Norwegian barque, do they ever think of the brown-skinned Argentine workers who reaped it, loaded it to the railway, pulled it to the docks, and then packed it away in the corner of the hold where they find it? Or of the polyglot crew that has brought her thru the trades, across the Line and thru the mists of the Channel?

Let us, I say, rise out of our ordinary groove and notice our own share in the production and distribution of wealth. We are one of the links in a long chain, that stretches from the Argentine wheat field to the baker's shop in Swansea. From our combined labor springs all the wealth that we see around us. We produce the gorgeous banquets for our masters as well as our own meagre meals. Fine clothes for our masters and their over-fed cubs, and dungarees and shoddy for ourselves and our children! Our labor is much the same as that of our brothers in Shanghai, Sydney or Valparaiso. There is so little difference that it is not worth fighting over.

**There are a thousand good reasons why we should be in one organization fighting the same fight against the same tyrants. Let us forget our nationalities, and remember that we are of the same class, and that our interests are the same. Let us counter the Giant Octopus with the fighting armour of One Big Union on the Sea and the Docks.**

**Let us, I say, build from the stocks up, a super warship of Proletarian Power, and wipe their cursed slavery from the seas. Let us erect Industrial Democracy in the foc's'le, and build the structure of that future administration that will control all the ships, and place them beneath the banner of the World Organization of the Toilers of the Sea.**

**"He who would be free, himself must strike the blow".**

# Defense News

**By John Martin**

THE PAST MONTH has not seen any great changes in the Defense situation in the federal cases. No ruling has as yet been rendered by the Supreme Court on our Petitions for Writs of Certiorari in the Chicago and Sacramento cases. In the Wichita appeal, we are still awaiting the decision of the Appellate Court.

**Arrests, Convictions and Releases.**

Fellow Workers John Murry and F. B. Kellar were arrested in Kansas City, Missouri, on March 4th and held without bonds for the federal authorities. Later, when no pretext could be found for federal prosecution of these fellow workers, a charge of vagrancy and trespassing was placed against them. On this charge they were found guilty and Kellar was fined $25.00 and Murry $125.00 because (so the judge stated) he was an organizer.

On March 5th, about twenty fellow workers were arrested on the streets of Florence, Kansas, but were all released later, with the exception of Fellow Workers Tom Foley and High Delaney, who were taken to the jail at Marion. We do not know at this time on just what charge they will be tried since the complaint aganst them charges both violation of the Criminal Syndicalism law and vagrancy.

Fellow Worker Sam Forbes, one of the Wichita defendants, has been released on bond and we are in hopes of having the bonds for Fellow Workers Morris Hecht, George Wenger and O. E. Gordon, other Wichita defendants, completed within a short time. Again we must call attention to the fact that we have very little time in which to obtain bonds for the fellow workers involved in the Wichita case, inasmuch as the Appellate Court may render a decision in their appeal in the very near future. Should the decision be adverse, these defendants would no longer be eligible to bail. We therefore urgently request all fellow workers and friends who have Liberty bonds, which they can spare, to place them at the disposal of the General Defense Committee, or to make cash loans to be used as bail for these defendants before it is too late.

In the case of Wm. Danton, our Petition for a Writ of Habeas Corpus was denied by the Supreme Court of Kansas. Fellow Worker Danton was arrested on July 1, 1920, in Rice County, Kansas, and charged with Criminal Syndicalism. Later he was released on a $500.00 bond, which has been canceled since the decision rendered by the Supreme Court, and Danton has returned to the county jail at Lyons, Kansas, to await trial on the charge pending against him.

The brief in Fellow Worker Henry Tonn's appeal is nearly completed and will in the near future be filed with the Supreme Court of Iowa. Following this the briefs in the appeals of Fellow Workers Harry Breen, Wm. Murphy, Robt. Dilgar and Thos. Payne will be taken up and filed with the Supreme Court of Kansas as soon as completed.

We are just in receipt of a letter stating that Charles L. Anderson, Charles Clifford and Charles Carlson, three of the fellow workers sentenced to the Idaho State Penitentiary on charges of Criminal Syndicalism, have recently been paroled and released.

**News from Other Countries.**

From the Stevedores' and Dockworkers' Union of Mexico comes the news that the members of that union have voted to be assessed 25 centavos each for the defense of the imprisoned members of the I. W. W., and as soon as the collection is completed, the money will be forwarded to us. They further protest against the persecution of our members and send greetings to all imprisoned fellow workers.

From the Syndicalist organizations of Sweden, we have received word that they have collected 1,661 crowns for the General Defense and the money is being sent to us. The Swedish workers are also demanding the release of all wartime prisoners in America.

**Watch for Our "Amnesty Special."**

As previously announced in our publications, the General Defense Committee has decided to co-operate with other organizations in making April 13th Amnesty Day and will, as part of its program, publish a special edition for that date demanding the release of all industrial and political prisoners. In order to carry any weight, this edition must be gotten into the hands of people who have so far received little or no information regarding these prisoners. We must reach people outside of the radical movement and arouse their indignation against the persecution to which our fellow workers have been subjected.

**Your Help Is Needed Now.**

In order to hake our Amnesty Edition the success it should be and in order to continue the defense of our fellow workers properly, we must have immediate and generous financial assistance. We fully realize that the unemployment prevailing all over the country makes it impossible for many of our members and friends to respond to our appeal and we therefore urge all fellow workers and sympathizers, who are not out of work, to take this fact into consideration and make their donations large enough to prevent the interests of our imprisoned fellow workers from being jeopardized.

**Make checks and money orders payable to the General Defense Committee and send them to John Martin, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.**

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**We have just received word that our Petition for a Writ of Certiorari in the Sacramento case has been denied by the Supreme Court.**

# The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions

By A. Lozovsky

(Continued from the March Number.)

IN AUSTRIA the trade union movement is in the hands of the social-compromisers, but during the last year the Communists have done tremendous work. Communist fractions have been formed in all the unions, and a special bureau has been formed in connection with the central committee of the Austrian Communist Party for the purpose of co-ordinating the work of the Communist fractions in the unions.

In Hungary, after the victory of the reaction, the old social-compromisers came to the head of the unions and endeavored to continue their policy under the white terror, but the victorious counter-revolution does not even allow the social-patriots to develop. The ruthless white terror compels even the most backward Hungarian workmen to understand that it is necessary to choose between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In Czecho-Slovakia, a decree of the Government made it compulsory for every worker to belong to a union. With the aid of this decree the Government succeeded in crushing many revolutionary unions by the influx of backward elements into the unions. The majority of the official organizations stand for the Amsterdam Federation and the Second International. The minority stand rather solidly for revolutionary class struggle.

In Jugo-Slavia (Serbia etc.) the General Federation of Labor stands in close contact with the Communist Party and for the Third International.

The last trade union congress in Esthonia voted for the platforms of the Third International and in White Finland the general trade union center and the large unions also stand for the revolutionary class struggle.

The last conference of the Norwegian trade unions which took place in Christiania at the end of July, 1920, resolved to affiliate to the Third International. In Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and in all other European countries there are important minorities who stand for the revolutionary class struggle.

The position in America is very peculiar. The powerful American Federation of Labor in entirely in the hands of Gompers and Co. Side by side with this body there is the revolutionary organization—the Industrial Workers of the World,— whose influence lies chiefly among the unskilled laborers. The I. W. W. is undoubtedly a revolutionary organization, but its theory and tactics suffer from many serious defects, as a result of which it embraces only some hundreds of thousands of the millions of the American proletariat. In spite of the fact that the whole apparatus of the A. F. of L. is directed towards crushing the revolutionary ferment in the American unions, the unions are nevertheless becoming revolutionary. Within the large trade unions a serious movement is growing up against the theories, and particulary against the practices, of the A. F. of L. and its leaders. Besides this there are many large unions in America which do not belong to the A. F. of L., and which are becoming revolutionary under the influence of the sharpening social struggle.

In Canada the strike movement of 1919 affected the whole of the trade union movement. It particularly affected the revolutionary unions, and in a number of towns during the strikes in April and May, 1919, the strike Committee became the only authority in the town. American trade unionism, which intellectually and organizationally had the Canadian movement in its hands, became discredited among a large section of the workers. The Canadian movement became not only formally independent of the American unions, but also intellectually independent of the bourgeoisie.

The trade union movement in Australia and other British colonies is divided, in some cases intellectually and in others organizationally, into two camps —for and against revolutionary class struggle, for and against co-operation of classes. This division has reached even such countries as Java, India and Japan, where the movement has only just arisen, where trade unions arise as a result of severe revolutionary strikes, and where as a result of the very conditions of the struggle the movement cannot take any other stand than that of revolutionary class struggle.

Thus the world trade union movement, which in the middle of 1920 united more than 30 millions workers, varies very greatly. Many trade unions are nothing more than **organized representatives of the bourgeoisie with the labor movement,** and the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations are the general staff directing the organized operations of the bourgeoisie against the trade union movement. It naturally follows therefore that the task of the day is not only theoretically to condemn the policy of compromise and class co-operation, and advocate affiliation to the Third International, but to give it form by setting up a revolutionary class center of the trade union movement. This was done in Moscow in July of the past year.

* * *

The arrival in Russia of British, Italian and other trade union delegates for the purpose of studying conditions in that country, served as a starting point for the negotiations with the creation

of a new trade union center. The preliminary negotiations with the representatives of the left wing of the British trade unions showed that there was common ground for reaching an agreement between the class unions of various countries. On the initiative of the Executive Committee of the Third International a meeting took place on the 16th of June, 1920, between the representatives of the British trade unions (Robert Williams and Alfred Purcell), the Italian Federation of Labor (L. D'Aragona and Joseph Bianchi), the Italian Federation of Metal Workers (E. Colombino), the Italian Federation of Agricultural Workers (Dugoni), representatives of the All-Russian Central Committee of Trade Unions (A. Lozovsky, M. Tomsky, G. Tsiperovitch, and V. Schmidt) and the President of the Executive Council of the Third International (G. Zinovieff).

The first meeting was held for the purpose of discovering to what extent there was unity of opinion on the fundamental questions of the international trade union movement. It became clear that the views of the Russians trade unions were only partly acceptable to the representatives of both the British and Italian movement. The differences arose on the following points:—(1) the relations between the future trade union center and the Third International, (2) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, (3) and the relations to the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions. Both the Italian and the British representatives assumed that the relations of the new trade union center should be decided at an early international congress of revolutionary class unions. It appeared also that the representatives of three countries present variously understood the theoretical and practical meaning of the dictatorship of proletariat. In connection with the Amsterdam Federation, Dugoni declared that "many members of the Italian trade unions did not belong to the Third Internatinal but to the Amsterdam International, nevertheless they conducted a severe class struggle against the bourgeoisie, and therefore to indentify them with the yellow international would rouse a protest on the part of the Italian masses." Nobody, of course, desired to indentify the Italian workers with the yellow international.

The fact that the Russian delegate described the Amsterdam Federation as "yellow" was undoubtedly a correct definition of its political character. If there was any opposition to so describing the Amsterdam International, it certainly did not come from the rank and file of the British and Italian trade unions, but from the central organs who still belong to that body.

In spite of a number of disagreements on principle, it was nevertheless found possible to agree on the following; (1) the necessity of forming a new center of revolutionary class unions, (2) to call an international congress of left trade unions, (3) to elect a committee to make preparations for the congress, (4) to work in close contact with the Third International. These four points served as a basis for further negotiations after the departure of the British representatives.

In the beginning of July of the past year there were present in Moscow representatives of the Italian, Spanish, Bulgarian, Jugo-Slavian, and French trade unions, British Shop-Steward committees, the Syndicalists and Labor Unions (Arbeiter Unionen) of Germany, the I. W. W. of America and Australia. Official and unofficial negotiations and meetings with these brought to light a number of radical differences on points of principle, for the discussions at these meetings centered around (1) Dictatorship of the Proletariat, (2) Politics and Economics, (3) The necessity for a political party for the proletariat, (4) Relation to the Third International, (5) Proletarian government and the Soviet System, (7) Splitting off from or conquering the mass unions. These questions, as we see, touched the very foundations of the trade union movement, and it is essential to clear them up before anything in the nature of an international organization can be formed.

* * *

Dictatorship of the Proletariat was contested from two points of view. On one hand it was shown that in Western Europe Dictatorship of the Proletariat, i. e., the violent suppression of the exploiters, and the subjection of the peasants and petty boureoisie to the proletariat as was done in Russia, is impossible, and that it was still less possible to subject the less class conscious workers to the advance guard of the working class. Several representatives of the Italian Federation of Labor argued that the question on the dictatorship of the proletariat was not at all clear and for that reason this should not be made the central point of agreement between the revolutionary class union. This point of view was shared by Dugoni and partly by D'Aragoni. "Trade unions", said comrades in discussion, "are non-party organizations, including supporters and opponents of dictatorship of the proletariat, and it would therefore be better not to speak of it in the preliminary declaration, but to leave the question to the international congress." After a long discussion the Italian delegates proposed to formulate this point in the following way; —"to propagate the method of proletarian dictatorship as a final and transitional means of defense and consolidation of the conquests of the proletarian state against the bourgeois reaction." That it is necessary to propagate the idea of proletarian dictatorship is beyond the slightest doubt, nevertheless one of the most fundamental questions of modern labor policy must not be placed in this academic fashion. The German Syndicalists, the British and American representatives of the I. W. W., and the Shop-Stewards approached the question from quite a different point of view. They questioned the necessity of any form of dictatorshp. They regarded the dictatorship, not as the dictatorship of the proletariat, but as dictatorship over the proletariat and categorically protested against establishing this prin-

ciple. One must state that these representatives were not unanimous on the question. While the German Syndicalists and representatives of the Labor Unions would not hear of dictatorship in any form, the representatives of the I. W. W. and the Shop Stewards admitted the possibility of the dictatorship of "proletarian organizations", altho they thought that the revolution will be brought about by the industrial unions which will not have to set up any dictatorship. In vain did we point out that whatever kind of organization will overthrow the bourgeoisie it will nevertheless, for the protection of the working class, become a power to crush, not only the resistance of the exploiters, but also the resistance of the workers who follow it,—the industrialists and Syndicalists were firm on one thing,—dictatorship of the proletariat may be necessary for Russia, but it is absolutely unnecessary for Western Europe and America where the proletariat will be able to make its revolution and manage to protect its gains without it.

After four joint meetings with the industrialists and Syndicalists the latter proposed a resolution worked out jointly by them which was to be the basis of the new international trade union organization. The main points of the resolution are as follows;— "(1) Recognition of revolutionary class struggle as a fundamental principle. (2) The violent overthrow of the State and capitalism by adopting the dictatorship of proletarian organizations as a temporary and transitional measure for the attainment of Communism."

The insufficiency of these two points as a platform was quite evident. One must not limit oneself to the recognition of revolutionary class struggle, one must demand the practical application of it; on the other hand it was impossible to agree to the formula of the overthrow of the State unless there was a definite indication of what kind of State was meant, the bourgeois State or State in general. All this indefiniteness was quite natural, for the industrialists and Syndicalists not only could not agree with us, but they could not agree among themselves, so much were they divided for and against dictatorship of the proletariat, and they were therefore compelled to accept an indefinite resolution in order to satisfy everybody. As a matter of fact they achieved the very opposite, for their resolution satisfied nobody. In substitution of this indefinite formula the representatives of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions proposed the following point on the dictatorship of the proletariat;—"The dictatorshp of the bourgeoisie must be opposed by the dictatorship of the proletariat as a transitional, but resolute, measure as the only means by which it is possible to crush the resistance of the exploiters, and secure and consolidate the gains of the proletarian government."

This formula was adopted by all except the syndicalists, and the representatives of the I. W. W. and the Shop Stewards.

The confusion in connection with the dictatorship of the proletariat arose from the fact that the Syndicalists and industrialists approached the question from the standpoint of the old anarchists on politics and economics. In the first place they opposed dictatorship because they regarded it as politics, and they regarded it as politics because the dictatorship was carried out by a political party. This old dispute between Marxism and anarchism, —arose now because the representatives of some labor organizations (Syndicalists, industrialists, I. W. W.) opposed politics in the old anarchist spirit. "All politics," said the representatives of the German Syndicalists, "distract the workers from the direct struggle and should therefore be abandoned." "A political party by its very composition is foreign to the workers and strives to dominate them, and this represents a great danger for the social revolution. The industrial unions will make the revolution not only without a political party, but in opposition to it." The representatives of the I. W. W. judging parties by their American experience, stood for approximately the same point of view. For them also the weapon of the social revolution was the industrial unions, and it did not even occur to them that any other organization could play even an auxiliary role. The Shop Stewards' representatives took a middle course, and stood for the necessity of co-ordinating all the parties that belonged to the Third International, but they did not carry this to a logical conclusion. In reply to our argument that it is impossible to separate politics from economics, that there was not a single great economic conflict that was not at the same time a political conflict, that to divide the social struggle into an economic and political struggle meant the weakening of the proletariat, they said that the experience of Western European and American parliamentarism proves that politics corrupt the workers and that the political struggle distract them from their class aims. All the while they confused politics with parliamentarism. Comrade Rosmer, the representative of the French Syndicalists, adopted a healthy point of view. He pointed out that in the first place if the proletariat made a revolution it must be able to defend it; it must beat off all attacks of its enemies and finally crush them. For this purpose it is necessary to have a dictatorship. Secondly he pointed out that the Communist Party and the revolutionary unions must march side by side, and that only on such conditions could the victories of the working class be secured.

It was difficult to unite these conflicting tendencies,—from the denial of the necessity of a political party—to the recognition of the necessity of the inseverable connection between the party and the unions, on a single platform. It was still more difficult to reconcile the point of view of the Russian trade unionists on the supremacy of the party over the unions with the various views explained above. The discussion showed one thing, and that was that those elements of the labor movement which denied the political struggle, which denied the necessity of

a political party of the proletariat, and the closest bond between the communist party and the trade unions, could not enter the new international trade union center, because the whole idea of the international organization of the revolutionary unions lay in gathering all the economic and political organizations of the working class into one body—the Third International—for defensive and offensive operations against the capitalist class. This point of view was shared not only by the representatives of Russia, Italy, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia, and Georgia, but also by Rosmer, the representative of the French Syndicalists and even by Pestana, the representative of the National Federation of Labor of Spain, an organization which stands entirely for the anarcho-syndicalist point of view. Pestana said that he could not imagine such a relation between the party and the unions as existed in Russia possible in Spain, for the reason that in Spain the unions are a great force while the Communist party is only in its embryonic stage. He opposed the subordination of the unions to the party, but was in favor of the closest contact between the party and the unions on a national and international scale. Neither the representatives of the British Shop Stewards or the American I. W. W. objected to co-operating with the Communist party, but the German Syndicalists and the representatives of the Industrial Labor Unions were categorically opposed to any co-operation.

# The Stranger

**By Julia C. Coons**

Night's curtain had closed swiftly down, o'er city, shore and bay,
And lines of eager workmen hastily trod the homeward way;
Among them was a stranger, with uncertain step, and slow,—
Who turned aside from the lighted street, to the tide's incoming flow;
The waves, e'er lapping forward, splashed the pebbles at his feet,
While gleams from distant firesides seemed to beckon thru the sleet.

November's chill was in the air; her winds brought sifting snow,
But the stranger, all unheeding, lived once more in the long ago;
Death's seal was written in his face, with its halo of whitened hair,
And looking out across the waves, he breathed a silent prayer:

"O, Thou unknown, eternal One, who holdest in thy hand
The tempest of the mountain, and the desert's shifting sand,
I am a stranger in this land, tho it did give me birth,
For I am of that scattered tribe that hath no place on earth.

"In my youth a woman loved me, but she sank 'neath Christian scorn,
And faded as a lily might, if by the tempest shorn;
And then I wandered far away, to lands across the sea,
But the people of all nations have set a curse on me.

"Now, War hath sent across the wave a pestilential breath,
And Jew and Gentile both must fall before the sickle, Death.
My only son, my life and pride, lies 'neath the Flanders' sod,—
And I, ah, many of my race a blood-seeped path have trod.

"And I am come unto that door, whose portal, opened wide,
Doth look out on the dark, smooth sweep of an eternal tide;
'Tis said Thou loosed the Hebrews' bonds, and swept aside the sea—
'Tis said for love Thy only son didst die on Calvary;
And that Thou gav'st Thy word and law to men in times of old—
O, bring all of earth's warring sons beneath one crimson fold."

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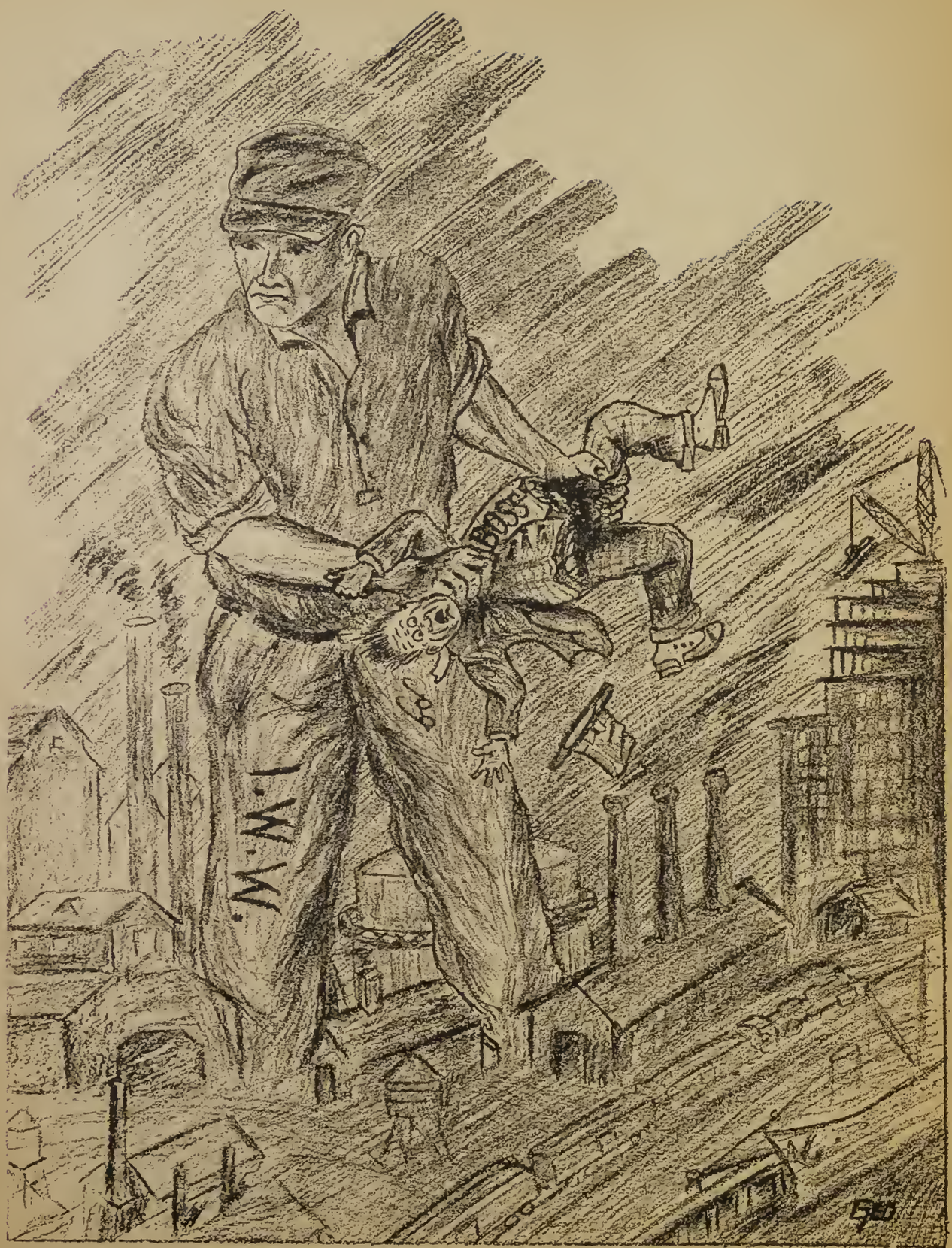
When, in the morn, a radiant sun had set the east aglow,
A workman found the stranger 'neath the newly fallen snow;
A faded, pictured woman's face was clasped upon his breast,
And the stranger, weary, heartsore, had found eternal rest.




GETTING READY TO TAKE OVER INDUSTRY.

# The Story of a Hard Workingman and His White-Collar Son

By H. V. D.

CHARLIE was one of them fellers that believes in working all the time because he says that's the only way to save money. The only reason Charlie didn't work 100 weeks a year is because there ain't no more than 52. He worked in a lumber yard and the foreman Tim Mulligan used to say for years Charlie Higgins is the best man I got.

One day a little accident happened, a big lumber pile fell over. It would not been so bad except Charlie was in the way when it fell. When they drug him out they found that one leg and six ribs was broken and altho his nose was still there it had so little resemblance to an upright, respectable-looking nose that it was as hard to recognize it as the Soviet Government. Everybody said Charlie was the lucky dog because nobody couldn't understand why the big lumber pile hadn't killed him. Charlie agreed with them but when they took him to the horspital and the boneyard specialists started to poke around lookin' for the busted ribs and the splinters of his thigh bone he changed his mind and said it would been a darn sight better for his health if he had cashed in on the spot. Well anyway they kept him in the horspital for 5 months and then turned him loose again to face the crool world. But Charlie wasn't so spry now because one leg was shorter than the other and couldn't keep up with the longer one and so he couldn't move so lively.

He went back to work in the lumber yard and this time he was still luckier than before because no lumber pile didn't fall on top of him no more. But one evenin' as he was going home from work an ortomobile run over him because he couldn't get out of the way quick enough. Outside of breaking an arm and a leg in a different place from where it was broke before it didn't hurt him much but it give an awful jar to his nerves. So they took him to the horspital again and this time after 4 weeks he kicked the bucket. It was the month of May and it broke Charlie's heart to have to lay in bed when the weather was so fine for carrying lumber.

After they took the crepe from the front door Ma Higgins says to her only son Jimmy, who was then 17 years old, Well, James, people thought that the only reason Pa worked so hard is because he liked it but that t'aint all because he had another big idear in his head. He wanted to give you a good erdication so as you wauld become an office manager and then a vice-president of a big company and then marry into Society. But owing to the horspital and doctor expenses and the high cost of gettin' buried why there ain't no more than $483 left in the bank, but all the same you start going to Business College Monday mornin' and some day you will marry into Society and then your Ma will be so proud of you.

And so Jim started to go to Business College and learn the difference between single and double bookkeeping and what kind of letters to send a debtor to make him come across and how to run a typewriter without running it into a repair shop too often and never to start a sentence with an and. Well as the old saying goes every silver cloud has a lining so when the $483 run out and Ma Higgins started to go out washing Jim also got a job as assistant bookkeeper. The salary was only $14 to start but as the ad said with opportunity for advancement to the right party.

An apple don't never fall very far from the apple-tree and so it come that Jim was as hard a worker as his father. In nine year's time he had worked himself up to be head-bookkeeper of the Firm. After he had been there seven years he married Mabel the vice-president's typewriter. Ma Higgins was satisfied in a way because Jim was a good boy and never got drunk and never played pool for money but she could not get over Jim marryin' Mabel. She claimed that Jim had oughta been the vice-president himself and had oughta married into Society instead of the vice-president's typewriter. But because when he married Jim got a raise of $2 per wk that helped some to make Ma feel better.

Mabel is a good girl and they got along fine first off but in time Jim got very cranky and got to quarreling over nothin' and now Mabel gets to feelin' blue quite often. You see Jim he is been sittin' bent over a desk for so long that his shoulders is round and his chest narrow and there ain't no blood in his face as he don't get the proper exercise and all this makes him very irritable so that he flies off the handle over nothin' at all. Another thing that makes him sore is that altho he figures all them thousands of dollars every day he don't never get none of this money as the most he ever got was $30 per wk and that sets him to thinkin' that he ain't gettin' a square deal from society and to worryin' and so he's got indigestion.

Jim himself is now got a kid 16 years old but he don't want him to learn nothing about single and double bookkeeping, not even to find out that there is such a thing as accounts payable. Jim wants Charlie (they called him that in honor of grandpa) to become an honest-to-goodness workingman and to make some money when he grows up, so they have apprenticed him to be a bricklayer. And Mabel don't want Charlie to marry into Society neither because she believes that Society meaning the 400 will soon be done away with and there won't be nobody left in the world but working people. She thinks that a good sensible working girl will be good enough for her boy.

# A Real Love Story

**By John E. Nordquist**

MIKE and Maggie who live in the little cottage down in the hollow are a blissful pair, and they have reason to be happy. Who could possess their rosy-mouthed, crowing, blue-eyed, six weeks old urchin and remain sad for a single moment, I wonder?

This happy couple are not rich. Far from it. Mike is a common laborer and his wages are a mere pittance. Neither is Maggie extravagantly dressed, nor does she attend matinees thrice weekly and the movies nightly.

Mike and Maggie are working hand in hand for the realization of their Utopian dream. They are not allowing poverty to spoil their present nor meddle with their plans of future independence. As they work, they sing and smile at the seeming futility of their hopes.

Mike does not spend his evenings in the saloon with the boys, nor does Maggie waste her days gossiping with the neighbors.

Mike knows that his paltry wage will never bring them freedom, so each evening he studies along certain lines, and slowly but surely he is mastering the puzzle of education. Maggie, too, is a student. She is the lady of the garden. She furnishes the table with every variety of tasty vegetables and fairest flowers.

The happy pair are not selfish. Somehow they find time to help their neighbors, visit the sick and cheer the faltering. Not in a patronizing way, but in a spirit of real comeraderie that is contagious and inspiring.

Here's the secret of their unbounded self-confidence and hopefulness: They are both full-fledged Wobblies. That means that they not only have red cards, but that they are active in the movement. They never miss an opportunity to convert others to their Industrial Union faith, and when they have made converts they line them up at once, as both Mike and Maggie are I. W. W. delegates.

These real lovers, with their manifold duties and pleasurable errands, have no time for pessimism or sadness. Even tho the blues should gain the ascendency in an unguarded moment, an appeal to the cooing arbiter of their happiness would soon adjust matters.

So you see this happy couple are not rejoiced at hopes of a better future, alone; they are laying the foundation of what is to be, and daily building a little of the super-structure. They dwell in a real paradise of work, love and laughter, —today. The "valley of sorrows" is a meaningless term to them. They have uprooted the thorns and briars and replaced them with flowers and garden greens.

I wonder, can there be a happier couple than Mike and Maggie and their little hopeful Wobbly?

**"Papa, I want you to carry me!"**

## CALIFORNA WORKERS HELP RELATIVES OF CLASS WAR PRISONERS.

**The General Defense Committee is in receipt of a remittance from George Schafer, San Fernando, California, of $90.75, being a collection taken up among the workers in a camp near Los Angeles, California, for the relief of the wives and children of class war prisoners, and wishes to extend to those who contributed to this its thanks and appreciation for their help and co-operation.**

**JOHN MARTIN,**
**Sec'y-Treas. of the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W.**

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**A Socialist state can come into existence only as a net of production and distribution communes, which keep conscientious accounts of their production and consumption, economize labor and steadily increase its productivity, thus making it possible to lower the workday to seven, six or even less hours. Anything less than rigorous universal, thoro accounting and control of grain and the production of grain, and later also of all necessary products, will not do.**

**—Nikolai Lenin.**

## A STATEMENT BY ZINOVIEV ON THE RELATION BETWEEN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BODIES

Since the October revolution we have drawn onto our path all kinds of revolutionists in all sections of the globe. An important question arises before the trade and industrial union movements of the world: that of the relations between the revolutionary economic and political bodies of the working class. In this matter, we must not show ourselves too sectarian and too doctrinaire; we cannot and must not hold that we have a panacea suitable for all countries.

The party must in no instance mix in the internal affairs of the unions nor must it play the part of governess towards them. The party must give the general direction only, but we must at the same time state clearly with whom we are going into the congress called by the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions for the First of May, 1921.

I believe there is place for all unions that wish to participate in the coming conference. It is not necessary to exact from the participants recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, communism and the Third International. It is sufficient to place before them the question: Amsterdam or Moscow. There must come to Moscow only those who do not wish to go to Amsterdam.

At the same time we must say clearly to those that come to Moscow that the unions must constitute a section of the Third International. We must explain that the Third International is not simply an assembly of political parties from the entire world; but that it is an organization which unites in one body the soviet, the trade and industrial union, the co-operative and the cultural movements of the working class; that this organization is the synthesis of all aspects of the proletarian movement.

(From the speech of Zinoviev at the Congress of the Russian Trade Unions.)

From "La Vie Ouvriere" of Dec. 10, 1920.

## GREETINGS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL INTERNATIONAL.

Shenandoah, Pa., March 13, 1921.

**The Coal Miners' Industrial Union No. 220 of the Industrial Workers of the World closed the sessions of its conference with greetings and cheers for the Moscow Revolutionary Industrial International.**

PRESS COMMITTEE:

(Signed) Joe Brijunas,
F. Kalpokas,
J. Voliukas.

## RESOLUTION PASSED BY I. U. No. 210 AND I. U. No. 220

March 11th, 1921.

Fellow Workers:

The following resolutions have been made at the convention of M. M. W. I. U. No. 210 and C. M. W. I. U. No. 220:

**Resolution No. 32:**

"To All Class War Prisoners:

The members of the convention of M. M. W. I. U. No. 210 and C. M. W. I. U. No. 220 now in session send our greetings to all Class War Prisoners, whose only crime under the present system of slavery was to try to overthrow the ruling of the capitalist class.

We are assuring you that members outside the prison walls understand the final aims for which you became the victims of the present system of Industrial Tyranny.

We also assure you that we will follow the road laid by many victims which ends in Industrial Freedom.

(Signed)

**Convention of M. M. W. I. U. No. 210 and C. M. W. I. U. No. 220.**

Moved by Smith and seconded by Koskinen that we concur with Resolution No. 32 and that we give this to all I. W. W. papers for publication. Carried.

**Resolution No. 33:**

We, the members of the convention of M. M. W. I. U. No. 210 and C. M. W. I. U. No. 220 send our greetings to the members of the convention of the L. W. I. U. No. 120 and feel sure that you will put all energy and time to laying plans to build up the I. W. W. as a whole. That your industrial union will prove before the working class that the only hope to free ourselves from the capitalist chains of slavery is to fight under the banner of the I. W. W.

Wishing you full success in your work of construction; we are with you.

(Signed)

**Convention of M. M. W. I. U. No. 210 and C. M. W. I. U. No. 220.**

Moved by Smith and seconded by Shank that we concur with Resolution No. 33, that we send it to the convention of L. W. I. U. No. 120 and that Resolution No. 33 be sent to all I. W. W. papers for publication. Carried."

Yours for the I. W. W.,

Tom Meaney,
Sec'y-Treas. of Nos. 210 and 220.

318 N. Wyoming St., Butte, Mont.

# What Our Readers Say About "The Industrial Pioneer"

"And by the way, you are getting out the best periodical in America now. Congratulations."

**Mary Marcy.**

"We welcome with enthusiasm the appearance of "The Industrial Pioneer," a thing of beauty and truth, and we are enclosing our check for $5.00 to pay for two subscriptions, one to read and the other to circulate."

**Bishop Wm. Montgomery Brown,**
**Author of "Communism and Christianism."**

"If The Pioneer keeps up its present A No. 1 standard it will gain in circulation in this territory."

**Wm. Chance, Br. Secretary, New York City.**

"This month's issue is very good and those who get them I am sure will want them next month."

**Joseph Levine, Br. Secretary, Akron, O.**

"I want to say that the new magazine is the thing so far as an educational magazine is concerned. Hoping to see the magazine grow and grow."

**E. Leischer, Br. Secretary, Cincinnati, O.**

"Received 'The Industrial Pioneer' O. K. and say that there is quite an improvement in the magazine from what the O. B. U. was. I got one of the local bourgeoisie to handle the magazine."

**John Miller, District Sec'y of I. U. No. 120.**
**Missoula, Mont.**

"I just received the 20 copies of 'The Industrial Pioneer' yesterday afternoon and by night had sold half of them. The fellow workers all say that it is some magazine. The make-up of the magazine is great. It reminds me of the old International Socialist Review."

**Modern Book and Supply Shop, Denver, Colo.**

"I am forced to compliment you all on the contents and make-up of the magazine of the I. W. W. and a delegate who can't get business with this class of literature to pave the way is in bad with the workers. Received the fifty in good shape."

**Frank Blackstone, Delegate.**

"Your issues are used continually by our staff and the students of the working class movement, and it is important that our files should be complete."

**People's Social Research Institute,**
**Toronto, Canada.**

"Just a line to let you know that I and other fellow workers in Detroit think 'The Industrial Pioneer' is the best magazine the Wobblies ever had."

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### A RESOLUTION TO HELP THE I. W. W. PRESS.

Sioux City, Ia., March 8, 1921.

Whereas, The press is our most effective means of educating the working class along the lines of revolutionary industrial unionism, and

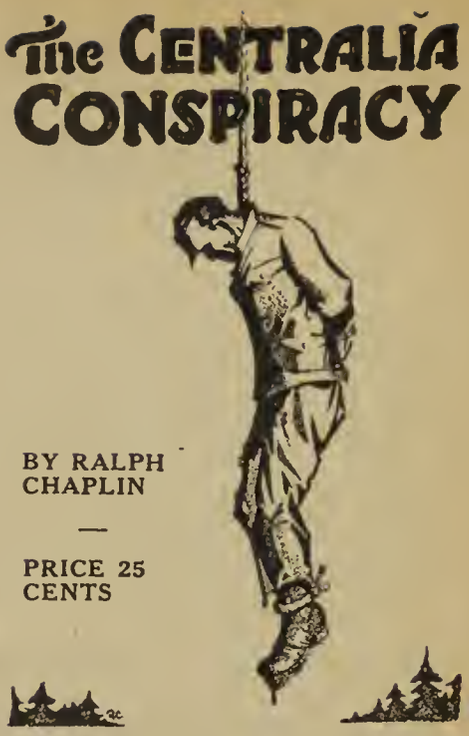
Whereas, Our press on account of the lack of sufficient funds is unable to publish and circulate the necessary amount of educational literature to educate the workers in any great numbers

Be it therefore resolved, That we, the members of the I. W. W. in Sioux City, in regular joint business meeting assembled, go on record as being in favor of each industrial union of the I. W. W. paying a per capita tax of 5c. for each due stamp sold, into a fund for the upbuilding and maintaining of a more efficient I. W. W. press.

And be it further resolved, That a copy of the above resolutions be sent to all I. W. W. publications for publication.

(Signed) Card No. 213834 A. W. I. U. No. 110.


# The CENTRALIA CONSPIRACY



BY RALPH CHAPLIN

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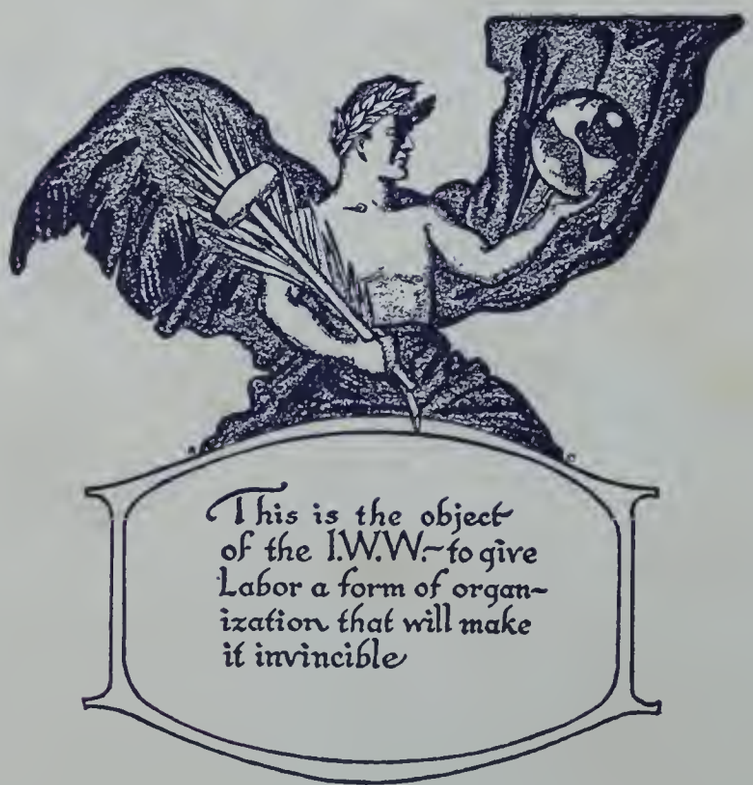


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# INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

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# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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THE HOLY TRINITY OF MODERN CIVILIZATION

The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. 1, No. 4 MAY, 1921 Serial No. 4

# First of May, 1921

WE ARE living at a time pregnant with tremendous possibilities. On the First of May of the year nineteen hundred and twenty-one the workers of the whole world are face to face with a situation more critical than has prevailed at any time during the last one hundred years. Starvation, unemployment, chaos, death, rule triumphant in all the four corners of the earth, East and West, North and South.

Behold, oh children of men, the blessings of capitalism! In America, the "land of cream and honey," the land of "prosperity," the "haven of refuge" for the oppressed and persecuted of all countries, the gaunt figures and pinched faces of four million unemployed men and women looking for a job! Aye, four millions, at the most conservative estimate, and very likely twice that number, besides all those others who work but two or three days in a week, or but a week out of a month! Unemployed parades, in America! Suicides caused by lack of work, in America! Bread lines, hundreds of them, in America!

When we turn to other countries things are just as bad—or worse. In England, 2,000,000 officially known unemployed; in Germany, another 2,000,000; in France, even more. Wherever we may turn—in Italy, Poland, Holland, Switzerland, the Baltic and the Balkan States, South and Central America, unemployment, suffering, chaos, revolt, stare us in the face. On top of this, the brutal hand and the spiked heel of the White Terror in Hungary, Italy, Spain, Chile, Japan! In these countries thousands of our brother-workingmen are being murdered for daring to raise their voices in protest. Sweet, indeed, are the blessings of capitalism!

In this night of blackness and despair the one bright beacon of light is Soviet Russia. There, also, is suffering, but it is suffering for the cause of humanity; there, also, death reaps a bountiful harvest, but it is for the purpose of upholding the rule of labor. But there is no unemployment in Soviet Russia, and its ship of state, instead of being headed for the shoals of economic dissolution, is headed full blast for the tranquil sea of Reconstruction.

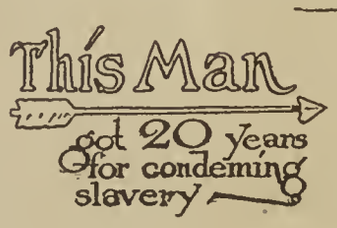
The one thing that labor is learning in these its days of supreme trial is the need, the absolute necessity, of working class solidarity the world over. The workers of no country can stand alone and win their struggle against the capitalists. Their efforts must be co-ordinated on an international scale, the other alternative being defeat at the hands of the powers that be. And herein lies the great significance of May Day, the international labor day. Never has the edict of Karl Marx, "Workers of the world, unite," been weighted with as profound meaning as today.

For thousands of years has the man who works been trying to become his own master, and yet today he still finds himself in bondage. The mistake that he has been making down the ages has been that of always looking for a Messiah, of expecting somebody else to set him free, of ever depending upon a Moses to lead him out of the desert to the Promised Land. And, truly, thousands of Messiahs has he found, but always has he been led astray, into a wilderness more desolate, and always have the fruits of his struggles and his sufferings been reaped by someone else. The other significance of May Day is that it makes the workers realize with a force multiplied a hundredfold the truth of the old saying that "he who would be free himself must break his chains."

# Supreme Court Denies Petition of I. W. W. Prisoners

THE PETITION for a writ of certiorari of the members of the Industrial Workers of the World sentenced in 1918 in the City of Chicago was on April 11th denied by the United State Supreme Court. This means that the case will not be reviewed and that the sentences will be upheld.

Of the ninety-four men who were sent to Leavenworth penitentiary by Judge Landis twelve received one-year sentences, at the expiration of which time they regained their freedom; the sentences of the others varied from five to twenty years. Of these latter forty-six have been released on bond, who will now have to go back to Leavenworth, unless pardoned by President Harding.




The case of the thirty-eight I. W. W.'s convicted in Sacramento also was brought up to the U. S. Supreme Court, and the petition for a review was denied some three weeks prior to the action taken on the Chicago case. This leaves only the fate of the twenty-six men convicted in Wichita in the balance. Their case is at present pending in the Appellate Court. Judging by the actions taken in the other two cases, not much hope can be entertained for them.

April 13th was Amnesty Day. Our hope was that President Harding could be induced to start his term of office by releasing all political prisoners. More than two hundred representatives of organized labor and political and civic organizations presented to Congress and to President Harding a petition signed by citizens of forty-one states, asking amnesty for persons convicted under the war-time espionage act. They were told by the President that he did not contemplate their release until a state of peace with Germany would be officially declared.

How soon a state of peace will be declared is problematic. On the same day that the amnesty petition was presented Senator Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania introduced into the Senate his resolution declaring an end to the state of war that has existed for four years between the United States and Germany. Our hope is that this resolution may be passed in the very near future and that the President's subsequent action may result in the release of all class war prisoners.

And as for us, fellow workers, who are still outside the prison gates, let us do everything in our power to hasten the day

when it will no longer be possible to put men in prison for twenty years whose only crime has heen that they have tried to educate and organize the working class in order that it may free itself from wage slavery. Stop to realize what it means for men to be torn away from their wives and children, from their work, from everything that is dear and near to them, and to be thrown into a loathsome prison, in the shadow of brutality and despair, to rot there for endless years. Fellow workers, let us voice a protest against the continued imprisonment of all class war prisoners loud enough to be heard from one end of the country to the other. And, as the final and most effective means of obtaining justice, let us go to work with a firmer determination than ever before to build up the One Big Union of all the workers—The Industrial Workers of the World.

Workers of America, may you soon come to understand that "the concern of each is the concern of all" and that "an injury to one is an injury to all!"

# The Son of Man

(Dedicated to All Class-War Prisoners Confined in American Jails and Penitentiaries)

NOW, after these weeks have passed, it is the memory of your patience,
Which stabs with the pain of crucifying nails!
How still you were, watching the wheels grind your clean lives to dust!
How still and patient, there in that cold, white-ceiled room, day after droning day!
"An injury to one, an injury to all," you say, who are too strong and big to feel the pain I now feel for you.
You it was who showed me plain, the bright, brave face of Courage.

Little brothers, strong and young, or old and bent and work-worn,
The fire of your young eyes lit my dull heart with hope for all the race of men.
Glittering knights, once on a time, threw gauntlet down
For any cause . . . a woman, or a worthless king or a dead sepulchre.
And their deeds blaze immortally thru song and story;
And you, with bright laughter, throw to the wolves
The slender, running chance Life gave you . . .
Even the all of comfort, shelter, love,
And single-hearted make your tourney,
Under the shabbiness and grime wearing the pure gold armor,
Lance invincible, of Principle—undying faith in Right,
Missing that flanking knowledge to sustain, that your dear Cause,
The Son of Man, the age-old sacrifice, is for the Son of Man today,
And that you are, yourselves, the Son of Man, rejected and despised.

The prince of this world came, and finding nothing of himself in you,
Took you to his own grinding in the mill that makes lives dust.
"The years shall pass," his high-priests say,
"The long, devouring years shall pass, before the bars shall be undone,
Which shut you from the right to your own life!"
But how can bars shut from the light your swift, clear thought,
Your gleaming spirit? I watched it blaze, and poured out tenderest love
To that which is so strong it needs no love.
No gift that I could give but very poor in the bright presence of the selflessness you gave . . .
And that, not made with hands nor seen with eyes, shall never pass
Beneath the wheels of what the Prince of this world calls his justice.
Never shall it be dust, nor like the dust, more than is starlight.

Listen, my little brothers, my strong and mighty brothers!
Last night I watched a star set, a white point of light,
It dropped with silver silence into the upheld arms, the boughs of a black cypress.
Down it slipped to where I could not see
Into the black net of the cypress tree, but was its light put out?
I heard your marching feet go beating from the echoing room,
The rhythm of your ringing battle hymn, strong, high and clear,
Then dying muffled, down the tunneled way that led to the steel cage.
I saw the fine-frocked servant of the Prince rub his smooth hands and laugh.
O, servant of the Prince, the light of stars is not to soon put out!
That was not all, there in the hollow room!
The trailing battle hymn, muffled at last by walls,
Kindled more stars in souls who heard it pass,
More fire in those, who in the name of Brotherhood, will hold it high,
And be as runners, messengers, for you.

Listen, little brothers . . . strong, great-hearted brothers, for today
I stood upon the edge of a wide pool, left by the storm of yesterday,
And suddenly I knew it was a mirror magical.
It held a universe inverted and bewitched.
The gray and knotted roots of the pines were at its very surface,
While their lifted tops pierced downward to its dregs.
Even the shell-pink clouds flung in the wide glow of the afternoon,
Seemed to be lying down so deep, they could have touched its slime.
Such is the strange world of inverted things,
The values of that realm ruled by the princes of pride you came to overthrow.
And when we watched you, singing, march away, down the black hole beneath
Were we not looking into a grotesquing pool that registers delusion?
Were your firm steps not in reality, hitting a high, white trail,
An upland way, winding invisibly up spiritual heights that end among the stars!
This was the truth of it, and yet at that dark hour I did look down,
And turned into the gathering dark upon the street,
Too numb for tears, there in the beating rain.
A sudden, wonder scent blew from a florist's stall.
O, dearest God, how strange there were still violets upon the earth!

If those who owe me love and fine allegiance should not pay
I could but bruise a bit of wild herb in my hand, growing beside the path,
Here in the meadows, breathe it in deep, and heal the hurt,
Or push it so far back that it could come no more into remembrance.
But to you, who are betrayed and robbed by those who take
What they can never give the world, or you!
How should I offer comfort! I to whom this hour
The mountain lilac signals with its jewels, sapphire and lapis lazuli . . .
But tenderer bloom and lovelier than jewels—
Why should I ever think of sorrow personal,
Who now can hear the fluting meadow lark across the bright, wet fields!
Where you are now there is not one sweet sight or scent or sound.
Only grim steel, only gray shadows, harsh and most desolate.
You are in there for me. I in whose soul your stars are kindled,
Here in the fields for you! Could you but know their loveliness!
There is a glowing poppy in my hand, its petals spun with sheen so exquisite,
It seems I must behold it in my dream. Yet it is here . . . I touch it,
Upon the same strange earth which holds you in the pit!
This morning, in a warm bend of the beach that curved to hold me,
Like a sheltering arm, I felt the velvet sand slip thru my hand, remembering you,
And watched the little surf beat out its song.
You cannot have them now, but they will stay unchanging.
They will wait like Love, till you are free.

Last night I saw a dense black forest hill
All suddenly aglow with fire!
A golden veil enwrapped it!
A little while, and then, out of the midnight dark
A planet flowered, a yellow shield encircled,
Its light blazoned with strange beauty, and the thicket-wilderness was lit with sudden, wondrous fire.
So from the blackness of your midnight
Oppression of this night of ours
Shall your Truth blaze its fair, transcendent way.
Comrades, the light is on you!
Your feet have reached the Mountains of High Purpose.
We watchers, waiting in the valley, lacking your valor,
Sight the dawn upon your faces, ere it breaks upon the world!

Carmel-by-the-Sea, February, 1920.

C. S.

# The Truce in England

By Francis Davis

WHILE the cancellation of the British general strike seems a temporary victory for the Government, it actually amounts to nothing more than a truce. The next test of strength between the Government and the workers probably will have a much different result.

For eight years the miners, railway men and transport workers have been striking for wage reforms and for eight years they have been accepting defeats at the hands of astute British politicians. In 1912 the miners struck for a minimum wage and, after a struggle, won it—in principle. Actually, however, they went back to work at wages which were reduced to such a minimum that no man could live upon them decently. During the war the workers were tricked by the politicians in Parliament out of their traditional trade union rights and lost even the right to strike. In 1919 the miners struck for control of the industries and received—the report of the Sankey Commission, and the polite shelving of the entire question. In 1920 the miners and railway men struck again for improved wages and again were tricked out of victory.

In the present strike the miners have demanded that wages be maintained at a level of subsistence, contending that the mine owners' program would reduce wages to a level fifty per cent below the cost of living. To assure themselves of a decent wage they have asked a pooling of profits and a control of the industry similar to war time control. They are going back to work, having lost their demand for control and at wages which, even if fixed on a national scale, will represent a material reduction. This defeat is almost the last straw and the workers of Britain have lost patience with political handshaking. When they strike again they will be prepared to go thru to the end and take control of the industries finally.

There was nothing deliberately revolutionary about the present strike, even tho the demand for control of the mines sounded like a revolution. J. H. Thomas, head of the railway unions, went so far as to say that he deplored revolutions and that he would not have responded to the call of the miners, except that he felt honor bound to support the Triple Alliance decision, having pledged his unions to do so in all emergencies.

The strike might easily have led to a revolution, however, for there is thruout England the growing conviction among the members of the Triple Alliance that nothing short of a complete taking over of the industry and the State for themselves will obtain for them comfortable living conditions. This sentiment would undoubtedly have crystallized had Lloyd George called his ninety day middle class volunteers into action. A single clash between Government forces and the workers would undoubtedly have precipitated a nation-wide civil war and a revolution-by-accident would have been the inevitable result. It was only the wit of Lloyd George, who foresaw such a contingency, that turned the rising tide of sentiment and saved his Government from destruction.

Lloyd George has long been conscious of the growing revolutionary desire of British labor. His statement at the conference table that he felt that in talking to the union leaders he was not speaking to the rank and file, nor obtaining the answers of the rank and file, indicates clearly how delicate he felt the present situation to be. Time and time again thruout the controversy he has charged that he saw behind the strike a deliberate attempt to take over the Government or to precipitate a revolution and take over both the Government and the industries.

The same is true of the conservative union leader. J. H. Thomas, the leader of the railway unions, admitted that he felt that if he did not join the other elements

in the Triple Alliance, the rank and file already impatient with delays, might kick over the traces and strike in spite of the leaders for revolutionary purposes.

But for this growing impatience of the rank and file with anything short of revolutionary action the situation might have taken a middle-of-the-road, political turn and resulted in the discrediting of the Lloyd George Government and the seating of a "Scheidemann" Labor Government. The labor politicians, exploiting the workers' solidarity and their faith in evolutionary tactics, have gained power and should Lloyd George go to the country on a general election, particularly on an issue involving labor—the result might be an overwhelming victory for the labor politicians. For two years the Labor Party has been winning most of the national by-elections and is said to lack only ten percent enough votes to put over a successful election on any issue. Lloyd George, conscious of his loss of coalition support and facing the growing storm of disapproval by labor, declared that this strike was only a political plot on the part of Henderson of the British Labor movement to obtain control. While that statement may have represented the wishes of the men to whom he was speaking over the council table, it was evident that the rank and file were interested in something more than the control of political jobs. Among the rank and file there is a growing conviction that labor politicians are no better than other politicians and that with Henderson and Clynes in control of Parliament, labor will have to begin the work of taking the control away from them all over again. The rank and file of British labor wants the mines and the railways and the ships as well as the State and will not be satisfied with anything short of that result. Lloyd George understood this and understood that he was not only flirting with a political coup on the part of labor, but that if he mobilized the troops and began hostilities he was flirting with a labor dictatorship.

For years the British workers have been building up their economic power, consolidating and strengthening it in every quarter by a larger and larger application of the program of industrial unionism. In 1915 Robert Smillie brought the three great powers in the movement, the railway men, the miners and the transport workers, together in a single organization—the Triple Alliance. This great organization represents a total membership of nearly 3,000,000 men and has affiliated with it the Federation of General Workers, numbering 1,500,000 men. The effect of this union has been the drawing together and emboldening the other trades. In the present strike support was voted from every side and had the general strike been effected there is little doubt that the entire Trades Union Congress, the British organization similar to the A. F. of L., would have gone out at once in support of the Triple Alliance. Whatever the result of the present strike, therefore, it will have been made clear to the workers that they are possessed in such an emergency of tremendous power.

At the same time, the Government has learned its own power. Up to the present it has never had a test of its strength in a social war with its own people. It has fought furious wars in the Cape and in Egypt, India, Mesopotamia and Ireland and in these wars it could always exploit religion and nationalism or some other tradition; it has never had to turn machine guns and cannon on its own island workers. Because it has never had to come to blows at home, other workers have sometimes wondered whether the British workers were not too patriotic to assert themselves on behalf of their own social rights. The statements of leaders such as Henderson have led some Americans to believe that the British workers are imperialistic and are laboring in league with the British politicians to exploit the workers of the "Possessions."

Even if the British workers were so provincial as to be concerned about no movement but their own, they would not be imperialistic. It is said that British workers are afraid of the disintegration of the Empire, because the fall of the Empire would mean the discontinuance of colonial trade and the emigration of fifteen million work-

ers from the British Isles, but it is not capitalism nor imperialism which makes England the great industrial center of the world; it is the strategic position of the British Islands as its center of production and distribution which has concentrated so many great industries there. If anything, the capitalist regime has tended toward scattering industrial activities, finding it easier to exploit African, Indian and Chinese labor, than to pay the union wages at home. If the British workers wish to remain in England and to maintain England as the industrial center which it has become, their hope lies not in the profit system, but in a system of production which seeks to place industry nearest the source of raw materials and nearest the markets and which by a delicately adjusted system of balances seeks to eliminate every element of waste, giving all workers the consumption goods they need. British workers who fear emigration have much more to hope from the social revolution than from the profits system. From the social revolution they have everything to gain and nothing to lose but their profit-taking nobility and gentry.

But the British workers have given the lie to the charge of imperialism. It was the British workers who forced the abandonment of the Churchill dream of conquest of Russia from Archangel, it was the British workers who stopped the sending of ammunition to Poland and blocked the destruction of their Russian brothers from that quarter, it was again the British who thru the Council of Action brought the Irish question to the fore and forced the Government to declare its position before the world. The British workers are rapidly growing conscious of their power thru the use of it and if in the present instance they are canny enough not to gamble away their power because they are not yet strong enough and because the Government is yet too strong, they are to be encouraged and urged to continue the successful work of bringing their industrial organization to completion.

When the next test of power comes in England, and it is quite certain to come soon, the Government will find itself with a fully equipped force of middle class volunteers and a paid force of thugs and gunmen, such as are being employed in Ireland, opposing an array of several million workers ready with commissaries and funds and bound together with an unshakable solidarity. In the tilt which follows it will not be likely that political knavery will count in the settlement, for British labor (in the present strike) has learned that its future lies not with the politicians, but only with their own industrial solidarity and that their success depends not on the Hendersons, Clynes and Thomases, but will be achieved only in spite of them.

Today British labor holds the destiny of the world of the workers in its hands. Had a successful revolution been effected in England in this strike, the revolution would shortly have become a world-wide fact. If this is still the case. when the next test of power comes between the British workers and their masters, the wager is safe that British trade unions will not fail their fellow workers in other lines.

# All Aboard for "Normalcy"!

IT'S A LONG, long way to "normalcy," but President Harding's heart's right there.

Let any one who doubts the assertion read the text of the president's address to the speeial session of Congress on April 12th. It is a great deal to ask of any one, to plod thru the verbal slush of a presidential message, but the task will be found to be not without its humorous eompensations.

The nation's present chief exeeutive appears to be the victim of a mild form of monomania, charaeterized by the presence of what psychiatrists know as a "fixed idea." President Harding's fixed idea was first given expression when he startled an unsuspecting world with the long-slumbering word, "normaley."

Just what was meant by the word, no one appeared to know exactly, Mr. Harding least of all. Nevertheless, as a pieee of eampaign verbiage, it was very impressive, quite as impressive, indeed, as the high-sounding catch-words and ponderously sonorous phrases foisted upon us by his predeeessor, the now disillustrious Woodrow.

On one point, however, we were wrong. The word did have at least some sort of meaning for its foster father. What that meaning was—and is—becomes elear on a reading of the president's speech.

The president begins by telling the Congress that it has been ealled in speeial session to give its attention "to national problems far too pressing to be long negleeted." "We must invite," he says, "every factor in our citizenship to join in the effort to find our normal, onward way again." The first thing to do it to put our "own house in order." To this end, we must all "join in the give and take whieh is the essential to firm re-establishment.

The president then goes on to unburden himself of some 7,000 words. In all that number, however, the words "labor" and "unemployment" do not oeeur once. These two "national problems" are not given even passing mention.

One would think that, with something like 4,000,000 people out of work in the United States at the present time, with actual hunger in a million homes and the gaunt spectre of starvation staring hundreds of thousands of others in the faee, with bread lines and soup kitchens in all our large eenters of population, with wages eonstantly on the downward trend and prices falling slowly, if at all, one would think that with all this Congress would find itself provided with just about as "pressing" a problem as any with which it has to deal.

President Harding, however, apparently does not take this view. Either the situation does not exist for him, either he is the Mary Baker G. Eddy of polities, determined to blink the faets at any eost, or, what seems more likely, his silence is a matter of poliey.

It may be that he regards labor and the unemployment situation as a little too ticklish a subjeet, one the least said of whieh the better. In this conneetion, the question once put to President Taft may be reealled. Mr. Taft was asked what a working man out of a job with a starving wife and family was to do. His reply, long famous, was "God knows." Maybe, God knows what's to be done to solve the unemployment problem. President Harding evidently does not.

By a process of elimination, then, we arrive gradually at the presidential eoneeption of "normaley." Whatever "setting our own house in order" and indulging in the "give and take whieh is essential to firm re-establishment" may mean, it quite elearly has nothing to do with the working elass or its needs. True, there are some of us who believe that the workers of a nation are the nation, but we are an insignificant minority of "Reds" and "Bolsheviks."

What, then, does "normaley" connote to President Harding?

He begins by insisting that " we strike resolutely at expenditures" in order to lift "the staggering load of war debt." The latter, he thinks, ean best be taken eare of by "orderly funding and gradual liquidation." He has the graee to add, naively, that all this "is far more easily said than done."

"Our eurrent expenditures are running at the rate of $5,000,000,000 a year, and the burden is unbearable."

What are the remedies proposed? "Rigid resistance in appropriation" and "the utmost economy in administration."

After dropping us the eomforting bit of news that taxes for the next two years probably cannot be allowed to fall below the four-billion mark, the president attempts to cheer us up by hinting that he thinks the war tax on iee eream sodas, movie shows, ete., ought to be repealed.

All this while, however, he is fairly aching to get at the gist of his "message," the old G. O. P. standby, the proteetive tariff. What would a Republican platform or presidential message be without the faithful old P. T.? Mr. Harding's prologue, it is plain to be seen, bores him. He gets it out of the way with as few words as possible. But when he gets to the tariff—Ah! there he is at home!

The tariff leads naturally to the one subjeet dear to the presidential heart, the interests of "business." Mr. Harding does not say "big business"—that is a phrase whieh has been rendered unsavory by the usage of the muekraker—but there is no doubt that it is of the interests of big business that he is thinking. We have heard of the "business man's administration" whieh we are going to have, with a "business man's eabinet," ete. It is foreshadowed here. Labor and unemployment do not exist, but business—the eountry, it seems, is run in the interests of business.

"I have said to the people we meant to have less of government in business as well as more business in government. It is well to have it understood that business has a right to pursue its normal, legitimate and righteous way unimpeded, and it ought to have no call to meet government competition."

This, then, is "normalcy."

It certainly ought to warm the heart of the big business pirate, as well as that of the middle-class commuter. The latter hopes to share in the spoils, and both the big and small fry are agreed on one point, that "what this country needs" is a "business administration." Mr. Harding, reckoning, doubtless, that he was elected by this element, does not propose to leave them in any manner of doubt as to where he stands. His words are, in a president, unusually plain and outspoken.

Then, with the presidential habit of facing both ways at once, he turns around and, in the next breath, says what he quite evidently does not mean to be taken with any degree of seriousness. He throws a tid-bit to the "reformers" by promising that "profiteers" shall be, as the newspapers say, "rigidly probed."

Reduction of railway rates comes next. This will probably be popular with big business, but not with the railway workers, when the bosses, in their turn, begin slashing wages.

The development of public highways thru Federal aid, the extension of the U. S. merchant marine, the joining of the United States in an international radio and cable system, and provisions for the development of aviation bureaus are the recommendations next in order.

Then comes the inevitable bit of flag waving in a manifestation of "concern" for the welfare of our crippled soldiers. No presidential utterance would be completel without some such side-play. It appears to be rather hard for Mr. Harding to would be completed without some such side-play. too hard-headed, too cold-blooded. He lacks the unfailing "gift of gab" of his predecessor, Woodrow. One can imagine him, however, taking a larger bite off the presidential cut-plug and, after a deliberate aim at the White House cuspidor, settling himself to the task of turning out half a thousand or so words on the subject.

Next comes the astounding discovery that "new social forces" are at work in the United States.

"Events of recent years have profoundly impressed thinking people with the need to recognize new social forces and evolutions, to equip our citizens for dealing rightly with problems of life and social order."

What's to be done about the matter? President Harding thinks a department of public welfare might be founded, "which could be made to crystalize much of the rather vague generalization about social justice into solid accomplishment." "Education, public health, sanitation, conditions of workers in industry, child welfare, proper amusement and recreation, the elimination of social vice, and many other subjects," including the maternity bill, might, Mr. Harding thinks, fall within the scope of this department.

(May we suggest, parenthically, that, in our humble opinion, the shortest and simplest route to "social justice" would be the expropriation of the expropriators by the expropriated—but that's too deep for Warren.)

Touching next on the race question, the president opines that "Congress ought to wipe the stain of barbaric lynching from the banners of a free and orderly representative democracy." But his "one proposal" is "the creation of a commission"—and that's about as far as the race question ever gets in a political platform or a presidential message.

Coming to the question of disarmament, the president begins to warm up a little once more.

"The government is in accord with the wish to eliminate the burden of heavy armament. The United States ever will be in harmony with such a movement toward the attainment of the higher aims of peace."

Oh, yes, of course! But—

"But we shall not entirely discard our agencies for defense until there is removed the need to defend. We are willing to co-operate with other nations to approximate disarmament, but merest prudence forbids that we disarm alone."

Really, doesn't the world move, after all? The foregoing words might have been uttered in 1891 or 1871. The great war, with its "staggering load of war debt"—to say nothing of that other debt, the cost in human life, which is glossed over—the war has had no lessons for the master class, the class that made the war, the class that makes all wars. That same class would rush into another world war tomorrow for the sake of obtaining or preserving control of a route to Bagdad.

From disarmament we come to the questions of peace, the treaty, and the League of Nations. There is little in all this—even less than in preceding passages—to interest one whose thinking is done in terms of the class struggle and the coming social revolution. Indeed, there would be little sense in a worker's reading the document at all, if it were not that thereby his conviction of the futility of political action—if by "political" action we mean reliance on government and parliamentary forms—may be deepened.

Mr. Harding wants peace, but he isn't sure just when it may come. He wants a league—not the one that England and France want, bit his own G. O. P. brand. What have we workers to do with this? Let us forget government for the present, fellow workers. Let us organize for the capture and subsequent control of industry. And when we have taken over industry, as we shall do, we will find that we, the workers, **are** the government.

**S. P.**

# George Hardy on the I. W. W.

(The following letter was written by George Hardy and was sent by him from Russia to the Danish Syndicalist paper "Solidaritet," published in Copenhagen.)

FELLOW WORKERS:

AFTER having been in Europe for some months, and after having paid a little visit to Russia, I find that a great deal of misunderstanding prevails in regard to the position of the I. W. W. I have reached this conclusion after speaking to many Scandinavians, among them two Danish revolutionary fellow workers, with whom I had a long conversation in Moscow. These Danish fellow workers were very anxious to know our point of view; but when I emphasized that the I. W. W. is mainly a Marxian organization, they called my attention to the fact that the Swedish syndicalist papers, and even the yellow Branting paper, "Social-Demokraten," maintain that the Swedish syndicalists' position is the same as that of the I. W. W. Of course, the "Social-Demokraten" did not have as its object to be of assistance to the Swedish syndicalists, but it quoted Albert Jensen, who had translated an article from the "One Big Union Monthly," written by John Sandgren, who has now been removed as editor of the above mentioned magazine on account of his anti-bolshevik articles and because he took a similar position to the one taken by Albert Jensen in Sweden.

The I. W. W. is not the same as the European syndicalist organizations. It is a highly centralized, industrial organization. The decentralizers met with a decisive defeat at our convention in 1913. Our speakers have lectured on economic subjects and our locals have conducted study classes in which Marx's "Capital" has been used as a text book. "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy," by Joseph Dietzgen, is the basis for the train of ideas which we sought to convey to our classes, and the materialistic conception of history can be said to be our historical point of view. This gives us an understanding quite different from the humanitarian sentimentality prevailing in the minds of many of those who do not understand the materialistic conception of history; and because they do not understand this scientific and much-needed doctrine, they become opponents of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—yes, even friendly toward the Entente, as was Albert Jensen during the war. On the other hand, the I. W. W. was absolutely against the war, altho without being guilty of "conspiracy" against the United States government, of which we were accused during the war. John Sandgren's removal by our General Executive Board shows our attitude toward Soviet Russia.

There is, however, an individualistic spirit within the I. W. W., but that is on account of the kind of workers of which our organization mainly consists: lumber workers, agricultural workers, miners and seamen, in America all of whom are, more or less, migratory workers. This gives them an independent spirit and makes them the most revolutionary workers in America. They are not afraid of a fight; this explains the frequency of strikes wherever our members have a functioning organization.

Our members know how to win because they shape their tactics according to the ones used by their opponents. It is, therefore, clear that it is not an anarchistic ideology that makes us individualistic, as the anarcho-syndicalists claim;—quite on the contrary, we are disciplinarians as a result of the very form of our organization, and my personal conviction is that we shall develop more discipline in the near future.

Nevertheless, we felt that we must co-operate with all the syndicalist organizations in all countries, understanding that they have developed under conditions much different from those in America. If we refused all alliance on account of these differences, we would not be justified in calling ourselves scientific, which we do.

We strive for a very elastic program, which will allow us to develop new tactics, etc., during a critical period. Even our point of view in regard to parliamentary action is elastic, altho firm. We are non-political, not anti-political, as many claim, altho some of our members may be. We take the position that economic organizations existing under American conditions would succumb if they officially took part in elections. Therefore, our program is: "We refuse all affiliation with political and anti-political 'sects'—we are non-political."

This means that our members can choose their own individual, political course. There is no doubt as to which way they will go, with a sound economic understanding of their class position. It can also be said that our membership is a great voteless mass because it consists of migratory workers, which is one more good reason for our non-political program.

I am afraid that I am taking up too much space, but I feel that I must give you this information, because the more correct information we have concerning each other the better will we be in a position to act during a crisis. The I. W. W. claims that revolutionary success to a great extent depends on our doing the right thing in the right way at the right time. If this holds good nationally, then it also holds good internationally. That is what we have learned from the Russian revolution, and altho the revolutionary crisis may become very different in countries which are more highly developed than Russia, we can be sure that the dying capitalist class will not act any more leniently elsewhere than it did in Russia, and therefore we must prepare ourselves for international action. The coming con-

gress of the Industrial International will be the expression of the highest revolutionary activity on the economic field. We must all support this congress and fight the yellow Amsterdam "International." I presume that this is obvious to everybody. There is no choice for the I. W. W. between Amsterdam and Moscow.

Hoping that you will have great success in Denmark and with greetings to all Danish revolutionists from the I. W. W. members in tyrannical America, I remain,

Yours for Industrial and International Freedom,

George Hardy.

# CAPITAL AND LABOR

**By John O'Hara**

CAPITAL and labor are enemies, combatants drawn up on the field of battle with a real no man's land between them. They have been at war with each other for centuries and cannot sign peace until one or the other scores a complete victory. One faction only will survive after peace is signed. Which one shall that be?

Capital and labor can come together only in conflict. They cannot mix anymore than can oil and water.

Disease, poverty, orphanages, and asylums, are the expressions of the casualties suffered by labor.

Labor's chief protection and defense lies in unions. When unions are beaten labor is beaten.

Capital's defensive and offensive force lies in its One Big Union. What a strong and powerful union it is! Solidly, systematically, scientifically organized, its members fight shoulder to shoulder in every sector and along the whole firing line, while labor retaliates by striking back in a puny, weakened effort which has little effect on capital.

Imagine the United States going to war with Germany one state at a time, or one city at a time! But it needs no imagination to see labor going to war with capital one trade union at a time, or one local at a time; that is an actuality. Is it any wonder, then, that capital always triumphs?

Uncle Sam's army has its artillery, its machine-gunners and infantry, its engineers, tank corps and intelligence divisions; there are many other branches to it, but they work together in harmony and are thus able to present a solid front against the enemy. With Labor's army, however, which is unscientifically organized, the case is vastly different.

It is split up into a great many divisions that meekly attempt to fight capital each by itself, and sometimes refuse the help of other crafts by an assumption of artificial superiority. The lack of team-work weakens labor's forces and causes retreat, sometimes "according to plans."

Up to the present time captial has always been victorious. Its weapons—financial power, the church, the press, the courts—are mighty, and its strategical moves are shrewd.

The I. W. W. are the shock troops of labor's army. When others retreat we hold the fort.

Mr. Workingman and woman, this is your fight as well as ours. Join us. You need us more than we need you. While you will give us the strength of one more member, we will give you the strength of our whole organization.

If you want to own a home and cover the dining room table with clean, wholesome food; if you want a shorter work-day whereby you can sleep an hour longer in the morning and be home an hour earlier at night; if you want all the good things of life and add ten to twenty years to your life; if you think the good things of life rightfully belong only to those who work for them, then, Mr. Workingman and woman, your place is in the ranks of the One Big Union of all the workers.

# MAY DAY, 1921

**I sing you a song, O my comrades,**
**O my comrades in the dust,**
**O my brothers, vanquished and torn.**

**I sing you a song of the new day;**
**And of resurrection.**
**Of the future that is yours—the green future.**

**The deep, dull dawn is born in the East**
**Amid muffled cannon roars**
**And the cries and struggles of the dying.**

**And the old order is giving up to the ghost;**
**And the new warrior is cleansing himself**
**To go forth to battle;**
**The young, straight warrior going forth**
**Without arms or armor,**
**Raising the blood-red standard.**

**And you, O my brothers, O my tired, defeated brothers;**
**Lying low, spurned and sore;**
**I see the coming rays touch on your maimed limbs.**

**O my brothers! O my comrades!**
**See you not the vision in the East?**
**The vision of hope, resplendent, eternal?**

**There is a vast stirring, and a sigh**
**Like the sob of the wind thru the western cornfields.**
**My brothers see the dawn—they are rising.**

**J. S. W. M.**

# The Industrial Pioneer

*A Journal of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism*

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## THE THIRTEENTH CONVENTION OF THE I. W. W.

THE Thirteenh Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, which will meet in Chicago on May 9th, will be confronted by some very big problems. However, before setting to work on their solution, the delegates will find inspiration and confidence in remembering that the I. W. W., altho it has been subjected for years to the worst persecution ever meted out to any organization in America, is today as virile and strong as it ever was, and that the basic principles of the I. W. W. are being accepted today by millions of workers the world over. The powers that be may as well realize now as at any other time that as long as a vestige of intelligence or a ray of hope is harbored by the American working class, just so long will the I. W. W. continue to exist and flourish.

The present unemployment crisis is showing up the futility of craft unionism better than the best kind of industrial union propaganda could do. Lack of work, wage cuts and the "open shop" are the order of the day, and the now existing trade unions have proven themselves utterly incapable to put up any kind of resistence against these onslaughts of capitalism. The unorganized, of course, are in a worse condition than any other class of workers.

Thus we see that conditions themselves are paving the way for the coming of revolutionary industrial unionism. During the last year a great change has taken place among all classes of workers in their sentiments towards the I. W. W. They are no longer as scared of the three terrible initials as they have been in the past. Large masses of workers are paying earnest heed to the message of working-class solidarity; in places they are positively eager to receive it.

The biggest issue before this, as it was before all previous conventions, will be **Education and Organization.** How can we put out the right kind of propaganda in the right place at the right time, so that it will result in the greatest good to the organization? What are the best tactics to use to increase both the numerical and the moral strength of the organization? These are weighty problems, the correct solution of which will require the best minds in the movement.

## SECRETARY DAVIS URGES "A FAIR DEAL FOR CAPITAL"

TO THOSE benighted individuals in the ranks of labor who still look to governmental and similar agencies for "reforms" which shall alleviate the intolerable conditions of their unconscious slavery, the words contained in the first public utterance of James J. Davis, the new Secretary of Labor, should prove sufficiently disillusioning. Secretary Davis spoke in Chicago on the evening of April 12th, at the annual banquet of the Greater Chicago Lodge, Loyal Order of Moose, of which order he is a national officer. On the platform with him were such typical representatives of the working class as Capt. Marshall Field, H. H. Merrick, former president of the Chicago Association of Commerce, and Edward H. Litsinger of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association.

In view of his audience, Secretary Davis' speech is a little more understandable. Otherwise, one would not expect quite so much frankness. As it was, it appears to have "gone over big."

"Mr. Davis," the account contained in the Chicago Tribune the morning after tells us, "uttered a plea for a fair deal for capital, a decent living wage for labor, larger

profits for farmers thru lower shipping rates, and the settlement of all industrial disputes thru conferences between employer and employe.

"He warned labor that if it is to take a share in the policies of the nation it also must share the national responsibilities, declaring it was up to labor to see that transportation conditions were such that the farmer could make a fair profit.

"He upheld the right of capital, as well as labor, to be given a fair chance to present its side of all controversies, warning it, however, that a decent living wage was necessary to assure loyal Americanism in the ranks of the workers.

"From time to time," said Mr. Davis, according to the Tribune account, "large employers of labor have been made the football of muckrakers, some of them with justice. They have been painted in every color, save that of the lily, and when they have striven to give their side, they have been charged with spreading propaganda.

"They must be given credit for one thing at least—a desire to keep the wheels of progress going, of operating their factories even at a loss."

And finally, the secretary concludes with this sublime piece of school-boy humor:

"It would be much easier if capital and labor got together and settled their differences among themselves. I am sure they could reach an agreement easier than by having the secretary of labor or any one else try to adjust the differences. Above all things, however, neither side should try to put anything over on the other."

Poor old capital! It's in a hard way, indeed, when even the secretary of labor has to come to its defence. What about a fair deal for labor? It might not be altogether unbecoming in one who bears the title "secretary of labor," at least to keep up appearances a little. Of course, we all know which side of the fence he's on, but such frankness is rather shocking.

And what a monster this big bully, Labor, must be! Always picking on poor little Curlylocks Capital. Why doesn't he pick on somebody his size?

Seriously, Mr. Secretary, which side needs the fair deal more at the present moment, labor or capital?

Labor, however, if he's a good little boy, keeps his face and hands clean, doesn't tear his blouse, stays in his own back yard, and doesn't play with that naughty little Bolshevik boy next door, is to be given a great big cookie. What is it? A "decent living wage." Not even a "fair day's pay" in return for a "fair day's work," mind you (we wonder, incidentally, what's become of that hoary old A. F. of L. slogan?) but merely a "decent" wage.

Ideas of "decency" vary. We're not sure that we're willing to trust Mr. Davis.

And if labor doesn't behave—Secretary Davis doesn't say what will happen, but the "fair deal" is not far removed from the "square deal," and we all remember Mr. Roosevelt and the "big stick."

Another think that Mr. Davis is greatly wrought up about is Farmer John's profits, and he actually expects labor, represented by the transportation workers, to see that Farmer John gets, not merely profits, but more profits. (The farmer, of course, is "the backbone of the nation." Labor is merely a sort of useless vermiform appendix, or at best a very minor vertebra.)

After all this, we should not be surprised to hear the secretary springing the old chestnut about the credit which should be given to capital for keeping "the wheels of progress going." Labor has had no share in that! The picture which is drawn of the poor manufacturers, "operating their factories even at a loss," is heart-rending.

And what a nice little plan that is for labor and capital's "getting together." It's really a capital idea! We can see the happy pair on the way to the conservatory for a little tete-a-tete right now!

True, Mr. Davis, in the language of the street, "said a mouthful," when he opined that it would make things "much easier" if such were the case.

And "above all things," neither side should attempt to put anything over on the other. Oh, no! War is a game of ping-pong, and both sides must play fair. But Mr. Davis, presumably, has never even heard of the class struggle.

It would be a waste of white paper to quote so silly a speech at such length, if it were not for the humor of the thing and the fact that there are certain lessons to be learned from it which need to be driven home in the minds of hundreds of thousands of workers—members of the A. F. of L., adherents to the old craft-union form of organization, and the still vaster army of the unorganized. For, after all, Sammy Gompers, Jimmy Davis, Herb Hoover and the rest are all tarred with the same brush.

The fundamental error which blinds the eyes of these workers is the so-called "philosophy," imposed by capitalism, of "social solidarity." It is the old advice, given by the big-business buccaneer to the ambitious office boy: "Make your employer's interests your own, if you want to succeed."

Only when the words of the I. W. W. Preamble: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common . . . Between these two a struggle must go on . . ." Only when these words have been burned into the consciousness of the workers will Labor at last wake up and, when it hears such drivel as comes from Mr. Davis, give a big Hee-haw, followed by a little action from the hind hoofs.

# The Striker

**By Robert Whitaker**

**Many have sung the soldier**
**From the rude, red days of old**
**To this madder hour of more murderous power,**
**And death schemes manifold.**
**But no one has sung the striker,**
**Tho a better fighter he**
**For the living cause and the larger laws**
**Of the empire that is to be.**

**Many have sung the statesman,**
**Of nation and state and clan;**
**Tho he served himself from the purse of pelf,**
**And lorded it over man.**
**Yet greater than he, the striker**
**Lacking both fame and fee,**
**At the cost of all he has built the wall**
**Of the city that is to be.**

**Many have sung the scholar,**
**Maker of books and school,**
**Tho his ease was earned by the throng unlearned**
**Who slaved that the few might rule.**
**But the lore and the law of the striker**
**Setteth the whole world free,**
**Neither ease nor toil shall the spirit spoil**
**In the knowledge that is to be.**

**Many have sung the saintly,**
**The pure of all times and creeds;**
**But alas, the good have denied the food**
**For even the children's needs;**
**Kinder by far the striker,**
**And truly more righteous he,**
**For he stakes his meal on the common weal**
**And the justice that is to be.**

**Some day, when all are toilers,**
**And nobody toils for naught,**
**When the worker rules over kirks and schools,**
**And shapes all the realm of thought:**
**They shall sing the song of the striker,**
**No longer an outcast he,**
**But with arms abreast he shall stand confessed**
**In the triumph that is to be.**

# How the I. W. W. is Organized

By James Kennedy

### The Fallacy of Craft Unionism

AS TO the necessity for working-class organization there can be no question. The point to be decided is: How shall the workers organize? This question is of supreme importance. If the workers allow themselves to be misled and tricked into organizing in a way that will not only fail to free them from wage-slavery or even to better their condition, but will put them more thoroly in the power of the industrial masters, much valuable time will be lost and discouragement and despair will result. What is needed is unity of thought and action. Far better no organization at all than a fake form which divides the workers against themselves and misleads them in the interests of the employers.

Such a form of unionism exists today. It is know as craft unionism and is represented by the American Federation of Labor. Craft unionism splits the workers up into as many different unions as there are crafts. Each of these unions is tied up by a separate contract with the employers, and all these contracts expire at different times. In this way united action is rendered impossible. Not only does the A. F. of L. divide the workers in industry but it teaches them the economic lie that the interests of labor and capital are identical. It stands for "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work." This may sound reasonable enough to these ignorant of economics and unacquainted with the real nature of the wage system. In reality it means nothing except that the A. F. of L. puts itself on record as upholding the wage system and condemns the workers to perpetual exploitation. Who can determine what is a fair day's pay? Wages and profits go together. One cannot exist without the other. If a worker admits his wages are fair then he must also admit that his employer's profits are fair. One might as well talk about a fair night's plunder for a burglar. Employers think a fair day's pay is just enough to keep the workers in working condition. Intelligent workers know labor produces all wealth, and they demand the full product of their labor. This would leave no profits for the boss and so would mean the end of the present system which is based on wages and profits.

The workers are organized to produce wealth—not by crafts but by industries. To get out logs the donkey engineer cooperates, not with engineers in other industries, but with fallers, buckers, choker men and all others on the job. In carrying on industry he is only remotely connected with engineers in other industries. He cannot come to an agreement with engineers in the mining and construction industries as to how many logs are to be got out by the crew with which he works. That agreement can only be made or carried out by the men who make up the logging crew. The stationary engineers are organized in a craft union. Their local union is made up of stationary engineers in all industries in that locality. At their business meetings engineers from the logging industry come together with engineers from all other industries. It is impossible for them to arrive at, or carry out an agreement to exert any control over the job, for their union separates them from the other men on the job, with whom they work.

The different local unions of a craft are brought together in so-called international unions. These cut across all industries and bring together a small section of the workers in each industry. It is impossible for workers organized on the craft plan to ever exert any appreciable control over industry because only the workers remotely connected in industry are brought together in the union, and those directly connected in industry are separated and tied up by separate contracts. On one job there may be a dozen or more different unions, each tied up with a separate contract. Thus the men

organized by the bosses to work together to produce, are organized in craft unions to prevent their acting together to control. Could any more effective system be devised to keep the workers divided and powerless? Could any arrangement better suit the masters than this Machiavellian policy of "divide and conquer"? The only explanation is that craft union officials are agents of the capitalists and traitors to the workers.

Not all A. F. of L. unions are craft unions. The United Mine Workers, for instance, is not divided on craft lines; but it is organized so as to prevent concerted action by its members. Instead of separating the workers by crafts it separates them by districts. These districts are all tied up by separate contracts expiring at different times. When one district is on strike the rest remain at work. The orders are transferred from the strike district to the others, and in this way one district scabs on another. Often the strikers go to work in other districts, thus scabbing on themselves.

### Revolutionary Industrial Unionism

Revolutionary industrial unionism, as represented by the Industrial Workers of the World, aims to organize the workers according to industry, on the basis of one big union in each industry, without regard to craft or the tools used; all these unions being brought together under one head and all co-operating together towards a common end. The I. W. W. is not only industrial in form but it is revolutionary in character. It is based on the principle that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common" and that "labor is entitled to all it produces." Its aims are threefold:

(1) To organize the workers in such a way that they can successfully fight their battles and advance their interests in their every-day struggles with capitalists.

(2) To overthrow capitalism and establish in its place a system of Industrial Democracy.

(3) To carry on production after capitalism has been overthrown.

### The Job Branch.

The workers are organized by industries to carry on production. The job is the unit of these capitalist-controlled producing organizations. Each job is controlled by a capitalist's agent—a foreman. The object of the workers' organization is to control industry, therefore it must follow the lines of industry, and its unit must be the job branch. At the job branch meetings the workers who work together, come together in conference. At the meeting they can come to an agreement to work in whatever way is most beneficial to themselves. When they go back on the job they can co-operate to carry out this agreement. In case of strike all quit together. The foreman's control is exerted to speed up the workers and get the greatest amount of work done for the least money. Control by the organized workers is exerted to secure for themselves the greatest possible percentage of the wealth they produce. On all organized jobs the workers' control is centralized in a job committee whose function is to see that all legislation passed at the job branch meetings is lived up to.

### The Industrial Union

But little can be gained by organizing on one job if the other jobs in the same industry are unorganized. The workers on each job co-operate with the workers on all other jobs in the same industry to run that industry—for the capitalists. Capitalist control of the different jobs in an industry is centralized thru the medium of foremen, superintendents, general managers of companies, and industrial associations of capitalists until it culminates in the trust—or one big union of bosses—that dominates that industry. In the early days when employers were small and unorganized, the workers on one job might have organized and struck successfully. But shutting down one job brings little pressure to bear on a big company that owns many jobs. Even if all the jobs of one company were shut down by strikes it would still be

possible for that company to continue to do business by transferring their orders to other companies in the trust. The union must cover the whole industry. But even if the workers on every job were organized their power would be small unless they had some means of coming to a common understanding with the workers on all other jobs so they could act in unity.

Therefore all job branches in an industry must be brought together to form one mig industrial union so they can all co-operate to control that industry for themselves. They must have some means of arriving at a common agreement, and must keep in touch so they can co-operate to carry out that agreement. To this end annual or semi-annual conventions are held, composed of delegates from all branches in the district or industrial union. At these conventions a general agreement is reached as to how the business of the union is to be conducted. The convention is the legislative body of the union, but all legislation passed must be ratified by referendum vote of the rank and file on the job. As boards of directors are elected at stockholders' meetings to look after the interests of the company, and are responsible to the stockholders, so the executive committees of the union are nominated at the conventions and elected by referendum vote, and are responsible to the membership. The job branches of an industrial union are further kept in touch thru the medium of a weekly bulletin published at industrial union or district headquarters. This bulletin prints the minutes of all job branch meetings so each branch knows what all others are doing at all times.

### One Big Union of All Workers

The workers in each industry are organized to co-operate with the workers in all other industries to carry on industry as a whole. Each industry is dependent on, and linked up with all other industries. The whole complicated system of modern industry is run by capitalist-controlled producing organizations of workers. Control of the whole system culminates by means of interlocking directorates, common ownership of stock, "gentlemen's agreements," etc., in the hands of a ring of great financial magnates with headquarters in Wall Street. This is the one big union of capitalists who control all industries. The industrial unions of the workers in each industry must be brought together in one big union of the entire working class, so that the workers in each industry may co-operate with the workers in all other industries to control industry as a whole and run it for their own benefit. The connecting link between the different industrial unions is the general convention of the I. W. W., composed of delegates from each industrial union; and the General Executive Board, which is nominated at the general convention, and elected by referendum vote of the rank and file. The G. E. B. has general supervision over the affairs of the organization between conventions. As in each of the industrial unions the general convention is the legislative body of the union, but all legislation passed must be ratified by referendum vote of the rank and file.

Industry is world-wide. It pays little attention to national boundary lines. The modern wage worker has neither property nor country. Ties of birth and sentiment which connect him with any particular country are slight and unimportant. It makes little difference to him what country he exists in, but he must have a job. Therefore he follows industry. Capital seeks the most profitable investment. If an American capitalist can invest more profitably in the Krupp Works of Germany than in the Steel Trust of the United States he invests in the Krupp Works tho he knows his money may be used to finance the manufacture of submarines to send American sailors to the bottom of the sea. Capitalists often try to cover up their crimes with a cloak of patriotism, but the only patriotism they know is that of the dollar mark. The revolutionary unions of the workers must not confine themselves to geographical divisions or national boundary lines, but must follow the world-embracing lines of industry. The workers of all countries co-oper-

ate to carry on industry regardless of national boundary lines, and they must organize in the same way to control industry. To promote unity of thought and action among the world's workers, international conventions are held, composed of delegates from the unions of different countries. But as industrial development proceeds industrial lines grow stronger and national lines become relatively less important. It is probable that in future these conventions will be composed of delegates from the different branches of one great world-wide industrial union.

**Revolutionary Tactics.**

When the workers are educated to the real nature of the profit system they lose all respect for the masters and their property. They see the capitalists in their true colors as thieves and parasites, and their "sacred" property as plunder. They see state, church, press and university as tools of the exploiters and they look on these institutions with contempt. They understand the identity of interests of all wage-workers and realize the truth of the I. W. W. slogan: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Organized industrially, the workers are in position to strike at the very heart of capitalism. Even with only a small percentage of workers organized there are many ways in which they can use their economic power for the benefit of their own class, and to weaken capitalism. Railroad men can refuse to transport scabs or material produced by scabs. They can refuse to haul gunmen or soldiers to be used against strikers. They can carry union men free of charge. Union longshoremen can refuse to handle munitions to be used against workers in any part of the world; or to load vessels beyond the safety limit. Union telegraph and telephone operators can fail to transmit messages detrimental to labor. Union printers and publishers can refuse to print distorted news, anti-labor editorials or advertisements for scabs. Union cooks and waiters can refuse to serve rotten food to union men or any food to scabs. Union store clerks can sell the best goods to union workers and reserve shoddy clothing and adulterated food for scabs and parasites. Union steel workers can refuse to manufacture armored automobiles, trains or tanks to be used against their class. Union factory workers can refuse to manufacture rifles or ammunition for use against workers. Union food workers can refuse to can rotten or diseased meat or to adulterate food in any way. Union construction workers can refuse to handle scab material, or to build jails or dangerous, unsanitary houses. Union lumber workers can refuse to supply lumber to scab construction jobs.

By mutual agreement organized workers can slow down on the job, thus conserving their energy and lessening the army of unemployed by causing more men to be put to work. They can dictate who shall be hired or discharged. They can refuse to work under objectionable foremen and can choose their own foremen. It might be objected that such action by workers would cause their discharge. This would depend on how strongly they were organized. Some of the examples given would require the backing of a strong union, others could be done with very little organization, but all have been put into practice in recent years both in this and other countries. Little is heard of such cases because, for obvious reasons, they are seldom mentioned in the capitalist press.

When the capitalists feel their control of industry slipping they will probably declare a lockout and try to cause an extensive shut-down of industry, hoping by this means to starve the workers into submission. But the organized workers, confident of their power to run industry, will remain on the job and continue to carry on production and distribution. These tactics were used on a large scale by the Italian workers in 1920. The metallurgical workers demanded higher wages, which the employers refused. They did not go out on strike but stayed on the job, and by the slow-down strike reduced production one half. The employers then declared a lockout, but the workers refused to leave the job. They put the bosses out and contin-

ued to operate the plants. Owing to lack of sufficient organization in other industries they were forced to let the capitalists take control again. But when they resumed work for wages it was on much more advantageous terms in regards to hours, wages and conditions.

No doubt the same tactics will be used many times in different countries before the final collapse of capitalism. With each trial of their strength the workers will gain experience and learn their weak points. As working-class organization grows stronger capitalism grows weaker. It has already outlived its usefulness. It is unable to run industry efficiently, and fails to supply the needs of the great majority of the people. With the workers organized industrially and understanding their interests and their power as a class, failure is impossible, and it is only a matter of time before they take full control of industry and abolish wage slavery.

### Facts About the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. is non-political. It is not concerned with the empty forms of a fake political democracy. Industrial unionists know popular government can never be anything but a fraud and a sham under a system of industrial autocracy. Knowing the industrial government is the real government, they refuse to waste time electing the hirelings of Wall Street money kings, but aim straight at the root of all human power—control of industry. The aim of the I. W. W. is industrial democracy, which means that those who run industry shall control industry and that every worker shall have a voice in its management. Control of industry by the workers means a social revolution—a complete turning over of the social system. With control of industry in the hands of the workers production will be carried on for use and not profit, and all activities of society will be for the benefit of the workers instead of for the maintainance of a parasite class.

The I. W. W. believes in, advocates and practices direct action. Direct action means the direct use of their economic power by the workers themselves—as in strikes—as opposed to parliamentary action by which the workers try to elect politicians to represent them in capitalist governments.

Initiation fees and dues in the I. W. W. are low in order to be within reach of all. The I. W. W. aims to take in all workers regardless of race, creed, color or sex. It is not its object to build up an exclusive job trust, but a great working-class union. Keeping workers out of a union by a prohibitive initiation fee forces them to scab and eventually destroys the union.

The I. W. W. is democratic in principle. It tolerates no official autocracy within its ranks. Officials are elected and all important questions decided by referendum vote of the rank and file. Strikes cannot be called on or off except by vote of the men on the job.

It is against the principles of the I. W. W. to sign contracts. When workers sign a contract not to strike they sign away one of their strongest weapons. Past experience shows employers only respect contracts so long as the workers have power to enforce them. When the workers have power to enforce them contracts are unnecessary, but when they lack such power contracts are useless, for the employers will break them whenever it suits their purpose.

There are no high-salaried officials in the I. W. W. Wages of officials are determined by the average wages of the workers in industry. There are no permanent officials, the term of office being limited to one year. Ex-officials must work at least six months at the point of production before they are eligible to hold office again.

In its battles with the system the I. W. W. does not depend on big treasuries. It realizes the power of labor is industrial, not financial, and that the few nickels and dimes of the workers can never prevail against the billions of the capitalists. No attempt is made to build up a big treasury, all funds not needed for actual running expenses being used to carry on the work of education and organization. Big treasuries are more a source of weakness than of strength. They cause a union to become

conservative, and in time of strikes can be confiscated by the courts or tied up by injunctions as in the case of the Danbury Hatters and the United Mine Workers of America. When any industrial union or branch is on strike it is backed up by the solidarity of all members in all industries. Meetings are held, collections taken up and subscription lists circulated. This method has never failed. Some of the biggest and most successful strikes ever carried on in the United States have been financed in this way.

There is a universal transfer system between the different industrial unions of the I. W. W. When a worker moves from one industry to another he can transfer from one union to the other without expense or inconvenience.

The I. W. W. is the result of the past experience of the labor movement. It has learned from the mistakes and failures of former organizations. It is a natural result of capitalism. So long as the conditions which produced it remain it cannot be destroyed.

For further information write to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Editor's Note—The above article forms a chapter in James Kennedy's book on the Lumber Industry, which will soon be published by the Industrial Workers of the World. Two other chapters from the same book have already been published in previous issues of The Industrial Pioneer.

# The W. W. I.

By JOHN BANKS

By reading the popular press I have found
(And, mind you, the press cannot lie),
That the cause of all sin, from without and within,
Is the W. W. I.

The cause of all murder and arson and theft,
Sedition and treason, most high—
In short, the one cause of all insulted laws
Is the W. W. I.

The scapegoat bore all of the old Hebrew's sins,
And was left in the desert to die;
But goats are now scant, and so we take a slant
At the W. W. I.

If Adam had eaten the apple today,
And the Lord in His anger drew nigh,
He would not blame Eve, as he did, but would say,
"'Twas the W. W. I."

Should you call up old Nero and ask whom to blame
For the burning of Rome, he'd reply,
"It was not the Christians who kindled the flame,
"But the W. W. I."

A hail storm has beaten the cotton crop down;
The chinch bug has taken the rye;
A cyclone has literally wiped out a town:
Pinch the W. W. I.

If the weather is warm, if there comes a cold storm,
If gloomy or azure the sky;
If it shines, if it snows; if it's calm, if it blows,
Blame the W. W. I.

Vile coal miners strike and are ordered to hike;
Bold house-maids their matrons defy;
A menacing stare greets the chaste millionaire;
Cause: The W. W. I.

You have hammered your thumb, you have bitten your tongue;
A cinder has blown in your eye;
You've a catch in your back or you've stepped on a tack:
Bless the W. W. I.

If your mother-in-law doth eternally jaw,
If your triplets get cholic and cry,
If their ringlets are red or they fall out of bed,
Curse the W. W. I.

If your cellar caves in, if you bark your poor shin,
If your old brindle cow goeth dry,
If your pancakes are tough and your sailing is rough,
Soak the W. W. I.

The cause of consumption, of asthma and gout,
The hook worm, the tape worm, the fly,
Of bedbugs and lice, of rats and of mice
Is the W. W. I.

And therefore I bless our Great Popular Press;
On its every report I rely;
It knows whom to blame for all sin, and the name
Is plain W. W. I.!

# Mexico; Its Government and Labor Movement

By W. J. Lemon

SINCE the return of King Gompers and his Court to the United States from their trip to Mexico, where they went as delegates and officials to the Pan-American Labor Congress which was held in Mexico City, January 10th to 20th of this year, he and some of his courtiers have been extremely busy contributing articles to both the capitalist and labor press that pay a glowing tribute to what they call the Labor Government of Mexico (King Sam says in one of his numerous contributions: "The Mexican Government is the nearest to a workers' government of anything on earth."). I am not going to make any comment on these enthusiastic outbursts: the mere fact that their writings are freely solicited by such respectable business men's journals as "The Mexican Review" and others of a similar nature should be sufficient evidence as to their worth and character. Before I came to Mexico I was somewhat deluded myself by the reported manifold glories of this so-called workers' government; not from reading the fairy stories written by Gompers, Kelley, Johnston & Co., but because I had read a few numbers of an English language magazine published in Mexico City under the title of "Gale's International Journal for Revolutionary Communism." Its glowing accounts of Mexico's remarkable Socialist and union movements had more or less impressed me with the idea that I was coming to a country where the workers were practically at the point of peacefully and legally, thru their political and economical power, taking possession of all lands, natural resources and machinery of production and distribution,—that the shackles of wage slavery were about to be struck from the limbs of the suffering toilers and a new Russia established on the American continent. It dilated on the many Socialists and prominent labor leaders who occupied important positions in the various departments of government, many of whom were now governors of states, heads of special diplomatic foreign missions, ministers in the federal cabinet, legislators, etc., including the Governor of the Federal District (who was once a shoemaker) and the Chief of Police of Mexico City (who was not only a Socialist but had once written a Socialist book). Gale summed it all up in one number of "Gale's" with: "Soviet Mexico is near."

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I am not going to indulge in much philosophizing, for I want the readers to draw their own conclusions. What I hope to do is tell the facts as best I can in my crude way, both from personal knowledge and from information received direct from the workers themselves. I feel that this is what is needed above everything else—correct information about conditions down here to counteract the stream of exaggerated and misleading statements that are being sent out to the workers of other countries, deceiving them as to the true status of the Mexican workers and of the Government of Mexico. No greater injury can be done the labor movement of any country than by issuing flamboyant and exaggerated reports and articles thru the press, whether it be thru wilful intention or gross ignorance.

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Merely to make a statement does not prove a fact. The principal fact that I shall bring forward to show that the Mexican Government is just as capitalistic as any other, and that it is in no sense a government of the workers, is the history of the recent strike of railway workers on the National Railway System of the republic. Here we have a government that Gompers has referred to as a model, and as the nearest thing to a real workers' government on earth, fighting the workers as viciously as any other capitalist government or corporation. I arrived in Mexico City a few days before the strike was called (Feb. 25th); consequently I have been in a position to see and understand just how the governmental machinery was turned on the workers when the Holy Trinity (Rent, Profit and Interest) of the capitalists was attacked. For several days before the date set for the walk-out troops were being mobilized and despatched to all points. Soldiers were quartered at all stations, yards, shops, bridges, etc., from one end of the republic to the other. One could not approach any portion of the railway property without being confronted by the point of a bayonet. Even the General Administration Building in which the general offices are located, situated in the heart of Mexico City far away from the zone of conflict, was guarded day and night by federal troops.

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To explain the cause of this strike it will be necessary to refer back to another strike of the railway workers that occurred in 1920. This strike was called for the purpose of enforcing a demand for an increase in pay, better working conditions and recognition of the unions. This strike lasted only a few hours, all points being gained, including an increase in wages running as high as 45 %,—altho the section men, shop laborers and some other workers still receive wages as low as 1½ to 2 pesos per day of 8 hours (2 pesos are equivalent to $1.00 American money), a circumstance which alone is enough to condemn this government as a labor government. De la Huerta was then Provisional Pres-

**President Obregon and His New Cabinet—To the Right of the President, Secretaries Pani and Rubio. To the Left—Secretaries Calles, Estrada and De la Huerta. Behind the President—(in Citizens' Dress) Secretaries Villareal and Zubaran. In Uniform Are Members of the Staff.**

ident, in the interim between the governments of Carranza and Obregon, and he instructed the Director General of Railways to sign the schedules and agreements between the Administration and the unions. While De la Huerta was in power the unions say they had no further trouble; the unions were recognized and all agreements kept to the letter. But since Obregon took office, which was on December 1st, 1920, trouble has been brewing. The Railway Administration kept steadily encroaching upon the rights of the workers until finally it ignored the unions and all the agreements, the men as a last resort walking off the job on February 25th.

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The National Railways of Mexico comprise a system of approximately 12,000 miles with about 60,000 employees. All went out except about 5,000 who belonged mostly to the Union of Conductors, Engineers, Firemen and Brakemen, one of the oldest if not the oldest railway union in the republic. At the present time, and since the strike of 1920, its membership is composed mostly of conductors, brakemen and switchmen, all the firemen, and all the engineers except about 75 having broken off and joined with the other 13 crafts that now make up the Railway Workers' Federation. There are 14 unions in the railway industry, 13 in the Federation, and one, the conductors, on the outside. This reactionary union did everything in its power to help defeat the strike. It requested the Railway Administration to refuse recognition to the other unions and went so far as to issue bulletins to the effect that it would help break the strike if it were called. The rest of the strike-breakers were recruited from all the walks of life, but they were not very numerous. The Committee states that 150 were brought from New York to Very Cruz by steamer, and 25 or more from El Paso, but that they all quit when they arrived at their destination.

A despatch was sent out from Mexico City, March 6th, stating that strikers were committing sabotage by blowing up bridges, tearing up tracks, etc., between San Luis Potosi and Monterrey and that 15 of the leaders had been captured and executed by the military. The strikers' Committee branded this as a capitalist newspaper lie whose purpose was to create antagonism against the workers. On March 7th, another report quoted Obregon as saying that the Government's strike policy remained unchanged; which would seem to mean that there would be no recession from the policy of non-recognition of the unions, with the attendant stern application of military measures to protect life and property (especially property). On Sunday, March 13th, a passenger train standing at the Huichapan station was telescoped from the rear by a freight train, killing 4, seriously injuring 26 and inflicting minor cuts and bruises on 50 others. The press reported that the engineer in charge of the freight was a thoroly competent man of 16 years' experience. This was

proven to be false by those who knew him, who testified that he was not only incompetent but also mentally unstable, having been discharged in 1913 on this account, and now re-hired by a "labor government" to break a strike. An endless list of accidents, such as boiler explosions, derailments and collisions, caused in nearly every case by incompetents engaged by this (according to Gompers and others) "labor government" to beat down the workers, could be recited if the space permitted. As I write this article there is a movement on foot to call a strike in Tampico to force the release of a worker who is under arrest there charged with speaking against the Government at a railway strike meeting. At Torreon 16 officers and members of the union are under arrest charged with committing sabotage. I am informed that there were a number shot by the military during fights.

I am reciting these things as evidence to show that Mexico has not a workers' government.

After a struggle lasting three weeks the men were ordered back to work on March 19th by their leaders, thru an understanding arrived at between the latter and the Railway Administration. They went back with the **understanding** that all agreements will be respected in the future (anyone who has had experience with corporations knows what such vague language means), but still the Director General of Railways insists that all strike-breakers shall be retained and that strikers shall be taken back "as vacancies occur," according to their standing when they went out. Consequently many of the youngest ones are still out. Why, it will be asked, did the workers lose, when everything was in their favor, with traffic about 30 % normal and motive power going to pieces fast? Because they were betrayed by the leaders of the unions, a repitition of the same tactics and the same old game of bluff that have been pulled off by the chiefs of American craft unionism for the past 25 years or more.

The Mexican workers in other lines of industry were waiting and anxious to come to the assistance of their fellow workers. The leaders had been boasting that 200,000 of Mexico's organized workers would be called out unless the Government made a favorable settlement with the strikers, but they never called them. But this is what did happen: about 8,000 textile workers at Orizaba walked out in sympathy without the sanction of the leaders and they were promptly ordered back (but they didn't go back, and at last reports they were still out). Orizaba workers are the most militant in the country.

The present status of the strikers summed up is that they have gone back to work practically defeated, except for the experience they have gained and the militancy that will later be developed—for we must remember that no strike was ever totally lost.

Enough has been told, I think, to convince the

**An Indian With His Load, Mexico City.**

reader that there is nothing in common between the workers and the Mexican Government, any more than between the two contending classes of all capitalist nations.

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The next question to discuss is that of the numerous Socialists and labor leaders said to be representing labor in the Government. Granting that this is true, it does not mean anything to the workers to be represented in a coalition government. Many countries have passed thru the same experience to the sorrow of the workers. It is true that there have been attempts made by well-meaning individuals to better the conditions of the Mexican workers. A few years ago it is said a semi-Socialist state was set up in Yucatan, only to be drowned out in blood later on by Carranza, who at one time claimed to be a Socialist of the Scheidemann or Kerensky type but whose favorite sport, nevertheless, was shooting down strikers. Zapata, who established his little colony in Morelos and Tabasco met with a similar fate at the hands of the same gentleman, he being murdered about a year and a half ago. According to "Gale's," the Socialists are again in power in Yucatan, having regained their position at the last election,—but this must not be taken too seriously.

The States of Michoacan and Hidalgo both have "Socialist" governors, of what type I do not know, but I understand they are trying to confiscate the land of the church and the large haciendas and distribute it among the peons. Some land has already been given to the peons, but only a small portion of them have been supplied. And what

Grading Coffee in Mexico.

ean the peon do with land when he has no funds to buy tools with which to work it? Only communism can solve the land problem, and communism is not yet here, even tho "Gale's" may say, "Soviet Mexico is near."

Luis N. Morones, formerly head of the "Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana," known as the Gompers of Mexico, is also the leading spirit of the "Partido Laborista" (Labor Party), in addition to being director of the Government munition plants, a very lucrative post. The Labor Party was formed last year for the purpose of boosting the presidential candidacy of Alvaro Obregon among the workers, and has been the steady recipient of government patronage ever since. With revolutionary catchwords it attracts votes that could not be gotten in any other way. Its concrete program is opportunistic to the core and its entire achievements for the last year are participation in the Obregon revolution against Carranza, exertion of influence with Provisional President De la Huerta for the establishment of a government Department of Social Work (which Department has settled strikes, given charity to workers, etc.), exertion of influence for the improvement of conditions in the Penal Colony of the Maria Islands, and participation in various electoral campaigns. Its method is intriguing with the government officials, not steady revolutionary work along class lines. "Gale's" claims that the Labor Party has a membership of 200,000. I should like to know where the 200,000 hide between election campaigns. The truth of the matter is that the party is nothing but an ordinary political club, with no real active membership beyond the small group of officials and press agents.

Just as President Ebert of Germany was once a harness maker, so Gasca, Governor of Mexico City and the Federal District, was once a shoemaker, if that means anything. But I cannot see anything to indicate that he is giving a working class administration. The bootblacks are taxed three pesos a month for the privilege of walking the streets and shining shoes. Every peanut vender is also taxed all that the traffic will bear, and if you saw most of them you would say that it wouldn't bear much. Gasco occasionally acts as mediator between the robbers and the robbed, just as the mediators do in the United States, and the workers get about the same results.

As for the Chief of Police of Mexico City who is said to be a Socialist and author of a Socialist book, I can say that I have never heard of him arresting any of the respectable crooks, but every day I see his men marching gangs of men and women across the city. These are the petty crooks, victims of the system and members of the working class that have been forced down by the Big Crooks. —Anyone who visits this country can see the squalid misery and the scores of human wrecks that receive not the slightest care or consideration from this so-called labor government, but are forced to eke out an existence that would disgust the lowest animals. Those conditions infest not only Mexico City but every part of the republic. I don't say that they are worse than in any other capitalist country, perhaps they are not so bad as in the slums of America and Europe (for here the poor can enjoy plenty of fresh air and good climate without any extra charge). Soviet Russia is the only country in the world that is interested in the welfare of the workers; there provision is made for the young, the aged, the sick, the physically disabled and for mothers both before and after confinement. But in the fact of this contrast, King Gompers has the audacity to write a eulogy of the Mexican Government as a model workers' government, while at the same time there is sent out from A. F. of L. headquarters a circular to all labor unions denouncing the Soviets of Russia in terms so vile that they have never been equalled by Russia's bitterest capitalist enemies. Gompers was in Mexico from January 10th to 20th, and he was elected president of the "Pan-American Labor Federation." Was he here to whip Mexican labor into line to suit the interests of his Wall Street masters? Is he now trying to rouse the American workers against their Russian comrades as per instructions from his Wall Street masters, so as to enable international capitalism to make another attempt to crush our Russian comrades? This question I leave for others to decide for themselves.

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Phrases like, "Soviet Mexico is near" and all the rest of the chatter about a red labor movement in Mexico is child's talk. It is, in fact, nothing short of treason to the working class, whether it be due to ignorance or evil intention. Mexico has no such thing as a red movement, i. e., a well-organized, disciplined body that knows what it wants and how to get it. There may be a few scattered groups here and there but they are of no importance at the present moment. The real Mexican movement is, unfortunately, still in embryo. Heretofore, the only labor organization here has been of an entirely reactionary craft union form, with a membership dependent upon the leadership of leaders who are out and out, pure and simple individualistic self-seekers.

A scattered group of militant unions is so far too weak to be of any decisive influence. The Mexican workers as a whole are not only victims of 400 years of feudal servitude and priestcraft, but are now being preyed upon by their leaders. What is needed here now is a group of clear-headed, well-disciplined workers, capable of educating and organizing the Mexican movement into a militant body, one that will brush aside all the leaders and others who stand in the way of the workers' freedom. There is an attempt being made now to organize a left wing movement, but it is still too early to predict what success it will have. This attempt centers around the newly-formed "Confederacion General de Trabajadores," which was organized only a few weeks ago at a congress called by the "Federación Comunista" of Mexico City. The Congress was made up of 53 delegates from 12 states, representing more than 40,000 workers and peasants. It passed resolutions condemning Sam Gompers' so-called Pan-American Labor Federation and provided for the formation of a competitive Pan-American labor organization, which should represent the true interests of the workers instead of those of their bosses. It also endorsed in principle the Red Labor Union International and voted to submit to the unions a referendum on the question of definite affiliation.

Needless to say, the "yellow" leaders of the "Confederacion Regional" did everything in their power the prevent the convening and successful operation of this congress. Among other things, they published false articles about the comrades who called the congress and united with Gale (who uses the name of Communism to cover up anything that may need covering) in the publication of a manifesto calling on the unions not to send delegates to it and hinting that the men who were pushing it were spies in the pay of American capitalism whose object was to destroy "the unity of the workers."—In spite of all this the workers did attend the congress and did organize the radical "Confederación General de Trabajadores."

Coffee Drying Near Jalapa, Mexico.

The revolutions that have been fought here have never been for the workers but always engineered in the interest of the business class. The workers have only been permitted to organize in the last few years. "Free speech" is somewhat freer here than it is in the U. S., but how much longer it will remain so is a question. The proletarian Revolution is yet to come, and the workers will not be free in Mexico or in any other nation until it does.

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**Appendix**—There were a few in all crafts and departments who remained at work during the railroad strike; also about 175 engineers, besides those in the union who did likewise. Today, March 28th, a train auditor, who had been active in the strike, and had had one of the best runs on the system, showed me his written order to report for service on another division, which was an inferior run, and located in the yellow fever zone. This is being done as a form of punishment; several others have received similar treatment. I am also informed that over 2,000 strikers are out of jobs on account of being displaced by strike-breakers who were retained in the service.

Mexico City, Mexico.

# Bow of Promise

**There are gloomy prisons looming thru the breadth of our fair state,**
**There are many wives and children anxious for the loved-ones' fate;**
**There are soldiers and detectives who for hire a vigil keep,**
**And a million silent workers in whose hearts these wrongs sink deep.**

**For these men who lie in prison stood between the hordes of greed,**
**And the many hapless victims, in their day of greatest need;**
**And they scorned the despots' hirelings and their bid of yellow gold,**
**And for this today they perish in the federal prisions old.**

**Yet, our eyes are turned to eastward, to a New Day's welcome light,**
**And on its bow of promise are Brotherhood and Right;**
**Ah, prison doors shall open then, and exiles shall be free,**
**And all the world shall cherish our new-found Liberty.**

**Julia C. Coons.**

A Federal Soldier.

# "Dust" on Mexico

"Dust," the noted labor cartoonist, has just returned from Mexico, where he spent four months. The two pictures on this page were sketched from life and represent typical Mexicans. We print below what "Dust" has to say about Mexico and its government:

There seems to have been some efforts made to create the impression among American workers that a labor government is in control of Mexico. This impression, if it prevails to any extent, should be corrected, for it is not only ridiculously untrue but also impossible. As the situation now stands, it is simply up to the federal government of Mexico to get along with the foreign elements that are interested in Mexican resources, otherwise, the federal government will be unable to cope with the unsettled condition of that country. What I mean is this: Any time the government does not meet with the requirements of the dominant financial interests, it is a simple matter to finance another revolution. There is always an abundance of prospective soldiers who are willing to fight for any general who has sufficient funds to make such fighting remunerative. This, together with some high-sounding phrases and a few promises from some clever and ambitious politician, seems to be about all that is necessary to bring about an armed uprising in Mexico.

A TYPICAL STREET SCENE IN MEXICO

I do not wish to be construed as eulogizing the Obregon government, but it seems to me it is adopting an attitude that will tend to develop the vast natural resources and bring about a more settled condition thruout the country. Surely this will be of some importance to the labor movement of Mexico, for a state of continual civil war and chaos only retards economic organization as well as education, which is so essential to a proletarian revolution.

Just before the late railroad strike the chief of the railroad administration stated that the approaching strike would present an excellent opportunity to reduce the working forces of the railroads, which he claimed was then retaining a number of unnecessary workers. This is quite typical of the Obregon government, which is bourgeois in every detail and has no regard for the workers except to keep them in subjection. What is needed among the workers of Mexico, the same as in other countries, is **organization** and **education**, but without a similar degree of progress among the workers of the United States the working class of Mexico is absolutely helpless.

**Dust.**

# The Economics of a Patriot

**By Jacob Sherman**

1. There lived, in the days of the Great War, one so lacking in reason that men everywhere knew him by the name, Fool.

2. And it came to pass that out of the Capital an envoy was sent, waving a flag of striking colors, and prating of justice and freedom and Liberty Bonds.

3. Now, the Fool was deeply moved by the eloquent words of the envoy. I, too, can be a patriot, thought he. For the sum of my savings I will buy me a Bond.

4. At that time there lived in the land another who spoke of fellowship, brotherly love and peace; but him men knew everywhere as the Radical, the Red, the Agitator.

5. And it came to pass, when the Fool was on his way to draw his savings, that he met the Radical to whom the Fool related his plan of buying a Bond.

6. But the Radical, thereupon, was greatly vexed, and his patience was sorely tried.

7. Whose good art thou seeking, he asked, and who will profit therefrom?

8. And the Fool answered and said: Is not my money secure and will not interest be paid me?

9. Verily, replied the Radical, thou art indeed a Fool. Surely thy money is not secure. For thy loan is a hundred dollars, and the payment therefore will be a hundred dollars; but when the payment is made, the purchasing power of thy hundred will be even as twenty. And as for the interest, Fool, where will thy government secure its funds to pay thee? From taxes, Fool, and thou wilt be called upon to bear them.

10. But it was for naught that the other had been named, Fool. And he let loose his anger upon the Radical, calling him Slacker and Coward and Fool.

11. And the Radical departed with bowed head.

12. Now it came to pass even as the Radical had foretold:

13. A great scarcity came upon the land; and the price of food grew great and the cost of raiment soared high.

14. Then the Fool cried out in his distress.

15. I must sell my Bond, he cried, for my need is great. I must sell my Bond for my food is gone.

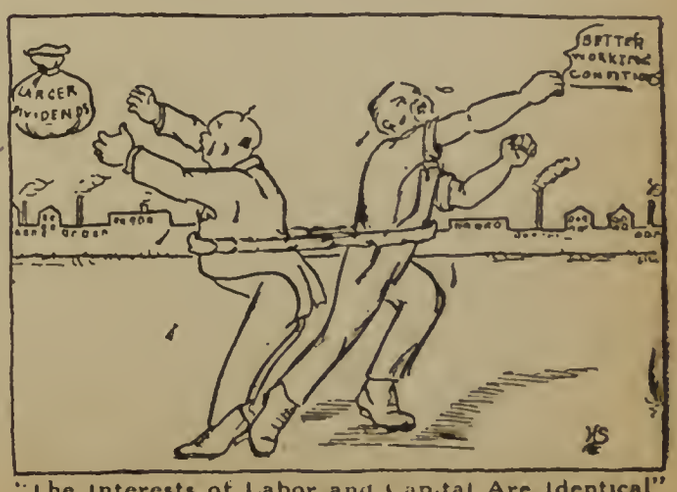
16. Now, when the Fool offered his Bond in sale to his Broker, behold, its value had shrunk to eighty dollars; but his need was great and the Broker secured the Bond.

17. And when the Fool sought to purchase food, he found that the price of sugar had risen to a hundred dollars a pound; and the price of an egg was a hundred dollars; and a loaf of bread was a hundred dollars.

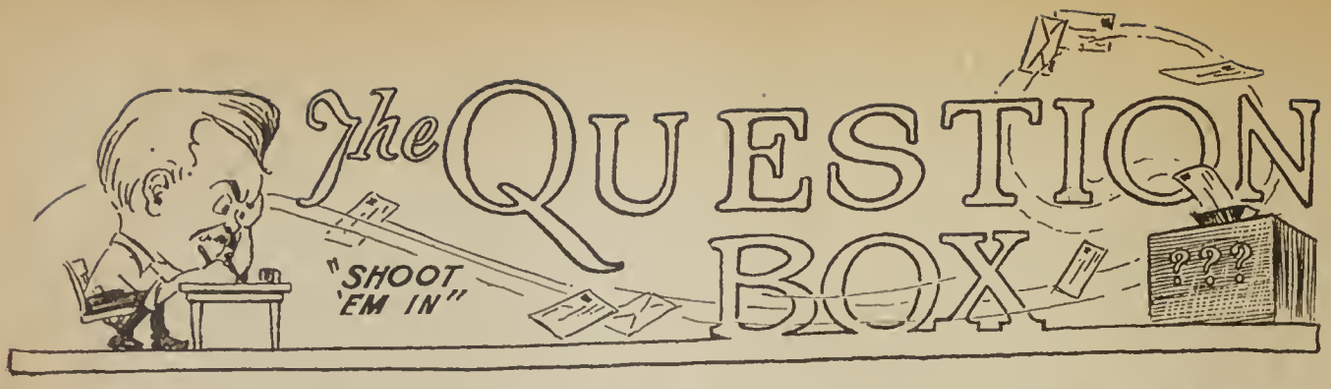
18. And he sought about him perchance to find that which he could yet secure for his money, but only a crust could be had for eighty dollars.

19. And the Fool, of need, bought the crust.

20. And taking the crust he went sadly home.




"The Interests of Labor and Capital Are Identical"




WE HAVE of late been receiving letters from some of our readers asking us questions relative to subjects touched upon in The Industrial Pioneer. This is a healthy sign, rather encouraging, to say the least. Once you get a man in the frame of mind where he commences to ask questions you have him started well on the road towards becoming a revolutionist. A receptive mind is the fuse which makes it possible for the spark of intelligence to set the whole works on fire; as a result the dross of bourgeois prejudices gets burned out, and, lo and behold! where once stood a pitiful, muddle-headed "scissorbill" there now blossoms forth an intelligent, clear-headed, class-conscious revolutionist.

A clever chap once made the following statement: "The less a man knows the more he thinks he knows; the more a man knows the less he knows he knows." Ponder this well, gentle reader. The wisdom of the universe is not confined within the walls of your cranium; or ours, either. Every addition to your knowledge which will tend to make of you a better rebel and a more class-conscious workingman is another nail in the coffin of capitalism.

While most of the questions that we will receive from our readers will deal, we expect, with economics, politics, the I. W. W. and the labor situation in general, we will answer all questions touching upon any subject whatever. Should any of our readers, for instance, desire to become better informed about the fourth dimension we will drop a line to Houdini and then communicate whatever information he gives us to our correspondent. Houdini, as is well known, has the trick of vacating a locked cell or a sealed trunk via the fourth dimension route. Or should somebody else want to know what it feels like to be president, we will drop a line to Harding with a courteous request that he send us a detailed description of his emotional reactions to being elected president by an overwhelming majority of the sane, practical, sensible, matter-of-fact, shrewd, far-sighted, common "peepul" of this grand and glorious Republic. (The emphasis on the "common," please.) As stated above, we will answer all questions, whether they deal with the Chinese alphabet or with the causes which turn an apparently normal human being into a gibbering, idiotic, cowardly gypo.

All questions not answered in the columns of The Industrial Pioneer will be answered by mail. When printed, they will be signed with the initials of the sender, unless otherwise specified.

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**What is the difference between a hamburger and a liberty steak?—L. M.**

The difference consists in the propaganda value of the two terms. Calling a mixture of finely chopped-up liver and onion left-overs, scraps of beef and other garbage a hamburger steak is like calling a spade a spade. Calling it a liberty steak impresses upon the mind of the eater the boundless liberty that he enjoys in making his selection from the menu: If he hasn't the fifty cents with which to pay for a T-bone steak he is at perfect liberty to pay twenty cents for a liberty steak. Liberty is the thing that symbolizes, more than anything else, our wonderful country. As a nation, we will stand or fall by the banner of liberty. Liberty is the main strength of the "open shop" campaign, known, in this case, as freedom of contract. If a workingman does not like to take a job from one employer at 60c. an hour he has the liberty to take it from another employer at 50c. an hour. What right, say we, has a labor organization to take the liberty away from an American citizen, whose very blood tingles with the traditions of a republic in freedom born, by making it compulsory for him to work for not less than $1.00 per hour? And what right has anybody to make a craven slave of a man who wants to work twelve hours a day for seven days a week by saying to him: Thou shalt not work more than eight hours a day for five days, four hours on Saturday and not at all on Sunday?

Let us be done with all this talk about minimum wages, the closed shop, child labor laws, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and such other infringements of our sacred right of freedom. If a man is looking for a job there is nothing on earth to prevent him to keep on looking. If he doesn't succeed at first, let him try, try again; let him make up his mind that he will be a man and find a job, or die in the attempt. All our great men are where they are, at the pinnacle of society, on account of their powers of tenacious perseverance. If a man has not the price of a feed he is at perfect liberty to go without eating; it will do him good;—all the doctors say there is nothing like the fast cure for improving the health.

We say, let us get back to first principles. Let us get back to a clearer understanding of ultimate

values. Let us elevate the liberty steak to its proper place in our hearts, for it stands for everything that is dearest and nearest to us. We fervently hope to see the day when the liberty steak will be blazoned forth on the folds of banners flying high, with multitudes of zealous patriots ready to lay down their very lives (and even a few of their dollars) for the principles that it represents.

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**How near is America to seeing the collapse of capitalism? In other words, how soon, in your opinion, will revolution hit the shores of this country?—P. M. C.**

In answering the previous question we waxed somewhat eloquent towards the end, being still under the inflence of a patriotic speech we listened to some two weeks ago. Since the revolution is admittedly a bigger thing than a liberty steak, we will now aim to be correspondingly more prosaic and matter-of-fact.

The opinion has gained currency among quite a number of radicals that the revolution is next door from us, getting ready to knock on our own door at 'most any time. They seem to think that in the course of a few months our beloved capitalists will recognize that the job is too big for them, will throw their hands up in dismay, and will pass industry over to the working class, saying: "Here, boys, have a try at running this country yourselves, for a change. We must admit that we can't make her go any longer." At any rate, many radicals have the idea that even if the capitalists should offer resistance, they will nevertheless be compelled by the force of circumstances to surrender the "running" of these United States to the working class in the near future.

No greater mistake could be made. It is essential that the minds of all rebel workers be clear on this point, because their convictions one way or the other will influence all their actions for better or for worse.

In order for the proletariat anywhere under capitalism to become the dominant class two things are requisite: First, the complete break-down of capitalist management of industry, and, second, the existence of a compact, well-disciplined organization of workers, 100 per cent proletarian in structure and character, strong enough numerically and morally to take over industry from the capitalists, to run it efficiently and to keep it under the workers' control. How close does the United States come to complying with the above two conditions?

Capitalism in the United States is virile, and as efficient as its nature will permit it to be. Of course, to the view of an industrial engineer considering capitalist management of industry from a national and international standpoint, it will be revealed as frightfully, criminally, inefficient. But the question is this: Does it "fill the bill," at least partially, irrespective of its inefficiency? Can capitalism in this country be likened to a housewife who has four times as much food as she needs for her boarders, who ignorantly and criminally wastes and spoils by far the greater part of it, but yet puts enough on the table to at least partially satisfy the hunger of the boarders?

We believe that it can. True, millions in the United States at this very moment are denied employment, are suffering from lack of food and other necessities; thousands of farmers and small business men have been ruined thru the greed of the big capitalists, but what of it? Industry is still functioning quite smoothly. In Austria, in Hungary, in the Balkan and the Baltic States industry is in an incomparably worse condition, yet the masters are still in the saddle and the workers starve and—submit. Industry in America will have to attain a much more advanced stage of break-down before we can seriously commence to talk of an industrial revolution. A few thousand suicides caused by unemployment and a few thousand bread-lines will not, by themselves, bring it.

The **average** human being, the workingman not excluded, is a peculiar animal. He is mentally lazy, lacks initiative, and is always willing to let some "savior" do his head-work for him; his mentality is of the "let George do it" variety. He will fight only when forced with his back against the wall. Give every man in this country a steady job at eight dollars per day, with the cost of living what it is, and you will postpone the revolution for at least five thousand years.

To turn to the other condition, which is a strong, well-disciplined, 100 per cent proletarian organization,—it simply does not exist in America. The organized workers in the United States number a few hundred thousand, comprised in the I. W. W., some independent industrial unions and portions of the United Mine Workers. What are a few hundred thousand in a population of one hundred millions? But you will say, how about the four and a half million members of the A. F. of L.? Dear reader, don't fool yourself! For the purposes of the working class most of those A. F. of L. members are in a worse condition than if they were not organized at all. The A. F. of L., as a body, is an asset on the side of the masters. The A. F. of L. is, in our humble opinion, the cleverest trick that the capitalist ever "put over" on the American workingman. But let us "elucidate."

When the workingmen first commenced to talk about organizing the cleverer ones among the capitalists said: "All right, let them organize, we will get our men to occupy the responsible positions, to keep the rank and file down in ignorance, to keep them fighting each other and to sell them out in case they go out on strike. And we will gain the big point: By getting them "organized" in our Federation we will keep them from joining a real working class organization." It must be admitted that the masters have succeeded only too well. In some craft unions they have caused by-laws to be passed

forbidding members to join the I. W. W., upon pain of expulsion. To make doubly sure that all officials are conservative and bourgeois-minded, their salaries range from $75.00 to $230.00 per week; besides, there are "side" and "incidental" incomes. Eugene V. Debs some time ago wrote an article giving the financial standing, at their death, of all the past presidents of the United Mine Workers of America. They all died rich men; exceedingly rich, John Mitchell being worth about half a million. How is it possible for a rich man to fight the battles of a poor working stiff? Will somebody well versed in psychology please explain?

Recently there was a big outcry about the crookedness of Robert Brindell, the labor fakir who blackmailed hundreds of thousands of dollars out of building contractors by "averting" strikes. Nothing to get excited about, gentlemen. It is reasonable to expect that there are hundreds like him in the American Federation of Labor, only they have not been caught. The editor of the labor paper in a big manufacturing city with a population of a million was recently proven to be in the employ of the manufacturers. A score of prominent labor officials in Akron were found to be "finks."

The following quotation is from the series of articles on "The Labor Spy," by Sidney Howard, running in "The New Republic":

"Says Mr. Coach of Cleveland: 'I own every union in this town,' which is to say that he controls the union executives. And there seems excellent reason to believe that this kind of control goes high in the ranks of union labor executives. It is a common plaint that American union leaders are not trustworthy."

We'll say they are not trustworthy; they are downright corrupt! You will say: "How come?" Because the American Federation of Labor never was, and is not now, a working class organization; it is an auxiliary of the capitalist class, and it necessarily functions as such. Practically every strike that the A. F. of L. has undertaken during the last few years has been lost by the workers being sold out. The employers have even directly helped to build up the numerical strength of the A. F. of L., since during the war, when the "cost plus" operating plan was in full swing, it was to their financial advantage to pay big wages; thru the midiumship, of course, of the American Federation of Labor.

Let us now get back to the main argument. Having shown that the A. F. of L. is not a class-conscious workers' organization, we have seen that there are at present only a few hundred thousand organized workers in this country. Before an industrial revolution is even thinkable, there should be at least several millions. What shall we do about it?

We must go to work with a will to educate and to organize the workers. We must do our "damndest" to clear their brains of the cob-webs of bourgeois lies and prejudices, and to line them up in the Industrial Workers of the World, which is the only revolutionary class-conscious labor organization in America embracing all industries. Let us line them up individually and let us take them over in bodies, wherever possible. And, while doing so, let us definitely give up the idea of "reforming" the A. F. of L.; it can't be done. It is so corrupt and so unwieldly for revolutionary working-class purposes that all that can be done with it is to throw it on the scrap-pile.

Before we talk about mastering the technical processes of industry, or, in the parlance of the communists, about "capturing the state," let us first capture the American working class for the one revolutionary labor body in America—the I. W. W. We won't gain anything by being ten jumps ahead of the game. **Education** and **Organization,**—that's where the emphasis belongs at present. In Spain the revolutionary working class organization, the "Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo," has a million members, in Italy the syndicalists have 600,000 members, and yet those workers are not strong enough to take the power away from the capitalists. Let us first get at least a million members in the I. W. W. And after that we will still have plenty of time to study industrial processes and to devise more efficient methods of co-ordinating industry; also, to devise organs for the application of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Fellow workers, do not be carried away by ill-considered enthusiasm. The revolution will not be here next week, or next month, or even next year. The capitalists of America are virile; they are cunning, well organized, well disciplined; they have their professional labor fakirs, detectives, makers of public opinion; they have at their command all the armed forces of the nation, all the secret lodges, the chambers of commerce, the Ku Klux Klan, the American Legion and a hundred other counter-revolutionary bodies; they have the sympathy of the whole middle class, the professional class, most of the farmers and a large part of the laboring class. The workers are unorganized and apathetic; they have feasted too long at the flesh pots of Egypt; they have not starved enough. Let us go to work with all our might and main to educate and to organize them!

* * * * *

**I have heard so much talk about it being inevitable that socialism must follow capitalism. The socialists especially have emphasized this, and also some of the Wobblies. If that is true, if evolution is going to bring us the New Society anyway, no matter what we do, what is the use of making sacrifices in the class struggle and for the revolution?—Miss A. T.**

Your question is at present especially timely, when in some countries, in England, for instance, the class struggle is becoming very acute. "Evolution" has been the excuse from behind which political socialists have in the past endeavored to keep

the laboring masses from taking any action on behalf of themselves. Now, when the workers in most countries are confronted with the alternative of either starving to death or taking direct action against the capitalists, they have to make a supreme effort to rid their mentality of the evolutionary bunk that has been handed out to them for years by the yellow socialist parliamentarians and pacifists.

Evolution, as applied to society, is but the sum total of the actions of human beings. In order the better to understand the term, let us take an example from biology. When man is born it is quite generally understood that he will grow from the stage of infancy to boyhood, youth, manhood, and, lastly, old age. That process constitutes the evolution of an individual. But he will not grow unless he eats, drinks, moves, walks, talks, in short—**acts.** His growth is the result of the activity of his body and mind as a whole, and of each separate cell constituting his body.

The same principle applies to society. Only thru activity does mankind advance from one evolutionary stage into another.

It was inevitable that in Russia feudalism and capitalism should have been replaced by a system, at least partial, of communism;— inevitable for the very good reason that the change **did take place.** But it took place only **as the result of the acts of men,** expressing themselves in war, suffering, sacrifice, educational propaganda, organizing work, and in a thousand other activities.

Societal evolution is not something above, over or outside the activities of human beings. It is the sum total of men's actions. If men do not do any certain thing that they desire to see done, evolution is not going to do it for them.

Evolution is **not** going to bring us the New Sociey, "no matter what we ourselves may do." The transition from capitalism into industrial communism will come only by reason of our actions. Every action of every individual will either hasten or retard this transition. Speaking about christianity, the Good Book says that "if you are not with us, you are against us." The same applies to the class struggle. Whoever is not actively engaged in the struggle on the side of labor is, by his very passivity, an asset on the side of the masters.

Fellow workers, let us cease talking intellectual nonsense about "evolution," and get down to business. Direct action, and plenty of it, is what will bring the bacon home to the working class.

# Prelude to Propaganda

**Go! my venom-fashioned words,**
**Go! little scorpions:**
**Fly forth and sting!**

**Sting the master, sting the slave,**
**Sting wage slavery to its grave,**
**Sting the serf in mine and mill,**
**Sting him to revolt, until**
**His age-old helotry at last**
**Is buried with the serfdoms of the past,**
**Where Freedom's dawn is red upon the hill!**

**Oh, give me deeper venom for my words!**
**Go! little scorpions:**
**Fly forth and sting!**

**Sting the master, till he bleeds**
**Blood-red drops at every pore—**
**Drops as red**
**As the tears of little children, shed**
**In shaft of mine or on the factory floor,**
**Or as the blood of Labor's martyrs, which has run**
**Red from the slugger's club, the bayonet, the gun—**

**Not him alone!**
**Go, sting the slave!**

**Sting him! as he sinks beneath the load,**
**Sting him! as he writhes beneath the whip,**
**Sting him! deeper than the master's goad,**
**Sting him! till at last the slave lets slip**
**The leash on all the pent-up hatreds of his class**
**And sounds the hour of triumph for the mass,**
**When all the tyrannies of earth go down in one red wave,**
**Where Freedom stands, her foot upon a grave.**

**Go! my venom-dipped ones,**
**Go! little scorpions,**
**Fly forth and sting!**

**S. P.**

# THE BUILDING

The **unimportant** assistant architect who designs the building.

The **unimportant** inventor who invents machinery for drilling and excavating. (Usually dies in poverty.)

The **unimportant** men who do the excavating.

The **unimportant** men who lay the foundation after the stone has been quarried and transported by others just as **unimportant** and common.

The mere wage-earner who risks his life in mid-air with the steel girders, made by **unimportant** steel workers.

The man who carves the stone that gives beauty to the structure —just a humble laborer.—But—

**The Owner—the Man Who Invested His Capital—He's IMPORTANT—in Fact, the Whole Cheese.**

Drawn by Art Young for the Federated Press.

# THE MAJORITY

**A One Act Play. By Ernest Riebe.**

CAST OF CHARACTERS

**Boss** ..... A manufacturer
**Son** ..... Manufacturer's son
**Mr. Block** ..... A worker
**Mrs. Block** ..... His wife
**Mr. Bone** ..... A worker
**Detective** ..... A labor spy
**Mr. Blank** ..... A labor official

**The scene is the storeroom of a factory, containing tools, boxes and barrels. An open door at the back leads into the factory. The noise of hammering, pushing of trucks, handling of sheets of metal, is heard thru the door.**

**Boss and Son enter. The Boss is puffing at a fat cigar, the Son at a cigarette.**

**Son:** What's the use, pa, trying to get me interested in the factory? You know I don't like business; it makes me tired.

**Boss:** Now don't think I am going to interfere with your pleasures. I am not as mean as that. You won't have to work, our fortune is made. But I would like to see you show a little interest because some of these days you may have to run the business yourself.

**Son:** Run the business myself? You're kidding, pa. You never ran it yourself. Didn't you admit the other day that all the work is done by hired men? From the manager down to the common laborer?

**Boss:** You're right, sonny. The actual running of the factory is not done by us, but we have to know how to run those who run the factory. That's the trick, my boy, I am trying to teach you.

**Son:** That can't be much of a trick, when you can hire all the necessary help. I think I know something about the business. You told me once that only at certain times there are what you call labor troubles; but that these are settled by machine guns if necessary.

**Boss:** Machine guns, yes. How well you have remembered, my son. But you must understand that force is used only in extreme cases and only on a very small proportion of the working class. The trick is to keep the majority of the workers in submission without using force.

**Son:** Is it not fear alone that keeps the workers in submission?

**Boss:** You silly kid! It shows how much you are in need of business lessons. We big employers make it our business to keep the workers down and at the same time to keep on friendly terms with them.

**Son** (excited and amused): On friendly terms with those who toil away their lives so we may live in luxury? On friendly terms with those trashy, uncultured menials who are treated like beasts by our police and with contempt by our courts? Those miserable millions without comforts who build our mansions and live in cheap flats and furnished rooms? Do you mean to say, for instance, that these workers with their tired faces in that little department

in there (pointing to door) are contented and on friendly terms with you? I sized them up, and I think they must hate us. Say, this is rich, pa. On friendly terms with us! I can't believe it! If you're not joshing I'd like to ask you to show me the trick.

**Boss** (rubs hands): Ah, interested in business, at last?

**Son:** Sure. I'm ready for business now. Come on! Let's go to the office.

**Boss:** Wait a minute. son. I am afraid if I give you a dry business lecture you'll skip to the golf links or the chickens. You rascal, you have done that before. How about giving you a demonstration right here. You mentioned the two workers in there. They are typical representatives of the working class. Let's use them for demonstration purposes. Watch closely how I handle them. It will explain to you our whole system that keeps the workers in submission.

**Son:** Go, to it, Pa. I'm anxious to learn.

**Boss** (sits down on box): All right. Go and call in one of the two men.

**Son** (goes to door): Say, the boss wants you.

**Voice from factory:** Yes, sir; coming, sir.

(Enter Mr. Block, a worker.)

**Boss** (friendly): I like to have a talk with you, my dear man. What's your name, please?

**Mr. Block:** Mr. Block, sir.

**Boss:** Mr. Block, you have attracted my attention. You are a capable, honest worker. I am looking for men like you. (Puts his hand on his shoulder. Talks slowly.) You are taking your work seriously, and you show rare intelligence.

**Mr. Block:** Yes, sir.

**Boss:** I have been in the business a long time, you know, and when I put my eyes on you for the first time I said to myself: 'Here is a man who will work himself up to a higher and higher position.

He's got it in him; he deserves to do something better than to remain in the ranks of the working class.' Now, listen! I will give you an opportunity to show what's in you. If you do better and more work than the fellow you're working with I will advance you. You know the ladder of success. All rich men have started the way you are starting now. First laborer, then foreman, department manager, and so forth and so forth. Your first advancement would be that foreman job over the fellow you're working with. If you do better than he you get the foreman job. Set the pace, be early on the job and don't watch the clock. And—by the way—keep an eye on that other fellow. You know we can't trust the workingmen nowadays.

**Mr. Block:** Yes, sir, I know. Most of them are lazy, good for nothing bums.

**Boss:** Right you are, Mr. Block. (To son): You see I picked the right kind of man. He will be a success.

**Mr. Block:** I will be worthy of your confidence, sir. I will work harder than ever. How can I thank you, sir?

**Boss** (hand on his shoulder): Never mind, I expect no thanks. I om only too glad to see you succeed. You know we big employers make it our business to push men like you to the front. I tell you, many a sleepless night have I spent scheming for the benefit of men like you.

**Mr. Block** (takes out handkerchief and wipes eyes): Yes, sir. I read in the newspapers that you sometimes break down at your unselfish work, completely exhausted.

**Boss** (elbows son): You see he's reading the right kind of literature. (Son laughs.)

**Boss** (to son): Shake hands with Mr. Block; he's a regular workingman, the best of the whole outfit, a man of high character, no I. W. W. stuff for him. He's a wise guy, a safe and sane, level-headed worker.

**Son** (shakes hand of Block vigorously): I congratulate you, Mr. Block.

**Boss:** Now go, my dear man, and do your best. (Slaps his back and shoves him out.)

**Mr. Block:** Thank you ever so much, sir. (Exit.)

**Son:** Some game you're playing!

**Boss:** You will soon like it. Now call the other fellow. (Son goes to door and returns with Mr. Bone, a worker.)

**Boss:** O, there he is! What is your name, my dear man?

**Mr. Bone:** My name is Bone, sir.

**Boss:** Mr. Bone, I've noticed that you are taking your work seriously and that you are a man of intelligence. I need men like you. When I put my eye on you for the first time I said to myself, 'Here is a man who will work himself up to a higher and higher position; he's got it in him; he deserves to be something better than to remain in the ranks of the working class. Listen! I will give you an opporunity to show what's in you. If you do better and more work than the fellow you are working with I will advance you. You know the ladder of success. All rich men have started the way you are starting now. First laborer, then foreman, department manager, general manager and so forth and so forth. Your first advance will be the foreman job over Mr. Block. If you do better work than he you'll get the foreman job. Set the pace, be early on the job and don't watch the clock. And—by the way—keep your eye on that Block fellow.

**Mr. Bone:** Yes, sir; yes, sir! Thank you, sir!

**Boss:** I expect no thanks. I am only too glad to see you succeed. We employers make it our business to push men like you to the front. Many a night have I schemed for the benefit of men like you.

**Mr. Bone:** Yes, sir. I have read about how unselfish you are.

**Boss:** Very good, very good! Now go, my dear man, and do your best. (Slaps his back and shoves him out.)

**Son:** You're wonderful, pa!

**Boss:** Listen! (Noise in factory, pushing of trucks, running, etc.) The two simps will now work harder than ever, they will try to outwork each other and we will get the benefit out of them to the last ounce of their endurance. This is the way we squeeze the last drop of sweat out of them and when they're squeezed good and dry we throw them away like lemons and get new ones. We play this game on the whole working class. The millions toil away their lives in the hope of a better future. None of them expects to remain a member of that class. Everyone of them suckers hopes to become a capitalist some day.

**Son:** But how is it possible that all these boobs believe and hope to become wealthy some day? Don't they read statistics?

**Boss:** They know, of course, that the percentage of successful working men is very, very small, but, you see, the average workingman is a gambler. He believes that he will be the lucky one in a million and win. We have trained them to be gamblers. In our newspapers we print stories of successful workingmen every day. We keep the hope of better days constantly in their minds. Our newspapers, politicians and movies attend to that. The workers follow all our suggestions. They are led by us as little children and it is easy because these big working stiffs with frames of grown-ups have the minds of children. They think as we want them to think, and they act as we want them to act. They belong to us body and soul: It is almost unbelievable, but it works.

(Mr. Block walks in, cap in hand.)

**Boss** (friendly): What is it, what can I do for you?

**Mr. Block** (twisting cap uneasily): I came to tell you, Mr. Dough, that I kept my eye on that fellow Bone in there. I always knew he wasn't any good, but I never expected that he was an I. W. W. You

know, sir, the Reds have scattered some of their literature all over the factory and I caught Bone reading that stuff.

Boss: A ha! Good for you! (To son): You see, Mr Block is the right kind of man. (To Mr. Block): You're the boy, you're doing well. You're on the road to success. (Slaps his shoulder.) Now I will tell you what we will do. We will not fire that Bone fellow right away. He's still working, is he?

**Mr. Block:** You bet he is, sir! I keep him at it. I am setting the pace. I work hell out of him.

**Boss** (shakes hand with Block, slaps his back wildly): You're the boy! (Shoves him out.) Keep it up, good for you! Fix that Bonehead! Work hell out of him! (To son): Just as I expected. In order to gain a favor or get ahead of one another an average workingman will do most anything. Now I don't believe that Mr. Bone is an I. W. W. He would not read such literature. He's just like the rest of the workers, he reads our literature and votes for our politicians, mostly republicans and democrats. He's a model worker, just as our newspapers manufacture them. Do you see how our game works? We've got them going now. Oh, it's great to play with such grown-up children. They imagine themselves men because they wear long pants.

**Son:** What's next?

**Boss:** There comes the other rainbow chaser. (Mr. Bone enters.) Watch the show, sonny.

**Mr. Bone:** Beg your pardon, sir. I just found out what kind of snake this fellow Block is. I made him work hard by setting the pace and now he's grumbling about the rich, and suggests blowing up the factory.

**Boss** (shakes hand with Bone): I always had my suspicion about that ignorant blockhead. How about his work, is he still at it?

**Mr. Bone:** Yes, sir! I keep him at it. I set the pace and he has to follow; he's almost all in but I won't give him a rest.

**Boss:** Go to it! Show your ability. We can get another man when he's played out. He's not valuable like you, Mr. Bone. Good boy! (Pats his back.) You know what I promised you. Hurry, boy! I can hardly wait till I see you become general manager.

**Son** (shakes Bone's hand violently): Let me congratulate you, I am glad I made your acquaintance.

**Boss:** Go to it, my dear man! You will succeed. (Pushes Bone out.)

**Son:** That dirty snitch! He's playing the same game as the other fellow. Now—according to our demonstration here, the whole working class would act in such contemptible way. I can't believe it.

**Boss:** What you see demonstrated here holds good for the whole working class with the exception of the Reds. You must know that the life of the average worker is a miserable existence. He yearns day and night to get out of the working class. Now, if you put the prospects of getting out before him he will do anything, he is ready for treachery and murder. That is human nature, my son. Men shipwrecked in mid-ocean will practice cannibalism and men in the hell of miserable servitude will do the same, only in a different way.

**Son:** You mention the Reds.

**Boss:** The Reds are a different proposition, my son. Listen! Both our enemies, the Reds, and our friends, the Blocks and Bones, are trying to escape from servitude. But the Reds are trying it by different means. Our friends there (pointing to door) are trying it as individuals at the expense of their fellow workers, whereas our enemies, the Reds, are trying it by uniting the workers and liberating themselves at our expense. The Reds therefore, as a rule, will not snitch in our favor; they preach solidarity and worse than that, my boy, they have even practiced sabotage, such as slowing down on the job instead of speeding up.

**Son:** Those criminals!

**Boss:** Don't bother about them. They are in the minority. Forget them. Let's see how the majority are getting along. (Both move their seats toward door. Noise of work increases.)

**Boss:** Nice scenery, isn't it? They certainly are setting the pace for each other!

**Son:** Wonderful! They are making millionaires out of themselves. (Noise of hard work. Groans and curses. "Get out of my way! Go to hell! Look out! Ouch!" Both Boss and Son applaud mockingly.) Keep it up, boys!

(Enter a detective, from the Eureka Agency.)

**Detective** (excited): At last I have found you, Mr. Dough. I called at your office and then looked all over the factory. Very important business, sir. There's not a second to lose. I represent the Eurika Detective Agency, and—

**Boss:** Well, if it is so important, let's have it right now. What is it?

**Detective** (looking around suspiciously, thru door, into barrels, etc.): The Eureka agency has discovered a bomb plot to blow up this factory. (Son jumps up from box and steps over to listen.) We have trailed a load of dynamite right to this plant, and it may be touched off any time.

**Boss:** How much will it cost to prevent the plot?

**Detective:** That all depends, sir. $50,000 would enable us to continue our work and produce results. It would enable us to get at the ring leaders, who are organized all over the country.

**Boss:** $50,000, hey? Won't you come down a little?

**Son:** For God's sake, pa! Pay! Pay!

**Detective:** But, sir! This is no child's play. It's a dangerous affair. The plotters have mined your own private residence, too. (Son runs in circles.)

**Boss:** Seems to be serious, all right, all right. (Gets out check book, writes and presents check to detective.)

**Detective** (smiles, takes check and reads, expression changes. Reads aloud): "Pay to the order of the Eureka Detective Agency the sum of thirty cents." What do you mean by it, Mr. Dough?

**Boss:** It means that I am very, very generous,

sir. I am making you a present of thirty cents. It is in consideration of your enormous gall trying to continue your game of buncoing us out of our money. You private detective agencies have milked us long enough. Get out, now!

**Detective:** But, sir, this is no fake, the plot is real!

**Boss:** At one time you were able to scare hell out of us with your bomb plots. You fleeced us out of millions of dollars. You overdid the thing. We realize, of course, that the bomb plots are doing some good in helping us to persecute the Reds, but you played the game too raw, you made a laughing stock out of us. To pay enormous prices for such a simple affair as faking up a bomb plot is preposterous. Anybody can do it. We don't need detectives. All we need are the headlines in our newspapers; they are doing most of our bomb plotting. Get out! (Exit detective.)

**Son:** Is it true, pa, that the Red plots are frame ups? Are all those Reds held in prison on conspiracy charges innocent?

**Boss:** It can't be denied any longer that all Red bomb plots and conspiracies are fakes. But the Reds are not innocent; they are guilty of bigger crimes than murder.

**Son:** For God's sake, what can that be?

**Boss:** The Reds are carrying on an agitation amongst the workers of this country. They educate them and teach them to take the industries away from us, and to operate them for the benefit of the workers themselves. They object to our way of running things; they complain about low wages, long hours, unemployment, and all that.

**Son:** The workers trying to run the industries? That is ridiculous, is it not, pa? They can't do it. It takes **us** to run the industries.

**Boss:** Between you and me—let us talk plainly. As we said before, our industries today are run by hired men, from manager down to common laborer, and in Russia the Bolsheviki have demonstrated clearly that capitalists are no longer needed. The Bolsheviki—damn them—kept up production in spite of all the counter-revolutions. And not only that; they carried on big wars when we attacked them on all fronts. We spent carloads of gold and rivers of blood, but they still keep up production. And you know the terrible result. Thousands and thousands of manufacturers, grand dukes and counts are now in absolute misery; they have to work, or starve!

**Son** (staggers): For God's sake, pa! What can be done about it? This is terrible! What can we do to protect ourselves?

**Boss:** Don't get excited, son. There is no danger in this country.

**Son:** But the Reds are still agitating, are they not?

**Boss:** Yes, they are. But the majority of workers will not listen to them. They believe **us.** They believe our newspaper stories, our bomb plots and everything we publish against the Reds. Things look good for us in this country. Have a cigar, my boy, and trust in the majority. (Son lights cigar.)

(Enter Mr. Blank, a craft union labor official.)

**Mr. Blank:** I had some time finding you, Mr. Dough. I've found you at last. I think you remember me, Mr. Dough, I am Mr. Blank.

**Boss:** O yes, Mr. Blank, the union official.

**Mr. Blank:** May I see you at the office, Mr. Dough, about some business?

**Boss:** I'm on my way to the club, and I think we can settle all the business there is between you and me in a very short time. What is it, Mr. Blank? Speak out freely. Don't mind the boy, he's in the business now.

**Mr. Blank:** You know, Mr. Dough, capital and labor must work in harmony, and as far as I am concerned, I will do all in my power to bring this about. I am sorry to say that at present there is considerable restlessness amongst the workers and—

**Boss:** I know your speech, Mr. Blank. Let's make it short. This is about what you have to say: "The workers make all kinds of demands, and are turning Red, but that you will be able to pacify them, if I will see **you.**"

**Mr. Blank:** How dare you speak to me like that, Mr. Dough!

**Boss:** It's because I know you, Mr. Blank.

**Mr. Blank:** You should also know that there are five millions of workers behind me.

**Boss:** Stop right there, Mr. Blank. We know your game. You've played it long enough. At one time when help was scarce we had to come across, but there are millions of unemployed now. Those five millions of organized workers you boast of, may be behind **you,** but they are now also behind **us,** begging for bread. We don't fear those organized job bums.

**Mr. Blank:** Wait a minute, sir. I realize that our positions seem different now, but you are mistaken if you think we union officials have no power. Suppose we turn Bolshevik, or I. W. W., and advocate the same thing as they do—to take away your industries? How would you like it? You know, so far we have always fought on your side against the Reds.

**Boss** (laughing aloud): A nice chance there is for you and your kind, who have lived an easy, comfortable life, to turn Red. You would have to expose yourself to the danger of getting lynched or put in the penitentiary. You know what we did to Tom Mooney and others who turned Red. You can't make me believe, Mr. Blank, that you are longing for a chance to join Tom Mooney in San Quentin.

You will be satisfied with the income you're getting out of the unions. Remember, we are not going to destroy trades unionism altogether, even if we do establish the open shop. We could do this if we fired every worker who continues to pay dues to you. But we will not do so, because you have been useful to us in the past and we can use you again. If you stand by us in fighting the Reds, we will allow the workingmen to keep on supporting you. There

are some redeeming features about you union leaders, Mr. Blank. For instance, your agitation among the workers to reward their friends and punish their enemies at the ballot box in a corker. Keep up your good work, and entertain the minds of the simpletons with fake issues. Good bye, Mr Blank.

**Mr. Blank:** Good bye, Mr. Dough. The time will come when you will call for me.

**Boss:** Yes, yes. Sure. And when I call (slowly) **you will be there.** (Exit Blank.)

**Son:** You seem very assured that you have everything under control. How about some of them politicians? They use very radical language against us sometimes.

**Boss:** Yes, they "raise hell" sometimes about the profiteers. They have to do that in order to gain the confidence of the workers. If the politician is elected, he will do what we pay him to do; if not, we scrap him. We can hire politicians and we can fire them. You know what we did with some socialists in this country. We fire them in bunches. Politics are all right, my son. Should the workers vote for laws beneficial to them, and objectionable to us, we declare the laws unconstitutional. We did this with the eight-hour laws in several states and with the child labor law. You see how easy it is for us. We do not fear the politicians. They always deliver the goods. Remember how faithful the Socialist politicians in Germany were to the employing class over there. They always used radical language against the profiteers, you know. But when they gained control of the government they stuck to the employing class and massacred thousands of workers, who opposed the profiteers. Politicians as a rule are faithful; if not, they go to Leavenworth or Atlanta. (Whistle blows.)

**Boss:** Let's go to the club and then hurry back. You see, our friends are still at it. None of them likes to quit first.

**Son** (mockingly): God bless you, you blessed majority. Go to it and make millionaires out of yourselves! Go to it, boys! (Both walk out.)

(Enter workingwoman with basket.)

**Mrs. Block:** What's the matter, the whistle has blown, and Block didn't quit yet. (Goes to door and calls): Oh, Block! It's dinnertime! (Noise ceases, Block enters, tired, wipes sweat.)

**Mrs. Block:** What's on, didn't you hear the whistle?

**Mr. Block** (sits down, wife takes out lunch): I'll tell you what's the matter. Good news! This is the day of my life! The boss today has recognized my ability, and picked me out to advance me to general manager. Not at once, you know, but gradually. First foreman, then department boss, and so on.

**Mrs. Block** (throws arms around him): Oh, Block! I aways knew that you had it in you. I was always proud of you.

**Mr. Block** (busy with lunch): Yes, it will only be for a short time that we will belong to the working class.

**Mrs. Block:** Oh, Block, how nice! I must tell Mrs. Smith about it.

**Mr. Block** (stands up, link of frankfurters in hand. Straightens himself out): Stop! You will not talk to Mrs. Smith anymore. The Smiths are working people, and we are thru with them.

**Mrs. Block:** But, Block—

**Mr. Block:** But—nothing! You do as I tell you or—listen! (Sits down and drinks from cup.) Listen! Remember, I am now about to enter the class of society where **divorce** is fashionable, and if you queer me in my ambition, I may do something **fashionable**, savvy? (Mrs. Block tries to reply.) Silence! From now on I want you to snub that common working trash. You must change your working class manners entirely. You must put on upper class style. We will have to eat frankfurters and liberty steak only for a little while longer. It may take a little time till I get a raise. We have to wait for porterhouse and all that upper class feed, but as far as upper class manners are concerned, we can start to put them on right now. First of all: No more mix-up and familiarity with common folks. I want you to snub them, you understand!

**Mrs. Block** (arm around him): Oh, Block, don't be afraid of me. I will be a credit to you. I will not talk to the Smiths anymore.

**Mr. Block:** That's it, show your dignity.

**Mrs. Block:** You bet I will. If I meet them on the street I will show my contempt for them, I will make faces at them, I will even stick out my tongue.

**Mr. Block:** That's it. Now you're talking, kiddo! Show your dignity. (Hands in basket. Pulls out small paper package, holds nose.) What the hell is this?

**Mrs. Block:** Oh, it's the rest of last week's liberty steak. I couldn't afford to throw it away. Everything is so high, you know.

**Mr. Block** (eats from paper. Shows signs of vomiting): Never mind! It's not much longer that (swallows hard) I'll have to do this. Here goes! (Swallows courageously.)

**Mrs. Block:** I can't afford to throw things away. It's a shame how high the eats are nowadays.

**Mr. Block** (jumps up excitedly, holds fist under her nose): Say, that kind of talk has to stop now! No more breaks like that!

**Mrs. Block:** What's the matter, deary?

**Mr. Block:** What's the matter? Don't you know that complaining about the high cost of living is cheap working class talk? The upper class never talks that way. I want you to reform. Instead of complaining about the high cost of living and all the so-called outrages of the profiteers, you must find apologies for them. You must show your satisfaction with everything as it is today. You must guard yourself in everything you say and be careful not to offend the feelings of the higher-ups. We will soon be in their class. To hell with the cheap skates.

**Mrs. Block** (affectionately): I understand, deary.

I always hated the common folks. They have such cheap manners. I always despised them. Oh, how happy we will be! Automobiles, swell dresses and all that! I promise you never to make any breaks, never no more.

**Mr. Block:** Listen! The first thing I want you to do when you get out of here is to buy a little flag to stick on your dress. Show that you are a patriot. That's what the rich men like.

**Mrs. Block:** A little flag, sure. I will get one.

**Mr. Block:** You're right, you're learning. Patriotism is the thing. It will help me to land the bacon, the manager's job. Always be patriotic! Make everybody notice it. Whenever you get a chance, curse the Reds, it attracts attention and brings reward.

**Mr. Block** (gulps down his coffee): I must go back to work now.

**Mrs. Block:** The whistle didn't blow yet.

**Mr. Block:** Never mind the whistle! You know what I am after. (Exit.)

**Mrs. Block** (puts utensils back in basket): Oh, I always knew that we wouldn't have to work all our lives.

**Mr. Block** (behind the door): Don't forget that flag.

**Mrs. Block:** I'll buy a dozen, deary. We can eat our mash without the milk tomorrow.

**Mr. Block:** You're right. Get the flags, get the flags. Let the milk go. (Mrs. Block goes, noise on job starts again. Cursing, etc. "Get a move on, you!" "To hell with you!" "Get out of my way!" "Damn you!" "Give me a lift!" "Lift it yourself!" "If you are sick go to the hospital!" "You'll find out where you come off!" etc.)

(Whistle blows. Enter Boss and Son.)

**Boss** (disgusted, holds nose): Those pigs had their lunch in here. Do you smell it? Damn that slop!

**Son** (disgusted, lights cigarette, spits): Awful! It must be some of that famous liberty slop that the workers live on.

**Boss:** Whatever it is, it stinks like the working class.

**Son:** It's remarkable how the workers can get enough nourishment out of such stuff.

**Boss:** Any kind of gut-stuffing will do for them, they are built that way. (Both sit down.)

**Boss:** I see our prospective general managers are at it again. Oh, they are jewels. It is a pleasure to look at them. See how they are fighting one another, how they act like beasts. Isn't it a shame that the Reds are trying to spoil them?

**Son:** Yes, I see we are justified in persecuting the Reds.

**Boss:** Yes, if we can keep the workers unsophisticated, or as our friend Gompers calls it: safe and sane, we can play our game forever.

**Mr. Block** (enters, tired out; limps, hand on kidneys, groans): I knew I could do it.

**Boss:** What's the matter now, Block?

**Mr. Block:** Bone dropped dead. He couldn't keep up with me. My pace was too much for him. He tried to slow down on the job but I wouldn't let him. I made him do his work to the last. And when he died I thought of your interest, sir, and ran as fast as I could to punch his time card so you wouldn't have to pay him more than he really earned.

**Boss:** Well, well. You are showing a little ability as a pace setter. Keep it up. I will get another man in Mr. Bone's place and I hope you will get some work out of him, too.

**Mr. Block** (meekly, stammering): Yes, yes, sir. I am perfectly willing to go ahead to croak another one. But you see (holds his back) I am almost all in myself.

**Boss:** Ah, go on! You're not played out. You must try it again. Don't you know the rules of success? Don't you know what the Friday Evening Post tells you? "Never say quit." And then remember, the salary of the general manager is fifty thousand dollars?

**Mr. Block:** You are very generous, sir; but for God's sake, I can't keep it up. Oh, my bones, my kidneys!

**Boss:** Can that stuff! Don't whine like that. Remember what one of our best editorial writers, Mr. Pressbane, says: The road to success is plastered with bloody sweat, aching bones and kidney trouble. Straighten up now, try it again. Smile, smile, damn you, smile!

**Mr. Block:** It is impossible, sir! I am completely played out. I spent the last ounce of my strength in your interest, sir.

**Boss** (laughing aloud, Son joins): In my interest, you simp. It was in your own interest that you worked. Men like you I can hire by the thousands. Your place, Mr. Block, can be filled just as quickly as Mr. Bone's. There is a waiting list of your kind a mile long.

**Mr. Block:** But, sir. I only made such great efforts and ruined myself in order to please you, sir.

**Boss:** You're a damn liar. You worked for your interest. You were after a higher position and you would have gotten that, too, if you had shown the least bit of ability, but you showed yourself an incompetent, a weakling, who broke down after his first little effort in his career. I have wasted my time on you. Don't think that I am in the charity business. (Turns to son.) Here, boy, this man has quit his job. Go and punch his time card. (Son runs as quickly as he can, falls all over himself.) I am not going to pay you for the time you take telling me your troubles.

**Mr. Block** (staggers back surprised): But sir, but sir. I never expected such treatment from you. I don't deserve it, sir. Please don't fire me. (Son enters.)

**Boss:** You're already fired. (To son.) The card is punched, is it?

**Son:** You bet your life.

**Mr. Block:** Why don't you give me another chance. I'm not dead yet.

**Boss:** Pretty near it, tho. I've got the best out of you, anyhow. I don't eare for what is left. Get out now!

**Mr. Block:** Oh, you heartless beast! How ean you be so cruel!

**Boss** (to son): You see, now he's talking like some of the friends of labor, philanthropists and reformers. **He** wasn't eruel, oh no! It's only **me** who's the eruel beast.

**Son** (pulls Boss aside. Bloek goes to corner and lays down): I don't see any use of this, pa. You're thru with him; what's the idea of pestering him now? He's down and out. You got the best out of that Block. Now give him some easy job so he doesn't starve to death. He will be all right for night watchman in a couple of months. (Bloek shows pains all over, prays silently.)

**Boss:** Let me explain. Under average eireumstances I would **perhaps** give a paee-setting Bloek, who almost killed himself, a eheap job to keep him from starving. I would do this **perhaps** with Mr. Bloek, too. But don't you remember that I used the two workers for demonstration purposes? Keep your mind on the business lesson I am giving you. (Slowly.) I will repeat: These two workers represent the majority of the working elass and I am demonstrating to you how far we of the employing elass ean go with them. We may be eharitable here and there in individual eases. That's done for show. But with the working elass as a whole we aet exaetly as I do with those workers. We treat them like dogs and we make them like it. Remember the war. We told them to fight a war for demoeraey. They fought and bled and suffered; and what did we give them? We gave them the high eost of living, starvation wages and finally unemployment, while we got rieh. We took the Liberty Bonds and they got the liberty steak. And you know what that is. Take another noseful of it. (Kicks paper with foot.) Some of our philanthropic-minded members of our elass say we should slow down a little, that we play the game too raw. They are perhaps afraid of that little minority, the Reds. Now I will prove that there is no limit to this bull game. The majority of the workers will stand for anything.

**Son:** I believe there is a limit to the enduranee of every worker, even Mr. Block. One thing seems sure. Mr. Block don't like you anymore. He will probably be a Red now.

**Boss** (laughs): Don't like me anymore? A Red? You silly kid! What do you know about the majority? There are 99 ehanees out of a 100 that Mr. Bloek still loves me. A child doesn't like the spanking but it loves his parents in spite of it. Mr. Block, the grown-up ehild, does not like the treatment we give him, but he still likes us and our present system. And, by gosh, I'm going to prove it. Let us see where Mr. Block stands. He may kick about me and eall me a heartless beast and all that. That's nothing. The whole working elass is kicking about the profiteers; but they will fight for us and our system. And they will fight against our enemies, the Reds. And furthermore, they will lay down their lives for us if we, for the sake of profits, drive them into war. All we have to do is to wave the flag. With the flag in our hand we foreed them to buy Liberty Bonds by the billion. Just think about that easy money we flagged out of those simps.

**Son:** I am afraid you will fall down with your demonstration, pa. I think Mr. Bloek will not be a patriot any longer.

**Boss:** What's the use of talking, boy. I will demonstrate how we make patriots. Now for the supreme test. (Pulls himself up.) I bet that in a few minutes Mr. Bloek will be a patriot. (Walks up to Mr. Block. Talks seriously.) Mr. Block, when I hired you I was under the impression that you were a patriot; but when you ealled me a heartless beast I knew you were a Red.

**Mr. Block:** But, sir—

**Boss:** Never mind, now, Mr. Bloek, that is I. W. W. language. (Bloek is horrified, grasps his head.) A worker who eritieizes our business methods is against the established order of things. I know our business methods are heartless, beastly and cruel; but we have to live up to them, no matter how it hurts. If things are ehanged, down goes our whole eivilization. It may sound reasonable when the Reds point out the cruelties and the outrages of our so-called eapitalist system. Yes, our present system plays hell with some of us. Today it is you, Mr. Bloek, and tomorrow it will be me. And if it is me, Mr. Bloek, I will take my medieine like a man, I will not turn yellow or beeome a Red. I will still be a 100 per cent Ameriean. If civilization demands a saerifiee we must give it. (Bloek weeps.) You know, the Almighty in his infinite wisdom has entrusted to us, the big employers, the wealth of the nation and we must earry out the divine will and follow the business rules laid down by him, no matter if they interfere with our sentiments or not. There has never been in all history as much danger of eivilization being abolished as at the present time, Mr. Block. It makes me sad to think that there are men in this eountry who advoeate the overthrow of our present, God-made system, of eivilization itself. You know, Mr. Block, who the degenerates are who say that the workers themselves should run the industries.

**Mr. Block** (exeited): I know! I know! Them damn I. W. W.'s, them Bolsheviks!

**Boss:** You know, it is impractieal that the workers run the industries. There is nothing about it in the Bible, and it shows that the Reds are against religion, too. Just think of it, Mr. Block.

**Mr. Block:** But sir, you are mistaken when you think I am a Red. I am not! I was out of my senses when I criticised you and I made that silly remark. It was all my fault that I broke down at my work and lost the ehanee you gave me. If I had never taken a glass of beer or a smoke in my life, may be I would be working yet. Yes, sir! I remember I dissipated a good deal in my younger

days. I used to go to dances and all that, sir. Forgive me, sir. You were so generous to me. I am your debtor, sir.

**Boss:** Now look here. I will gladly forgive you and I hope that it is true that you are a patriot. It is in your own interest. You are of course down and out, but even at that you are not as bad off as if a foreign power would conquer this country and would pull down our glorious flag. Let me tell you, it is very serious nowadays not to be a patriot, we can't afford it. Do you realize that at this very moment some great powers with the assistance of the traitorous Reds stand ready to jump at our flag to tear it down?

**Mr. Block:** Damn the Reds! I hate them. I always hated them and always will. To hell with them! And to hell with them foreign powers, with Mexico, Japan, England and Germany! To hell with them!

**Boss:** Just think of it, what we are up against, Mr. Block. Is it possible that in the face of such a danger there are men in this country who are not patriots? If our enemies knew that we of this country do not care about our flag, they will attack us sure as hell. We must demonstrate and let the world know that we are ready to die for our flag.

**Mr. Block** (jumps up, waves arms wildly): Hurray for the flag! Hurray for the flag! Hurray for the flag!

(While Block is shouting down goes the curtain.)

# To the Labor Organizations of the World! Boycott All Goods Made in Spain!

The Executive Committee of the "Confederación Nacional del Trabajo" (National Confederation of Labor, of Spain) sent out some time ago an appeal to the workers of the whole world to help the Spanish workers in their heroic struggle against persecution. In order to put a stop to the horrible ravages of the reaction in Spain, it was recommended that a world-wide boycott against Spanish import and export goods be declared on January 15th. Thousands of the noblest fighters for freedom in Spain have been arrested, deported and murdered after the manner of the martyr Francisco Ferrer! The Spanish workers have again made an appeal to the German proletariat for solidarity, contained in the following letter brought to us by French comrades:

### TO REVOLUTIONARY GERMANY, GREETINGS!

In order to officially acquaint the French proletariat with the terrible condition in which the Spanish working class finds itself today, I have been sent to France by the "Confederación Nacional del Trabajo."

Our greatest desire would be to come to you and to explain our situation in the same way that it has been explained to the French organizations. At the same time we would like to bring you brotherly greetings from all those who have fallen, day by day, in the struggle, of all those who have been murdered or are held in captivity, be it on the streets of Spain or in "Fernando Po," in Mahon, in Montjuich. You should know that in the last named fortress twenty-five of our comrades, among them **Pestana,** are incarcerated. Altho the situation is desperate, it is not possible for us, no matter how much we may desire to do so, to send delegates to all countries with an appeal for solidarity, which in this case should bind the international proletariat together in a common aim.

As for you, Revolutionary Germany, I greet you in the name of the "Confederación Nacional del Trabajo" and am using the opportunity offered by the visit of Comrade Haussard, to fervently implore you to do everything in your power to keep up the strictest boycott on all products of Spanish manufacture.

Save our Spanish brothers, who today are facing death! They are being murdered every day by the wholesale, as sheep in a slaughter house!

**LEON XIFORT**

**In the name of the "Confederación Nacional Del Trabajo."**

We are sorry to say that up to the present time the desperate appeal of our Spanish brothers has been in vain. But now we must act with a will! We therefore request that all labor organizations at once take steps to initiate co-ordinated action, and that they send us the addresses of their officials, so that as quickly as possible an understanding can be arrived at.

This action will receive international support from the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Syndicalists and Industrialists in Amsterdam. It should also be the concern of labor parties and other central organizations to give international publicity to the boycott of all goods made in Spain.

**The Executive Committee of the Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands (Syndicalists).**

# WOBBLES

Some men wear shell rim glasses and are intellectuals—and some men just wear shell rim glasses.

* * * * *

In ancient Egypt a soldier received 12 acres of land, which gave an interest in the fatherland. Now he is told to go to some furtherland.

* * * * *

Two bourgeois gentlemen by name of Wood and Stone were on the way to their factory one morning, but on arriving there they found that the workers had organized, and Wood turned to stone, and Stone turned to wood.

* * * * *

**Special to Industrial Pioneer:**

Chicago, April 21.—A terrible and very gruesome calamity occurred in the kitchen of a Greek restaurant here this morning: The cook dropped a clam in the chowder.

The cook is now seeking a new job.

* * * * *

**Solving the Unemployment Question:**

A fellow told me that a guy told him that he saw a bird whose cousin knew of a gink who knew a bloke that said he knew of a geezer whose brother-in-law knew about a gazabo who told him that a hick knew of a simp who quit his job and that there is a job open for anyone who wants to take it.

* * * * *

The yellow socialists are agreed that all this red propaganda is quite unnecessary. The proletariat should partake liberally of jad salts and trust in the process of evolution.

* * * * *

Old Ezry Eggins, who is trucking down at the warehouse, still complains about the high cost of living, but he has some hopes for the near future; he says labor has got down to where it's purty reasonable.

Our readers are requested tc send in jokes for this page.

Landlady:—Is it not a fright—the price of laundry nowadays?

Roomer:—I'll say so.

Landlady:—I used to give each new roomer clean sheets—but now I just take clean roomers.

* * * * *

The A. F. of L. has been weighed in the balance and has been found unbalanced.

# The Story of the Sea

By Tom Barker

(Continued from the April Number)

## CHAPTER 7
## THE WAY TO POWER.

THE rank and file of the ships and docks have to create something new and modern if they are to fight the boss with any degree of success. This new form of organization will not come from the trade union jonahs, many of whom have never seen a ship, and can't speak any language except the one they picked up when they were children. Most of these poor old fossils are in their second childhood, for while their legs are alive their heads are dead. I have seen the secretary of the Auckland branch of the New Zealand Seamen's Union come down to the union office in a pony chaise. He was about sixty inches around the waist, and his legs could not stand the strain. The assistant secretary would come out and report how things were going on, after which John would whip up the tired pony, which waddled away with his mountainous load of trade union officialism. That was his day's work.

The craft unions have to be broken up, as they are worse than useless. When they meet the owners they act like a dying duck in a thunder storm. They keep their watery eyes fixed on the ground, and have as many legs as a caterpillar. The idea of DOING anything never occurs to them, and any man who takes trouble up to the union office is an unwelcome visitor. When the unemployed army gets large they cry for unemployed doles, and chase their colored members off ships in order to make room for their white members. If a man with red blood tries to stir things up, the officials will conspire with the companies to boycott him. They have a way of trying to silence the opposition with the assistance of retired pugilists and toughs. Some of the dockers' unions are run on the same system, and the officials are more noted for their physique in a few cases, than for their brains.

### The Meaning of Power.

Modern workers want something more than good old craft unionism has to offer. They want to put the boss to work on the docks and the ships, and to see that his wife is going to nurse her own children, wash her own clothes and her own floor. They want economic freedom, the right to live a full life and to have their material requirements attended to. They want to own the ships instead of being treated as so many slobs when they are aboard.

In October, 1920, some 930,000 miners went on strike in Great Britain. They were on strike a very short time, but that little time stirred things up. Factories closed, railway services were reduced, in fact everyone was more or less affected. The coal mining industry is only a national industry, but a strategic one. Let us have 900,000 marine workers and 1,200,000 dockers in **one** organization all over the world, with the same spirit as the British miners, and how much more **power** could we wield, especially if we had the co-operation of the land transport workers and the miners of the world behind us.

We have, then, to build from the bottom up. Every person working aboard a ship, whether on the bridge, the deck, the firehole, the engine-room, the steward's room and the wireless room must be in the one organization. Everyone is exploited by the same masters, evryone must organize **together** against the common enemy. Each department will elect its own delegate, and the delegate will be responsibe for his fellows, see that they are in good standing, distribute educational matter and see to it that their grievances are redressed. These delegates, as their function extends, and as the power of the workers tends to perfect their organization, will tend to become more and more the administrative body on board a ship. One of these delegates will be elected to represent the ship in the various ports. As soon as the ship arrives in port it will be his duty to render a report at the shore office, and clear the ship to the longshoremen for working the cargo. He will put in a document showing particulars about the ship, the names of her crew, their standing in the union, etc. The combined delegates aboard a ship should act as a **ship's committee.**

### Cards and Officials.

There should only be one dues card, by which means it would be possible for a man to pay his dues in any part in the world, where the World Organization has control. Once a man is a member, always a member. Delegates should also act as messengers between the various countries and districts, thereby guaranteeing the delivery of correspondence of their own and similar organizations. In the case of International Congresses dealing with the people of the sea, the delegates should be required to work their passages to the place of the conference; an end should be put to the system of traveling first class, such as is adopted by the modern jonahs who are retarding the movement.

No union official is worth more than the average wage in the industry that he is organizing. The union members who allow their officials £10.0.0 a

week while they themselves are only getting £4.0.0 are damned fools. If the official wants a raise then let him get busy getting his members a raise, when he will benefit accordingly. No politician should be allowed to hold a union job, nor borrow a shilling, nor ask for a vote. A politician is the rottenest type of man there is on God's green earth. He is lower than a white-slaver, and would pinch the Great White Throne itself, if ever he had the remarkable luck to get into heaven. Which reminds me of a politician who did try to get into heaven. He was turned down and shuffled off to hell. When he was questioned at the gate about his mode of life on earth, he replied that he had been a politician. This was reported over the 'phone to his Satanic Majesty — who was busy frizzling up some respectable ship-owners and seamen's missionaries—who ordered, "We don't allow politicians in hell, otherwise they'd make everybody as bad as themselves. Give him a bucket of pitch and let him go away and make a hell of his own." And thus the gentleman who had scabbed on the unemployed by holding two men's jobs as union offieial and member of Parliament got fixed up for eternity.

### Our Class and Our Boss.

Last year when there was a strike of firemen on the East Coast of the U. S. the ship-owners sent blacklegs on board. As soon as they arrived, the engineers—members of their own craft union —did the manly thing and struck, also. That settled it. Solidarity gets the goods. The secret of success is to stick together, like mud to a blanket. You belong to the **one class** and you are always right when you have your fist under the nose of the human sharks who skin you. The cook's labor is just as necessary as the skipper's, the fireman's energy as the engineer's technique. The boss doesn't employ you because he loves you, for as a matter of fact the rail boss never sees you, and doesn't want to see you, either. There is **profit** in your carcass and he wants to coin it into a bank balance. Day by day he coins up your nergy into golden dividends, and as soon as he has stripped your hide of the last ounce of your nervous and physical power, then he fires you to bum your food along the water-front for the rest of your days.

Fellow workers, get the class idea; our class against their class. Let us consider our children before their children, our women-folk before their women-folk, ourselves before both them and their lily-handed avarice. **And if they want a loaf of bread, let them earn it.**

### Coffin Unionism.

You know, fellow worker, that if you pay off in Genoa from an overseas ship you do not, so far, get protection from the local unions. The same was true in Buenos Aires and Rosario before the Marine Transport Workers were established there. There is no union there for you, and so you are shanghaied or shipped for any old wages at all. Now, fellow workers, we have to put an end to this for once and for all. You know that there are several great international shipping centres in the world that are similar to Genoa. There are Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Barcelona, Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Glasgow, Liverpool, London, Cardiff, Melbourne, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Seattle, Valparaiso, Callao and Rio de Janeiro. They are in precisely the same condition to the men working on overseas ships as Buenos Aires was before May, 1919.

Now you know, you British seamen, that even if Havelock Wilson's Union does such a lot for you in the ports of the United Kingdom, he does nothing for you in Helsingfors, Barcelona, or Shanghai. Neither does the Seafarers' Union nor the Hull Union. The Belgian Union doesn't protect its members in Copenhagen, Malmo, or Hong Kong. The International (?) Seamen's Union of the United States has no power in London, Rio, or Auckland, N. Z. When a badly injured Norwegian union-man sent a note from his ship in the Commercial Docks, London, to the delegate of the British Union to assist him in getting justice, he was informed that "the law of this country prevented **their** union from doing anything for him, but that they would work to get an Act thru Parliament that would help poor foreigners when they get hurt." So, fellows, you see how useless this kind of unionism is to the men who follow the deep sea. It is money wasted and time lost. It is the boss'es unionism, for it plays into his hands.

### The Amsterdam Federation.

The Yellow International Transport Workers' Federation has federated no one. Things are in as bad a state as they were in the year 1914. The conference held recently in Kristiania was remarkable for nothing except the banquet. In fact the average international congresses have become little else, except excuses for joy trips on the part of the Labor Generals of the different countries. They are tedious and useless, and couldn't organize a peanut stall. The future of the Marine Transport Workers will circle more round Moscow than Amsterdam.

### Towards Power.

The establishment of **Ship's Committees** is imperative. We have to open offices in all the ports that I have just mentioned. In some places the local organizations will gladly fall into line, and welcome them, for they are tired of carrying half a dozen union cards, and possessing no protection overseas. They require the "International and Universal" form of organization. Every sensible man is ripe for it, whatever his creed may be. While in port the ship's delegates will meet weekly, and arrangements shall be made to overcome

language difficulties, which is the chief obstacle. It would breed a fraternal spirit. Further, such a form of organization would so completely smash the existing national unions that the Vigilance Committees of the longshoremen will fall in line. The Marine Transport Workers would not control the Argentine ships in Buenos Aires, but they would in London, Glasgow or Genoa. The M. T. W. in Genoa would control all non-Italian tonnage and work hand in hand with the "Lavoratori del Mare". By these methods of organization we would encircle the world with a girdle of steel that would render the employers powerless. We would be on the way to control and to posses the ships. And, without being too hard on the theoretical internationalists, we would point out that there can never be an effective, usable World Power of the Workers until this, or some other similar project is launched and perfected. The closet philosophers may disagree with it, and the academicians who never coiled a rope, nor took a turn at the wheel, may see other ways to do it; they may offer opposition, if it merits so much of their attention, but they will not seriously deter it. It is enough to say that intelligent men who follow the sea feel that this method of industrial not-work is the starting point for **the Federated Workers' Republics of the Planet Earth.**

From practical experience it will be found necessary to have paid delegates to visit the ships in port, and to interview all ranks aboard. Men who are staunch industrialists and can speak two or more languages are the most desirable. They must be trained for the work, for they have to impart the ideas of industrial control. Scandinavians, Germans and Hollanders on deep-water traffic generally speak more or less English. In Buenos Aires we found that Scandinavians made the best delegates. For the Latin ships, you have to find men who can speak two or more languages, such as French, Italian, Greek and Spanish.

### Shore Delegates.

It will be the duty of the shore delegates to visit each ship in his area daily, to note how many men have left the ship, and to see that they register at the union office on paying off for further employment. The delegate must see that every ship has a full crew signed on at least three days before the ship is ready for sea, otherwise the dockers must be acquainted and the ship tied up. All employment must go by rotation, and be engaged only at the union office. In Buenos Aires we had three sections, viz., deck, engine-room and steward's. Officers and engineers were also shipped thru the union, when vacancies occurred in the port.

No seamen were allowed to visit ships to look for their own job, nor were they allowed to stay at, or visit non-union boarding-houses or bars. Captains were not allowed to be fastidious about the men that they wanted, for we took the standpoint that every man had a stomach, whether he was small or whether he was otherwise. If a man proved that he was a sailor, then that was all there was to it.

The shore delegates were responsible for the distribution of literature that was printed for the different grades in various languages. Special leaflets were issued to captains, officers and the men in the foc's'le. Whenever, in Buenos Aires, we had a serious fight an explanatory manifesto was issued in Spanish for the dock-owners. When the M. T. W. tied up the Dutch ships in February, 1920, at the request of the Dutch secretariat, the matter was explained in a Spanish leaflet to the dockers, and in a Dutch leaflet to the Dutch crews. Thus two national groups of workers fought together, altho they did not speak a word of one another's language.

### How We Did It in Buenos Aires.

In Buenos Aires we recognized the members of other overseas unions. We transferred them free. If a man was in good standing overseas, he merely registered at the union office for his next job and he paid nothing. All we required was that he should act according to the union rules in the port. This system smashed the shanghaiers out of their business and made it impossible for them to operate. When the dockers boycotted a ship at the behest of our union, they did not return to work until they had been paid for the time they had **not** worked, a fact that was not appreciated by the shipping companies. Doubtful ships and boarding houses were picketed, and the owners of the latter became little puppydogs under the rule of the union, whereas before they had been man-eaters and terrors to the seamen. We built that **power** out of 250 starving men of all nationalities, who had been sleeping in railway trucks, and getting a little food from the ships. They were the finest body of men that ever picketed a consulate or "uppercutted" a shanghaier. If we had 5,000 of such men scattered thru the marine industry today, we would have the boss shoveling coal in no time.

A little conference shows the kind of temper these men had. One day the news leaked thru that a shanghaier had boasted that he was going to bribe the police to get me arrested. A Chinese cook, who was a member of the union, went to his place, and showing him the point of a vicious-looking knife, he said, "If you allest secletally, I bloody well kill you, savvy?" He savvied all right. On the Norwegian steamer that I came north on, the Chinese steward had more wages than the chief engineer who was signed on in Norway. The least paid man on the ship was the third mate, who received about 30 crowns a month less than the Chinese galley boy. Both the Chinese were members of the Buenos Aires local of the M. T. W.

With power in our hands we may have the

# John Bull, the Sacred Cow and the Golden Calf

By J. A. Loeb

TO THE BRITON there is nothing so sacred as trade. He lives by it; it is the foundation of his home, his empire, his philosophy. You may denounce his royal house, his church, his universities, his administration. He will, upon occasion, behead or depose a king, disestablish his church, reform his universities or replace his administrators by others with different complections. But keep your profane hands from British trade. Naturally his trade and his trade-philosophy or religion have become predominant over all other philosophies or religions in the empire, and, because Britain is the classical example of a trade empire, also in all other empires which have striven to emulate her.

And so political economy has become the sacred cow and Adam Smith, Ricardo, Sir George Paish and their kind are her prophets. The sacred books are rather controversial. The disagreement of the prophets is at least as frequent and as contrasting as the accounts of the four evangelists, but then there are many things which may not be questioned. The law of supply and demand, the law of rents, of interest and of foreign exchange, Gresham's law—all of these are entitled to the veneration one accords to the decalogue. From a study of these laws one may, if he is among the accepted orthodox economists, predict what is going to happen in the world markets. In general it is safer to predict after the occurrence; but once in a while one may venture a guess in advance. Sir George Paish predicted the duration of the world war at less than a year and based his prediction on the German rate of exchange. This error would have no greater interest than the predictions of a trance medium were it not that it illustrates so well what makes of political economy such amusing piffle.

There was once a boy who was taking his bar examination. He failed utterly in most branches and when the kindly examiner said: "You do not seem well prepared in the common law; perhaps you have specialized in some branch?" he responded: "Yes, sir, I have made a thoro study of the Statutes." Thereupon the examiner said: "That is fine. A thoro knowledge of Statute law never hurt any lawyer. But what is to prevent some damned fool legislature from coming along and repealing everything you know?"

That is the present position of the economist. Malthus and Smith, Ricardo and Paish know the statute and their trouble is that the statute has been in force so long that they assume that it is the common law. Ever since there has been private property, which is ever since there are records, the statute has held good. The supreme courts of experience have held it constitutional. It was therefore quite natural to assume that the great dicta of the economists were basic—forgetting that what made them basic was the right of property. It was the old error involved in the assumption that man was made for the Sabbath, not the Sabbath for man.

And now we have a glimpse of the damned fool legislature that is going to repeal everything we know. That it is surely coming every one admits. So the best thing for the economist to do is to resist as far as possible the enactments, to take them up to higher courts, to fuss, to quibble, to point out reversible errors because a "t" was left uncrossed or an "i" undotted. It is absolutely necessary to show that a country which disregards the right of property cannot exist, must not exist.

This is all very well for the British economists. There are special reasons prevailing on the tight little isle that are not to be found elsewhere. Let us analyze.

The British Isles house a very dense population. With the most intensive cultivation they cannot produce enough to feed their people nor dig enough out of their mines nor manufacture enough in their workshops to barter for food for their people. Even their carrying trade and their brokerage and their thefts and spoliations from Negroes and Hindoos and Chinese will not supply the deficiencies. It was not always thus. Generations past the Isles were less populous, the British adventurers bolder and their piracies more profitable. They managed to accumulate a surplus which they invested abroad. They built breweries in the United States, bought newspapers, mincs, railroads and plantations everywhere and with the interests supplied the deficiencies at home. For many years they had no competition. The Spaniards learned that their treasure galleons from Peru and Mexico mostly went to feed the inhabitants of Sussex and Yorkshire. The Dutch found that their African colonies could not be held unless they were valueless. When gold and diamonds were found they belonged to the British by divine law. Until the Franco-Prussian war the Ger-

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pleasure of soon seeing Lord Inchcape going into print again because we are going to compel him to pay the same wages to Lascars and Chinese as he does to the Britishers. He may not like it, but that's his funeral.

**What we accomplished in Argentine can be accomplished everywhere else if the boys will get together and build this movement from the bottom up. We want delegates to give her a start. We are ONE CLASS. We must HAVE ONE UNION, with ONE AIM—the mastery of the ships and wharves, and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat on the Ocean.**

man, according to the British humorous papers, was a fat, good-natured, unambitious individual who loved beer, saur-kraut, a porcelain pipe, symphony concerts and philosophy. After 1876 he turned his hand to manufacture. In a few years he earned a surplus above his needs and this surplus he invested abroad. It was a true surplus, one which might not be needed for years to come and could therefore be invested on very favorable terms for the borrower in long term credits, at low rates, under conditions which did not provide a pound of flesh as penalty. Very soon German money began to drive British money from place to place. South America, Africa, even British colonies began to show a marked preference for German loans. Mesopotamia was opened up. We know the sequel.

The present task of the economist is the return to "normalcy." In a world which has been abnormal for six or seven years this will not prove easy. Even African savages have learned that private-property rights are not sacred under all conditions and British miners are becoming almost as intelligent. At the present writing there is a great excitement about the threatened strike of the Triple Alliance in Great Britain. There need not be. Beyond the destruction of a few millions worth of property, which will be paid for by taxing those least able to bear the taxation, and possibly beyond raising wages, which also will be paid for by the weak and helpless, nothing much will or can be done. We have had dozens of threats of strikes since 1914. Each time a compromise was effected, promises were made that no one believed in, and work was resumed. Is this because the British worker is really more timid or less intelligent than the worker elsewhere? Not at all. But he has a different problem. If Britain drops the present economic dispensation without a world-wide simultaneous change there will be, it is estimated, some 15 millions of people on the British Isles who will not be able to live there. There would be no means of supporting them adequately. And that, in short, is why the sacred cow must be sent to slaughter.

Until arrangements can be made for a period of transition in England so that millions may continue to live without producing, until an immense surplus populaton may be transported where they may be utilized or some productive work found for them at home, England cannot drop the present economic system. Wage slavery must continue. The only hope for the British lies in a world-wide revolution.

## *Vive La Commune!...*

A WALL WHOSE STONES ARE ALIVE WITH MEMORIES.

**"The Wall of the Federals," against which in 1871 hundreds of the Paris Communards were stood up and shot.**

# The International Situation

By H. Van Dorn

IN CONSIDERING the international labor and political situation a few salient features stand out in bold relief against the maze of seemingly meaningless and disconnected happenings. By first enumerating them we will be able so much the easier to grasp the full significance of these events.

(1) The lot of the working class is growing steadily worse, not only in America but in all other countries as well. A lowering of wages and an increase in unemployment is in evidence everywhere, with no reason to expect an improvement in the near future.

(2) The capitalist class has shown an utter inability to cope with the situation. Not only have the capitalists and financiers shown themselves incapable of working out a co-ordinated plan of action on the international field, thru the judicious handling of loans, credits, and the import and export trade, but they have also proven unable to manage the industrial situation of their respective countries, considered apart from the rest of the world.

(3) Furthermore, the industrial masters have displayed a truly astounding lack of vision. Instead of trying to alleviate the distress of the people, in order to give an added lease of life to their regime of misrule, they seem to be intent upon doing everything in their power to aggrevate it. By their foolish acts they are making enemies of large masses of the population which were formerly their staunchest supporters. As illustrations, let us but cite the thousands of farmers who were ruined last spring and summer by the cut in the market price of farm products, and by being refused bank loans. In their mad endeavor to retrieve a part of the three billion dollars which they lost by not being able to collect on their exports to war-impoverished Europe, our capitalists and financiers utterly ruined uncounted thousands of cotton, wool, wheat, corn and stock raisers. Another example is their suicidal policy of the "open shop." Pushed to its logical outcome, this so-called "Americanization plan" can have but one ultimate result: The destruction of the American Federation of Labor and other conservative labor bodies, and a corresponding increase in power, prestige and membership of the radical bodies, in America best exemplified by the Industrial Workers of the World. That the United States capitalists are not alone in their imbecility, is shown by the order of the French Government dissolving the Confederation Generale du Travail, the French counterpart of our own A. F. of L. The great truth ,written large over the pages of history, that no ruling class ever benefits by the mistakes of its predecessors, ought to become readily apparent to every student of contempoprary events. Truly, whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad—and blind.

4) A clarifying of the atmosphere between the two opposing camps of labor and capital is taking place in all countries. The line of demarcation between them is becoming sharper and more distinct. Furthermore, in the camp of labor, both on the economic and political fields, the tendency is "leftward": Those who are radical become more radical, and those who are "yellow" are being exposed in the full, sickening repulsiveness of their "yellowness" as the social-patriots and betrayers of the working class that they are, and are being gradually shoved over into the camp of the enemy. Industrial organizations with revolutionary aims, such as the Syndicalists of the Latin, Teutonic and Scandinavian countries, the Shop Stewards in Great Britain and the Industrial Workers of the World in North and South America, have in the last few months made great strides both in prestige and in membership. On the other hand, the opportunist parliamentary Socialists of practically all countries are on their way to permanent oblivion.

(5) Bolshevik diplomacy has in the last few months greatly weakened the spheres of British and Japanese influence in the Near and Far East, and has definitely established the Soviet power as a world-force of paramount importance.

### Russia

During the last year, and especially in the course of the last few months, a number of events have taken place tending to greatly strengthen Soviet Russia, both internally and externally.

On April 28th, 1920, by a comparatively bloodless revolution the Moslem Republic of Azerbaijan adopted the Soviet form of government.

In November, 1920, Wrangel's army was annihilated, shattering thereby the last hopes of the Allied imperialists of subduing Soviet Russia thru armed intervention.

On December 6th, 1920, the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia was proclaimed.

On February 19th, 1921, Georgia turned bolshevist. By adopting the soviet form of government these three Transcaucasian countries have added immeasurable prestige to Soviet Russia in the Near and Far East.

Meanwhile Finland, Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania, the four new Baltic states that adjoin Soviet Russia on the west, have all concluded peace treaties with the Bolshevist Government. Esthonia was the first to yield to the necessities of the situation, and Latvia and Lithuania followed her example. The negotiations between Moscow and Finland dragged on for months, marked by many breakings off and renewals, but the treaty was finally signed on Oct. 14th, 1920.

On February 28th, 1921, a commercial treaty was signed between Afghanistan and Soviet Russia

Soviet negotiations with Persia and China looking to trade stimulation have been going on for quite some time.

Peace has been signed with Poland and a trade treaty with Great Britain, after long drawn-out negotiations lasting many months.

On March 16th a treaty was signed in Moscow between the Soviet Government and the Turkish Nationalists. By the terms of this treaty the Russians recognize Constantinople as the capital of Turkey, thereby definitely abandoning the desire to make of that city a Russian port, which was a standing clause in the foreign policy of czarist Russia, and was the chief inducement for Russia's entry into the world war on the side of the Allies.

So, after three years of intense warfare on many fronts, Soviet Russia at last finds herself at peace with the world, as far as military operations are concerned, and will henceforward be able to devote her energies to economic reconstruction. The Soviet has lost completely its novel and transitory character and has notified the capitalist world that it has made up its mind to remain on the Planet Earth as one of its permanent institutions, whether the capitalists like it or not.

There are four features in the internal policy of Soviet Russia which give assurance for the expectation that Russia will blossom forth on the economic field during the reconstruction period in a manner that will even surpass the industrial activities of the capitalist states. They are:

(1) Electrification. A plan for electrifying the whole of Russia has been worked out in detail by the Supreme Council of National Economy. Light and motive power for every town and village in that immense land will be supplied by countless electricity generating and distributing stations on the construction of which thousands of workmen are already engaged.

(2) Education. An intensive campaign for educating the peasants and workmen in rudimentary as well as technical knowledge is being carried on. Thousands of elementary and higher schools of learning have been opened, even in the most outlying parts of the country.

(3) Concessions to foreign capital, for the purpose of exploiting vast tracts of land and of mineral deposits, especially in Siberia. This will have a healthy effect in stimulating industrial life and will bring thousands of mechanics and technical exp rts into Russia.

(4) The increasingly greater share that the industrial unions are beginning to take in the direction of the country's affairs. The workers are learning how to administer industry by actual experience.

### Great Britain

Upon leaving Soviet Russia and reconstruction and turning to the capitalist countries we are faced by discord, unemployment and industrial dissolution. In Great Britain the miners have been out on strike since April 1st, and an agreement was reached by them with the other two members of the Triple Alliance, the railroad and the transport workers, that these latter would also come out on April 15th. It seems, however, that at the last minute of the eleventh hour the workers have again been betrayed by their leaders, as the sympathetic strike order has been rescinded. This leaves it up to the miners to fight it out alone.

The situation in Great Britain is not, in the nature of things, very encouraging. The most that can be hoped for is the ousting of Lloyd George and the setting up of a parliamentary Labor government, resembling somewhat the present German social-democratic government. This would be a long step in advance, but it would still leave Great Britain far removed from a genuine working class administration. In the meantime the workers have to develop more initiative and get rid of the incubus of ther present bourgeois-minded leaders.

The Irish people are still keeping up their fight for national independence, and we may rest assured, unless our knowledge of the Irish character is absolutely wrong, that they will keep at it until Ireland has gained complete sovereignty. At the same time the struggle is taking on more and more the aspects of class war. The red flag is no longer a novelty. In some districts it is beginning to assume the significance of the national emblem.

Verily, England's tribulations are manifold. She has been driven out of the Caucasus, her influence in the Near East is fast declining, in Mesopotamia American capitalists are encroaching on her oil rights, the Greeks, backed by her in their war on the Turkish Nationalists, have been utterly routed, the Irishmen simply will not behave as all nice and obedient subjects should, and now along comes Gandhi, a barefoot Hindoo religious ascetic, and starts a "non-co-operation" movement in India. This movement aims at a complete separation of India from Great Britain, and has assumed alarming proportions. It has found its chief support in the working classes, who have declared war on liquor, that staunch old prop of exploitation the world over, are gathering together to talk of freedom and are demanding better wages and working conditions. When we remember that the population of India is over 300 millions, that its raw products, exported to the British Isles, supply employment to hundreds of thousands, and that it is the source of the wealth of many British captains of industry, we will begin to appreciate the immensity of the problem that Great Britain is confronted with.

Can these events be interpreted as forebodings that the glory and the power of the British Empire, on which the sun never sets, are on the decline?

### Germany

The German workers find themselves in a peculiarly unfortunate position. Besides having to slave for their domestic exploiters they also have to satisfy the demands of their foreign industrial masters, the Allied imperialists. On top of that

they are kept from taking any real steps for genuine betterment of their condition and for the overthrow of capitalism by their own purely political and evolutionary ideology, instilled into their minds by many years of tutelage under the guidance of the Social-democratic party.

The Communist uprisings which broke out in several industrial centers during the latter part of March, and which cost scores of lives, were foredoomed to failure, for the simple reason that instead of attempting to capture the factories, mines, railroads, for the **workers**, as workers, they attempted to capture the governmental institutions for a revolutionary **political party**. These Germans make the fatal mistake of imagining that Friedrich Ebert and his assistants are the rulers of Germany, instead of Hugo Stinnes and his group of financiers and captains of industry. When will the workers of industrialized countries learn that only thru strong revolutionary economic organizations will it be possible for them to overthrow capitalism?

Several highly significant events have transpired during the last month or two. The plebescite in Upper Silesia resulted in that province being retained by Germany. Had it turned out otherwise, German industry would have been seriously affected, as this is one of the chief coal and metal regions of Germany.

It has been stated on good authority that the recent workers' uprisings were caused in large measure by the Allied military occupation of the Ruhr coal basin and by the severity of the reparations indemnities. If the Allied imperialists press them hard enough the German workmen may yet be forced to throw off the yoke of wage slavery thru the sheer necessity of self-preservation.

Another cause of worry for the Prussian statesmen is the separatist movements which have arisen in the Rhineland and in Bavaria. These movements are supported, at least passively, by France. As a contrast, there is no better example of the selfishness and stupidity of the Allied imperialists than the provision in the Versailles treaty forbidding the union of Austria with Germany. By being fearful that such union would provide a way for the expansion of German influence thruout the Balkans and the Near East, the Allies have killed Austrian industry and condemned hundreds of thousands of men, women and children to certain death from starvation and disease.

In a note, dated March 29th, sent to the German foreign minister, Dr. Simons, by Secretary Hughes, he declares that the United States "stands with the governments of the Allies in holding Germany responsible for the war and therefore morally bound to make reparation, so far as may be possible." However, there is no indication that the Harding administration intends either to sign the Versailles treaty or to join the now existing League of Nations. The Knox resolution for a separate peace with Germany was re-introduced in the Senate on April 13th and there is an even chance that it may be passed.

Unemployment is as much on the increase in Germany as anywhere else. Reports show a decreased output in practically every industry, with the consequent laying off of help. The textile, paper and china porcelain industries especilly have been severely hit.

The much-heralded "war after the war," for the rehabilitation of German industrial supremacy, has begun in real earnest. A fifty per cent tax on German imports into Great Britain has been fixed by the British parliament. To retaliate for this great efforts are being made to boycott all British, French and Belgian made goods, and to withdraw all the ships from the German lines to France, Great Britain, Belgium and their colonies and put all the craft thus released into the trade with neutral countries, particularly the United States and South America. The German manufacturers are also trying to outbid their "enemy competitors," and as a good beginning in that direction the Krupps have secured an order for 10,000 railroad car wheels from the Argentine government.

Germany is also making strenuous efforts to get the first pick of the trade with Soviet Russia, and a trade commission with far-reaching powers has been sent to Moscow, which amounts practically to a recognition of the soviets.

### France

To prove that in modern economic wars the workers always lose, no matter which side wins, we can cite no better example than France. Unemployment and suffering are about as great there as in Germany, and conditions are growing steadily worse. The French worker cannot purchase for his present wages as much as he could before the war since, according to the latest reports, his living costs him just six times what it did in the spring of 1914.

We would be mistaken, however, in thinking that in France the capitalist order of society is in any great danger of being thrown overboard at an early date. The French working class is as little organized, in a revolutionary sense, as that of other nations, and as much under the guidance of reactionary leaders. One would think that following the dissolution by order of court, on January 19th, of the General Confederation of Labor the workers would swing sharply to the left, but, to judge by latest reports, such has not been the case. The syndicalist minority within the confederation, numbering about 300,000, and the communists are doing good work, but the results are not very noticeable.

The overthrow of capitalism in France will be especially hard on account of a large proportion of the population being made up of the petty bourgeoisie, shopkeepers and small peasant proprietors. The French workers still have many weary months of suffering and privation ahead of them.

France is today the bulwark of world reaction,

and her people should therefore perhaps be congratulated because the imperialists have been meeting up with one setback after another. First the collapse of the Polish war and of Wrangel, backed by Franch gold, then the sovietization of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, and now British rivalry for colonial and export trade. On top of that, according to one of the foremost French authorities on finance, Ernest Thisserand, France is in the midst of an unprecedented financial collapse and is facing a banking crash.

### Italy and Spain

The two European countries in which the proletarian revolution is most likely to take place first are **Italy** and **Spain.** Unemployment is as acute and conditions as bad here as elsewhere, and the workers are developing a genuine spirit of militancy. Also, the left-ward trend in the ranks of labor is more noticeable in these countries than anywhere else. Another healthy sign is that the workers have abandoned to a large extent, especially in Spain, any hopes that they may have entertained of being able to fight capitalism thru parliament. The biggest labor body in Spain, the **Confederación Nacional del Trabajo,** is committed to strictly revolutionary syndicalist principles. In Italy the syndicalists number some 600,000 members.

Of late many encounters, sometimes sanguinary, have taken place between the **fascisti,** the Italian nationalist white guards, and the revolutionary workers. In Spain the persecution of members of the revolutionary labor unions continues unabated. Pestaña is still in the fortress of Montjuich and other workers are being arrested by the hundreds and persecuted and maltreated most severely. The boycott against Spanish-made goods has not been put into effect with any degree of success. From last reports it appears, however, that the Moscow Red International is doing everything in its power to help the Spanish fellow workers.

### Other Countries

Two hundred thousand workers are reported to be out of work in little **Switzerland.** Unemployment is becoming acute in the **Scandinavian countries.** But the workers of these countries are still under the spell of political socialism and have a long way to travel before their organizations will turn into militant bodies with revolutionary aims.

The problems presented by most of the **Balkan States** are so complicated that it is hard to give an accurate analysis of their present condition. However, in at least one of them, namely, **Bulgaria,** the revolutionary movement is virile and the outlook hopeful.

In **Hungary** and **Japan** the White Terror continues unchecked. In **China** one of the most appalling tragedies in the history of mankind is taking place. Some twenty million people are doomed to die from starvation. The crop devastated, hunger affected region ordinarily contains forty million inhabitants. Under the wall of Tientsin 25,000 men, women and children lie waiting for death.

It was reported on April 8th that Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who became provisional president of China after the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, has been elected president of the republic of South China.

There is no better way to end this article on the international situation than by reproducing a news item from **Argentine,** which shows the splendid spirit of solidarity that prevails among the **Marine Transport Workers of South America,** organized along industrial union and I. W. W. lines:

> Buenos Aires, April 5, 1921.—The so-called port soviet, which has ruled shipping here with a high hand for more than a year by declaring strikes and boycotts against vessels, commodities and individual houses, is now in direct conflict with the United States government as a result of a strike of firemen aboard the Munson liner Martha Washington.
>
> Members of the engineroom crew, who struck when the steamer arrived here two weeks ago, immediately were supported by Buenos Aires stevedores and ship supply laborers, with the result that the steamer could not be unloaded.
>
> The American consul, after several conferences with the port leaders, told them that the United States government forbids recognition of port unions and that the firemen must treat with the consul direct. The port unions then notified the Munson line officials that unless the men's demands were met within forty-eight hours they would boycott all Munson line steamers, including mail boats.

ALWAYS THREATENING—ALWAYS FALLING!

# Revolution: A Creative Process

**A Book Review: By S. P.**

**Creative Revolution: A Study of Communist Ergatocracy: By Eden and Cedar Paul: New York: Thomas Seltzer: $2.50.**

> "Revolution is the highest form of creation, the re-creation of the animate matter of the social organism."—J. R. White.

IT IS to be doubted if a good many self-styled "revolutionists" are really familiar with the essential nature of the revolutionary process. "Revolution" is an easy word to use. It rolls glibly off the tongue, requiring searcely any accompanying effort of thought. Now, however, that the close of the world-war has made the collapse of the capitalist system seemingly inevitable within the eurrent century, now that revolution has become a matter of decades, rather than of eenturies, and perhaps, not of decades but of years, it has become increasingly necessary to elarify our understanding of the word.

Radicalism signifies a going to the roots of things, and if we are to be radically revolutionary, we must traee the roots of the process in the soils of philosophy, psyehology, and natural science, as well as in those of economies and soeiology. That is what these two English writers, Eden and Cedar Paul, attempt to do. Their book, sub-titled "A Study of Communist Ergatocracy," and dedieated to Lenin, is in reality a text-book, eompiled with exemplary clearness and eoneiseness, of Left-ism—at least, of British Left-ism, tho the point of view is by no means narrowly British, as a ehapter, headed by a quotation from the I. W. W. Preamble and devoted to "Soeialism Through the Class Struggle" will testify.

The authors plunge into the midst of things (always the best way of making a beginning) with a ehapter on "Communist Ergatoeracy." The latter word may take the reader's breath away at first with its novelty, but it is soon found to be a very good word, indeed, and one which ought to be popularized, being much better than the eumbersome "dietatorship of the proletariat." The single word—literally, "workers' rule"—means praetically the same thing.

In this first ehapter, we find the eargo eonsiderably lightened at the outset when, without a whimper, the idea of "demoeraey" is summarily dumped overboard:

"Stop talking about demoeracy. You think you are demoerats, but you are not. You think you want demoeraey, but you don't. You are ergatoerats, and you want ergatoeraey. Demoeracy is the method of the outworn era of eapitalism, and 'democracy' is a term that has been soiled by all ignoble use. Leave demoeracy to the liberal bourgeoisie and to the Laodieeans among the socialists. Your objective is ergatoeracy."

The preeeding quotation from Bernard Shaw's play, "You Never Can Tell" indicates that the authors may have picked up their word from a man whom the mareh of things appears to have left behind.

The remainder of the chapter is devoted to the drawing of a distinction between socialism and eommunism, an attempt at a definition of socialism, and finally, a definition of the word, revolution. These definitions and distinctions may be regarded as a preliminary clearing of the ground. One sentence is of interest: "Left wing socialism has an anarchist sub-flavor." Revolution is defined in the words of Engels as "a total soeial change," further deseribed by the authors as "ostensibly rapid and very thorough." The question as to whether or not the revolution may be brought about by peaeeful means is raised but left for such answer as is given it later in the book.

In eoncluding their introductory chapter, the writers take a mild slam at those who are inclined to believe in the infallibility of Marx and Engels.

"As from the gospels, so from Marx and Engels, the adherents of conflicting schools can readily select isolated passages which seem to justify their respeetive views by the **ipse dixit** of a master. 'But they did not know everything down in Judee,' and each generation must make its own eontribution to the fires of human progress."

Having broken ground with this essential idea, that revolution means the bringing of the workers to power, the exponents of ergatocraey go on to present us with views of the various trends in the modern revolutionary movement.

The idea of "Soeialism through Soeial Solidarity," an idea exemplified in the Fabian philosophy, an essentially British manifestation, but one wheih has its ramifications elsewhere, is first discussed. It is, as the authors say, the philosophy of "Bring soeialism, but not in our time, O Lord." It is the philosophy whieh leads to state soeialism and which masks itself in the parliamentary dilly-dallying of the British Independent Labor Party. The ehapter eloses with the eonelusion that parliamentary forms are outworn, that "the growing eeonomic power of the workers must fashion new forms of political expression," and that "the main impetus of advance must be the vital impetus of the elass struggle."

This brings us elosely home, for it brings us to the philosophy of the Wobbly Preamble.

"Class-war socialists believe that men are generally guided by eeonomie elass-interest when they are **aware** of it. The objeet of the working of bourgeois political and edueational institutions is to prevent proletarians from becoming aware of the meaning of the proletarian status, to persuade them that they are 'eitizens of the state.' On the other hand, the objeet of sueh teachings as that eontained in the

**Preamble of the I. W. W.** (that 'pernicious organization,' as A. G. Gardiner termed it not long ago in the 'Daily News') is to convince them that they are proletarians first, last, and all the time; that the citizenship of the capitalist state is of value solely to the beneficiaries of capitalism; and that there is no possible community of interest between a class that lives by ownership and a class that lives by labour."

To the class-conscious Wobbly, this may seem like a repetition of his A B C's, but he will find much in the chapter to interest him. He will find, for example, a discussion of criticisms of the constructive side of syndicalism. On the whole, it will prove one of the most interesting chapters of the book.

Next comes a discussion of the British Shop Stewards' movement. The significance of the Shop Stewards as the "counterpart of the Russian soviet organization" is brought out. In this connection, the words of Lenin, quoted in another part of the book, may be recalled:

"Strikes and soviets. If these two habits once get hold, nothing will keep the workmen from them. And soviets, once started, must sooner or later come to supreme power."

"The shop stewards' movement," the authors tell us, "aims primarily at perfecting the machinery of industrial unionism, and at securing the control of industry by the workers through workshop control . . . the movement is before all revolutionary . . . in Britain, as in Russia, it will once and forever abolish the rule of those who live by ownership and will substitute for that dominion the rule, or rather, the administration, of those who live by labour . . . it will replace bourgeois democracy by communist ergatocracy."

By this time we are finding the word, ergatocracy, no longer such a bogey as it may have appeared in the first pages of the book, and its meaning has been considerably cleared. The method by which, in the opinion of the writers, the revolution is to be accomplished and an ergatocracy established also becomes clearer:

"We must concentrate our energies upon organizing and educating our fellow workers, so that when a favourable moment comes there may be an adequate revolutionary minority able to avail itself of the new instrument, and a mass psychology which may at least not be hostile to its employment."

In other words, the revolution must be led and, in the end, accomplished largely by a vanguard of the working class, composed of proletarian intelligentsia—for the proletariat must ultimately develop its own intelligentsia.

Early in the book, the authors have pointed out the two main currents into which the stream of modern socialism has divided. They distinguish these currents as those of evolutionary socialism and revolutionary socialism. Here, perhaps, in the doctrine of the "favourable moment" and the "adequate revolutionary minority," we have the point of meeting of the evolutionary and the revolutionary streams. Revolution is still seen as a process of evolution and must come as the inexorable result of the working of evolutionary laws, but, nevertheless, if it is to be the sort of revolution we want, it may not safely be left to evolution alone. We must plan and organize, in order that there may be that "adequate revolutionary minority" when the "favourable moment" comes. In other words, revolution, after all, must be an essentially **creative** process.

Creation in connection with revolution is no new thing in the realm of natural science. The theory of "Creative Evolution" has been evolved by Bergson, the title of whose book the authors have parodied in naming their own. A later chapter of the present volume is devoted to a further exposition of this point.

In a passage quoted some paragraphs above, the phrase occurs: "the rule, or rather the administration, of those who live by labour." This phrase is significant. The idea of democracy—'government of the people, by the people, for the people"—has, as we have seen been thrown overboard. In its place is to bet set up an ergatocracy, or rule of the workers. But the **rule** of the workers, according to the theory elaborated in this treatise, is—ultimately, at least—to be supplanted by the **administration** of the workers. Not the rule of persons but the administration of things, in the interest of the working class, i. e., in the interest of all socety, for all society will then belong to the working class—is to be the aim of the communist state or that which follows it.

In the conclusion of the chapter on the Shop Stewards' movement, a movement which Lenin sees as the "microbe" of English Bolshevism, occurs a passage which should appeal to industrial unionists:

"But the industrial union is likely to survive throughout the period of transition. It is futile, therefore, to talk of scrapping the trade unions which will grow into these great corporations of the future. This is no matter of pure theory. In Russia, just as the co-operatives have not merely survived but have played, and continue to play, a role of supreme importance, so also, after the revolution, will there be abundant scope for the activities of what, in the new Russia, are termed 'professional unions.'"

Chapter titles will serve to indicate the ground covered in the remainder of the book: "Historical Significance of the Great War"; "The Russian Revolution"; "The Third International"; "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat"; "The Iron Law of Oligarchy"; "Socialism Through Parliament or Soviet?"; "Creative Revolution"; and "Freedom."

One of the three great contributions of the Russian revolution is found to be the overthrow in the radical mind of the idea of pacifism, or rather the clarification of the idea. Pacifism in a master-class war is seen to be something quite different from pacifism in the world-wide class struggle. The other great contributions of the Russian movement, as our

authors see them, are the idea of the soviet as the form of organization in the transitorial communist state, and the body of revolutionary principles evolved by the Third International.

The latter is discussed at length in the chapter devoted to it. In their chapter on the proletarian dictatorship, the writers, while evidencing a determination all along not to be Marx-bound, draw upon the great leader for principles in support of the theory.

One of the most interesting pertions of the entire work is the chapter on "The Iron Law of Oligarchy." It is an idealistic, semi-poctical sort of thing. After the revolution, what? After the establishment of the socialist or communist state, what? These are questions we all of us often ask. The answer here given may be startling to some.

Just as our idea of democracy was scrapped, so here we are asked to discard some of our old ideas of human "freedom." At the close of the chapter we are just about convinced that an oligarchy, i. e., a dictatorship, however mild, in some form or other — will always be necessary. The theory of "an elite, self-appointed, like the 'voluntary nobility of H. G. Wells,'" a free association of the good and the wise for the direction of the rest of society—all this provides at least interesting reading, tho all such discussions, even Lenin's picture of "proletarian democracy" and the "withering away of the state," seem a trifle premature.

It is not always bad to dream, however, and it is always good to think.

The question of parliamentarian socialism is again raised in Chapter X, with a distinction between "parliamentary" and "political" action.

In the chapter on "Creative Revolution," the authors take up once more the thread of their main thesis and bring it to a conclusion. The contributions of Newton, Darwin, Marx, Bergson, and Freud to revolutionary theory are considered. Here, we dive into natural science, philosophy, psychology, and even metaphysics.

It is, indeed, on the metaphysical note, largely derived, it would seem, from the Freudian wish-theory, that the book ends. In the final anlysis, we are going to have revolution because we **desire** it.

Schopenhauer gave us "the will to live." We have had the "will to believe," and what not. Come the Pauls, who give us, as a triumphant last note, the "will to revolution."

# General Defense News

**By John Martin**

NEVER before was the need of solidarity and concerted action in behalf of our imprisoned fellow workers greater than it is now. On Monday, April 11th, we were informed that the United States Supreme Cort had refused to review the Chicago case. A few weeks previously, a similar refusal by the same court in the Sacramento case was made public. All hope for the release of the fellow workers involved in these two cases thru the action of the courts has ceased. Only by Labor's united action can we now hope to save our fellow workers from serving the savage sentences imposed upon them. Workers, act today! Demand the immediate release of all industrial and political prisoners! Let the powers that be know that you stand solidly behind these workers and that you will continue to demand their release until the prison doors swing open for them, and not be put off by mere promises.

The refusal of the Supreme Court to review the I. W. W. cases should remove whatever illusions that may still linger in the minds of the workers as to "equality before the law." It should prove to all, beyond a doubt, that there is one kind of law for the packers, the Silverthornes, and the masters in general, and one—or none at all—for the workers. Compared with decisions in other cases, it shows that the offices of the meat trust and the lumber kings must be held immune from search and seizure while those of the I. W. W. may be raided at any time in the most illegal way imaginable.

The Wichita case is still pending in the Appellate Court. We are not entertaining any hope that the decision which will be rendered in it will in any way differ from, or be mare just than, those rendered in the Chicago and Sacramento cases.

### Arrests and Dismissals

Two fellow workers, Robert Olson and John Walzell, were arrested at Omaha, Nebraska, for putting up posters advertising an amnesty meeting. Walzell was later released while Olson was fined $50. The local committee has appealed his case.

On March 19th, two fellow workers, Frank Boggio and Wm. Hines, were arrested at Memphis, Tennessee, charged with attempting to hold up a local grocery store and wounding the owner thereof. From what we are able to ascertain, these two fellow workers are absolutely innocent of the charge against them. They have engaged a local attorney to look after their interests, and we have requested him to obtain a postponement in this case in order to give one of our attorneys time to investigate the full details pertaining to it.

Attorney Mulks has been sent to Los Angeles, California, to defend Fellow Worker W. Gibbs, in his second trial, and also to take charge of the criminal syndicalism cases pending in that city. Gibbs was, up until his arrest, a very active and well-liked delegate in and around Mecca, California. On February 19th, four men entered and robbed a construction camp six miles out of Mecca. Altho every-

body knows that Gibbs was in Mecca at the time the robbery occurred, he was nevertheless arrested and charged with having participated in it. He was later tried on that charge, but the jury disagreed and a new trial was ordered, the date of which was set for April 13th. We have not yet received any information as to the outcome of it.

The charge of criminal syndicalism against Fellow Worker William Danton has finally been dismissed, and he was released from the county jail at Lyons, Kansas, on April 5th. Warren Lamson's case, which has been pending at Marion, Kansas, under the injunction order of that state since June 10th, 1920, may also be dismissed. Fellow Worker Lamson has been at liberty on bond since shortly after his arrest.

The attorney general of Oklahoma has confessed error in the criminal syndicalism case against Jack Terrell, who was convicted and sentenced on that charge to seven years in the Oklahoma penitentiary on February 16th, 1920. The case was appealed and the only reply the prosecution could make to our briefs was to confess error. We are now awaiting the final dismissal of the case.

In the case of Fellow Workers Tom Foley and High Delaney, who were arrested at Florence, Kansas, March 5th, on a complaint charging them with both criminal syndicalism and vagrancy, the trial resulted in a jury disagreement, after which the case was dismissed and the fellow workers were released.

**Bond Needed for Fellow Worker Tonn**

As it will be remembered, Fellow Worker Henry Tonn, a member of I. U. No. 310, was convicted of criminal syndicalism on March 2nd, 1920, at Marion, Iowa, and sentenced to three years in the state penitentiary. His bond, pending appeal, was at that time set at $3,000.00. In the very near future the brief in his case will be filed with the Supreme Court of Iowa and it is very likely that it may take that court a long time before it renders its decision, and should Fellow Worker Tonn, in the meantime, have served his sentence, a decision may never be rendered. Under no circumstances can we afford to run the risk of such a possibility since the winning of this appeal will have a far-reaching, beneficial effect on other similar cases. If we obtain Tonn's release on bonds, his sentence will not expire and the court will consequently be forced to render a decision in his appeal. We therefore request all fellow workers to send us the names of persons within the State of Iowa who may be willing to place their property or cash as bail sureties for Fellow Worker Tonn. Cash or Liberty bonds from outside the State of Iowa will also be acceptable.

**Financial Help Still Needed**

We should not let the refusal of the Supreme Court to review the Chicago and Sacramento cases dishearten us. We must remember that our imprisoned fellow workers' needs must be taken care of, also their wives and children. We must not cease our efforts in their behalf. There are also still many state cases to be defended and these things cannot be properly attended to unless you give us your financial help. The I. W. W. has in the past always proven its solidarity and courage in the face of adversity and we are sure that our fellow workers will face the conditions now confronting us with the same spirit of solidarity and courage as was shown in the past.

**Make your donations payable to the General Defense Committee and send them to John Martin, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.**

# THE RIVER

**The gray clouds that float above me soften with a silvery light;**
**Earth and sky each vie in beauty as day mellows into night.**
**In the valley, there, the river thru the woodland winds its way,**
**The sky's beauty is reflected in its water all the day.**
**In the distance a small row-boat gently floats upon the tide,**
**And I hear a banjo's music, played by lover to his bride.**
**On the hillside, gently sloping, hidden half by knoll and tree,**
**Are the homes of sturdy settlers, men who love the strong and free.**

**But the river flows on swiftly, past my hesitating feet,**
**And my fance sees the city built where fresh and salt waves meet;**
**There I see the sky's rare glory reflect in a temple's domes,**
**There I see the sick and needy, living in their tragic homes.**
**I see mansions, terraced, vineclad; streets so wide and shining white;**
**I see hovels, dark and dismal; alleys crime-stained, like the night.**
**In a mansion youth is dancing! in an attic age asks bread;**
**And a mother, by a bedside, sits and watches with her dead.**

**Julia C. Coons.**

# Wasteful Methods of Distributing City Milk

**By the I. W. W. Bureau of Industrial Research**

ONE of the major wastes chargeable to the present industrial system is found in chaotic methods of distribution. Roughly one half the cost of all finished products delivered to the consumer lies in distribution and selling. The raw materials, and the expense of actually making the product ready for sale constitutes the other half. Here is an appalling leakage.

The main elements in the present high cost of distribution are these:

1. Selling expenses of manufacturers.
2. Expenses of wholesalers and jobbers.
3. Expenses of retailers.
4. Transportation and delivery.
5. Advertising.
6. Speculation.
7. Dumping and spoilage.

All along the line from the point where the finished product stands on the manufacturer's shelves, or in the farmer's barn, to where it is taken by the ultimate consumer, a host of middlemen, salesmen, jobbers, brokers, speculators, carriers, stand, each doing his level best to buy cheap and sell dear, and make all the profit possible, utterly regardless of the final cost to the consumer, or the most efficient method of delivery. As a result a great section of the working population of the country is diverted from the field of primary production or straight line distribution, to serve the chaotic ends of these wrangling middlemen. Uncounted thousands of clerks, bookkeepers, drummers, salesmen, advertising copy writers, railway workers, truckmen, storekeepers, storage house employes, together with vast amounts of good raw material, flow into this rough and tumble of distribution where perhaps a tenth of the workers and a tenth of the raw material could provide for the whole mechanism, if distribution were only put on a straight line engineering basis.

Today, the situation may be likened to a woman who has just made a pile of hot griddle cakes. Her hungry family is seated around the kitchen table eagerly waiting for them. She takes the pile out to the woodshed and drops two or three; she lowers them down the well for a while; she throws some to the chickens; she stands and admires the view; she goes down the road a piece; she makes a tour of the house, and finally pushes what is left on to the plates of the patient family, taking care to give one favored child more than to all the rest combined. Of course, no woman outside of a madhouse delivers hot cakes on this schedule. But that is about the way in which the present distribution system delivers them.

The whole question is so vast, that to be understood, it must be studied, a section at a time. It is the purpose of the present review to survey only one small item in the chaos of distribution—the milk supply of cities.

Milk is one of the most important of all food products. Today it represents about 15 per cent of the diet of the American people, and it could to advantage represent more. Milk contains all the elements necessary to maintain life—the protein, the fat, the carbohydrates, and particularly those little-known substances called vitamines, which protect the body from serious deficiency diseases, such as scurvy. Babies and children need milk particularly, but to adults it is also a most necessary and wholesome food.

Milk may be made into many products, of which the chief are:

Butter,
Cheese,
Condensed or Powdered Milk.

Roughly half of all milk produced on the farm goes into the manufacture of these products, while the other half is consumed as fresh milk or cream by the farmer's family, or shipped to the cities to be similarly consumed. When a farmer outside of New York City has milked his cows and placed the milk in cans to cool, the following is what happens to it before the city consumer finally drinks it. The equipment figures for New York delivery are shown as well as the main points in the journey:

**The Flow of Market Milk Into New York City**

| Agency | Number and Description |
|---|---|
| 1. The cow. | 450,000 cows supplying New York with milk. |
| 2. The dairy farm. | 40,000 dairy farms locatted in 6 states and in Canada. |
| 3. The farm wagon. | Carries the milk from the farm to the country milk station with loads varying from 10 to 800 quarts. |
| 4. The country milk station. | 1,150 stations, 350 of which are equipped to pasteurize. |
| 5. The railroad milk car. | 13 railroads carry milk into New York,—32 milk trains and 259 cars daily. |
| 6. The city terminal. | 13 terminals, 6 in Jersey and 7 in New York. |
| 7. The ferry. | About 50 per cent of New York's milk has to be ferried over from Jersey. |
| 8. The milk truck. | 1,500 trucks carry the milk from the terminal or the ferry to the city milk station. |
| 9. The city pasteurizing or distributing station. | There are 32 pasteurizing plants and 197 distributing stations. |
| 10. The wholesale wagon. | 1,500 wagons take 35 per cent of the milk to retail stores, restaurants and hotels. |
| 11. The retail wagon. | 5,000 retail wagons take balance of fresh milk to consumers' doors. |
| 12. The consumer. | About five million people in New York using 2 millian quarts daily. |

The flow of market milk in other cities follows much the same course, tho no other city consumes such great quantities, or has such elaborate facilities for handling milk.

The costs of this New York milk given in terms of percentage was found by the N. Y. Legislative Committee on Dairy Products in 1916 to be approximately as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Paid the farmer | 42.2% |
| Country charges and hauling | 6.6% |
| Pasteurization | 4.4 |
| Bottles and caps | 2.2 |
| Freight | 10.0 |
| City delivery expense | 26.7 |
| Administration expense | 3.3 |
| Dealers' profit | 4.6 |
| Total distribution cost | 57.8 |
| Selling price | 100.0% |

While the percentages will vary somewhat from year to year, they show in a general way the chief items of milk cost. It is seen that the farmer receives less than half the price the consumer pays (42 %); city delivery expense consumes more than a quarter of the final price—27 %—and freight a tenth—10 %. Dealer's profits account for 4.6 % when this particular study was made, tho this ratio will vary considerably according to the time of the year and according to individual dealers.

### Wastes in Country Handling of Milk

One of the chief wastes in country handling is the lack of co-ordination in hauling milk from the farm to the country milk station. Mr. Irwin G. Jennings in his study of the "New York City Milk Problem," found that in 25 such stations the average number of quarts per wagon hauled by the farmer varied from 35 to 337, and the average quarts per horse varied from 22 to 195. He quotes a case of one station with 76 farmer patrons, where 50 men and 60 horses were required to bring in the 3,300 daily quarts. The superintendent of the station estimated that he could gather the whole supply by proper routing with 12 men and 24 horses, thereby saving the labor of 38 men and 36 horses! In other words, a co-operative hauling system would greatly reduce the waste of men and horses in this field.

Again the Mayor's Fair Price Milk Committee found that there were too many country milk stations involving needless duplication of plant and equipment. One witness before the committee testified that from his farm in Orange County there were seven stations in a radius of six miles, and that only one was necessary.

### Wastes in Freight Hauling

There is a tendency for milk to come from ever increasing distances from the city. This holds true not only of New York, but other cities as well. Some New York milk comes from points 500 miles away. Often it comes from areas that properly belong within the supply radius of other cities. Thus Philadelphia milk is collected from stations a few miles from Buffalo, Rochester, Elmia, and Erie, Pa. There has been little attempt to balance the load in supplying cities with milk. The routes criss-cross, duplicate, overlap. The railroads do not care because it means more freight revenue for them. The dealers do not care if they can make a profit on it. The farmers do not care if they can get the dealer to pay their price.

Furthermore, in the loading of milk cars, considerable inefficiency has been found. The many separate competing dealers have their milk shipped in less than car-load lots, and much waste in loading and unloading results.

Finally the proper allocation of inward transportation between railroads, trolley lines, and motor trucks has never been adequately worked out for any city. Could it be, large transportation wastes could undoubtedly be saved.

### Wastes in City Distribution

The largest element of waste is found, however, in the city distribution of milk. The Mayor's Milk Committee of New York in 1917 found that there were practically 5,000 retail milk wagons being used at that time. The capacity load of an average wagon was 428 quarts—or a total daily capacity of 2,140,000 quarts. The wagons were actually delivering, however, only 704,000 quarts on the average per day. **They were only loaded to 33 % of their capacity.** In other words, a third as many wagons could have delivered the whole supply if they had been under unified operation.

In the same way it was estimated that the number of wholesale wagons could be cut from 1,522 to 300 if capacity loads were carried. The report recognized, however, that 100 % capacity loads were not always feasible in every case even under unified operation.

The reason for these excess wagons and small loads is that milk is distributed by scores of competing dealers. Each dealer has his milk routes and they often duplicate the routes of other dealers. So we find anywhere from four to twenty half-loaded wagons all delivering milk along the same street in the same day. A dozen milk men will run up the same pair of stairs each with a bottle of milk or two, when one man with a dozen bottles in a tray could do the whole job. And the dealers not only compete in the physical sense of delivery, but they hire large staffs of salesmen and go to great advertising expense to get customers away from one another. Says the New York Legislative Committee on Dairy Products (1917):

> Everything that can influence the customer or make it easy to reach him or control his trade is bought and paid for. An army of solicitors and sales agents are maintained to go about from block to block to procure customers. Not only do we find in a single block six wagons and horses and drivers, where one might well do the work, but on the same day we find six solicitors, six route superintendents, six staffs of clerks and bookkeepers . . ."

These "procuring business" expenses on the part

of one milk company reached $200,000 in a year, according to the Dairy Products Committee report.

Mr. Jennings, already referred to, made some very careful studies of the actual number of wagons per block and the duplication of routes in New York City. He analyzed the routes of 32 drivers selected at random. The miles driven varied from 1.5 to 13.8, the average being six. The number of milk wagons of other companies paralleling one driver's route varied from 36 to 4. The number of different wagons per block varied from ten to two with a mean of seven. The number of "points" delivered varied from 405 to 162. A "point" of milk is one quart bottle or two pint bottles, or ½ pint of cream or one pound of butter.

The drivers of these wagons were asked how many points they could deliver if each had a monopoly in his own district and could load his wagon to capacity and deliver in a straight line. Their replies were so striking that some of them are recorded as follows:

| Route Location. | Present Max. Points. | Unified System Max. Points. | Waste Under Present System. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 59th St. and 5th Ave. | 243 | 500 | 257 |
| 18th St. and 5th Ave. | 200 | 500 | 300 |
| 58th St. and 5th Ave. | 420 | 700 | 280 |
| Green and Myrtle Sts. | 165 | 450 | 285 |
| Stagg and Morgan Sts. | 175 | 500 | 325 |
| Slocumb and Lafayette Sts. | 165 | 500 | 335 |
| 111th St. and 5th Ave. | 190 | 400 | 210 |
| 60th St. and 5th Ave. | 198 | 400 | 202 |

The Mayor's Fair Price Milk Committee in 1919 found that "certain city pasteurizing and distributing stations are not operated to their full capacity, and if they were so operated a number might be discontinued." It also appeared that the investment in some of these plants was largely undertaken for advertising purposes. "It is certainly unnecessary to have great elaborate show places which have no bearing upon the quality of the milk, and the existence of which can only result in increasing its cost."

Meanwhile, the Fair Price Committee made a study of school children and found 18,883 out of 67,929 examined, or 32.6 %, suffering from undernourishment! While milk wagons went meandering criss-cross all over the city, while salesmen perspired and show plants were built, the children starved!

### Conditions in Other Cities

What holds true in New York holds true in practically all other American cities. Perhaps the most striking exhibit of milk distribution wastes ever prepared was that made by Dr. John R. Williams in Rochester in 1912. He had his examiners visit 5,000 homes in the city, as well as survey existing facilities of delivering milk to these homes. He then worked out a plan for unified distribution and what it would save in horses, men and money, with the following result:

**Cost of Milk Distribution (Daily), Rochester, 1912**

| | Under Present System. | Under Model System. | Saving. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Numbers of dealers | 273 | 1 | —— |
| Number of quarts del. daily | 63,000 | 63,000 | —— |
| Men employed | 356 | 90 | 266 |
| Horses employed | 380 | 50 | 330 |
| Wagons employed | 305 | —— | —— |
| Trucks employed (horse drawn) | —— | 25 | —— |
| Daily miles traveled | 2,509 | 300 | 2,209 |
| Investment in milk room equipment | $76,600 | $75,000 | $1,600 |
| Investment in horses and wagons | $108,000 | $30,750 | $77,250 |
| Daily cost of distribution | $2,000 | $600 | $1,400 |
| Yearly cost of distribution | $720,000 | $220,000 | $500,000 |
| Distribution cost per quart | 3.2c. | 1c. | 2.2e. |

The cost of distribution yearly was $720,000. It could be cut to $220,000, a saving of half a million dollars, or over two cents on every quart!

Another milk survey was carried on in Rochester in 1919. At this time the daily consumption was about 82,000 quarts. It was again found that if distribution were put on a unified basis, a saving of 2 cents per quart might be made in the consumer's price.

The Food Controller of Canada investigated city milk supplies in 1917. He found the spread between the price paid farmers and the price paid by consumers varied from 7.75 to 6.5 cents per quart. In many cases the spread was held exorbitant because of the excessive number of distributors. In Ottawa where one dealer handled 75 % of the total supply, the spread was only 3.25 cents, while in Toronto, where there were 90 dealers, the spread was 5.25 cents. The controller finally estimated that if the milk distribution of all Canadian cities were put on a unified basis, the average saving per quart would be 1.12 cents per quart, or a total of $1,500,000 a year.

The University of California investigated the market situation in the cities of San Fransisco Bay in 1917. It was found that the same wastes of distribution obtaining in the East were in operation. A driver was found traveling 40 miles a day to deliver 121 quarts and 110 pints of milk. He re-traveled the same street as often as 8 times a day, and averaged only two customers to a block. In one case he went three quarters of a mile outside his route to deliver milk to one customer. On a zone system, he could have delivered all his milk in less than four blocks and saved 35 miles of travel. One block was found served by 18 different distributors. In Oakland, 8 distributors served one apartment house daily. "Everywhere that this matter has been studied, there is a great duplication in milk routes."

Duplication and inefficient use of pasteurizing plants was also much in evidence. In San Fran-

cisco there were found 25 plants, in Oakland and Berkeley, 12 additional plants. For this large investment in many instances no adequate return was received. One of the plants was found to be operating only 2½ hours a day. "It could pasteurize five times the amount of milk that it now treats with very little increase in investment or operating expense." Large losses from bad debts and heavy bottle losses were in evidence due mainly to competitive bidding for customers.

We cannot better conclude this survey of wastes in the distribution of milk than by quoting the final statement of the University of California report:

> "It cannot be expected that individual dairymen or individual distributors will be greatly concerned about the general welfare of the city where they sell their products. Jones, the dairyman, conducts the business for what he can make out of it for Jones. Brown, the distributor, is moved by the same impulse. Each occupies a restricted field. He has no power to control the general result, whatever his public spirit may be. Furthermore, there is a continuous and powerful incentive on distributors to enter on a cut-throat competition to secure exclusive fields, and where this has been accomplished, to exploit the separate and unorganized producer. It is an economic warfare in which the third party, the milk buyer, is sooner or later the victim. It is a primitive method of meeting a universal and vital need of all large cities which our civilization has outgrown. No nagging of producers on distributors, no negative action will give to mothers and children of wage earners the relief needed.
>
> What is needed is comprehensive and expert public oversight that will study the needs of a city as a whole, and co-ordinate the work of producers and consumers so as to eliminate inefficiency and waste, and insure prices based on the value of the services rendered. Provision for the feeding of the people of great cities is the most neglected feature of our economic organization."


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# A Criticism

**By Card No. 473009**

In a well written and very instructive article on **organization,** appearing in **The Industrial Pioneer,** for April, James Kennedy makes one very erroneous statement of economic fundamentals. He says: "The wealth produced on the job is divided in two parts. Part goes to the worker in the form of wages and part to the capitalist in the form of profits. The share of each is determined by the amount of control they exert over the job."

The wealth produced on the job is usually divided in many parts, and, one part is certainly used for the payment of wages. It is, however, a grave mistake to infer that the worker receives a **share** of the product.

The worker sells **labor power.** When he has delivered the goods and received the price the transaction is closed. The values produced by labor power are owned **entirely** by the purchaser of labor power, and are divided, **by the owner,** in such parts as circumstances compel.

Neither does the wage received by the worker bear any fixed relation of percentage to the values produced, but is determined (as Kennedy points out) by the relative economic power of the contracting parties, and may be any sum not greater than the total value of the product.

The common practice of speakers and writers in referring to "labor's **share** of the product" is very reprehensible; it appears to support the idea of a **partnership** (and, by inference, **an identity of interest**) between capital and labor.

It is extremely difficult to find language more clear than that employed by Marx himself, and it would be of great advantage to the movement if we would use more verbatim quotations and not attempt so many improvisations.

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**Alfred Tikkanen, Sec. Hibbing, Minn., Branch.**

***

Enclosed find one dollar for the Pioneer. Will continue sending you dollars. I am 77 years of age, but I am not too old to learn. Keep sending me the Pioneer.

**W. H. Cundiff, Hartford, Ky.**

***

Particularly I was delighted in perusing The Industrial Pioneer. I regard it as the best publication the revolutionary movement has produced so far.

**Wm. Mead, Portland, Ore.**

***

The April number of The Pioneer is sure a hummer. It has a fine appearance, and the stuff inside is great. Too bad money is scarce.

**Chas. Gray, Seattle, Wash.**

***

The Pioneer sure is fine this number, keep it up.

**F. C. Smith, Shenandoah, Pa.**

***

Think The Pioneer is improving every issue.

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The April issue is good and we should be able to get the widest circulation.

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***

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Starting with the June issue The Industrial Pioneer will have a new department, entitled "Where I Punch the Clock." In it will be printed communications from our readers dealing with shop conditions, the sentiment that prevails there, etc. Write us and tell us about the places where you work. Be sure to indicate how you want your communications signed, with initials, full name, or no signature.

## NOTICE TO READERS

Owing to the circumstance that "The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions," by A. Lozovsky, has been published in pamphlet form, and is being widely circulated, The Industrial Pioneer has decided to discontinue its publication. The greater part of it has already been printed and what remains consists of arguments pro and con on subjects that have already been discussed in our publications at great length.

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# INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

JUNE, 1921

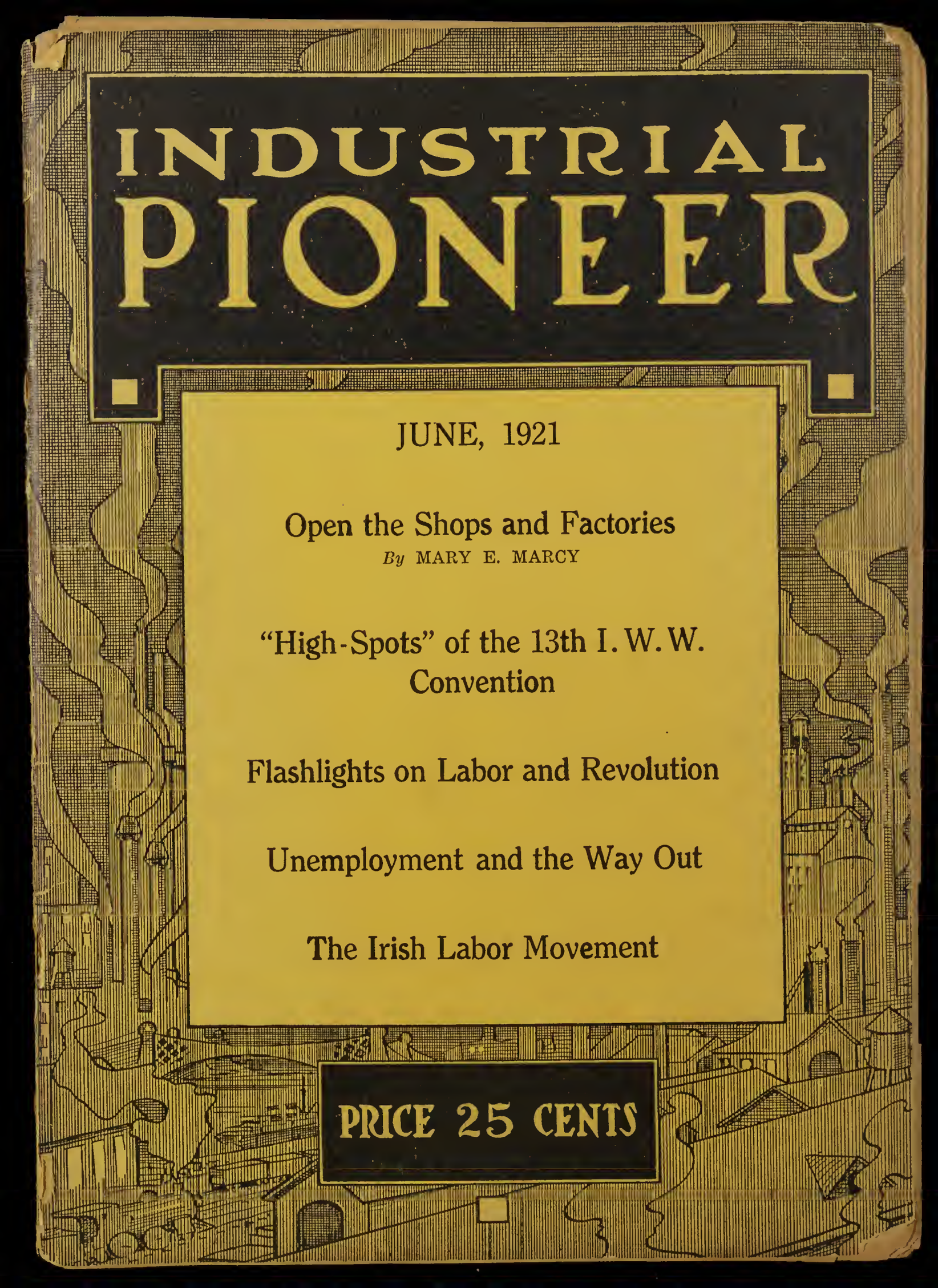
Open the Shops and Factories
*By* MARY E. MARCY

"High-Spots" of the 13th I. W. W. Convention

Flashlights on Labor and Revolution

Unemployment and the Way Out

The Irish Labor Movement



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# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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THEY JUST TRIED TO LINE ME UP IN THE UNION — BUT I TOLD THEM THERE WAS NOTHING DOING — I SIMPLY WILL NOT MIX WITH THAT ELEMENT — I'M WORKIN AT CHEATEMS DEPARTMENT STORE — I'LL FORGE AHEAD BY MYSELF — NO UNION FOR ME! — I'LL BECOME MANAGER AND THEN PRESIDENT AND THEN OWNER AND THEN —
1
UNEMPLOYMENT
WHACK!
OUCH!
2
DANGIT! I S'POSE WE HAVE GOT TO ORGANIZE — BUT I'M GONA JOIN A CRAFT UNION WHICH IS "RESPECTABLE
3
CRAFT AUTONOMY
CONTRACTS ETC.
THE BOSSES UNION
OOUCH!
4
I'LL GIVE HIM A PRESCRIPTION TO BE FILLED OUT AT THE I.W.W. LITERATURE DEPARTMENT — THAT'LL BRING HIM AROUND QUICKLY
5
I USED TO BE A BLOCK BUT I'M TRYING TO LIVE IT DOWN NOW
I.W.W CARD
DUST
6

**TAKING THE "BLOCK" OUT OF "BLOCKHEAD."**

The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. 1, No. 5 JUNE, 1921 Serial No. 5

# George Hardy's Report to the Convention

WHEN George Hardy, the General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W., was sent last fall by the General Executive Board to Europe to attend the Berlin conference of industrial and syndicalist unions, it was the intention of the organization that his trip would result in closer co-operation being established between the American and the European revolutionary labor movements. Fellow Worker Hardy returned to the United States during the first part of May, before the beginning of the Thirteenth Convention. He submitted to the Convention a lengthy report, covering 30 pages. In this report he takes up in detail everything that transpired at the Berlin Conference and at other conferences that he attended in Moscow.

But first let us consider the circumstances leading up to the Berlin Conference. This is taken from Fellow Worker Hardy's report:—

"Most of you know that at the last convention of the I. W. W. it was decided to call a conference of all revolutionary and industrial unions from all over the world, and bring them together for the purpose of creating an Industrial International free from all political domination, and that after the last convention, a Sub-Bureau of the Third International had already been established in Amsterdam, which had taken steps toward creating such an Industrial International. In view of this, the old Board decided to postpone the sending out of a call from the I. W. W. Due to the action of the Third International, this call was never sent out."

A preliminary conference of delegates from various industrial and syndicalist unions all over the world was held in Moscow during the months of June and July, 1920. At this conference a tentative program was worked out and plans were made for enlisting the support of as many unions as possible. The readers of the Industrial Pioneer have been acquainted with what transpired at these conferences through the pamphlet by A. Lozovsky, which has been printed serially in our magazine. The first Congress of this Red Industrial International will take place in Moscow in the month of July of the present year.

### The Berlin Conference

At the Berlin conference were assembled delegates from the industrial and syndicalist labor unions of the following countries: the United States, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Argentine, France, Holland, Sweden and England. The Italian and Spanish delegates had been prevented from appearing at the conference, due to their imprisonment. Denmark sent a letter of approval but could not be present, owing to financial difficulties. Altogether, the delegates represented a membership of over 1,000,000.

The conference was in session from December 16th to December 21st, 1921. The first problem to discuss was whether or not the delegates should go to Moscow upon the ending of the conference; in other words, whether the labor bodies represented in Berlin should make an attempt to form an Industrial International separate from the one initiated in Moscow in June, 1920, which was an outgrowth of the Third International, or whether they should become an integral part of the Moscow Industrial International. During the first part

of the conference all of the delegates expressed themselves in favor of going to Moscow, with the exception of the Germans and the Swedes.

It is not necessary to take up in detail the reasons that the last two groups of delegates offered for not wanting to affiliate with the Moscow International. It was apparent throughout the discussion that their actions were chiefly motivated by the failure of the Socialist and the Social-Democratic parties to serve the working class. They, therefore, wanted to have nothing to do with any organization that may be even remotely associated with a political party, in this instance the Communists. However, they at last came over to the point of view of the rest of the delegates and the resolution to go to Moscow was passed unanimously. The attainment of this unity of action was one of the chief successes of the conference.

The rest of the discussions were centered around a resolution setting forth a program containing six points. These points have been previously published in the Industrial Pioneer, as well as discussed at length by Bouwman, the Dutch delegate to the conference, and, therefore, need not be entered into here in detail. However, it is necessary to touch upon the more important ones.

The first point reads as follows:

"That the Revolutionary Industrial International be based on the class struggle and the domination of the working class."

Fellow worker Hardy has this to say concerning it:

"The German Syndicalists are idealists, and the Swedish Syndicalists were backing the Germans. They thought that a dictatorship of the proletariat is too ruthless a method to carry on a revolution. That is a peculiar thing to say, but nevertheless there were arguments put up to me by prominent men in the German movement as to why free speech should be allowed in Russia and why Russia should not imprison people . . . I personally said this for the I. W. W.: 'The I. W. W. has not officially gone on record for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the spirit of the I. W. W. favors it. However, we would be opposed to any political party getting into control and fastening upon the workers some system that they do not want.' . . . Franz Severin of Sweden moved the amendment: 'The domination of the working class,' seeing that he could not support 'The dictatorship of the proletariat,' so 'The domination of the working class' was accepted, with Jack Tanner, delegate of the British Shop Stewards, voting against it and for 'The dictatorship of the proletariat,' because he was instructed to do so by his organization."

The second point was as follows:

"That the Revolutionary Industrial International shall fight for the destruction and removal of the economic, political and moral system of the capitalist regime and the state, and stands for the creation of a free communist society."

Fellow Worker Hardy interpreted the above resolution as follows:

"All I. W. W.'s will agree that it is all right. I think that it is absolutely in harmony with I. W. W. principles. We are trying to create a condition which shall make it possible for the workers to take over the control of the industries; we also know that if we get control of the factories we would have to create some means of protection against the capitalist class. Finally, however, society would be in such a condition that a state power would not be necessary. Even in Russia, with its present powerful political state, the workers admit that it will ultimately disappear."

A good deal of discussion was occasioned by point five, which reads as follows:

"That the Revolutionary Industrial International shall be an autonomous body independent of any political body, and in case the Revolutionary Industrial International has decided upon some question, and a political party or some other organization agrees to it, or vice versa, then the execution of the decision can be carried out together."

The passing of this resolution was a great step forward towards unity in the ranks of organized labor. Although the German delegates were the ones who offered the

strongest arguments against it, in no other country more than in Germany has there been in evidence the necessity of some kind of an understanding during critical periods in the class war between the revolutionary economic and political groups.

"The first thing that strikes one in Germany is the enormous amount of antagonism between the various organizations. In the 1919 Revolution investigation showed that the Syndicalists had no co-operation with the Communists. They called for the Communists to co-operate with them in the Ruhr Valley, but the Communists refused to do so. The Syndicalists then went into action and lost 1000 of their best men, killed by the bourgeoisie. The Revolution was lost."

"The Communists have three or four different groups: the Communist party, the Communist Labor Party, etc., all these disagreeing among themselves and saying: 'We are the real Communist Party,' the same as the Communists do in this country. There were also the Independent Socialists, a group which claims that it has the right program. So that when in 1919 the workers arose, they all lacked solidarity and a center for directing their Revolution. The Social Democrats were able to crush the Revolution out of existence, but the revolutionists are now getting together again. It was in consideration of conditions as outlined above that caused the delegates to pass this resolution."

The sixth point of the resolution appealed to all revolutionary organizations of syndicalist and industrial unions of all countries to send delegates to Moscow to the first Congress of the Industrial International.

After the conference was over, all the delegates felt that a great step forward had been taken for solidifying the forces of labor the world over. The results attained were especially significant in view of the circumstance that some of the delegates at first wanted to set up an International separate from the proposed Moscow Industrial International.

**Hardy's Visit to Soviet Russia.**

"Now as to the reason I went to Russia. When I got to Berlin, I learned the first congress of the Red Industrial International was to be held on the first of May, but later it was postponed to the first of July. I was to return to America immediately, but I found there was so much misunderstanding in Europe as to the I. W. W. position, as a result of the issue created by the O. B. U. Monthly, that I felt justified in going forward to Russia to see what had happened there and what they were thinking about the I. W. W."

It will be hard for some of our fellow workers to believe the tremendous amount of damage that John Sandgren had done to the I. W. W. by printing attacks in the magazine on the American and Russian Communists and the Soviet form of government. Wherever Hardy went in Europe, he was confronted by people asking him to explain the position taken in the magazine. He, therefore, had to take a very definite stand to counteract the evil effects of Sandgren's propaganda. Hardy also learned that some of those articles had been reprinted by the European bourgeois press and were being circulated as Anti-Bolshevik propaganda.

When the General Executive Board took office they worked out five rules to be followed by all I. W. W. editors, which they consented to do. One of these rules was that no personal, slanderous attacks of any kind or description be printed in our press.

"I asked John Sandgren why he did not stop attacking the Communists in the official press of the I. W. W. He agreed to do this, and when he received the Anarchist document from the Swedish publication "Brand" he reproduced it. It is a most misleading, slanderous article, and should never have been published by the I. W. W. In Berlin I met the Russian delegate Belinky, had a talk with him and convinced him that the I. W. W. does not stand for some of the stuff that was being printed in the magazine. I also told him of the official stand of the General Executive Board."

Fellow Worker Hardy met Shapiro, a prominent member of a Russian Anarchist group, and he denied the authenticity of the Anarchist document printed in the O. B. U. Monthly. He further said that in Russia great numbers of the bourgeoisie and bandits call themselves Anarchists in order to escape persecution by the Soviet Government.

Sandgren had also published that a committee of metal workers from Sweden, sent to investigate Soviet Russia, had sent in a report as being opposed to the Soviets. This is what Hardy has to say on the subject:

"A committee of metal workers from Sweden went to investigate Russia. There were eight, but one of them, Ingstrom, who had spend three years in Russia and who, they thought, might be favorable to the Soviet Government, was dismissed, which left seven. Five of these favored the Soviet Government and two, Carlson and one other, were against it. I cannot give all of their names as I lost my notes. The meeting held in Stockholm which was supposed to be a protest against the Bolsheviki can be dispensed with as a joke. I believe that the Swedish workers are for Soviet Russia."

It was therefore in order to set the Russians right about the position of the I. W. W. that fellow worker Hardy went to Moscow.

**Interview with Lenin.**

"In my interview with Lenin he said that I was the first to come forward for the I. W. W. and that he had been waiting to see an I. W. W. for a long time. In Lenin I thought I was going to see a man who was worried, with a big weight on his shoulders, but I found that while he is very sincere he is large-hearted, with bright eyes and smiling, and when he told me to sit down he drew his chair close and looked at me closely. I thought I would interview Lenin, but he interviewed me. The first thing he said was: 'Are you a Communist?' I answered: 'No.' He said: 'Do you believe in Communism?' I answered that the I. W. W. is an Industrial Communist organization, just the same as we used to say that the I. W. W. is an Industrial Socialist organization, but that now we are Industrial Communists and are working for the establishment of Communist society."

"He asked me what I thought of the Communist parties. I said: 'What I am going to say does not only apply to America, but to the rest of the world as well. The Communists are too busy coining phrases intended for consumption in Moscow instead of their own country.' He said: 'You are correct.' The Communists coined phrases thinking they sounded extremely revolutionary in Russia, but Lenin says that if a man cannot use tactics he is not a Marxian and does not understand Marx, and that the Communists are not using tactics in America."

**Hardy's Address Before the Executive Council of the Third International.**

When Hardy met Zinoviev, the president of the Third International, the latter suggested that he give a talk before the Executive Council of the Third International. Before doing so Hardy asked him if John Reed had not written the "Appeal to the I. W. W." Zinoviev answered "Yes."

"I asked Zinoviev what he expected of the I. W. W., as I wanted his viewpoint before going before the Executive Council. He said: 'We expect you people will take your place on the Industrial International.' 'How about the "Appeal"? I asked. 'Do you not intend us to affiliate with the Third International?' 'Absolutely no,' he said, 'we do not expect that. If you take your place in the Industrial International, that is where you belong.' That was a surprise to me."

When Hardy appeared before the members of the Executive Council, he told them that it was impossible for the I. W. W. to co-operate, under the circumstances, directly or indirectly with the Communist parties of America, for the reason that they had rendered their organizations illegal, whereas the I. W. W. is an economic organization operating legally. He also told them that the I. W. W. had been persecuted by the capitalists more than any other organization in America, but that it was impossible for the I. W. W. to endorse

the armed insurrection clause in the "Appeal." He characterized the reference to the building up of a hundred percent organization as ridiculous. "There is no official of the I. W. W., or even any of its members, who think we can build a one hundred per cent organization, even though we state in our Preamble that we must 'build the new society within the shell of the old.' In fact, the working class of no country can be organized one hundred percent before the collapse of capitalism, and in America the chances of doing so are less than in any other country."

Fellow Worker Hardy also told the Council that the I. W. W. is in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat, since the capitalist class of America had always used force, and it is reasonable to expect that the workers will have to do likewise in order to defend themselves.

**The Drawing up of an Appeal to the I. W. W. and the American Working class.**

"Zinoviev asked me whether I would consent to collaborate with two members of the Executive Committee in drawing up a document addressed to the American workers. This I agreed to do."

Since Hourwich of America and Rosmer of France, the two Executive Committee members who had been assigned to the job, were busy, it devolved upon Fellow Worker Hardy to draw up the document.

In discussing the subjects touched upon in the document with officials of the Executive Council of the Third International, their opinions on matters of great importance were brought to light. Fellow Worker Hardy found, however, that they agreed with him to a much larger extent than he had anticipated. In writing about the revolution in highly industrial countries, his stand was as follows:

"Those who control the economic organizations will control the revolution, and these workers will not submit to a bureaucracy. This latter would have to be driven out of existence. Economic organizations aiming at controlling industry will be the ones to upset the capitalist system and to institute a proletarian state.

"In this connection it was brought out that Zinoviev, Rosovsky, Tomsky and others, all agreed that the Communist parties of America, particularly in the matter of armed insurrection propaganda, had done themselves harm by rendering themselves illegal. Lenin said he would write to the Communists in America, in order to change their tactics.

"Tomsky is president of the International Council of Revolutionary Trade and Industrial Unions, and he looks upon the I. W. W. as the revolutionary movement of America, and he wants also an independent Industrial International."

**How Industry Is Administered in Soviet Russia.**

In his report Fellow Worker Hardy tells about a number of visits that he made to different factories in and around Moscow. These factories are at present under the direction of the "Management Committees." In most cases these are composed of three members, one appointed for his ability to manage industry, one representing the Government from the Commissariat of Public Economy, and one representing the workers. They have for their aim the speeding up of production and the introduction of efficiency. Besides the Management Committees, every factory contains also what are known as Workers' Committees. To be elected to a Workers' Committee it is not essential for one to be a Communist. When any members on the Workers' Committee think that a change should be made in the management of a factory they go to the Management Committee, take up the various points in detail and effect the necessary changes, if such be advisable. They look after conditions as to housing, clothing, food, etc.

The industrial unions in Soviet Russia, which are known as "Professional Unions," number some six million five hundred thousand members. They do not function as organs for the prosecution of the class war but rather as organizations for the operation and co-ordination of industry. Of late a movement has arisen which has gradually gained in strength during the

last year, for giving the unions a greater share in the management of the industries and in the responsibilities of the State. This question was taken up at great length in the April issue of the Industrial Pioneer, and therefore it will not be necessary to discuss it here in detail. The chief spokesmen for this new point of view, which corresponds very closely to that taken by the I. W. W., are Schlapnikoff and Alexandra Kollontai. Lenin takes a middle ground, and Trotsky maintains the necessity of strict discipline in the carrying on of the work in mines, mills and factories. Fellow Worker Hardy in his report comments on this new angle in Russia's internal affairs as follows:

"The railroad industry met in conference in Moscow and decided by 38 votes for the position taken by Lenin, 4 votes being cast for Trotsky and 4 delegates not voting.

"The miners voted 15 for Lenin's viewpoint, 8 for Trotsky's and 8 for Schlapnikoff's. The metal trades voted 8 for Lenin's, none for Trotsky's, and 57 for Schlapnikoff's. The above three industries contain large masses of workers.

"'Schlapnikoff's scheme would not work in Russia now, and although I would like to see his plan go through I feel that the Russian workers are not ready to control industry. The best of the Russian working class went to the front and got killed, so they are lacking the necessary technical ability to go ahead. Lenin's plan has now been agreed to."

While in Moscow Fellow Worker Hardy met a number of I. W. W.'s from this country who are occupying positions of responsibility in the Soviet Government and in the management of industrial enterprises. He refers in particular to an I. W. W. foreman in a factory employing 500 workers, who is doing his share of the grand work of "building the new society within the shell of the old."

### Educating the Children.

Fellow Worker Hardy also delivered several addresses at mass meetings and before the Technical Club of the Moscow Trade Unions, wherein he told the Russians about the struggles of the I. W. W., the persecution that we have been subjected to since the inception of the organization 16 years ago, and the prospects of lining up the American working class on the side of the forces struggling to abolish wage slavery. In his intercourse with the Russians—civilians as well as officials—it was made plain to him that the I. W. W. is generally accepted in Soviet Russia as the revolutionary working class organization on the American continent.

Fellow Worker Hardy, while in Moscow, visited the schools where children are taught according to a new system of natural pedagogy. The children are taken out in the fields and in the woods and requested to make original observations and to set them down on paper to the best of their ability. Through this method their powers of observation are sharpened, their senses quickened and their minds developed to a much greater degree than by the old fashioned method of instruction. The children are well taken care of, well fed and well clothed, and mortality among them has greatly diminished during the last year or so.

In referring to the much debated question of freedom in Soviet Russia, Hardy has this to say:

"We must understand that under the dictatorship of the proletariat we cannot let every Tom, Dick and Harry print anything he likes . . . They suppressed everything in Russia that did not agree with the proletarian viewpoint. They are not going to let anybody run anything in opposition to their system over there. However, this does not mean that free discussion is not allowed on the public platform, in unions and in other places of assembly. The Russian Press Review Magazine publishes every other day articles covering all the things that are pending in the trade unions of Russia."

### Where Does the I. W. W. Stand?

"There are many members of the I. W. W. who do not understand their own organization, except from the American viewpoint, but there is no other organiza-

tion in the world having the same influence and looked upon with the same interest as the I. W. W., that is, from the revolutionary viewpoint... The I. W. W. should, therefore, lead the way from now on and look at things from a broader angle... We have the support of the Italian Syndicalist movement, which is stronger and better organized than ours, but it looks to the I. W. W. for leadership. The Germans are also looking to the I. W. W. The Scandinavian countries have squabbles among themselves as to which is the nearest to the I. W. W. Both the Danes and the Swedes claim to have a form of organization nearest to ours, but the difference between the two is that the Danes have a centralized organization using "boring-from-within" tactics, and the Swedes have a decentralized and a federalist form of organization."

Hardy's recommendation is that the I. W. W. should keep strictly on the industrial field and should not get mixed up in controversies with any political group.

**Problems Confronting the I. W. W.**

In his report Fellow Worker Hardy brings out some of the problems that at present are confronting the organization, among others the following:

The necessity of closer unity in the ranks of the organization; the creation of a Bureau of Industrial Research; better methods for spreading our propaganda; the question of how to deal with the colored workers, and a program for meeting the unemployment situation.

It will not be necessary to dwell here on the suggestions put forth by Fellow Worker Hardy in his report relative to the above questions, since they will be entered into in detail in articles and reports about what transpired at the Convention.

Fellow Worker Hardy recommends that all I. W. W. delegates to foreign countries should be credentialed by the General Organization, and not by any subordinate part thereof. While in Europe, he had found that a certain amount of confusion had been caused by members representing themselves as accredited delegates of the General Organization, whose credentials had been issued by branches or by industrial unions instead of by the General Administration.

**The I. W. W. Favors Soviet Russia.**

In his report Fellow Worker Hardy makes the following recommendations to the Convention:

"The I. W. W. has always stood behind Soviet Russia in its struggle against international imperialism, but owing to certain things that happened in our organization, such as an unfavorable editorial in the "Industrial Worker" and the attitude of John Sandgren in the O. B. U. Monthly, it behooves this Convention to pledge itself to do everything in its power to help the Russian working class to maintain Revolutionary Russia."

Fellow Worker Hardy winds up his report to the Convention with the following observation, which should be given serious thought by all of our members:

"Now, in conclusion, I wish to state that I hope this Convention will be one of the most successful ever held in the I. W. W. Bring into existence a new spirit. Get rid of the insular point of view. Create discipline in our ranks, to the end that we may have a bigger and better I. W. W. This is the only way to help Russia and ourselves."

**H. Van Dorn.**

# Notice to Branches

Elmer S. Smith, the Centralia, Washington, lawyer, who was one of the defendants in the Centralia case and one of those acquitted, will start on a speaking tour for the General Defense Committee on July 1st. Smith will deal with the inside story of the tragedy which occurred at Centralia on Nov. 11th, 1919, and also the farcical trial, which resulted in a 40-year sentence for seven fellow workers.

All branches wishing to arrange dates for the Smith meetings are requested to get in touch with Geo. Williams, Secretary of the General Committee, at once. Address: 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

# Flashlights on Labor and Revolution

## An Interview with Jack Tanner

JACK Tanner has arrived in the United States as a fraternal delegate to the Thirteenth Convention of the I. W. W., representing the National Workers' Committee Movement of Great Britain. The desire uppermost in his mind is to develop the spirit of solidarity between the workers of Britain and the rest of Europe with their fellow workers of America.

"In union there is strength," but this union can only be achieved through mutual understanding. To this end the workers of one country should be informed of what the workers in other countries are doing and are intending to do.

Fellow Worker Jack Tanner has a long record of faithful service to the working class behind him. For the last thirteen years he has been a member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, which has a membership of 400,000, and of which Tom Mann was the acting secretary until April of this year. In 1913, Jack Tanner acted in the capacity of chairman at the first International Syndicalist Conference ever held, which took place in London, England. During the last four years he has been the editor of "Solidarity," the official organ of the National Workers' Committee Movement of Great Britain.

### The Berlin Conference.

Jack Tanner represented the National Workers' Committee Movement at the Berlin Syndicalist Conference, held in the month of December, 1920. When inquiries were put to him as to the main differences of opinion that prevailed at that conference and that were brought out to some extent by Bouwman in a recent issue of the Industrial Pioneer, he offered information of which we had not previously been aware. The controversy about the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" was not caused so much by a difference of principles as by the interpretation of the clause; the German and Swedish delegates contending that "Domination of the Working Class" should be used instead, because in Russia the Dictatorship was exercised through a political party. Tanner brought out that the Swedish and German delegates should not be looked upon as being more conservative than the other delegates; as a matter of fact, they considered themselves the more revolutionary, if anything. To put it in Tanner's own words:

"The Germans and Swedes are inclined to be less practical, more theoretical, and greater disciples of Bakunin than of Marx. This is, of eourse, caused by them having been disappointed by the orthodox Socialist and Social Democratic parties, who have elaimed for all these years to follow the teachings of Marx."

He also cleared up a point about the struggles of the German and French Syndicalists which is not generally understood in this country. The French Syndicalists number in the neighborhood of about 200,000 members, but they do not form an absolutely separate organization outside the General Confederation of Labor. They function within the ranks of the already existing unions, although, of course, they are linked together through committees—the Committees of Revolutionary Syndicalists.

The German Syndicalists, on the other hand, have formed an organization outside of the old German trade unions. They are of the opinion that these unions are so much under the control of reactionary leaders that it is altogether hopeless to try to bring them around to a revolutionary point of view. The Syndicalists number at present around 150,000 members, and have become highly influential in some industries, especially among the miners and the seamen.

When asked whether he was more in favor of separate revolutionary organizations being formed outside of the already existing trade unions or of propaganda being carried on, instead, within these unions, Jack Tanner had this to say:

"That depends altogether on the circumstances. In Great Britain it would be foolish for us to attempt to form other organizations, for the simple reason that 85 per cent of the workers there are already organized. It is impossible to tear them away from the organizations to which they now belong. This is the main reason why the I. W. W. has never made any headway in Great Britain. In the United States, however, where the great masses of the workers have not as yet been organized, it is only logical to attempt to line them up into Revolutionary Industrial Unions." In this he justified the tactics adopted by the I. W. W.

"Of course, the I. W. W., in my opinion, should also take advantage of any opportunity that may offer itself within the craft unions to switch them over into the organization. As I said, these tactics should be governed altogether by conditions. But propaganda **must** be carried on within the unions at all times."

### The British Trade Union Congress.

When asked what other labor organization in Great Britain besides the Workers' Committee Movement would send delegates to the Congress of the Red Industrial International which will be held in July at Moscow, he answered that strong propaganda was being carried on within the different unions to have them send delegates there. To his knowledge, however, only the Fife miners so far

had definitely decided to do so. In connection with this propaganda, a peculiar misunderstanding has arisen. Practically all the British unions are affiliated to the Trade Union Congress. This Trade Union Congress is officially affiliated with the Yellow Amsterdam International. The trade unionists in England for a long time were under the impression that in spite of their affiliation with the Amsterdam International through the Trade Union Congress, they would be able to affiliate to the Red International. At present, however, separate unions cannot withdraw their affiliation from Amsterdam without withdrawing from the Trade Union Congress; this will meet in September of this year, when the whole matter will be thrashed out. Notwithstanding this technical difficulty, it is expected that quite a few delegates will be sent to the July Congress in Moscow.

### The Red Industrial International.

Fellow Worker Tanner was highly enthusiastic about the ultimate outcome of the coming Industrial Congress.

"As a result of it," he said, "the prestige of the revolutionary minorities in all countries will be greatly increased. Think of the added strength it will give to the now numerically weak syndicalist minority in France! Instead of having only 200,000 members, they will, after the Congress, have a backing of about 10,000,000 workers all over the world. The reactionary unions in other countries will be more than anxious to get rid of their stand-pat leaders and to flock under the banner of the Red Industrial International. I have definite information that many unions numbering hundreds of thousands of members are only waiting to see what will take place at Moscow in July before throwing their reactionary leaders overboard and affiliating with the Red Industrial International."

Next I asked him whether, in his opinion, the Communist parties would play the leading role in all countries when the crisis comes. I pointed out to him that in countries like Spain, Italy and South America the Syndicalists at present play the leading roles and the Communists are an almost negligible quantity. To this he answered:

"It really does not matter under what name the militant minority may be known. Why should the members of the Communist parties be expected to be the leaders in countries which are already, at the present time, under the guidance of a revolutionary industrial minority? The main thing is to have a program, the necessary initiative, and a directing center to carry out this program to the letter. If the workers of the Latin countries prefer to do this through their industrial organizations, instead of through political parties, well and good. I see no reason why their form of organization should not attain the necessary ends the same as any other. This applies to the United States as well."

### The Workers' Committee Movement.

When asked to point out what constituted the main difference between the British Shop Steward Movement and the Industrial Workers of the World, he said:

"The I. W. W. is a self-contained organization functioning as a labor union, it is separate and not connected with any other body. The Workers' Committee Movement is primarily a movement within other organizations; it is an extra union organization. Members of the Workers' Committees are at the same time members of their respective trade unions. In Great Britain they may be likened to the militant minority on the industrial field."

He further explained that the main function of the movement was the organizing of the workers on industrial lines by establishing shop, pit, factory and vigilance committees, etc. These shop committees are elected by all the workers in any shop and meet at stated periods to discuss problems affecting working conditions. Delegates from shops in the same industry within a certain district are elected to what is known as the District Council. These delegates again in their turn elect representatives to the Divisional Councils. There are National Committees for each industry, which appoints some of its members to sit in the National Administrative Council—which is similar to our G. E. B. The purpose of the work is to center the immediate problems affecting the workers into the hands of their own delegates, who are in close touch with conditions in their respective industries.

At present the Workers' Committee Movement is strongest among the miners, the transport workers, the engineers and the construction workers. Its influence is being extended more and more into other industries. A congress was held in April, 1921, at which a co-ordinated program was worked out and greater unity established between the different sections.

### The Outlook in Great Britain.

When asked what he thought of the collapse of the Triple Alliance, Fellow Worker Tanner said:

"It is but another lesson to the workers for reposing too much power in their reactionary leaders. The Triple Alliance has a membership of approximately two millions, distributed as follows: The miners, about 1,000,000; the transport workers, about 500,000; the railway workers, another 500,000. These unions, when united by a spirit of solidarity, are practically invincible. If the Triple Alliance had taken action, even if its demands had not been attained in full, the experience would have been worth a great deal to the British workers. The capitalist class in Great Britain is day by day becoming less able to manage the country. Several millions of men and women are practically on the verge of starvation, the Russian revolution has been a great inspiration to the British workers, and the capitalists realize the crash to be near at hand."

In Fellow Worker Tanner's opinion the main

problem before the British workers at the present time is to get rid of their bourgeois-minded leaders. As soon as the affairs of the unions get into the hands of the revolutionary rank and file, we may commence to look for great things in Great Britain. The powers-that-be are making ready for that day, and at this very moment thousands of volunteers from the middle and upper classes are being prepared to meet an emergency call whenever it may be sounded. The workers, of course, on their side, are not idle, either.

It would, in Fellow Worker Tanner's opinion, be a mistake for the British workers to take too hasty steps for the abolition of capitalism until their forces have been more completely co-ordinated. The British capitalists are very well organized. The British Federation of Industries has a backing of around $5,000,000,000. Capital's control over the industries has not as yet been impaired to any noticeable degree, but the economic condition of the people is getting worse day by day, and is bound to continue so, as no relief is in sight. Even should trade with Russia be started, it would only relieve the situation to a comparatively small extent. The British workers will soon have to take the destiny of the nation into their own hands, or suffer starvation and slavery. In Tanner's opinion, the revolution in Great Britain may come in the course of the next few years, if the revolutionists will concentrate their activities on the industrial field. When it does come, we may rest assured that the British working class will have taken the greatest care to make sure of its success. An intensive propaganda is at present being carried on in the army and navy. The British Isles are so situated that any part of them can be shelled by dreadnoughts. It is, therefore, self-evident that steps must be taken so that this shelling will not take place.

When I offered the observation that British labor must have done everything in its power to help the cause of Irish freedom, Fellow Worker Tanner sat up in his chair.

"I am sorry to say, to the eternal disgrace of the English labor movement, that the British trade unions have not helped the Irish in their fight for freedom. British labor has not, up to now, realized the importance of the struggle going on in Ireland. The signs are, however, that they are waking up. They are beginning to realize that if labor loses in Ireland, labor also loses in England; and that the same methods used to crush the Irish workers: scientific militarism, ruthless and brutal, will be used against the British workers."

### What Tanner Saw in Soviet Russia

In the spring and summer of 1920 Jack Tanner spent four months in Soviet Russia. When asked what were his first impressions of the condition of the people and of the spirit manifested by them he answered:

"The thing that struck me most in Russia when I came in contact with people of all ranks was the quiet determination to see the fight through to its bitter end. It would not be exactly accurate to describe this attitude of theirs as enthusiasm; they had got past the shouting stage. It was rather a deep-seated conviction and a determination that in their struggle against capitalist imperialism they would finally come out victorious. The term 'doggedness' would probably describe their frame of mind better than any other word that I may think of."

Fellow Worker Tanner further said that he was pleasantly surprised because the appearance of the people was much better than he had expected to find, judging from the information he had received. There was no lack of clothing in evidence anywhere, although the clothes could not be described as being "smart." "Lounge suits are not the fashion in Russia, anyway," said Tanner.

All the children are very well taken care of and educated on the most modern principles, which he saw by visiting many schools and institutions. They are well dressed, in that respect there being no comparison between them and the miserable barefooted waifs Tanner had seen on the streets of London.

In addressing workshop and factory meetings he found the workers quite on a par with the average British worker in physique and intelligence.

Although the Soviet Government is subjected to a good deal of criticism by the workers, this is not offered at all in a spirit of wanting to do away with it in order to substitute another regime in its place. The greatest critics of the Bolsheviks are the Bolsheviks themselves. The policy being worked out by the Communist Party has the solid backing of the large masses of the people in its general outline.

### Preliminary Conferences of Industrial International.

While Tanner was in Moscow the initial steps were taken for the foundation of the Red Industrial International. The conferences started in June and were continued even after the adjournment of the second congress of the Third International. Tanner was in almost daily consultation with the delegates from different countries, as well as with the representatives of Russian labor, who played a leading part in the elaboration of the program for the council; such as, Lozovsky, Tomsky, Schlapnikof and others. At the same time he was in constant association with the international delegates to the second congress of the Communist International.

The discussions that took place at these conferences have been related somewhat in detail in Lozovsky's pamphlet on "The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions," the greater part of which has been published in past issues of the Industrial Pioneer. In Fellow Worker Tanner's opinion the interchange of ideas that took place did a great deal towards bringing about a better understanding between the Communists, Trade Unionists and Syndicalists in most countries.

The membership in the Russian Trade Unions is

at present in the neighborhood of six and a half millions, whereas the actual strength of the Communist Party is only about six hundred thousand. The movement of greatest significance in Soviet Russia at the present time, in Jack Tanner's opinion, is that embodied in the aspirations of the unions to have a greater share in the direction of the nation's destinies. This movement is little by little beginning to bear fruit. The labor unions are today playing a much more active role in the administration of industry than they were a year or two ago. This increases month by month as the workers gain more experience of industrial methods and confidence in each other.

### Interviews with Lenin.

Fellow Worker Tanner gave a vivid description of the interviews he had with Lenin.

"If anybody goes up to see Lenin with the intention of interviewing him, he very quickly finds out that Lenin does the interviewing himself. All who meet him are forced to admit that he possesses a wonderful brain. Many have described him as being a genius, but I wouldn't apply that term to Lenin. Geniuses are usually persons who have a natural aptitude for doing certain and special work; some particular faculties of their brain are more developed, which gives them inspiration and extraordinary ability in a certain sphere.

"Lenin seems to have all his faculties well developed and in action; they work together in complete harmony, each helping the other.

"He can understand and appreciate the value of detail and its relationship to the whole. I never met a man who was so interested in what is happening in other countries, or understood so well when he was told.

"He is a glutton for information and can classify and retain what he absorbs.

"In telling him I was opposed to parliamentary action, he said: 'The workers' hatred of "politics" in its ordinary sense, was well founded. It is a real proletarian outlook. It may lead them to make some mistakes in tactics, but on the whole it is justified.'

"He particularly stressed the importance of the workers, especially in highly developed industrial countries, getting the support of the technical and administrative workers, and he pointed out the difficulties they had experienced in Russia owing to lack of it.

" 'You can win through probably without their help, but it's going to be much more difficult and will take a longer period. If you can't get their active support; you must break down their opposition—this is very important.' "

### Russian Leaders.

Tanner met most of the prominent officials in the Soviet Government and the Russian Communist Party, Trotsky, Radek, Lunacharsky, etc. He also had several talks with Peters, who was the chairman of the Extraordinary Commission immediately after the revolution. He has been likened to a wild and ferocious animal by the capitalist press.

"Peters struck me as being a very mild sort of man, and he seems to have shown more mercy than discretion on occasions.

"He gave me documents and information which, if I made them public, would put some of the British government's representatives in an unsavory position.

"At the time I was in Russia, very few of the Bolsheviks understood clearly the position of the industrial organizations in the English-speaking countries. Lenin was surprised when I told him of the power of the officials in the craft unions and the difficulties in removing them."

Besides investigating factories and workshops Tanner had an opportunity to study the conditions of the peasants. He made a trip on the Volga, visiting small towns and villages with the official labor delegation. He said hard things about some members of this delegation, his mildest expression being "bourgeois crabs."

### Impressions of the U. S. A.

Although Jack Tanner has visited most countries in Europe and also in the East, this is his first visit to the American continent. Asked what were his first impressions of America, he said:

"I am certainly struck with the rushing and tearing tactics that are employed. The people seem to be so busy making profits for the bosses that they have no time to think about themselves, except perhaps how they themselves can become "bosses" in some shape or form. It strikes me that the workers in America can be more easily stampeded into a course of action likely to be harmful to them than the workers of most European countries.

"I am certainly not disappointed in my previous idea of what the country and its people were like."

Tanner was asked what, in his opinion, should be the best tactics to advance the cause of the revolutionary working class.

"That, of course, is a big question and can't very well be answered in a few words. It's a truism, of course, to say that we must get power. The workers must unite their somewhat divided forces against the common enemy. And I don't mean by this that we must compromise on questions of principle. It is a matter of being able to use tactics, to adapt ourselves to changing conditions. In our fight with the capitalist class we have not only got to use our physical or economical power, we must use our brains as well.

"The second day I was in Chicago I saw a parade on Michigan Boulevard of boys and young lads from different settlements, as you call them. The idea I gathered was that it was to propagate the need for 100 per cent Americanism. They carried great numbers of the Stars and Stripes. Every time

one passed the crowd on the sidewalk lifted their hats in reverential awe. That quite impressed me, and I thought of the thousands of leaflets advocating 'armed insurrection,' which have, I am told, been distributed.

"Our revolution in England is going to be 100 per cent easier than yours here. We know how hard our work is now and will be, and the tremendous task still ahead of us. Nobody in England talked 'armed insurrection' even during the recent Triple Alliance crisis, in spite of the fact that the government had mobilized all the forces of the state against the workers. Although the parade I saw was a patriotic one, a large battalion of police was present, each 'officer of the law' armed with a bloody big club. This only goes to show that the capitalists have full control of the machine and are going to work it full speed in their interests.

"Courage and audacity are absolutely essential, but without a certain amount of power, more organization than exists at present, more ability to take advantage of conditions as they present themselves, the workers cannot hope to accomplish anything of a permanent nature."

### Problems Facing the I. W. W.

That Jack it quite well acquainted with the history and present position of the I. W. W. was brought out when asked his opinion about the prospects of the organization for the future.

"Good, extremely good," he replied, "provided the membership's outlook keeps pace with the times. I think the I. W. W. is the organization for this country, but it must get into closer and more direct touch with the world movement.

"It has a deserved, world-famed reputation as an aggressive and revolutionary body. It has set a standard which is recognized in every country, and now that there is to be an Industrial International it must throw in its whole weight and influence. I hope and expect it will do so. Coming from England, where the labor movement is more deeply entrenched and solid, it strikes me that the I. W. W. has been too fluid in the past. It has taken in large numbers of members but has not held them, although its principles have not altered, its policy and tactics have, I think, too frequently—this, of course, from an organizational standpoint. More attention must be paid to educating the new members and holding them. This may be a difficult proposition, but it must be tackled successfully before the I. W. W. can get real power."

Regarding unemployment Tanner said there was no possibility in his mind of getting back to what could be termed normal conditions. "We've had it to contend with ever since the capitalist system began, and it will remain with us while this system lasts.

"Trade with Russia would probably somewhat ease the situation in England as well as in America.

"To organize the unemployed the practical problems must be tackled and a great deal of propaganda can be done at the same time, which would make for potential members of the organization."

The ideas and point of view put forth by Fellow Worker Tanner should give food for serious thought to all who have the future welfare of the working class at heart.

**H. Van Dorn.**

# Proud of Our Class

### By Covington Ami

**Yes, we class-conscious workers are proud of class.**
**Why shouldn't we be?**
**It is the only class on earth that does anything worth doing.**
**Without it there would be nothing—**
**No wheat, no bread, no cotton, no clothes, no homes, no transportation,**
**No science, no music and no education.**

**Yes, we are proud of our class.**
**Why shouldn't we be?**
**We are the salt of social life.**
**Without us society cannot move, breathe, live, have or come into being.**

**Yes, we are proud of our class.**
**Why shouldn't we be?**
**Everywhere we have bested your class, the capitalist class—**
**In every field you dare no longer meet us brain to brain—**
**Everywhere you resort to violence and suppression,**
**Thus acknowledging us your intellectual and moral conquerors.**

**Yes, we are proud of our class.**
**Why shouldn't we be?**
**What if we haven't yet shaken off all our slave psychology?**
**We will do so tomorrow if not today.**
**If we do not, our children will.**
**We shall conquer, not only ourselves, but you and all the Worlds.**

**Proud of our class?**
**Sure!**
**Why shouldn't we be?**

AN EDUCATIONAL POSTER ISSUED BY THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT

## TURN TO LIGHT AND SCIENCE, YOUNG PROLETARIANS

**1st Picture:** The book, the newspaper, the printed word—previously these were in the hands of the bourgeoisie, but now they belong to the youth of the peasants and workmen.

**2nd Picture:** Art and science are at present within the reach of the working class youth. Go to your school and develop your talent.

**3rd Picture:** Now the young worker and peasant is taught in his club all those sciences which will develop his mind and body.

**4th Picture:** Possessing a strong mind and healthy body, the workers are invincible. Up, youth of the working class, and to work! You must know how to defend your future!

*The Industrial Pioneer*

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## IN UNION THERE IS STRENGTH.

LIVING conditions in America are fast becoming intolerable for the working class. As the days go by, more and more men and women find themselves without work—and without bread, clothing and shelter. A few weeks—or months—without a job, and what little money a working man may have laid aside will have been used up. And then—what?

Yes, there is the big question that keeps countless workers awake nights, trying to find an answer to it. "Then—what?" With things going as they are, how about next winter? And next spring? Where is the bread coming from to feed the wife and children? And the money to pay for shoes and hats, coal and rent?

And those who are still lucky enough to have work—are they making enough to provide their families with a decent living? Have not wages been cut much faster than the drop in living costs? And what guarantee do they have that to-morrow they will not find themselves in the ranks of the great army of the Unemployed?

There are no prospects of a betterment in the economic situation of the country. For the workers, there is but one way out: To band themselves together in the One Big Union. Only through the exercise of their economic might will they be able to shake off the shackles of wage slavery, with all its evils.

In single-handed combat against the forces of capitalism, the workers are as helpless as new-born babes. In union there is strength.

## DISCIPLINE.

FIFTY thousand men, each of them acting on his own initiative in accordance with his personal desires, constitute a mob; fifty thousand men, acting according to orders from a directive center, and disciplined to act in unison with each other for the attainment of like ends, constitute an army.

The difference between the two consists in that the former has no power, and the latter has. The strength of a mob of fifty thousand is the strength of each individual man. The strength of an army of fifty thousand is the combined strength of fifty thousand men.

If a labor organization is ever to attain power it must form itself into an Army of Labor. In the carrying out of its economic program, each member must act in harmony with his fellow members. Personal differences must not be allowed to interfere with the execution of the program. All members must consider themselves as acting under orders from a directive center, the rules for the guidance of which they themselves have formulated in the constitution and at their conventions.

It is absolutely essential that in order to effectively carry on the work of an organization such as the I. W. W., **discipline** be strictly enforced.

# A Rallying Call to All I. W. W. Members

IN VIEW of the changed economic conditions confronting the working class today, it becomes imperative for the Industrial Workers of the World to re-affirm its adherence to the fundamental principles of its Preamble and to outline a program based on those principles in conformity with the requirements of the present situation.

During the war period an abnormal condition prevailed in the industries of this as well as other countries. The tremendous requirements for waging the war had to be filled, which gave employment to countless millions who otherwise would have had nothing to do. Work was plenty, wages were "high" and the class struggle was, for the time being, lost sight of.

Now the whole world in returning back to normal times: there is no "crisis" today. Unemployment, long hours, low wages, strikes, starvation, suffering, are the inevitable consequences of capitalism; in fact, they are part and parcel of it. And the class struggle is its very soul.

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system."

It is easily seen by the above quotation from the I. W. W. Preamble that the mission of the working class, imposed upon it by capitalism itself, can only be carried through by a **revolutionary economic organization.**

The need of the hour in America, therefore, is a strong revolutionary organization of labor which would serve as a center of mobilization for all the militant, class-conscious, aggressive workers in this country. No organization which has for its aims merely the bettering of the workers' living conditions can perform that function. The working class of America is beginning to learn that the **only way** to better bad conditions is to destroy them; that the only way to cure capitalism is to **destroy it.**

Furthermore, besides being revolutionary that organization must also be industrial. The capitalists are our present masters by reason of their ownership and control of the industries, thereby controlling the means of life of the whole nation. The workers can become masters of themselves only by taking the industries away from the capitalists, and by operating them for use instead of for profit. To accomplish this they must be organized industrially on the economic field.

The only revolutionary industrial organization in America is the Industrial Workers of the World. For fifteen years it has waged a relentless warfare against the powers that be. Although it has been persecuted as no other labor body in American history—with hundreds of its most stalwart fighters confined today in the dungeons of capitalism—yet it emerges from that struggle stronger and healthier than ever.

Besides its traditions of revolutionary activity in the past the I. W. W. commands, as well, the moral support of the great unorganized mass of labor in this country. And its prestige is not confined to America alone: It is universally acknowledged as the one fighting, militant labor body in America by the workers of all countries.

Not only is the I. W. W. revolutionary in character, it is revolutionary in structure as well. Founded on the principles of industrial unionism, with the purpose of uniting labor in the One Big Union of all the workers, it is fitted by its very form of organization to wage war against capital more efficiently and with a better show of eventual success than any other economic labor body. On account of being split up into countless small groups, craft unions are utterly incapable of putting up a real fight against capitalism.

It therefore is apparent that it is the duty of the members of the Industrial

Workers of the World to become the vanguard of labor's army in the great fight for the abolition of wage slavery. But capitalism is still strong, its resources are boundless, its servants are a legion; we are few in numbers, and our strength is but a small fraction of the strength of capitalism. What, then, shall we do?

We must, first of all, push our work of revolutionary agitation to the utmost of our ability. We must consolidate our ranks. We must obtain unity of purpose and unity of action between the different parts of our organization. We must exert all our strength and sagacity, taking advantage of every opportunity as it offers itself, to increase our membership by enlisting in our ranks the most intelligent and militant workers. **Let the fighting minority of the American working class be the I. W. W.**

Capitalism is not going to collapse next month, and therefore, in order to be able to put up a good fight, we must have, as a final consideration, a powerful, numerically strong, organization. What immediate steps should we take to attain these ends?

Educational propaganda is the very life of an organization such as the Industrial Workers of the World. The toiling masses cannot join us unless they are first made class-conscious and know exactly what they want. We must therefore place our literature in the hands of every workingman and woman in the country. In order to do that means must be found to give greater financial support to our press; we must bend all our efforts to put out more and more papers, leaflets, pamphlets, of a kind that will "hit right home."

On the other hand, having found through bitter experience, that legal expense has in the past availed but little to keep our members out of prison, we should aim in the future to spend as little money as possible on this phase of the struggle, diverting, instead, the major portion of these funds for educational purposes. But we should, however, in conjunction with other labor as well as liberal bodies start an intensive nation-wide agitation for the purpose of creating sentiment, leading up to determined action, for liberating all class war prisoners.

All these activities must help, in the final analysis, to strengthen and to build up the organization, which is the big task before us. We must cover the country with a network of organizers. Wherever the old conservative unions crumble away before the assaults of capital, as they are doing everywhere at the present time, we must step in with our program of revolutionary industrial unionism and become the directive force in labor's struggle for liberation. We must ever be on the alert to point the way to members of craft unions who become dissatisfied with their inefficient and bankrupt organizations, and we must be ready to amalgamate such other bodies into the Industrial Workers of the World should the local conditions make this action possible and advisable.

But our main efforts should be concentrated in organizing and assuming the leadership among the unorganized masses, especially within the pivotal industries, such as mining, lumber, transportation and the steel and iron industries. The sentiment among the workers for revolutionary industrial unionism is good and the conditions are rotten ripe.

The time for action has arrived. United with one purpose, the overthrow of the capitalist system of misrule, presenting a solid front and firmer than ever in out conviction of the correctness of our position, the Industrial Workers of the World appeals to the American working class to solidify its ranks in order to take the industries away from the capitalists and to inaugurate the new day of Labor's Commonwealth.

# Open the Shops and Factories

By Mary E. Marcy.

WHEN I read the eulogies on our present "civilization" appearing in the daily newspapers, aiming to prove that the existing form of society is the best the world has ever attained, or could ever hope to evolve into, I feel an overwhelming desire to enumerate some of the fruits of "civilization" from which we suffer every day of our lives.

Even the capitalist class, and the bankers and financiers, who occupy a comparative point of vantage on the economic scale, are admitting that there are a great many new and disturbing conditions in all the "civilized" nations. But we have never found one of them who would admit that the whole trouble lies in the contradictory capitalist system of exploitation itself.

Even the capitalist editors know there has been a great world-war, and admit that in Poland, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, in all the little European nations, in Germany, and even in France and England, there are hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of working people who are actually starving at the same time when American farmers are facing ruin because they cannot dispose of their last year's crops.

And now and then we see it admitted in the capitalist papers that there are in every European nation vast hordes of men and women who can secure no work—millions upon millions of idle hands and empty stomachs; families huddled in one room, because of the housing shortage—on one side of the picture.

And thousands of factories, shops, mills and mines lying idle while people are dying for the things they could produce in them if given an opportunity to work—on the other side.

And every day conditions in Europe, as well as in America, are growing worse. In our own cities we see hungry, shabby men and women crowding before closed factory doors for a chance to work. We see the final, the perfect flower of capitalism, or modern "civilization", in the masses of hungry workers who need everything that makes life possible and endurable, beside the idle tools of production they may not use.

What is the trouble? What sort of society is this which permits its sons and daughters to stand helpless before the tools that mean life to them?

What sort of a civilization is this that teaches democracy when you write your name on a ballot, and permits the autocrats of industry to say when you shall work and when you shall starve?

If this were the best man could produce after fifty thousand years of striving, it would not be worth the price. Life would be only a colossal failure.

But this is not the end. We mean to make it but the beginning of a new and orderly society wherein those who work shall reap the rewards of their own labor, and where it will not be the private profits of individuals that shall determine when things shall be produced, but the workers themselves.

We always knew that capitalism was torn by contradictions. We used to believe that the day would come when the capitalists of the various nations would have grabbed up all the "backward nations" and have the world markets salted away in their pockets. Then we expect to see long wars, fought in the interests of the various capitalist groups to seize the markets from their successful rivals, or to hold on to their own.

And we knew then that no matter which group won, capitalism would try to grow, to expand—for capitalism must always expand, always reach out, always find new industries in which to invest new capital—or it cannot be capitalism.

To meet these conditions we used to think it would be necessary for every class-conscious worker to carry on the work of

education in every quarter of the globe. We thought the day would come when capitalism would have no more new market-lands to conquer and that then the capitalists would close the doors of their factories, and unemployment and hunger would force the working classes to revolt.

But the new contradiction that has arisen in the old system is not going to give us time to educate everybody. It is, comparatively speaking, rushing capitalism to its final dissolution faster than I had ever believed would be possible. This new contradiction in the capitalist system is the failing gold supply. It is tying capitalism up in an unbreakable knot, and we had best realize this fact and do what we can to reach the workers; for our time is growing short.

Of course, you know that, as the population of a city (a nation or a world) increases, it requires more and more commodities to feed, clothe and shelter it. It takes more **values.** Capitalism requires an international medium of exchange, a universal measure of value. The one commodity that can serve this purpose under capitalism, is **gold,** and the gold supply has been decreasing for six or eight years.

Capitalism **must have gold** for the circulation of commodities. The more people, the more commodities—the more gold is needed for circulation. Capitalism not only needs more and more gold to circulate the increasing volume of commodities, it needs gold for building new railroads, more factories, shops and mills for new instruments of production and distribution.

Capitalism is growing more entangled in its own ruin, more helpless and inefficient every day. Gold production is growing less adequate every year. The bankers lend money only in their own interest, to industries in which they are involved, to their friends and—unfailingly—to those monopolistic capitalists who can afford to pay the very highest rate of interest.

Why does not industry start up again in Europe where the people need everything that Nature and the hands of men can produce?

Because the European capitalists have even less gold than the American bankers. They all tried printing paper notes that were not represented by gold, which merely diluted the currency and forced prices up in proportion as money was inflated. But they found there was no help in calling ten cents a dollar. They found they just had to pay ten dimes to buy a real dollar's worth of anything.

And now the capitalist class is trying to get back somewhere within hailing distance of the gold basis again. They are trying to un-dilute the currency a **little bit.** This makes money **tight.** The bankers have to refuse credit to half the capitalists who want it, to continue in operation. And of course, the bankers discriminate against the little fellows.

There are two **vital** necessities of men which are already being affected by this policy of the bankers. These are in the matter of **houses** and **foods.** Housing distress is now with us—and growing worse. The food pinch is on the way. The bankers cannot (or will not) lend money at even **more** than the legal rate of interest—to the real estate capitalists who desire to speculate in building. They can get more interest elsewhere.

And the farmers, who can scarcely dispose of their products this year at the price of production, will **next** year be in a desperate condition. They will be less able than ever to pay **increased** interest rates on mortgages and on loans for the buying of fertilizer, seed, tools, machinery, etc., etc. In just a little while we will all be feeling the effect of the farmers' divorcement from the land in rising food prices, and even, if Europe begins buying again, in—perhaps—a scarcity of food supplies. For many of the American farmers are in danger of being pinched out by the bankers.

Now what are the capitalist "statesmen" doing to relieve this situation? Are they considering the welfare of the majority of working people and passing laws in an attempt to relieve them?

Certainly not! As usual our "statesmen" are waiting orders from Higher Up, and even the Higher Ups scarcely know how to proceed to their profit and advantage these days. Some of the new banking laws enable

a banker to lend twenty times as much money as he possesses. But it is impossible to extend these credits further without going back to currency inflation again, which only means endless additional inflation.

## OPEN THE SHOPS.

Just now the capitalists who are temporarily in a somewhat secure position, are doing all they can to crush every semblance of unionism in this and many other countries. They are lengthening the working hours, and ruthlessly cutting wages. They mean to reduce the workers to serfdom if they can.

We need to realize that there are now innumerable workers who would turn toward class industrial unionism if we could reach them. I am finding the men out of a job more interested in knowing what we would do for the unemployed, if we had the power, than they are in some of our subtle theories.

A jobless man asked me the other day what the I. W. W. would do to relieve unemployment—if it had the power.

"Open all the shops, mines, mills and factories," I replied. He appeared amazed and delighted. I fancy he thought we were too busy thinking about the Industrial Society of the future to be interested in his small problem.

John MacLean, one of the greatest revolutionary organizers in England, said a splendid thing at the time when he organized the miners to demand a six-hour day.

"Get the workers to unite and **fight** for something they want and which the capitalists cannot, or **will** not, grant them"—he said—"and you **may see history speeded up a little.**"

**Open the shops** ought to be our slogan today, and with conditions growing more desperate for the workers every week, we may be able to initiate a working class campaign that may blosom into something far bigger.

Besides we want our jobless friends to know that our **first** cry is to relieve the **present disperate** needs of our own class.

Agitate for the opening of shops, mills, factories, mines. Soak it into the mind of every jobless man and woman that **work** is the real remedy for unemployment.

If the capitalists close their shops and factories because they see no profit in present operation, **what about the workers who built the plants** and produced every commodity that ever came out of them?

Shall the lives of these jobless men and women depend upon the profits of the **boss?**

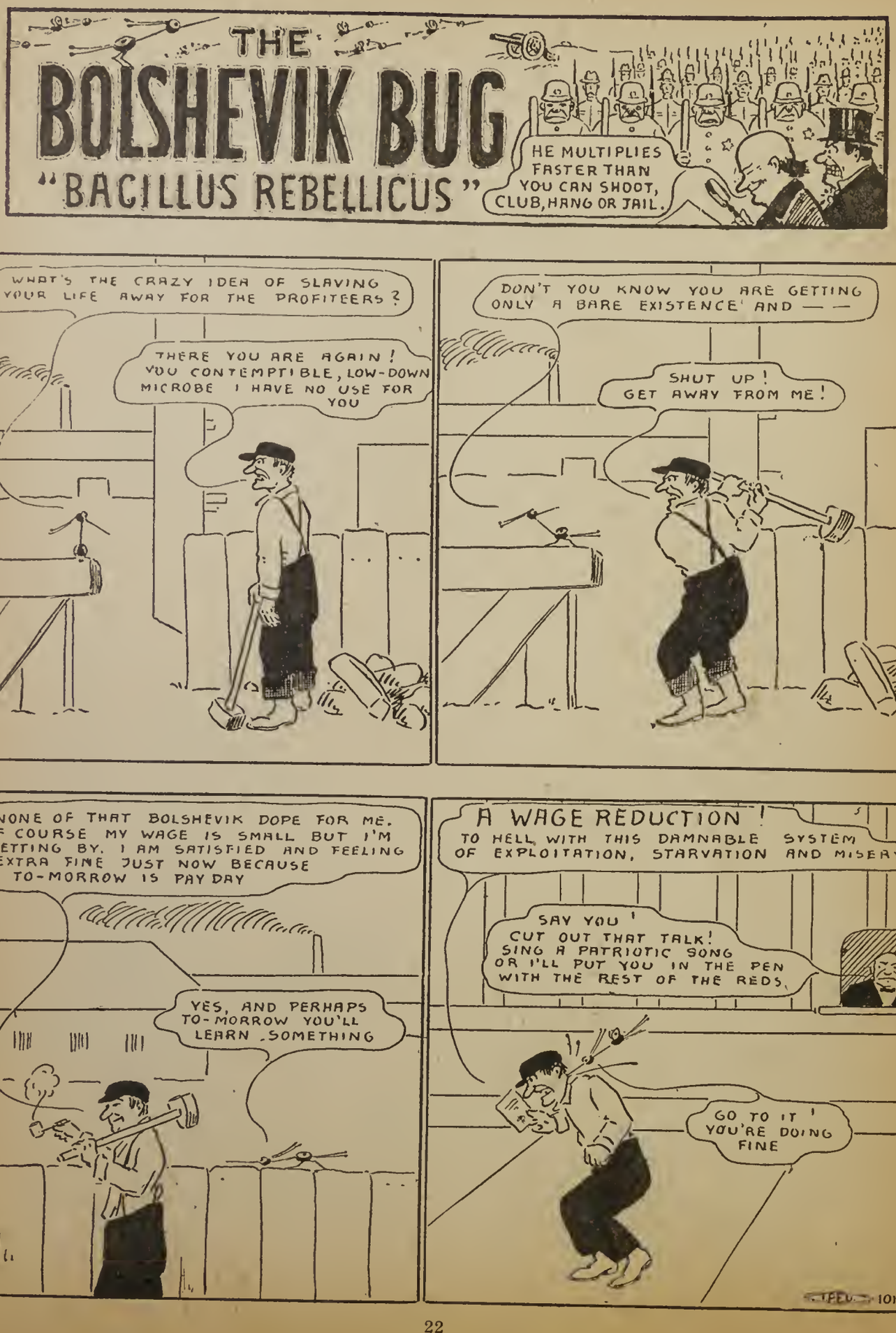
Are their **lives** less important than the **dollars** of the **boss?**

We have a great rallying cry. If we keep at it, we can soon send it ringing across every state in the union:

**Open the shops**, the **mines** and the **mills!**

For the **lives** of the **workers must** and **shall** come before the **dollars** of the **boss!**

Mr. Working Class: "What's this? Another string on me? Well, well! One good pull will fix that!"


THE
BOLSHEVIK BUG
"BACILLUS REBELLICUS"
HE MULTIPLIES FASTER THAN YOU CAN SHOOT, CLUB, HANG OR JAIL.
WHAT'S THE CRAZY IDEA OF SLAVING YOUR LIFE AWAY FOR THE PROFITEERS?
THERE YOU ARE AGAIN! YOU CONTEMPTIBLE, LOW-DOWN MICROBE I HAVE NO USE FOR YOU
DON'T YOU KNOW YOU ARE GETTING ONLY A BARE EXISTENCE AND — —
SHUT UP! GET AWAY FROM ME!
NONE OF THAT BOLSHEVIK DOPE FOR ME. OF COURSE MY WAGE IS SMALL BUT I'M GETTING BY. I AM SATISFIED AND FEELING EXTRA FINE JUST NOW BECAUSE TO-MORROW IS PAY DAY
YES, AND PERHAPS TO-MORROW YOU'LL LEARN SOMETHING
A WAGE REDUCTION!
TO HELL WITH THIS DAMNABLE SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION, STARVATION AND MISERY.
SAY YOU! CUT OUT THAT TALK! SING A PATRIOTIC SONG OR I'LL PUT YOU IN THE PEN WITH THE REST OF THE REDS.
GO TO IT! YOU'RE DOING FINE
IPEU 101

# The Irish Labor Movement

By Thomas J. O'Flaherty

WHEN the Irish Trades Union Congress was established in 1894, the entire membership of the Irish unions did not exeeed 11,000. Today there are 300,000 workers enrolled in the Irish Trades Union Congress. Organized labor in Ireland has not only inereased numerieally; in point of organization and goal it holds a eommanding position in the ranks of the revolutionary working elass of Europe. As far baek as 1895 a resolution was introduced at the Cork Congress deelaring for the nationalization of land and all the instruments of production, distribution, and exehange and that the co-operative Commonwealth is the only solution to the labor problem. This resolution was defeated by the reformers, but it reeeived 25 votes at the eonvention. In the following year James Connolly, then twenty-six years old, started on his revolutionary campaign for an Irish Soeialist Republie, which he eontinued to earry on in Ireland, Seotland and Ameriea until his death at the hands of a British firing squad on May 12, 1916.

Connolly's agitation did not have any immediate effeet on the labor movement in Ireland. As elsewhere the workers were steeped in the superstitions of the past, and the thought that the present system of society was only a passing phase in world evolution appeared to them like a dream. They looked for relief to the Irish Parliamentary Party who were begging for concessions in Westminister. Under Home Rule everything would be fine and poverty would trouble them no more. They never thought that under Home Rule the Irish capitalists would have the pleasure of exploiting them under the cloak of patriotism while now they were somewhat handieapped by laws pased in favor of their English eompetitors. The Irish labor leaders acted in mueh the same manner as the leaders of the American Federation of Labor do today. They had their friends in Parliament who would every onee in a while introduee a bill to improve the eonditions of the workers and just as often get defeated.

Until 1907, there was no real labor movement in Ireland. Most of the unions had their head offiees in England, and when they struek against the boss the labor fakirs on the other side of the ehannel paid very little attention to them. Jim Larkin eame to Belfast in 1907. From then on the Irish labor movement took on a militant aspeet. Jim talked and agitated. He did not advoeate peaee with the bosses. Larkin was an organizer for the National Union of Doek Laborers, with headquarters in Liverpool.

In 1908 there was a strike in the eity of Cork at whieh considerable dissatisfaction was expressed with the poliey of the exeeutive eommittee of the union in Liverpool. Scabs were shipped to Cork and paid thirty shillings per week while the Cork workers had to get along on 22 shillings and sixpenee. Larkin went down there, settled the strike and formed the first braneh of The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. At the same time the Dublin eoal workers were locked out, and the Doekers Union exeeutive ignoring them, Larkin raised money in Cork and sent it to the Dublin workers. For this he was hailed into court and eonvicted for misappropriation of funds. It was elaimed that the money belonged to the Dockers' Union and that Larkin should not have given it to aid the Dublin strikers. During Larkin's trial in New York in April, 1920, Alexander I. Rorke seeured a report of this eonvietion from Dublin Castle which aided him in seeuring a eonvietion from the jury. Larkin was senteneed to seven months' imprisonment for standing by the Dublin workers but labor seeured his release in three months. His power among the workers was inereased and from that moment The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union beeame the leading labor organization in Ireland.

The old and eorrupt labor leaders detested Larkin, but the young men took kindly to him. His methods were new in Irish labor disputes. The struggle of any group of workers against the bosses was considered the business of the Transport Workers. He introdueed the "sympathetic strike" into Ireland and by the guerilla taeties adopted, the Transport Workers demoralized the eapitalist organizations until they at last determined to make a deeided stand against any further advanees by this fighting union.

James Connolly returned to Ireland from Ameriea in 1910 and was at onee appointed an organizer for The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. He was put in eharge of the Belfast offiee. Religious intoleranee was always an obstaele in the way of organizing the Belfast workers, and so Connolly set himself the task of clearing away the differenees that kept the workers apart. He sueeeeded in seeuring the same rate of pay for workers on the Belfast doeks as were paid on the British Channel. Direct aetion was the method used in bringing the bosses to their knees. There were no long drawn-out parleys, but without a moment's notiee the workers "downed tools" and pretty soon the bosses had to give in. It was this movement that the bosses set out to smash in 1913, when the employers of Dublin issued an order that all workers earrying the red badge of The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union should be refused employment.

William Martin Murphy, boss of the industrial life of Dublin and publisher of many newspapers, one day ealled into his presence the dispatch staff of the Independent and told them that if they wanted to eontinue in his employ they must tear up their cards in the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. They refused, and were fired. Next the news agency employees refused to handle the Independent, and his tramway employees, sore over the dismissal of their comrades, struck during Horse Show Week. Soeiety people were shocked that the "lower classes" should thus interfere with their pleasures. However, the workers stood solidly by their dismissed eomrades, and the battle was on. Police batoned the strikers who held meetings in the streets, and the workers retaliated by forming The Irish Citizen Army, and met force with force. From then on the bullets were flying both ways.

An incident of the struggle worth noting was the attempt on the part of a charitable lady to take the children of the workers to England and have them fed and clothed during the strike. This aroused the clergy of Dublin to a high pitch of fury, as they pretended to see in this move an effort to proselyte the children. Arehbishop Walsh was more candid. He said that taking away the children to comfortable quarters would make them dissatisfied afterwards with their poor homes in Dublin. Thus the clergy, while deeply concerned over the spiritual welfare of the poor starving children, had no consideration for their starving bodies. As usual they lined up with the employers against the workers who formed the bulk of their congregations.

The struggle lasted eight months and ended indecisively. Some of the unions gave up the fight. The One Big Union, as the Transport and General Workers' Union was known, held out to the end. Larkin dwelt on the necessity of having all the workers in Ireland, regardless of industry, in one union. Today there are 150,000 members in The Transport Workers, and recently another organization was formed in the engineering trades with which the Transport Workers have reached an agreement for common action. The Transport Workers' Union is mainly composed of unskilled labor and until recently the skilled workers refused to join the unskilled. Failing to induce the engineers to join the Transport Workers, the latter organized the engineers into The Irish Engineering Union, and by a flank move accomplished their purpose. This adds sixty thousands more to the Transport Workers' Union, making the total membership now over 200,000.

After Larkin's departure for America in 1914, James Connolly was left in charge of the Union. The 1913 battle left many scars; the treasury was almost exhausted. Nothing daunted, Connolly and William O'Brien proceeded to systematically knit the seattered forces together. It was uphill work. The war in Europe was on and all the ageneies of eapitalism and imperialism were at work seducing the workers from their allegiance to their class and dragooning them into the trenehes of Flanders. A sign was hung over the Headquarters of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union which read "We serve neither King nor Kaiser."

The Citizen Army, the armed wing of Irish labor, prepared for action, and in 1915 entered into an agreement with the Irish Volunteers to fight for an Irish Republic. In 1916 the die was cast. The declaration of Irish Independence was drafted and Connolly was made Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Republican Army. The outeome of that venture is too well known to need the relating of it here, but the consequences of Connolly's sacrifice are worth recording.

The membership of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union was only about 8,000 in 1916. Connolly's death sanctified the movement and the rank and file of the Irish workers, hitherto hostile to Connolly and the Transport Workers' Union, were convinced by his death that he was made of heroic mould, and were ready to make the greatest saerifice for the faith that was in him. Not alone did they flock to the standard of the One Big Union in large numbers but they brought with them the fighting spirit which has enabled the Union to lay the foundation for the future industrial commonwealth—the Republic of Labor.

A few instances of the manner in which the Irish O. B. U. fights the bosses may be of interest to members of the I. W. W., which is organized on practically the same lines as The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. In 1918 the farm laborers of the County Meath had a dispute with the employers. The latter refused their demands. When the farmers proceeded to send their cattle to the English market, the railwaymen refused to handle them. The farmers then called in the drovers to take them on foot to the port of Dublin. The drovers, who are also members of the O. B. U., declined. The farmers themselves, in desperation, drove the cattle to Belfast, hoping that the Protestant workers would scab on the workers from the south. They were again mistaken. No Belfast workers could be induced to put the cattle on board ship. They brought the cattle back again to the plains of Meath. The result was the unconditional surrender of the farmers.

Another instance. In the little town of Knockalong, near Limerick, is located a creamery where butter and cheese are manufaetured. The bosses refused the demands of the union for increased pay and shorter hours. The seeretary of the union, who was an employee of the firm, was fired. The O. B. U. seized the faetory, placed the union seeretary in charge as manager, drove out the bosses, and flew the red flag and the flag of the Irish Republic over the faetory, took down the sign of Cleeves Brothers, and in its plaee hung out in large red letters the name "The Knockalong Soviet Creamery." They paid the workers the scale of wages refused by Cleeves Bros. and shipped the butter and cheese to Belfast and other market

cities with the name Knockalong Soviet Creamery boldly displayed on the boxes. In a short time the bosses came back and asked for terms. They were allowed to take possession on condition that the union wages be paid, and it was made quite clear to them that the workers returned the factory only for the time being, the moment not yet being opportune for the final taking over of all Irish Industry.

Irish labor has consistently refused to handle shipments of ammunition, troops, or armed police, and it had the British military in such a dilemma that the latter were obliged to organize a transport system of their own. The English unions have to a great extent failed to co-operate with the Irish workers, and while they talk of solidarity they continue to ship arms and ammunition with which to shoot down their fellow workers across the channel.

The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union has sent a delegate to Moscow to attend the first Congress of the Red Trade Union International. Thus it can be seen that while the Irish workers in America are still steeped in the mire of craft unionism and are following the Gompersian parade, their comrades at home are occupying a forward position in the ranks of the revolutionary workers of Europe. The Irish Trades Union Congress is controlled by the One Big Union. The President of the Congress, Thomas Foran, is also President of the I. T. & G. W. U. The secretary of the Congress, William O'Brien (who voted for affiliation with the Third International at the last meeting of the Congress in Cork) is also treasurer of the Transport Workers, and the treasurer of the Congress, Thomas Johnston, is Secretary of the Transport Workers. Realizing that it takes a very long time to teach Marxian economics to all the workers the revolutionary leaders of the Irish labor movement face conditions as they find them, and have built the organization accordingly. In some Irish communities all workers, from schoolteacher to blacksmith, are in the O. B. U. Political action is used when considered necessary, and the military arm is not lost sight of. At the present time the political struggle in Ireland takes the centre of the stage, but the working class is only waiting for the solution of the national struggle to put its plans into operation. The revolutionary workers of England have recently declared their readiness to render assistance to the Irish workers in their struggle for independence, and this in our opinion marks the beginning of a closer relationship between the revolutionists of Great Britain and Ireland for the overthrow of the common enemy in both countries and the establishment of a Workers' Republic.

**Editor's Note: Thomas J. O'Flaherty, the author of the above article, is editor of "The Irish People," the official weekly organ of the Irish American Labor League, with headquarters at 262 West 23rd St., New York City. "The Irish People" is the only publication in the United States upholding the cause of freedom for Ireland from the point of view of the revolutionary working class. It stands not only for freeing Ireland from British military and industrial domination but also for the abolition of capitalism the world over. "The Irish People" ought to be read by all true working class rebels in America.**

"IS THERE AUGHT GREATER AND MIGHTIER THAN LABOR?"—De Tocqueville.

# Scenes From a Rank-and-File Convention

ALL kinds of rumors had been filtering through the ears of the Wandering Wobbly as to what the organization had been doing in the years since he began roaming around on the Eastern side of the earth.

"Every I. W. W. is in jail," said one report in a far away newspaper.

"The I. W. W. is smashed," was the triumphant headline in a second paper seen in another port. Further down in the text of the artiele was the statement that those who were not in jail were too busy trying to get the others out to be feared. Then along eame an old eopy of "Solidarity," dated May of last year, in the poeket of a sailor, telling of a series of great strikes in the Roeky Mountains, and of further I. W. W. progress in several industries.

It was all very conflicting, and the Wandering Wobbly saw that the only way to get the facts was to return to the broad land he had left several years ago and to find out whether the job delegates were still aetive in the shops, mines and forests that lie between the surges of the Atlantie and the broad swells of the Pacific.

Arriving in a Western port he ran plump into a six foot lad with a bundle of "Industrial Workers" under his arm, and five minutes later was arm in arm with a job delegate who was keeping track of all incoming sea-faring men. The delegate took him around to the loeal headquarters, and he saw at once that there was something wrong with those newspaper reports, at least so far as this plaee was eoneerned. Here was a seene of aetivity, delegates coming in with reports and going out with literature and stamps. Some were off to the lumber eamps, others out to eonstruetion jobs, and still others taking armfuls of literature for use in the lodging houses that roomed the unemployed.

By this time the Wandering Wobbly had time to read the "Industrial Worker" and get the news of the General Convention about to be held in Chieago, May 9th. The stuff sounded good to him and, as he had a small stake and was independent of the employment sharks for the time being, there was nothing to it but that he should take the first train for the eonvention and thus get an aeeurate line on the organization as a whole. Things surely were humming in the movement on the Paeifie eoast but he wanted to see what plans were being made for gaining power in the heart of American industrialism.

### Lads from Far-Away.

This is the substance of the story told to the writer by one of the visitors to Phoenix Hall, as we staeked up together against the eounter of the luneh room adjaeent to the Convention floor, which three Wobblies are running for the eonvenienee of the delegates. My new fried was just one of many wanderers from different parts of the world who had eome on eushions or by pick ups to get the lay of the land in the organization. It is typieal of the I. W. W. that its rank and file have to see things for themselves. Sitting aside the writer at the table where we take notes, is a young fellow from Australia where the I. W. W. has been the rejuvenating foree in the labor movement. He has just roughed it from New York, in three weeks of the hardest kind of traveling, to get a first hand report to forward to his fellow workers in the Antipodes. It did one's heart good to see his eyes brighten from day to day as the eonvention proeeeded, and now he tells me that he is going on west to the harvest fields, the metal mines and the forests, where he can see the members funetioning right on the jobs from which these delegates have eome.

And right from their jobs at the posts of industry they have all come, exeept those who had temporarily lost their jobs in the unemployment shuffle. The men who draw their livelihood direct from industry make all deeisions in I. W. W. eonventions. Executives are allowed a voice but no vote. It is a ease of the rank-and-file of the membership, from all parts of the eountry, meeting faee to faee to thrash out the polieies and programs of the organization on a straightaway give and take basis.

### From Forest and Mine.

Sitting around the long horseshoe table in Phoenix Hall are lumber workers from the virgin tall timber of the vast forests in the Puget Sound eountry and Oregon, and the short-log lands that run from Eastern Washington to Wiseonsin. Then eame muekers and miners from the Roeky Mountains, who have ranged with the job from the borings of Arizona and the shafts and tunnels of Nevada, to the damp eorridors thousands of feet below the surfaee in Butte, Montana. These are followed by rangy migratory workers from the harvest fields of Kansas and the Dakotas, the eonstruetion eamp men from the midwestern and far western states, and the men who pluck the golden oranges of California. They are a virile, deep chested crowd, with bold eyes, who are set straight ahead for the goal of industrial freedom.

It is a western outfit for the most part, but not entirely. There are some delegates from the docks, textile mills, metal fabrieating plants and miseellaneous industries of the east, besides the railroad workers. These Eastern delegates are just as keen a lot, though of different physical make-up and manner, because they have been bred in the eity instead of the camp and the field.

### All for Action.

I wish that some of those students of modern sociology who love now and again to take a whirl

at the I. W. W. and to point out their alleged abnormalities could see these lads collected together in Phoenix Hall. They are just a healthy and active body of workingmen, who think. The fact that they are more aggressive and possess more "pep" than most other thoughtful workingmen is because their ways of life have brought such qualities to the fore, and without this abounding energy and determination they could not have kept going through the terrific persecution of the last few years.

You very seldom hear these boys telling about what they did, but they tell what the organization is doing in their locality. And the reports back up their statements. What I heard a logger telling a visitor the other day is a sample of what is going on in many other places. He was telling of the I. W. W. organization in Spokane where the work is going right on in spite of the fact that the possession of an "Industrial Worker" or "Solidarity" may mean sixty days in jail, and the discovery of a card subjects one to several different kinds of charges.

"Men who are fighting through such conditions," he finished, "are fighting because they are heart and soul in the movement. They are not just emotionalists who come and who go when the thrill comes and goes, but men who are so determined that nothing can stop them.

This deep seated determination does not find expression in a lot of wild talk or revolutionary jargon. These men are too busy with the practical details of the revolution to fan the air with phrases. In fact the word "revolution" has been hardly mentioned in the convention, as indeed, why should it be? A war is not won by talk of "war" but by the systematic capture of trenches according to methods worked out by careful planning.

### Organization the Watchword.

"Organization" is really the watchword of the convention. Everything else is subordinated to that in the minds of the delegates, because they have learned by experience that nothing else gets them anywhere. They tell me that the 1919 Convention was more or less of a defense convention. The delegates were thinking of getting the boys out of jail as much as of organizing the industries, and no wonder, with harrowing stories reaching them every week of the tortures inflicted in the revolving hell at Wichita and in the other prisons scattered over the land. And the 1920 convention, also, leaned very much in the same direction. But here and now in Phoenix Hall organization is supreme. The carefully prepared reports of John Martin and George Williams, Defense Secretaries, received due consideration in passing, and then the convention went on with organization work.

There was just a flash of the 1919 psychology the second day of the convention, when a delegate made a sudden motion that telegrams of good cheer be sent to all class war prisoners. But he was cut short, just as suddenly, by an impatient delegate who shouted:

"What's the use of burning up good money on capitalist wires. They can't eat it and we can't organize with it."

No telegram was sent, though the hat was passed for some physical comforts for the men in jail, and the organization business went on.

Phoenix Hall at present is like a mirror of the industrial movement because it has brought together from all parts of the country the rank and file who have nothing to conceal from each other. The outstanding characteristic of them all is this practical, hard-hitting attitude of mind. It is a pleasure to walk around from one to another, and to listen. I was talking the other day to a sturdy, gray haired lumber worker from the Pacific coast whose class struggle battles go back to his Massachusetts carpenter days in 1880. He did very little reminiscencing. His conversation ran to the future. He was planning a march on the upper reaches of British Columbia with other job delegates. New timber lands are being opened there and he saw the necessity of building the organization up with the industry. Then another lumber worker came along with the facts about the wonderful forests of lower Oregon and Northern California where intensive development is about to begin and which the union, looking ahead, is already preparing to organize.

### Industrial Strategy.

Then I listened in on the conversation of two copper miners who were debating as to whether the evidence showed the Coeur d'Alenes would be worked out in a few years or not. They wanted their foot-loose job delegates to go where permanent organization could be built. A lumber worker joined them, and they all agreed that the I. W. W. from now on should pay stricter attention to the actual facts of industry so that energy could be centered on the strategic places.

This emphasis on industrial strategy was shown by a Duluth chap, among others. He was not thinking in terms of herding a lot of workers together off the job, nor of having a society of rebels merely, such as a lot of off-the-job revolutionists think of, but of getting power through control of industry.

"Up there," he was saying, "we are in the iron mines. Now some boys are doing good work in the railroad lines that carry the ore away. When we have the mines and the railroads that carry the iron we have the steel industry by the neck."

Just the day before a big check had come from Duluth for literature.

### A Textile Worker's Map.

Another day a delegate from the textile mills of New England was exhibiting a set of colored maps, prepared by himself, showing the location of the woolen and cotton branches of the textile industry. This is his method of convincing his fellow Wobblies that the headquarters of his industrial union should be located in the East where the industry is centered, rather than in Chicago. Whether he is wrong or right is not the question

here: the interesting thing is that he knows the I. W. W. well enough to waste no time in making any kind of an argument about industrial union tactics without the proper industrial data to drive home his point.

"Talk about volunteer bureaus of industrial research!" said one of the delegates who had been arguing that every union should have the basic facts on its industry, "look at that."

The actual carving out of the program of action for the coming year, which is being expectantly awaited, will begin this coming week. During these first six days of the convention the time has been largely spent in receiving and discussing reports of the work of the last year, and laying down measures of discipline. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the delegates made thorough work of what disciplinary jobs came up for action.

Two full days were spent in hearing all sides of the much talked-of "Philadelphia case" in which the General Executive Board, last December, suspended a branch of Marine Transport Workers for charging a twenty-five dollar initiation fee in violation of the constitutional clause calling for a universal two dollar entrance fee. The Convention voted by a large majority to sustain the Board.

**Way Open for Return.**

This decision to keep twenty-eight hundred water front workers, who load the ships along a full twenty-eight miles of Delaware River docks, out of the I. W. W. was not entered into lightly, and immediately after the disciplinary action had been taken the Convention went on record for the reinstatement of the Philadelphia branch as soon as it would agree to conform to the constitution.

These longshoremen, grain ceilers and checkers have been a part of the I. W. W. for years, and last summer went through a vigorous seven weeks' strike which is well remembered on the Atlantic seaboard. But the policy of turning the union into a "job trust" by a twenty-five dollar barrier against other workingmen, aroused such protests from so many parts of the I. W. W. that the G. E. B. felt itself obliged to act, and last October the local was notified that it must conform to the constitution. On the Philadelphians refusing to give up the twenty-five dollar fee they were automatically suspended until the General Convention should meet.

Similar action was taken with the strong little Italian baker's local of New York City, which has "job control" of some twenty bakeries and was suspended for insisting on a fifteen dollar initiation fee.

**Seeing Their Job.**

Turning from "job control" to the more essential matter of industrial control the Convention is adopting, as this is being written, a resolution calling for a survey of industrial resources and the co-operation of the engineer and technician in preparation for the actual administration of industry by the workers themselves. The Lumber Workers' Convention held in April adopted a plan for a volunteer bureau of industrial research for that industry and the whole trend of industrial unionism today is towards a more definite industrial basis. Capitalistic production is breaking down and the intelligent worker is equipping himself for the crisis.

Another resolution declares that all I. W. W. propaganda, during the unemployment crisis, must be directed towards the control of industry by the workers.

**Irish Workers Greeted.**

So that's that, as the Wandering Wobbly said; but before this winds up let's see what the Wobblies think of Ireland. You know Fellow Worker Jim Connolly who led the armed workingmen of Dublin in Easter Week, 1916, was an I. W. W. organizer in the early days of the movement over here. And the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union which he and Jim Larkin helped to bring into existence is now the most vital force in Ireland and is on a thorough going O. B. U. basis. And it is being persecuted with all the rigor used against our boys on the west coast. So what could the Convention do but give its endorsement to the "struggle which the Irish workers are now waging against world imperialism," to quote the special resolution brought in from the Butte branch and passed.

**Jack Tanner Here.**

The Industrial International and the question of knitting the revolutionary labor movements of Latin America with the I. W. W. will come up later. When the across-the-seas issues are on the floor we will hear something from a quiet English workingman who has been sitting in as a fraternal delegate. This is Jack Tanner, representative of the Workers' Committee of England, a live industrializing movement.

An interview with Tanner is found on other pages of the "Pioneer."

This will be all for the present, but if you read your "Pioneer" next month you will get the organization program which the boys are working out. It will be a 1921 application of the ever useful doctrine of "direct action at the point of production," and if you are not a Wobbly and able to guess what they will do just read and find out.

And now again, good-bye for the month, but first let me give you a tip, I'd still be talking if I were not so anxious to get back to the Convention floor with the boys who do things, those live wires, the Industrial Workers of the World.

A. S.

# Siberian Reminiscences

**By Capt. L. M. Beilin, M. D.**

FIELD Hospital No. 4 of the Ameriean Expeditionary Forces in Siberia was attaehed to the 27th Infantry. In the summer of 1919 we were stationed at Verkhne Udinsk, a town of about 20,000 inhabitants near Lake Baikal, about 2000 miles in the interior of the eountry.

Contrary to our expeetations, the summer was very hot, with the mercury elimbing up to about 100 degrees during the day, and eoming down to 60 in the evening. Our camp was loeated on a hill amidst a thick, virgin pine forest on the banks of the Selenga River. It was an ideal spot for summer outings. This was the farthest point west reached by Ameriean forees and eonstituted "the zone of advanee." Frankly speaking, none of us knew exaetly why our post was dignified by such a high sounding name, nor where we were advaneing to, and still less why we were there.

As the weather was extremely salutary, the Medieal Staff of the Field Hospital, in the absence of "business," was merely marking time. The only busy spot in the hospital was the G. U. or Urologieal Department. Our Regiment eonsisted of old-time regulars from the Philippines, a large pereentage of whom were infected with the so-ealled "Soeiety Bugs," representing all the known varieties of diseases "peeuliar to men."

Under our jurisdietion was the Ameriean Seetor of the Trans-Siberian Railway, and the 27th Infantry was doing guard duty on the railroad. Our guards were stationed at the railroad depot, at the bridge over the Selenga River, the water works and other points of strategic importance, to prevent their eapture by the Bolsheviki.

At first, when the game was still young, mueh expeetaney and some interest were displayed by our men over the possibility of sudden attack or night raids by the terrible "Bolshies," which had been predieted by the men higher up, at headquarters, but alas! as time went on and these attaeks failed to materialize, the Russian bear making no appearanee, guarding lost mueh of its prestige and military signifieanee, and our men had beeome prone to take their duties in a lighter vein.

Naturally, when a body of men have no real work to do and plenty of time to do it in, their so-called "morale" as well as morals suffer eorrespondingly. The C. O.—that is, the Commanding Officer—and our Regimental Padre, Chaplain W., exhibited grave eoneern over the rapidly deteriorating moral status of their floek, and were at a loss to find the proper remedy. A spirit of ever-increasing restlessness hung heavily over the eamp; the usual ery of our doughboys, "I want to go home!" was heard everywhere.

News that a company of Ameriean troops (eompany "I" of the 21st Regiment) had mutinied on the Arehangel front somehow reached our camp and ereated a profound impression. The situation was getting rather tense! We were all awaiting orders from headquarters, and no orders eame. But vodka—to which our men had taken very kindly—and women who, in return, took kindly to our men—saved the situation.

Thus had Americans earried the Gospel of Demoeraey and Freedom to barbarous Russia. "O Tempora! O Mores!"

On July 15th I was ordered to proeeed to Vladivostok in eharge of a detail of sick men. At our Field Hospital we had only emergency equipment, and those seriously ill or ehronieally disabled were shipped to the Base or Evaeuation Hospital at Vladivostok. There were twenty men, all "slightly damaged," who were going away for "repairs," and some for "diseharge"; they were the "backwash of war." An old dilapidated eoaeh of the fourth class—Russian railway eoaehes were divided into four classes—was eommandeered by us. We had improvised a eook stove and drew our rations for sixteen days. We placed the very ill into lower "berths," while the two upper tiers were taken up by the others. This "sanitary" eoaeh of ours was attached to the rear of a long proeession of box cars earrying Russian refugees, Japanese, Czecho-Slovaks, Cossaeks, soldiers and other travelers de luxe. In better days, this trip of 2000 miles would have taken about five days to make, but at this time the road was badly erippled and we were expeeted to be at least two weeks en route. The prospeet of this extended journey was accepted by our men with mixed emotions, though most of us were glad to break the monotony and weariness of eamp life, and were looking forward with pleasant expeetation.

The Siberian summer was at its height. Our "ark" rolled along at a rate of 15 miles per hour. The side-door Pullman, as our ear was ehristened by the men, squeaked and jerked as it rolled over the rusty rails. It is diffieult to appreeiate the beauty, the immensity and the possibilities of Siberia unless one travels over this vast territory. This part of Siberia is thinly populated by about one million people, mostly Cossacks and Russian eolonists. We traveled for hours and hours without seeing a living soul, with here and there an oeeasional village station, a straw-covered hut or a log cabin. We passed through vast, limitless steppes, grain fields, grazing lands and rich virgin forests. We zigzagged around mountains and hills whose tops were covered with everlasting snow. We passed

Group of Russian Peasant Girls.

through numberless tunnels. As we rode through the Gobi Desert we saw long caravans drawn by camels or oxen, laden with raw materials—hide, fur, silks, and other merchandise from Mongolia and China. The air was charged with oriental lassitude and sweet, infectious languor. Space and time had ceased to exist.

Here and there we could discern in the distance the framework of a lone, neglected mine. Some foreigner, a Frenchman, German or Belgian, had perhaps attempted to explore these vastly rich mineral deposits, but war and revolution had halted his efforts. Untold quantities of platinum, gold, silver, iron, tin, aluminum, copper, lead, petroleum and coal lay dormant in the ground. What wealth was lying here beneath our feet, waiting patiently for a better day, for someone to rescue it from the bowels of Mother Earth! In our minds we gazed upon these wondrous gifts of Nature, and contemplated the hidden treasures with mixed feelings of sadness and regret.

Reality, indeed, is stranger than fiction, and facts are often more complex than theories. Russia is a land of paradoxes and Siberia is a country of contrasts.

Here, amidst these wondrous riches of Nature, we saw everywhere misery, poverty and desolation. On rocks of gold man built his decaying civilization. Misery, in fact, was so universal here that it had lost its novelty and sting. The masses who always had been poor were stripped of their last worldly possessions by war and revolution.

People everywhere were dressed in worn, torn garments, and were often shoeless. Their facial expression bespoke ages of misery, of suffering and of pain. Immense growds of refugees were seen at every depot, railway yard and station. With their clothing, bedding, food and the inevitable tea-kettle strapped to their backs they passed in endless procession, riding box-cars, passenger trains, on mule or ox-driven carts, or on foot. In a constant, never-ending stream they went on and on, whereto we did not know and, alas! they often did not know themselves. It was a huge human wave surging without apparent aim or destination. The Civil War was on and they were driven back by the retreating Kolchak Army. They left behind them their worldly possessions and many perished on the way from hunger and exposure. It was a great mess of "just folks" who were longing for peace and the opportunity to cultivate their strips of land. The majority of them were old men and women, since the young and able-bodied men had gone to war. This was the great, patient, long-enduring Russian people.

In the glorious sunset they often gathered in small groups crooning their old Slavic folk-songs or chanting Gregorian humns. Here and there along the roadside we saw figures of peasants bending over the earth and cultivating it in the same primitive manner as their forefathers had done some thousand years ago.

"After all," we sadly mused, "the mills of God do grind, but they grind exceedingly slow," for here we saw civilization practically at a standstill.

Our engine moaned and groaned as it pulled up the hills. We stopped at every little station and cross-roads, and changed our engine at every division point. We were talking a "close-up" of the country and its people. Everything was enveloped in war clouds. The evidences of the class struggle were present everywhere. We met many of the old "intelligentsia" who had sacrificed their youth and their lives for the promise of a happier Russia. paving the way for the present revolution. They were the advance guard of the army of revolt, the few remaining survivors of the party of "People's Will" of the middle Seventies. They were the torch carriers of the new freedom, the real Nestors of Revolution.

On closer observation we soon discovered that most of the peasants we met had organized themselves into fighting bands, which came to be called Partisans. The Partisans, as a rule, were very poorly armed, badly officered and scantily clad. They were not a regular fighting body, and from the military standpoint could not seriously be considered as constituting an army. They were engaged mostly in guerilla warfare and knew nothing of modern military tactics and organization. They had but

Ataman Semenoff (In the Centre) and his Staff.

"Navigating" Across the Gobi Desert.

vague acquaintanee with the Bolsheviks and their principles. In faet, they were often openly antagonistie to the eommunistie sehemes and were opposed to the nationalization of the land. However, the majority of them, though not Bolsheviks, were in full aceord and sympathy with the Soviets.

To our Yanks all this was quite a revelation. Ignoranee of world events and international politics is eharacteristie of Amerieans. They were vietims of the Allied eampaign of ealumny and "Schreehliekeit" and of our unconquerable "Sehadenfreude"—the will to believe the worst.

Siberia was passing through the pangs of parturition, and her two self-appointed **accoucheurs**—the Japanese and the Cossaeks—were administering Twilight Sleep.

The Siberian Cossaeks—the marauding bands of Russo-Mongol hordes—were a law unto themselves, recognizing no superior but the wild, young relie of Genghis Khan, the pieturesque, brutal brigand ehief—the Russian Villa—Ataman Semenoff. The Cossaeks were crowding the big eities, theatres, eabarets, and were parading down the streets in their freshly imported English and Japanese aeeoutrements. They never went near the front, and served as the "rear guards"—the guardians of law and order. Their eruelties and inhumanities beggar all deseription. With their guardian angels and proteetors, the Japanese, they were torturing and terrorizing the eivilian population.

The Siberians we met, notwithstanding their eharaeteristie multiplicity of eontrasts and contradictions, were all in unison on one point. They were all united by a common hatred for the Japanese. This hatred was at times so intense, that it almost simulated religious fervor. It was not a matter of racial or religious antipathy, sinee they lived in perfeet harmony with their other neighbors, the Chinese, Koreans and others. The indignities and outrages of the late Russo-Japanese war were not yet forgotten by them, and now, like a serpent, like a boa-eonstrietor, Japan had eneireled in her ghastly grasp the prostrate giant, and had crushed his very baek. Japan's present **modus operandi** is quite simple—those who seem undesirable to the Japanese are declared to be Bolsheviks or Korean revolutionists, whieh is synonymous with being outlawed. We witnessed wholesale executions by the Japanese at Khabarovsk, Spasskoe and Blagovestehensk.

In some plaees the Japanese eompel the suspected Bolsheviks to dig their own graves, before beheading them. Punitive expeditions, singly or in eo-operation with the Cossaeks, scour the country, leaving behind them a trail of death and desolation. The terrorized population would take to the hills, willing to meet death in an unequal fight with the cruel Siberian elements, in preferenee to the iniquities and inhumanities of their perseeutors. The Nikolaievsk massaere is but an eeho, a natural outeome of the pent-up fury and hatred of the natives for the Japanese.

To the Japanese, Siberia evidently is not a Russian problem but an integral part of their Far Eastern poliey. It is a field for the realization of high ambitions.

At the time we departed for Ameriea life in the Far East was dying away eompletely. The railroads were not funetioning because the railway men were being terrorized, abused and brutalized by Japanese soldiers. The workers quit the factories and fled to the hills, in order to get away from the horrors that were reigning at the places oeeupied by the soldiers. They preferred death to servitude to Japan.

On May 9th, 1920, all Soeialist organizations at Vladivostok issued the following appeal:

"We appeal to you, workers of the world, to help us bring our revolutionary fight to a vietorious end. Japan, together with other interventionists, has sent her troops to Siberia. The Governments of all these eountries that partieipated in the intervention bear responsibility for the horrors that we are enduring here at the hands of Japan. Demand of your Government energetieally to interfere and eompel Japan to withdraw her troops, thus sparing the population of the Far East the terrors of the Middle Ages."

# FACTS

WE OF the I. W. W. must always unflinchingly face facts. There has at all times been a tendency among us to lose sight of facts in our advocacy of theory. We must realize that all real theories are products of facts, proven by experience and experiment. We must accept no theory that has not been so proven. And when the facts show that some particular theory which has been generally accepted in the past will no longer hold good in the light of present day facts that theory must be discarded or amended to jibe with the facts. Otherwise we cut the foundation from under our own feet and render ourselves objects of ridicule.

The science of chemistry is based on theories which are the result of experiment; that is, it is based on facts. Many of the theories held by chemists twenty years ago as infallible have in late years been discarded or amended, as new facts, resulting from continual experiment, were brought to light. A true scientist follows his work with an open mind, guided by all theories which have been demonstrated to his satisfaction, but bound by none of them; never trying to force facts to fit into a pet theory.

Let us examine a few of our most quoted theories and see if they follow logically from demonstrated facts.

Many of us in the last two years have proclaimed that the capitalist system will fall of its own rotten weight and that the task of the I. W. W. is to educate and organize the workers so that when this collapse occurs the workers can take over and manage and operate for themselves the mines, mills, factories, etc., that comprise the industrial life of the capitalist system. The implication, sometimes spoken, sometimes left unsaid, is that we have no intention of forcibly overthrowing the capitalist system, and that such a change can be accomplished without bloodshed.

This is a very comfortable assumption, based rather upon a demonstrated theory than present day facts. Marx has shown that the capitalist system contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. Add to this our own belief that the structure of the new society can be formed within the shell of the old, and it is easy to deduce that our chief task is to continue the work of education and organization among the slaves until the time comes for the capitalist to step out and the worker to step in. This would presumably also make us a "legal" organization, under the capitalist laws "theoretically" free to do business without being interfered with or persecuted.

A brief quotation from an article in One Big Union Monthly for October, 1920, by Sandgren, on "Solving the Social Problem through Economic Direct Action," is a case in point. In this I am not singling out Sandgren, for the writer himself on several occasions has implied this solution of the social problem. The quotation follows:

"The very presence of social organs like the ones we are building will in the final crisis be sufficient to make desperate people turn to the solution we offer. If people keep their self-control and adopt our program, no political revolution such as contemplated by the "communists," is needed. Any set of fools can make a bloody revolution, but it takes a sensible man like the I. W. W. to attempt a complete economic revolution without bloodshed."

In stressing this idea, this theory, are we sure of our facts? If the theory follows logically from proven facts, then the present day crises (I. W. W. strikes, demonstrations, etc.) should be as free from bloodshed, arrests and other trouble, as the "final crisis" promises to be. What do we find? Deportations, beatings, arrests, killings, lynchings, Lawrence, Bisbee, Tulsa, Everett, Butte, Centralia. And why? Because, as far as lies in its power, the capitalist system will not allow any organization of workers to exist which even remotely threatens the existence of the capitalist system. That it is not able to prevent the growth of the I. W. W. and other radical organizations, does not change the fact. The capitalist system uses and will continue to the last to use force to maintain itself, and therefore any organization of workers presuming to pit itself against this system which maintains itself by force and violence, must be **an organization prepared to fight its way from the start,** and prepared to face capitalist force with a superior force when the final crisis is at hand.

In presenting this, I am not swinging over to the communist theory of political mass-action. Neither am I advocating that we discard the work being done at present in the line of educating the workers so they will have as nearly as possible a complete knowledge of the industries in which they are working. This line of work is of great present and future value, and should be continued and enlarged upon as rapidly as funds and circumstances will permit.

There is no dispute as to the Marxian theory that capitalism contains within itself the seed of its own disintegration, and must eventually collapse, whether overthrown by superior working class force, by its own inability to continue operation of the industries, or by the crash of its pyramided financial system. I would like to be fully in accord with our Preamble that "by organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." But if, in the face of the bloody struggle which the workers in all organizations are today engaged, we fool ourselves by claiming that we can afford to wait for the collapse of the

capitalist system and by that time be ready to peaceably take possession of the industries, as far as the I. W. W. is concerned the new society within the shell is apt to die of inanition before the shell is ready for the pecking.

Theories and blueprints of our future operations are all very well and the academic discussions arising therefrom are very interesting. But the I. W. W. is a fact today because from the start its members have been fighters. Our history has been militant and we have at all times shown our greatest strength when hardest pressed.

In our battles we have made mistakes, a good many mistakes, and through these mistakes we have benefited. The lesson driven home to the rank and file of our members during strikes and persecutions is that the workers must build up and concentrate through industrial unionism, a force sufficient to overcome the force of the boss in a local or general contest, and sufficient to overcome the force the capitalists have at their disposal when the "final crisis" is upon us.

The "war" between the capitalist and the worker, the class struggle, started with the coming into power of the capitalist system. It has been for the most part guerilla warfare, with occasionally a pitched battle. When the I. W. W. came into existence it provided for the workers in America their first real opportunity to fight the boss with weapons nearly as efficient as his own. Of late other organizations have been formed which put forward theories and claims that they equally as well or better than the I. W. W. function as the fighting organization in which the rank and file of the workers can offer battle to the boss with the best material results for themselves.

And the rank and file of the workers will not be won over by theories, blueprints and academic discussions. They intuitively sense the class struggle, and they will instinctively go to the organization which proves by its everyday acts that it is best fitted to fight and win the workers' battles. You cannot fool them as to the facts. The boss knows that any organization of workers he cannot absolutely control is against his interests, and he will fight that organization, either openly by force or covertly in the attempt to gain control. The workers in the basic industries know that they are being robbed in their fight for existence and, even if only vaguely, know that robbery is committed at the point of production. Education among these workers is necessary but the education that will bring the best results for the I. W. W. is the acknowledgment by the workers in general that **the organization is committed to a continuous tactical and physical struggle against all that the capitalist system represents**—off the job, on the job, day after day and year after year, until that "final crisis" gives them the opportunity to take over for themselves all they themselves have created. Peaceably?—Not while there is a remnant of the capitalist class capable of fooling simpletons into fighting its battles. Then, as all the facts point the way for us, by a force superior to the force of the capitalist.

As an organization we have much to lose and little to gain by glossing over the facts of the class struggle. With our heads in the clouds of theory as to the future development of the organization, our eyes may be unable to discern the pitfalls spread at our feet. **Let us keep firmly on the basis of the class struggle, ready at all times to fight the battles of the workers. Our organization will take form as we progress as a fighting organization. Any attempt to make the organization appear "legal" will be of no avail. If it is pronounced "legal" by the capitalist system through their courts, it will be in fact "illegal" for the workers, for it will then have passed under the control of the boss. When we fight, we grow, in spite of prosecutions and persecutions. And as we continue to fight we will attract to our banner the best of the militant workers who have not yet thrown in their lot with us.**

**By Card No. 56763**

# Spring and Hope

**Beautiful night**
**Full of delight**
**Moon shining bright**
**In sky so blue.**
**Twinkling stars, too,**
**Wonderful hue.**
**Balmy winds blow.**
**Trees whispering low**
**Send aroma aflow.**

**Oh, what peace, Oh, what bliss**
**We've been waiting for this.**
**The world glistens anew.**
**Nature's calling to you.**

**Awake, Oh, ye workers,**
**Be happy again.**
**'Tis not for the shirkers**
**Whose life is in vain.**
**'Tis for you, all for you,**
**So be hopeful and true,**
**So be joyful and do.**
**Do claim it, yes, do.**
**'Tis for you, ALL for you.**

**—Violet Kaminsky.**

# A Convention of the Union of Union Officials

**Reported and Illustrated by Our Special Correspondent I. Shothemup.**

ARRAYED in gaudy garments (with the Union Label conspicuously sewed on their coat lapels) the delegates from the "Conglomerated Mixture of Union Employees" met in the Soup Slopper's Auditorium on the first...no, dear reader, not the first of May, but on the much more appropriate date, the first of June.

Among the delegates present was that old battle-scarred war-mule, Mr. Dandruff Bumpers. It is said by malicious persons that he is so fond of scrapping that the economic world with all its terrors cannot provide him with sufficient pastime, and so he has again delved into the unknown quantity (the land of matrimony) in order to have his pugnacious appetite somewhat appeased. We wish him success. We know, Mr. Bumpers, it will be recalled, was lately re-elected to the munificent position of President of the Ancient Federation of Button Pushers. His striking success in the election was partly due to the singular fact that he was—whether there is any documentary evidence to substantiate the claim we do not know—the only candidate for the office. It has been alleged, presumably by persons of a slanderous turn of mind, that the "Slugging Crew" (whatever that may be) used exceedingly persuasive methods in inducing all other would-be candidates to withdraw in favor of Mr. Bumpers. The election, it is said, indicates the popularity of Mr. Bumpers in his union—with the "Slugging Crew."

**Dandruff Bumpers, President of the "Ancient Federation of Button Pushers."**

**Slimy Waters, Secretary-Treasurer of "Dishwashers' Helpers Union."**

On glancing around the hall, I was much surprised to notice the celebrated Mr. Slimy Waters. Mr. Waters has just recovered from an acute attack of "Exageratus Dishwashitis," received while performing his bounden duty of collecting

John Crokem, General Organizer for the "Door Knob Polishers' Union."

dues—and over-dues—from his constituency. The miserable conditions under which his "lambs" labor are so gruesome that Mr. Waters was really overcome with grief and nausea. He has promised to poke his nose into the business of the Hotel Owners and see if things cannot be remedied—as dues are coming in pretty slow and the expense of keeping his spirit toned up to the proper pitch becoming to a man occupying his exalted station in life is rather high. The Eighteenth Amendment has certainly turned upside down many an orderly man's life.

No one who had known him in childhood would have believed that some day John Crokem would rise to the position of General Organizer for that famous army of public servants, the Door-Knob Polishers. Here is a brief summary of Crokem's philosophy as told by himself, and which, as a matter of fact, is told every time he has occasion to address his fellow union members, which occurs as often as there is a meeting:

"Say, you guys, if you think dat dis union ain't like it aught to be, you jes get up here an' say so. When I was a kid down at der stockyards, we dint take no guff from nobody. We jes says, says we, dat tings is all O. K., and der guy wot don't tink so too, don't ever tink any more, no, an' he don't do nuthin' else any more either. See, get me? We's running a reglar union and anybody wot don't like it can get out."

The next delegate to attract my attention was Mr. Dennis McCrackin, made famous by George McManus of "Bringing up Father" fame. Dennis is neither eloquent nor elegant, but Lor' love us, when it comes to fixin'-up those "unortherized strikes," Dinny has no equal. He just expels all the unruly agitators and replaces them with loyalists. His supporters claim that Dennis is a credit to the Irish race, but I have it on the authority of a son of Erin fresh from the old country sod that the Sinn Feiners would proclaim him a native of Zululand by a unanimous vote.

"The idea," says Dennis, "of those divils

Denis McCrackin

Recording Secretary of the "Hod Carriers' Helpers Union."

Bluffem Moore, Candidate for Congress on the "Friends of Labor Party" Ticket.

Sacrificial Savant, Editor of "Labor's Friend."

breakin' their sacred conteract when it took me and Paddy Murphy, Mr. President, a week to arrange it. There'll be no stroikes unless I say so."

We take pleasure in mentioning the presence of Mr. Bluffem Moore. Knowing how inadequate our power of description is, we will let Mr. Moore speak for himself. The following is a stenographic report of a speech delivered by him at the opening of the Convention:

"Mr. Chairman Bumpers and fellow citizens:

As I glance over the intelligent countenances of you assembled delegates (loud applause) I boil with enthusiasm for the great cause of labor. (Hear! Hear!) I have always felt a deep sympathy with you down-trodden workers; in fact, I am one of you. (Highly emotional applause.) Your cause is one of righteousness and justice, and your unions are doing a grand and noble work (outbursts of cheering and hand clapping), but unless you send me to Congress to safeguard the interests of the weary toiler, I am afraid all of your heroic efforts will have been in vain." (Long and continued clapping and shouts of "Good old Bluffem, the grand old man! We'll elect you, old pal!" etc.)

We have heard of some wonderful acts of self-abnegation, but never of such a one as that of Mr. Sacrificial Savant, the editor of "Labor's Friend." Mr. Savant is a member of the aristocracy, and was once very prominent in society. He held the dignified position of editor of a well known Furniture Catalogue but gladly gave it up in order to become editor of "Labor's Friend." He is an altruist of the first water and religiously believes that the working class will only be saved when "Society," meaning the 400, will condescend to come down to its rescue.

# Unemployment and the Way Out

By Jan Rus

UPON one thing the employers of this country are united, and that is the dissolution of the trades unions and other labor organizations by fair means or foul. To bring about the demobilization of the workers in specific incidents the employers do not fail to use whichever method promises most. In this they are aided by the governments, state and federal, and by national detective agencies; the former by means of injunctions, repressive laws and by furnishing troops as strike-breakers, and the latter by playing both sides of their own peculiar game against the middle. These are two fields the employers have learned to cultivate. With labor once beaten to the ground it will be an easy matter to reduce the workers to a state of peonage. By the creation of unemployment periods, of industrial depression and panic, by forcing the men and women who keep the wheels of industry going, into accepting any terms, the employers already are well on their way to realize their undertaking.

The workers find themselves in the position of outlaws in their own land and more and more it is being demonstrated that they have no country they can call their own. Dispossessed long ago of any permanent stake in the country of their birth or adoption they turn in vain to leaders who shall realize for them their hopes. Their unions, for one reason or other, fail them. Promises go by the board and disillusioned in that direction they easily fall prey once again for the political pimps and prostitutes, who, in turn, are swayed hither and thither by pressure exerted by the real rulers of the nation, the men who control its industries and commerce.

The fetishes of nationalism serve to draw attention from the primary cause, the accumulation of profits. Now and then the stake becomes too big for the conjuror and his mystery is shown up for what it is—trickery. The first exposure the people forget; the second, forgive, but the next one, when they see they are being victimized, will prompt them either to refute the conjuror and substitute another or else to turn from this diversion to realities and the more potent issue of attending to their own miserable plight.

These controllers of the nation's produce, mines, mills and transportation are at present making a great appeal to their staunchest supporters, the members of midle-classes, those deluded beings who see as their only hope for happiness in the world the accumulation of wealth. That being so they cannot fail to see in every move the money-possessors make the only salvation for a superficially peaceful nation in a turbulent world. And the banner under which they are being urged to march is inscribed "The American Plan." Others recognize it as the "open shop," still others as the closed shop, closed to organized workers.

This plan, ostensibly appealing to the "fairness" supposed to be inborn in all native Americans, is making greater inroads into the American labor movement than most of us think. It has the endorsement of all the chambers of commerce, of the banks and the trusts, the Sherman and Lever acts notwithstanding. Now, with the increase of unemployment due to the closing down of shops and factories, it is a comparatively easy task to compel the workers to accept wages far below the standards of living set by the United States Bureau of Labor Statisties. Once this is gained the next step is to refuse to employ union labor. What is the result? The unions, weakened by the nonpayment of dues and a decrease in membership, find themselves in the position where they are unable to control conditions, let alone dictate them. How can they function in industries only partially unionized? And that is what the employers are after; to weaken the labor organizations so that they will fall to pieces of their own accord. When the labor power of the country is no longer a unit, or composed of several interlocking units, the way to a complete subjection of the worker is simple.

There is not an industry of importance in the United States that since the war has not suffered a general reduction in wages. There is not an industry in the country that is not squarely facing unemployment. There is not an industry in the country in which the "open shop" issue is not to be met. The employers are organized through the banking system to fight labor to a finish. And the workers are not organized.

Were unemployment the general thing, rather than the exception—for after all 4,000,000 is a small minority of the nation's population—there might be some grounds for expecting an overthrow of capitalism and the rebuilding of society upon an equitable foundation. But the fact is far otherwise. With the workers forced in the long run to accept wage reductions the submission gives the capitalists the weapon they need, a telling argument against starvation and the futility of the strike. This is being well illustrated in the case of the railroad workers.

Representatives of the railroad workers from time to time appear before the United States Railroad Labor Board to argue against any wage reductions. Their main line of argument is that the present living costs do not warrant any cuts, inasmuch as before the war wages were by no means commen-

surate with the cost of living. No decisions as yet have been made but a striking example of what the carriers may do in the event of, for them, adverse decisions, is the Atlanta, Birmingham and Atlantic Railway.

The A. B. & A. over a month ago posted up receivership notices and an order signed by a judge of the United States District Court in Atlanta announcing that wages had been reduced; this after the Railroad Labor Board had ruled it could not act in the controversy. This may be regarded in the light of a test case, especially in view of the threat of General Atterbury of the Pennsylvania railroad that the roads of the country were facing bankruptcy. And figures submitted by directors of the A. B. & A. showed that trackmen in the South are getting 90 cents a day.

Wages in the steel industry, employing over 200,000 men, have been cut. Coal mines in many places are closed. The Seamen's International is facing a crisis. The building trades are practically at a standstill, contractors preferring lockouts rather than continue to pay $1.25 an hour to mechanics, a by no means high wage. In the cotton belt imported Mexicans are starving.

The garment workers in the East are on strike, have been for several weeks, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers face damage suits running into millions of dollars, filed by the manufacturers on the trumped-up charge of restraint of trade. Forty-thousand clothing workers in Chicago a month ago were compelled to accept a revision of wages downwards by a decision of the impartial chairman of the joint board of manufacturers and union representatives. The packing industry, it is safe to assume, will face a cut next fall when the packers will apply for the abrogation of the three-cornered agreement between them, the workers and the government. So bad have conditions become in Arizona that in many of the towns in that state men are offering themselves for three meals a day, willing to forego remuneration of any kind rather than face starvation.

International May Day found 315,000 men in important industries in the United States out on strike, as follows: Merchant marine workers, 140,000; paper mill workers, 25,000; printers and allied trades, 50,000; and building trades, 100,000. Wade H. Skinner, acting director-general of the United States Employment Service has this to say on unemployment:

"Despite popular belief that unemployment throughout the country has gradually lessened over the April period, actual figures compiled by the United States Employment Service of the department of labor reveal that conditions at the close of April are four per cent worse than at the close of March."

Iron and steel dullness has been practically responsible for much unemployment in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Plants show a decrease of employment of 30,055 or seven per cent for the month. In many cities continued stagnation in building trades, due to combined high costs of materials and unsettled wage controversies between employers and workers, has affected large numbers and in general retarded increased activity in other lines. This same dullness in building has been reflected in either suspended or part-time operations in western coast lumber producing regions.

According to William Green, secretary of the United Mine Workers, 150,000 miners are out of work, and 300,000 working only two or three days a week besides.

Yet while hundreds of thousands of men go hungry and beg for bread it is a fact that the country is richer than ever before. The per capita money circulation of the nation, according to recent statements put out by the treasury department, is $55.60 as compared with $31.71 on March 1, 1913. That represents an increase of 63 per cent, and in 1918 unemployment was the exception. Why, then, when the vaults of the United States treasury are bulging with gold and when there is more money in circulation than ever before, should men, women and children go half-starved and unclothed?

The case of the seamen will show that the very life of the unions is being threatened. Not only are the shipowners bent on breaking the backs of the unions but the government, of which Admiral Benson, as chairman of the United States Shipping Board, is the mouthpiece, is directly behind them.

Secretary of Labor J. J. Davis held half a dozen conferences in the first week of the struggle which began May 1 with the leaders on both sides. Admiral Benson, with 47 years of training as a naval officer, was not much interested in mending the break he had caused between the organized seamen and engineers and the shipowners. It was he who later announced that he would take over every one of the ships belonging to steamship lines that signed up with the unions at the old rate of wages. This hostile move of Benson's can be construed only in one way.

President Harding has not called upon the shipping board to be even neutral in the dispute, nor has the president undertaken seriously to settle the strike. He permits Benson, on the one hand, to try to smash the union by boycott upon fair employing companies, and on the other he permits Secretary Davis to plead with the Marine Engineers and Seamen to submit to a reduction in pay and a lowering of standards in the industry. If President Harding wants the strike settled on terms which will permit the unions to live he can settle it by a word to Benson at any moment. If he withholds that instruction it is because he chooses to experiment in breaking the maritime workers' organization; after the maritime workers who may be next to feel the mailed fist of "normalcy?"

Is there a remedy for conditions like these? Yes, if the workers are prepared for still harder times. A way out is indicated by District No. 2 of the United Mine Workers. John Brophy, president of

District No. 2, is issuing pamhlets advocating workers' control of the coal industry of the nation. Workers' education is one of the essentials, although to be sure, the workers may be the most highly educated persons in the world, culturally and industrially and socially, without thereby gaining control of industry. There is only one way, and the people of America must face the fact. Only the seizure by them of land and the industries can bring Americans back into their own. All the rest is opportunism, dabbling, compromise. How then are the workers to put themselves in the position of seizing and retaining what they seize?

More solidarity in the ranks of labor is the desideratum. When this is attained injunctions will be useless, and injunctions even now in Kansas are not the terrible instruments they are, say, in West Virginia. And the reason is not far to seek. The miners in Kansas have a closer organization. Another difficulty at present in the way of a workers' democracy in the United States—and it is one labor as a whole does not care to face—is the cumbersome machinery of trade unionism, splitting the unions into as many parts as there are crafts. Individual strikes should not at present be undertaken. Only when labor as a unit is willing to throw down its tools will a strike accomplish anything really worth while.

What does the strike do now beyond embarrassing the employers? It does nothing of a constructive nature. And therein lies the weakness of trade unionism. Trade unionism is on the defensive.

It is the unification of unionism that is wanted in America today. This, and a plan of action are the prime necessities. The mapping of industries, a knowledge of cost accounting, markets; these are some of the things with which labor must acquaint itself if ever it is to administer the nation's business intelligently.

Again, this information can only be obtained where an interlocking system of organization is possible. These are some of the preliminaries to the taking over of all the industries that shall be operated by all the workers.

Let every workingman and woman in America therefore do everything possible to help build the One Big Union of all the Workers.

# Organize!

**By G. Mills.**

IN WORKING class history it is a well-recognized fact that both employed and unemployed have been decidedly apathetic and ignorant.

For these failings the workers are not entirely to blame. Environment and economic pressure, through the capitalist machinery, and chloroform, through the press, are mainly responsible. This, however, is no excuse why the workers should any longer continue in this strain.

What is needed is organization to assist them in obtaining their emancipation as workers. However poor the average worker's education is, there is ample opportunity for our class to raise itself far above the mental and organized status that is in existence today.

It is obvious to the eyes of the workers that conditions socially and economically are decidedly at fault. Nothing short of a complete change in the constitution of international society will alter the worker's condition.

We must sacrifice all individualistic theories and aims to the cause of human betterment and universal emancipation. We must, when and where we can, constantly urge and agitate for a stronger and more substantial system of co-operation in our efforts. We of the unemployed must remember, if ever we obtain work again under the present system of society, that the question of our dehumanization is far from being obviated. We must not think that because conditions are temporarily better, that we have solved the problem of the poor, the idle parasitism of the rich. Unemployment must ever exist under capitalism. Often we reach a state of self-satisfaction and are thereby placing our ideals and visions of a natural life, further beyond our reach. We must not, however, think that even the most complete form of organization is the ultimate object. It is, rather, one of the means to an end. When once the workers have learned the secret of building a sound theory for the future on the ruins of their mistakes, nothing can impede their progress.

Here then lies the potent power of working class energy. Do not let us have any scruples in considering the capitalist tyrants who dominate our lives from the cradle to the grave. Remember: at all times these parasites of humanity have never had one tiny scruple regarding the lives of our comrades in the huge army of industrial wage slaves.

Then, fellow workers, let us make one final rally for the cause of justice, liberty and true freedom, with a system of society representing emancipation of a crushed and down-trodden class.

# A Heart to Heart Talk with Railway Workers

FELLOW WORKERS!

DO YOU remember what happened in the railroad yards and the railroad shops of the United States in the Spring of 1920?

It was just about a year and a half after the signing of the Armistice, which marked the end of the World War and the beginning of the collapse of world capitalism. The United States was still, as it is today, in the throes of what the capitalists call "reconstruction". Prices were the highest they had ever been, and they were going higher every day. The end was not in sight.

Did **wages** keep pace with the **high cost of living?** You, who drew the family pay envelope and paid the family bills, know they did not. Every time you went to the butcher shop to buy a mess of pork chops, every time you bought a new pair of overalls or a new jumper (you probably couldn't afford a new suit of clothes), you found that a little bit more had been tacked onto the price. But when pay day came, your envelope was just the same.

Meanwhile, your wife doubtless was going around with last year's dress and year-before-last's hat while Johnny's shoes were sticking out at the toes and there were holes in Mary's stockings.

What was the natural thing for you to do? Ask the Boss for more money, of course.

All through the war, you and your families had been getting along the best way you could, scimping and doing without the bare necessities of life, "borrowing from Peter to pay Paul," and going into debt, besides.

When you had hit the Boss for a raise in war time, as some of you did through your unions, he had appealed to your "patriotism"; he had begged you to "help win the war" by keeping on at the same old scale. You were told to "manage somehow," save all you can," and "buy more Liberty Bonds."

Being good citizens, you did as the Boss told you in this case. You did manage somehow to scrape through those two trying years.

But the war was over. Conditions in industry were "getting back to normal," but the long predicted drop in prices had not come. Instead, prices of everything—foodstuffs, clothing, shelter—were going higher all the time. It simply couldn't keep on much longer. Something had to be done.

The railroads were doing the biggest business in all their history. It is to be supposed that they were making more money than they had ever made before. With wages still practically what they were before the war, they must have been making the **biggest profits** they had ever made.

And so, having helped to win the war, having bought your quotas of Liberty Bonds, you decided to take the Boss at his word and, now that the war was over, hit him once more for a raise. (He had implied all through the war that, when the war was over, Labor would get its dues.)

You were union men. You believed in the power of organized labor. Naturally, it was through your unions that you proposed to put it up to the Boss.

But in most cases, you never got to the Boss. You never got any farther than your union heads.

What did your union chiefs tell you?

"We have contracts with the roads. Those contracts are sacred. We cannot violate them."

That is what they told you.

Most of your contracts had been made, either before the war, or before the after-the-war rise in prices and the cost of living, and most of them were long-time contracts. It was in vain you workers pointed out that conditions had changed since those contracts had been entered into, that prices had soared almost unbelievably, and that it was a practical impossibility for you to eke out any longer even a bare existence on the wages you were then receiving.

"We are sorry," your chiefs replied, "but there is absolutely nothing we can do. We cannot violate our sacred contracts with the roads."

The rank and file of your organizations **wanted to strike.** There is no doubt of that. But your "leaders" refused.

"There are more ways than one of killing a cat." If you couldn't strike, one thing you could do—you could at least quit your jobs. There was no law against that—though, it is true, under our modern system of legislation by court injunction, it is coming to be illegal for a man to quit his job, when the Boss, with all the weapons of a boss-controlled government and all the forces of "patriotic" prejudice at his command, wants him to go on working.

And so, that is just what you did do. You began, one by one, to **quit your jobs.** That was all the thing amounted to in the beginning.

The yardmen in the Chicago district started it. They began walking out, one by one, at first, then by hundreds, then, as the fever spread, by thousands.

"If we can make a living railroading, we'll make it some other way." That was what you heard on every side. Remember? Hundreds of your number did get jobs at something else. Hundreds to this day never have come back to their old jobs.

As the **walkout** spread, with yardmen and other railroad workers leaving their posts all over the country, the capitalistic newspapers at once came out with scareheads about the "strike," which was variously referred to as "outlaw," "runaway," "un-

authorized," "rebel," "illegal," and even "renegade" (though just what a "renegade" strike is, it would be hard for even a boss-press prostitute to explain.)

The renegades in the case were your brotherhood chiefs, the men whom you had chosen to voice your interests, but who, as you now know, had steadily betrayed them from the first. It was not long before the labor world was afforded the edifying spectacle of "labor leaders" casting in their lot openly with the bosses and using every means in their power to defeat the men who were fighting for the right to work and the right to live.

As the walkout, which soon became a real strike, progressed, the brotherhood chiefs, after conferring with the bosses to whom they had **sold out**, would send out daily, often hourly, bulletins to the kept press, "playing down" the strike, asserting that its "backbone is broken," that the men "are returning to work in increasing numbers," that "the strike will end by tomorrow night," etc., etc.

It was then you realized how completely you had been betrayed. You had known for some time, however, that your brotherhood chiefs were not playing square with you. Indeed, it was only when you had lost all hope of bettering your conditions through the efforts of your delegated representatives that you had quit, first your jobs, and then the "old-line" organizations.

At one of your strike meetings, held in Chicago, a speaker, referring to W. G. Lee, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Traimen, said:

"Bill Lee isn't working for you any more. He quit working for you long ago and signed up with the railroads."

The stand taken by your "leaders" was expressed by A. O. Wharton, secretary of the Railway Employes Department of the American Federation of Labor, as follows:

"The American Federation of Labor stands by its contracts. Its affiliated organizations will take no part in unauthorized strikes. The eight international unions composing the railway employes department are working under contracts and we expect to fulfill those contracts as we expect the railroad companies to fulfill theirs."

At this point, Mr. Wharton might have been asked one or two pertinent questions:

1. Why shouldn't the Boss keep his side of the contract, when he has **the best of the bargain?**

2. How long would he keep it, if he **didn't** have the best of the bargain?

Is the case of an employer breaking his contract with labor an unheard of thing?

One thing we workers usually forget is the fact that the Boss **never guarantees us a job.** The most he ever does is to guarantee us a certain wage, **provided he has a job to give us.**

All contracts between us and the Boss, fellow worker, are onesided. Certainly, such unforeseen circumstances as the almost unbelievable rise in the cost of living attendant upon the World War are enough to justify us in breaking our contract with the Boss, when that contract calls for us to go on working at a wage which does not meet the new conditions and on which we can scarcely exist.

The **right to live** and the **right to work,** the right of the worker to **a living wage** are fundamental rights. They take precedence over all other rights and contracts. As John Grunau, "outlaw" leader, told his followers:

"You simply quit your jobs because you weren't getting enough to live on. The demands we have made are not unreasonable, because for us living costs have been advancing and the wages of other workers have risen, but we have not received enough to live on."

Having quit your jobs, you rail workers began resigning from the brotherhoods. That was your next logical step. Then came the question: Since we are no longer members of the old brotherhoods, we are no longer bound by their contracts: why, then, should we not form a new union of our own and call a strike?

And so, the C. Y. A. (Chicago Yardmen's Association) was born.

By this time, your walkout had become nation-wide. The transportation system of the country had been practically tied up; a general paralysis of industry was threatened; food and fuel supplies were endangered. On this point, the Boss Press was becoming more bitter every day. Finally, the thing which might have been expected happened. Forced by "public opinion"—that is, by kept-press opinion, which is nothing more nor less than boss opinion—the United States government—in this case, President Wilson and Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer—intervened.

You know what happened then. Were you surprised? You shouldn't have been.

"Federal intervention," in one form or other, a logical outgrowth of the anti-strike injunctions which started individually with one or two high-handed judges, has now become so common as no longer to create surprise in the minds of the working class. They feel that it is scarcely worth while to voice a protest any more. It is something they have come to expect in their war with the master class. They know that, in that war, the boss is going to use every weapon at his disposal, just as they themselves will do, if they are wise. They know that, under a boss-controlled government, every weapon of that government—the policeman's club, the militiaman's bullet and bayonet, the court injunction—everything up to the treacherous Federal Board of Arbitration—is going to be used against them.

And so, you yardmen probably were not very much surprised when you heard that Federal warrants had been sworn out for thirty leaders of your "outlaw" strike. Twenty-three of them were arrested in Chicago. The charges preferred against them were: violation of the Sherman Act, through

interference with inter-state shipments; and violation of the Lever Act, through interference with the food and fuel supply of the nation. The Chicago "raids" followed a conference held in Washington between President Wilson and Attorney General Palmer, following which Special Assistant Attorney General Harry Mitchell was dispatched to Chicago. The latter, on his arrival in Chicago, gave out this statement:

"These men have interfered with the health of the entire nation by causing its food shipments to be delayed and stopped. They have caused industry to stop because of a lack of fuel, and we are convinced there was a conspiracy to aim a blow at the government."

Because, with your families to support, you had refused to go on working for a wage on which you could not feed and clothe them, but had decided to find better paying work elsewhere, you were, according to Mr. Mitchell, "aiming a blow at the government" and were guilty of "conspiracy." The essential falseness of the government's position in the whole matter was evident from this absurd charge.

**Any one who demands anything that may mean a reduction of the Bosses' profits is a "conspirator" these days.**

After all the others had been released on bond, seven of your leaders who were still being held were released without bond by United States Commissioner Lewis F. Mason, who told them:

"I am about to do an unheard-of thing. I have heard today that you are good American citizens, that in the present walkout you have endeavored to prevent violence, and that you have conducted yourselves as gentlemen throughout. This conduct urges me to leniency."

What Commissioner Mason says he had learned is true. Despite the lying headlines with stories to match in the prostitute press, there probably never was a strike conducted with less violence.

The real reason, however, for Commissioner Mason's act was that the government was **not sure** of its position in the matter.

It was not until some four months later—in August (the walkout had occurred in April)—that a Federal grand jury returned indictments against a number of your leaders.

By this time, you had virtually won your fight. You had at once won and lost. The yardmen's strike was won as most pitched battles in the class war are won: The workers gained, by great loss and sacrifice, a few hard-earned concessions from the enemy.

The "public" was beginning to be afraid it would go hungry. Bosses in other lines were losing some of their precious profits. And so, pressure was brought to bear upon President Wilson to rush through the long-delayed appointment of the railway labor board, which Congress had authorized. Even so reactionary an anti-labor organization as the Illinois Manufacturers' Association urged the newly appointed board to "consider the demands of the rebels."

The result was, railway workers all over the country were eventually given a retroactive wage increase. It was not what you had asked, it was not what you desperately needed, but still, it was something. In this sense, fellow workers of the yards, your strike was a victory.

Your leader, John Grunau, issued a statement declaring that the strike had resulted in a "great victory." But was it a great victory?

You accomplished much. You forced President Wilson to do several things he did not want to do. You received your increase before the time set by law. But—

In each district you went back on the best terms you could secure. Most of you were not given your seniority rights at first. Some of you the bosses of the roads would not take back on any terms. These, as usual, were the ones who had been a little bit too prominent during the strike.

If you are one of the fortunate ones who went back at the increased rate of pay and who have by now, perhaps, had your seniority rights restored, don't forget the men on the blacklist, many of whom are now walking the streets, looking for a job. They were the men who were responsible for your raise.

Fellow workers of the roads, are you going to sit down quietly and be satisfied with this sort of "victory"? What are you going to do when wages and working conditions again become unbearable, as they are sure to become, sooner or later? What are you going to do when the **next fight** comes? For there will always be a next fight. As long as men work for a boss, there will be a constant war between the workers and the Boss. You are enjoying a truce at present. You and the Boss have signed an armistice. But it wan't last forever. It can't.

What was it defeated you in this strike—for, after all, **weren't you defeated?**

It was not alone Federal "intervention," or the interference of boss-controlled government, which led to the doubtfulness of your victory, though that was a powerful weapon, as it always is, in the hands of the Boss.

In the first place, you were betrayed by your own constituted "leaders" in the old-line craft-union brotherhoods. (Do you know that some of your chiefs were receiving salaries as high as $15,000 a year in addition to the graft which many labor leaders find it so hard to resist?)

You were betrayed, too, by "organized labor," which has not yet learned that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

But most of all, you were betrayed by **your fellow workers in the same industry.** As always in the history of strikes, where workers are "organized" along old, out-worn craft-union lines, we saw members of one union scabbing on another. Though their fortunes are bound up with the strikers, the leaders of one group, and only too often the

rank and file, are almost always ready to turn fink on another. This for the reason that they are actuated by a selfish desire to grab for themselves whatever petty crumbs they can from the bosses' table, not stopping to think that some day the tables will be turned. And so it goes, around and around, in a vicious circle, labor getting nowhere, and the Boss always getting the best of it.

The Boss knows this will happen. He counts on it. It's a part of his game to play off one union group against another.

The thinking vanguard of labor long ago discovered the truth of the principle, "In union there is strength." The result was the craft-union labor organization. The thing which a large percentage of labor—including "organized" labor—has yet to realize is that—

**The greater the union the greater the strength.**

Here, fellow worker, the Boss has beat you to it. There was a time when he was afraid of "organized labor" (that is, craft-unions). He's not very much afraid of such organizations any more. He has learned how to beat the game by going you workers one better on organization. The Boss has learned the lesson of the **One Big Union**, and that is the lesson **you** will have to learn. **Capital** today is organized along the lines of national and international **solidarity.** How long will it take **labor** to find out that it has got to organize on the same lines?

What is meant by the **One Big Union?** It means that **all the workers in an industry** must be organized in the **same union**, and that there must be a solid, democratically centralized organization of **all the workers in all industries.**

It means, to take your own ease, that if the switchmen and yardmen go out on strike, or quit their jobs and walk out as a body, the engineers and firemen must do the same. So must the conductors, brakemen, shop craftsmen, machinists, blacksmiths, boiler makers, electricians, carmen, telegraphers, maintenance-of-way men, railway clerks, freight-handlers, signalmen, stationary firemen and oilers, sheet metal workers—all the workers employed by the road or roads.

It means, too, that if any of these groups or any of their members stick to their jobs, they are seabbing on the others.

It means, finally, that no group or individual can dicker with the Boss as to terms of going back, until **all** are ready to go back.

How long, fellow worker, do you think the Boss could hold out against such a strike as that?

How long do you think the **boss class** could hold out, if the **solid working class** went out on strike?

Such a strike, in an industry or on a larger scale, would be a supreme test of strength. And there would not be much doubt as to the eventual outcome, for you, the workers of the world, possess the **economic strength of the world**, a strength greater even than that of the Boss.

In your strike, railway workers, what would have happened if, for example, the shopmen alone had **stuck it out with you?** As it was, some of them went out, only to **accept the Bosses' bribes** and go back. Others considered going out, but they, too, fell for a few crumbs in the way of concessions and promises—chiefly promises. The same was true of the railway clerks, the telegraphers, and other groups.

Why, fellow worker, you might just as well try to fight it out alone and single-handed, as the wage earners did in the old days, as to rely on such an undependable weapon as the craft-union form of organization. The latter was all right once, but it has served its time. It's out of date now. You might as well take a rusty old rifle and go out and try to fight a battalion of modern machine guns.

The Boss is wise. He's not taking any chances. He's got the latest, most up-to-date weapon, the **One Big Union of Capital.**

Workers, **arm yourselves industrially!**

If the Boss can't beat you by the easiest way, that of pitting one craft-union against another, he'll **beat you from within** by **betraying you through your own officials,** who will **"outlaw"** your strike. It is a comparatively simple and easy thing for the "leaders" to betray the workers in a single craft. It is an altogether different thing when it comes to betraying all the workers in an industry—much more, all the workers in all industries. For One-Big-Unionism means **constant democratic rank and file control.**

Why is it, fellow worker, that the Boss is so anxious to have you believe all sorts of stories about the I. W. W. (the Industrial Workers of the World)? Why, through the lying boss-press, is he always trying to make out that the "Wobblies" are such terrible fellows, accusing them of everything from murder and treason down? Why is he always appealing to your patriotic prejudice in an effort to crush them, as was manifested particularly during the war?

It is simply the **principle of One-Big-Unionism** for which the I. W. W. stands. The Boss is deathly afraid of that. He knows that, if the workers once get that into their heads, it is the beginning of the end for him.

**The Boss doesn't want the workers to arm themselves with his own weapon.**

However, fellow worker, a little reading of I. W. W. literature, a little acquintanee with I. W. W. organizers and the rank and file of the organization, and above all, membership in the organization would soon serve to open your eyes.

Already, you've got the One Big Union bee in your bonnet. You may not know it, but you have. Already, if you listen closely enough, you can hear it buzzing around in the yards and the shops.

Already, there has been some talk of the C. Y. A., the machinists and some other groups that have

had the A. F. of L. blinders struck from their eyes, uniting to form a One Big Union of their own.

But why another O. B. U., when you've got ready to hand an organization which for years, under almost insurmountable obstacles, has been functioning with marvelous efficiency?

That organization is the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. welcomes into its ranks any member of the working class or any organization of such members that can subscribe to its principles.

But, you say, if we join the I. W. W., it will give us a bad name.

Suposing it does, fellow worker. Could you have had any worse name than you had during your "outlaw" strike? Could you have had a worse deal, if you had been members of the I. W. W.?

After all, which is more important, to keep a good name with the Boss and get kicked out of a job every time you ask for a raise, or to get a bad name with the Boss, if necessary, but to GET WHAT YOU WANT?

Think it over, fellow worker.

# On the South Side

**By Jan Rus**

BEHIND the mills on Carson Street and reached by way of an iron bridge spanning the railroad tracks and an unlighted tunnel is situated a settlement of workers, employed for the most part either on the railroad or in the steel plants. The closely built wooden houses and hovels are altogether hidden from civilization (if this can be called civilizaton, this grime and filth) fringed as they are on the one side by the low-lying, ragged, barren hills and on the other by the high railroad wall and roundhouse wherein the engines emit their foul smoke which hangs between the strcets and the sky like a pall, dimming the sun by day and the stars by night. Even those living on this side of the tracks are strangers to the settlement, which is regarded as a kind of No-man's-land, the iron-way seeming to form a barrier which is never crossed; a veritable Great Divide. Indeed, as most of the inhabitants are of foreign birth, they form a community whose ways are alien to American ways. Ask an American for directions to a particular street there and he will reply: "Gosh, don't ask me; them furriners name their streets after themselves." These Poles and Czechs and Slavs live apart.

The settlement itself by night and by day is ugly. The streets are narrow and unpaved, boardwalks serving as a protection from the unevenness of the ground. Built against these forlorn-looking hillsides the shacks ramble in all directions. It seems as if the most advantageous spot had been selected and there a foundation laid upon which the structure itself was dumped. The houses are continually overlaid by the soot from the engines and particles of steel, sparkling like so many diamonds in the sun, deposited by the vomiting stacks. They are like so many anthills, inhabited as they are by innumerable children and their elders and boarders.

An inspection would reveal that the beds are never unoccupied. As soon as those on "dayshift" leave, their places are taken by men returning from work. The womenfolk are constantly on the go providing for these breadwinners. Only the children know the meaning of play as they frisk about like so many intractable young animals and shout to one another before bedtime.

It is at night that the loneliness of the settlement, dropped here on the outskirts of a hive of a city, becomes most apparent; that its aspect of being shut off altogether from the larger world that embraces the totality of its existence in steel and iron and coal is revealed in its strange hideousness. Should it be approached from the hilly background, from above the dirt and smoke, the city on the other side of the river would be seen to be stretched out in row upon row of twinkling lights, beckoning, alluring, picturesque, although the initiated would know that these lights indicate mean, narrow streets and hide grime-covered buildings and homes. Trailing slowly down the stream, oily and discolored, a moving ribbon of light, with here and there a speck of green and red, dimly outlines a stern wheeler. On the bridge the street cars are seen to pass in a broken procession. Over on the Northside a sky-sign flashes its message in the dark. To the south the lessening array of twinkling lights is proof that the suburbs are being reached. Closer still, on this side of the river, the Southside, where the bigger mills are situated, the steel industry is in full blast. Huge tongues of scarlet and yellow flames seem to lick up and up into the serene, star-spangled sky; they die down and in a moment spring into life. All ths is attended by the noises of furnace and engine, the attuned ear being able to detect even the various processes thru which the metal is passing.

Then the deseent begins. First the lights on the far bank are lost to sight. Less and less is seen of the flames. These, too, vanish. Further down the rickety wooden steps, whieh with the exeeption of an upward trudging figure earrying a tin dinner pail, will be traversed alone; the darkened houses beyond the railroad grow seareely diseernable in the fog that clings to the ground. Only in the distanee will be seen the staeks that everlastingly pour forth their filthy, pea-soup eolored smoke. Here, below, the first sign of life is the barking of a eur straining at its ehains as it hears the shuffling of feet on the boardwalk. The baying is the signal for a general chorus and the stranger's steps are heralded to the very end of the pathway and the straggling houses that are prevented from extending themselves by the unproteeted iron rails along which a ereaking freight train is being shunted to the aeeompaniment of hoarse shouts and whistles and the waving of lanterns.

If the evening is still groups of men squatting on their doorsteps are passed. Their speeeh for the time being is stopped as they turn their heads to see what the stranger is about. Sueh an intrusion on their privaey—one feels that it is privaey that is being violated for here no evidenees of publie ownership are to be found—is unknown. The group is perhaps approaehed and information as to where so-and-so lives asked. The men glance at eaeh other as if seeking to find from a eompanion's eyes what this portends. It is almost as if a feeling of fear were being engendered by the question. Sign language is brought into play and with a few words whose aeeents betray the speaker's nativity direetions are given. Further on and from behind shuttered windows eomes a babble of many tongues. A woman leans from an upper story eonversing with a friend who stands aside to let the visitor pass. His presenee has a dampening effeet on their talk, whieh ceases until he is well without earshot..

From some of the dwellings issue the smell of deeayed garbage and the fetid odor of stale food and yesterday's eooking. Behind and around hangs an atmosphere of depression and gloom. Always there is the distant boom and throb of the mills. They are the mainspring of the community. The only link with the outside world is the eorner grocery. There are men who never have crossed over to the city from one year's end to another. Humans in this plaee are so many units. They do their allotted tasks for the most part uneomplainingly. To earn suffieient to keep body and soul together; that is the only thought that urges them on. For the rest . . . They hardly, if ever, move out of their small world. Their wives buy all the neeessities of life from the groeery; their children seldom deviate from the orbit between home and sehool, home and ehureh, sehool and home, ehureh and home, unless it may be now and then to visit a movie. Life is a monotone of gray. It is less than primitive.

Onee, in a deeade, a strike is called, by whom they seareely know. Why? They will tell you it is to get more pay. Yet a strike, tho it be lost, as it invariably is, takes these toilers, these foreigners, to another mode of existenee. For a whole month, if they hold out so long, they know the meaning of home-life and its eomforts, sueh as they are. They ean play with their ehildren; they ean talk long hours with their friends. They live—for a time! What trifling savings had been aeeumulated are eaten up and hunger drives them baek to the unending grind.

Or perhaps the evenness of events is interrupted by a seandal. A woman runs away with another man, most likely with a boarder who had been doing "dayshift" while her husband worked at night. Then the women gather and expostulate, forgetting even their pressing household duties in the enjoyment of another's daring. The ehildren for the time being are left to themselves. Tiring of the amour the woman may return; and the family life is resumed as if nothing had intervened. Failing this the man will take to himself another wife, legally or by mutual eonsent. In any ease the community life proceeds, birth and death raising hardly a flurry in this harrowing environment, altho eaeh furnishes some with its own exeitement. More disturbing still will be the sudden news that one of the have elaimed another vietim and the mills have men has met with an aeeident. The railroad will ended the aetivity of another unit; their plaees are immediately filled by eager souls waiting for the opportunity to step into another's shoes, heedless of attendant dangers.

On the other side of the railroad after the damp, steneh-filled tunnel has been negotiated and the bridge erossed the high railroad wall shuts all from view. For the easual passer-by the settlement is non-existent.

# The Ownerless Slaves

**By Lestor.**

THE gaunt wolf of unemployment is stalking throughout the length and breadth of the capitalist world, leaving starvation, misery and death in its train. In every city of the North American continent, in Australia, in Britain, and in all capitalist Europe the hideous creature exists. Men and women are walking around like ghouls, asking charity, and processions of workless men and women are to be met everywhere, begging, "by permission of the police."

A few weeks ago, in the city of Vancouver, British Columbia, a meeting of unemployed numbering 1,000, were asked to vote for a resolution which reads as follows:—

"That this meeting of unemployed desires to protest most emphatically against the proposal of Lloyd George, to bring large numbers of the unemployed of Britain into this country. We consider the unemployed problem in Canada should first be solved, before any attempt is made to bring more immigrants, etc."

The unemployed refused to vote for the resolution, and when it was submitted, it was unanimously turned down. The cry was: "Let them all come. It will make no difference to the problem whether they are here or there, for it is an international problem.'

This was the correct stand to take, because capitalism is international, and under capitalism, unemployment is inevitable.

What is the cause of the trouble?

Everybody knows that the British working man is free. He feels that every time he sings "Rule Britannia," and so he is—free from property. He doesn't own anything, and in order to live, he sells himself. He can call himself free if he chooses, but what was there ever to slavery anyhow? The slave owner could command the services of his slave and take from him what he produced.

Is there any difference now?

When the master's voice calls in the shape of a steam whistle, you know that means you, if you are wanted.

The capitalist can command your services, and the failure to comply means death from starvation. The moment you step on the job you begin to deliver what you have sold: the energy of your body, and when leaving the place where you have been employed, you leave the wealth you have produced in the master's possession. It is plain that you would not get the loan of a job if the employer couldn't make something out of you. You must produce more than your wages, and so you do, much more.

Notice all those people who live in wealth and affluence without working. They are never employed, and yet they live on the best. It all comes out of your hide. The capitalist, however, cannot do exactly as he choses; he is in business for profit, and profits are not made until goods are sold. If you produce four articles and only get enough mony to buy back one, three of those articles must remain on the market unsold.

This is the position of Britain.

The goods produced by the working class cannot be sold to the working class, because it has not received enough in wages to enable it to buy back what it has produced. Foreign markets have previously enabled the capitalist class to keep going; but it is becoming harder and harder to find foreign markets, because as soon as they are found, they become competitors, owing to the fact that they start the same system in these foreign countries.

There was a time when Britain was practically the only capitalist country, but look around you now; France, Germany, the United States, Japan, and a host of others have all become capitalist countries, and they are all seeking foreign markets, and although a great war has just been fought as a result of the fact that all the capitalist nations had to expand and there was not room for them to expand except at each other's expense, the problem is just as great as ever.

What is to be done?

It is either war, war, and more war, or revolution. The capitalists want war; the class-conscious worker, revolution. A revolution is a transformation. It does not necessarily imply bloodshed, but it means a fundamental change in wealth production and distribution. We must bring about the change or perish. This is the historic mission of our class.

If you go on to any job where large numbers of men are employed, you will see that every man is co-operating with every other man to produce wealth.

There is a co-operative production today. When the wealth is produced, however, it is not the property of the producers. Those who obtain possession of it have to sell it because it is no good to them personally, and on the market they are in competition with each other. "Our goods are the best." "Buy from us," etc. In the workshop and factory, co-operation; on the market, pandemonium and anarchy, with war as the result.

"The forces of production have risen in revolt against the forces of exchange."

The revolution that is necessary, is to bring the forces of distribution into harmony with the co-operative methods of production. The working class will be compelled to take power from the hands of the master class in order to effect this fundamental change. The line of demarcation between the master class and the working class is ownership. This is the class struggle, and this is where you can line up with your class. The capitalist keeps the worker in bondage because he owns those things that are necessary to the worker's existence. The class-conscious working man, therefore, whether employed or unemployed, whatever his race or color, is lined up with every other worker who stands for the "working class ownership of the means of life." Line up with your class!

Great Britain was the first country in capitalism, and the impotency and helplessness of her statesmen is a sign that the end is near.

Another factor is this vast army of workless men and women. Against the united advance of the working class, the capitalist class is absolutely helpless. The battle cry is: "All power to the working class," and the signs of the times indicate that in this generation the worker will enter into possession of his own. The working men in all countries are uniting for the last great struggle. Workers of Great Britain, you are lagging behind!

Forward! Your place is in the van.

Capitalism is played out.

The end is at hand.

Let the working class of the world now strike one united blow at its enemy, and capitalism is down and out forever.

Reprinted from "Out of Work," published by the London District Council of Unemployed.

# "Go Find a Master"

### A FAIRY TALE FOR WORKING GIRLS

**By a Rebel Girl**

"HUNT the Thimble" is an old game, as old perhaps as thimbles themselves—and it's quite probable that before the days of thimbles it was known to prehistoric children as "Hunt the Bone"—who knows?

It has always been the children who played "Hunt the Thimble" —or "Hunt the Bone"—but when they grew up and felt too old and dignified to run around after thimbles and bones they still wanted to hunt something because it was the one thing they had really learned well when they were young, so the grown men got together and invented a new game called "Hunt the Job"—that is, the men called it "Hunt the Job" and the women called it "Go Find a Master."

At first the men took it all as a joke, and only played at it sometimes, when they felt like it, but presently some of them began to take it quite seriously and to play all day long.

Then one day when they were all sitting in front of the cave smoking and talking and the women were inside the cave making soup for supper, one of the men said:

" 'Hunt the Job' is a good game, but none of you take it seriously enough. Why not learn how to play it properly. Let's take half a dozen clever men and let them be masters all the time—then they'll learn how to run fast and play all sorts of tricks and we'll have lots of fun chasing them, and in order to make it worth their while to be chased all the time we others could easily get together and pay them handsomely for their trouble."

This man's name was Crafty, and he had a little body and a big head, and they all looked up to him because they thought he was so much cleverer than the rest, and when he saw how pleased they were with his suggestion, his little black eyes began to shine, and he licked his thin, red lips softly with the tip of his tongue like a cat, and said:

"If you chaps really think it's a good idea, I'd be willing to do you a kindness and be your first master."

So they all shouted with pleasure and said what a fine fellow he was, and beat their hairy hands on the backs of their bone plates and made no end of a fuss of him—all except two men whose names were Courage and Foresight, and they knocked Courage on the top of the head with a stone battle axe, and put a knife into Foresight's heart, and that was the end of them!

Then one man whom they called Pinhead because he had a little head and a big body, got up and said:

"Gentlemen"—the ladies were not included in those days, they came later— "Gentlemen, I'm sure we all feel most grateful to dear Crafty for offering us his services. I suggest that we accept his kind offer and make him our first master, choosing three or four other worthy men to act in a like capacity, and that each man amongst us give a portion of everything that is his to pay our masters for their trouble."

Then they chose the other masters and made speeches and got horribly drunk to celebrate, and

the Chief Stenographer in Heaven took it all down in shorthand, and sat up all night reading it off to the Chief Recorder, who took down an enormous book marked "Mankind" and, resting it up against a cloud, wrote until he had horrible cramps in his hands and arms, which were of course partly due to the dampness of the other cloud he was sitting on. However, it was the biggest entry he had yet made in that book marked "Mankind."

Now for some time the men had a great time playing "Hunt the Job" or "Go Find a Master." Then they began to grumble amongst themselves. Lots of them thought it would be much more fun to be masters themselves, but when they mentioned this the masters just laughed and said that was quite impossible, because there was only room for a very few such highly specialized persons.

So day by day the masters grew fatter and craftier, and somehow their children looked prettier and seemed cleverer because they never had to do any work, and it began to be a terrible burden on the others to pay them enough for their services. So the Men killed Pinhead because he had first approved of Crafty's suggestion, but that didn't do a bit of good because by this time they'd got so used to playing "Hunt the Job" and "Go Find a Master" that they couldn't live without it, and so they went right on grumbling and playing, and playing and grumbling, and always giving the masters the biggest part of everything they had.

At last the masters got so proud of themselves that they moved to another cave with their wives and all their children and belongings, and after that the two sides never talked to each other except when they were playing, and their children never spoke together at all until they got old enough to join in the game.

Then at last the women looked up from the soup pot they were always stirring and began to ask questions. Then they told the men they had muddled things badly, and that they could do ever so much better themselves, and because the women were right the men got very angry and said:

"All right, if you know so much better than we do, come on out and help us play 'Go Find a Master' . . ."

* * * * *

That is why I have been going from office to office this week, listening to the same old phrase:

"No, we have no vacancies. If you care to fill out an application form . . ."

Girls, Working Girls, we haven't done any better than the men! Let's talk to them about it. Let's realize once and for all that tho in the work we do our hands may stay white and clean we are no less slaves than the man who sweeps the crossing or who tends the machine till his hands are black with grease and dirt and covered with half-healed wounds and jagged scars. Let's add our voice to theirs. Let's throw in our strength with theirs. Let's get together, men and women, boys and girls, and put an end forever to the oldest, cruellest and most ruthless game that was ever played.

# The Truth

WITH the press, platform and pulpit resounding to the lies which are told to deceive the people, it is well that we should consider the truth.

What are the vital things for us?

We are not concerned about who won the war; we are far more concerned about who is getting the butter.

We are not concerned about indemnities which will not go into our pockets, but will be used to still further increase misery and unemployment at home, while adding to the luxury of the rich idle class.

How can the unemployed question be solved? That is one of the most vital things to us.

This is the truth, and it is worth remembering.—

Unemployment will never be solved until the working class takes control of the country—of the whole of industry—and runs things in its own interests.

There you have the plain, blunt, honest truth, and nobody can get around it.

If we are wrong in stating this, the capitalists can easily show that we are wrong by solving the unemployment question. There is the chance for them.

We claim that they are so greedy and corrupt and that their industrial system is so rotten, that it condemns thousands of our class to unemployment and misery and the rest to toil and insecurity.

The capitalists are in control. Let them reply to our challenge by dealing with the problem if they can.

They will not even try. Congressmen cannnot deal with unemployment. Individually they are too greedy to do anything except through fear; collectively they admit their incapacity. They will not respond to our challenge to solve the problem which their system has created.

# WOBBLES

PATTY MeQuiek was telling us the other day that he got a job working for a Seventh Day Adventist, and got "bowled out" for reporting to work on Saturday. Patty thinks the Adventists have the greatest religion on the earth, and is setting out as a missionary among the employers.

Go to it, Fellow Worker! We're with you to a man! We are not only going to eonvert the employers to a five-day work week for the workers but for themselves as well!

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At the Trade Union Congress in London a few weeks ago two delegates were overheard in eonversation.

One, an eleetrieian, said to the other, a miner: "Your program is all "ums", you have maximum, minimum, and datum, we've only got one."

Said the miner: "What's that?"

The electrician: "—— um.'

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Have pity on "ye poor editors"! Here is part of a letter received from a fellow who writes bad prose about sex and insanity and dubs it "poetry." In our opinion it is the ehoieest pieee of writing he has produced so far:

"But what's the use arguing with a dumb ass and counter-revolutionist like yourself? One of these days I'm going to pull your damned bourgeois hide off and taek it to the barn-door for the flies to peek at."

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A rieh New England real estate dealer, noted for his high-handed way of doing business, died recently and a monument with the following epitaph was set up at the head of his tomb:

"Strangers, behold, as you pass by,
As you are now, so onee was I,
Where I am now, there will you be,
Prepare for death and follow me."

A week later somebody had written underneath:

"To follow you I'm not eontent
Until I find which way you went."

**JOY RIDING**

Don't boast that you use your head instead of your hands. Woodpeekers do that right along.

# "High Spots" of the Thirteenth I. W. W. Convention

**Compiled by Roy Brown.**

THE Thirteenth Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World was called to order on May 9th, 1921, at 9 A. M., by Roy Brown, the Chairman of the General Executive Board.

### Seating of Delegates

E. W. Latchem was elected temporary chairman and J. J. McMurphy temporary recording secretary, after which the Convention went into the general routine of electing a Credentials Committee and Rules Committee. The Convention then adjourned until the Credentials Committee could bring in its report.

The afternoon session was called to order at 1.40 P. M. to hear the report of the Credentials Committee. The following is the report:

List of uncontested delegates and vote of each:

**Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110**
Albert Bare 28 — Ed Donnelly 28 — Thos. Connors 28 — Tom Wallace 28 — J. H. Snyder 28

**Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120**
Nels Olson 59.6 — Dan Murray 59.6 — Chas. Craig 59.6 — W. Smith 59.6 — J. J. McMurphy 59.6

**Metal and Coal Mine Workers Industrial Unions No. 210 and 220**
Thos. Bones 50 — Ben Decarso 50

**General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310**
Ed Archibald 27.6 — Jesse Sigal 27.6 — W. W. White 27.6 — P. Ryan 27.6 — Roy Leonard 27.6

**Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330**
John Jackson 8

**Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440**
Fred Bowerman 22 — Wm. Stockinger 22 — Frank Peterson 22

**Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 450**
Mm. Kinsberg 4

**Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510**
J. Michaelson 14

**Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520**
E. W. Latchem 14 — M. Carlson 14

**Public Utilities Workers' Industrial Union No. 650**
A. J. Carroll 2

They were all seated with the exception of A. J. Carroll of the Public Utility Workers' Industrial Union. Carroll was not seated on account of not being a wage worker.

Then came up the proposition of whether or not they would seat the three delegates representing the Philadelphia Branch of the Marine Transport Workers. On motion they were given a voice but no vote in discussing the matter of the Philadelphia Suspension.

### Election of Committees

After this the convention went into permanent session and elected the temporary chairman E. W. Latchem as permanent chairman and Tom Wallace as permanent recording secretary.

The Rules Committee reported that they had drawn up a set of 21 rules to govern the Convention, practically all of which were accepted, with the exception of a few, which were amended. The rest of the day and most of the next day were taken up in the election of various committees to attend to the business of the Convention.

### Collection for Class War Prisoners.

On the afternoon of the second day a motion was brought up to elect a committee of three to send telegrams of cheer to the class war prisoners. Upon argument that the prisoners could not eat the telegrams and that this would only be giving good money to the capitalists, in paying for the telegrams, the motion was made to take up a collection for the benefit of the class war prisoners, which was carried. The sum of $53.00 was collected to buy little necessities for the boys in jail.

### The Suspension by the G. E. B. of the Philadelphia M. T. W. Branch and of Bakers' Local No. 46 Sustained by the Convention.

The next question on the floor was the suspension of the Philadelphia M. T. W. Branch. The Philadelphia Branch was charged with violating Article 6, Section 3, of the Constitution, by charging a $25.00 initiation fee. There was a lengthy debate on this question, it being argued from every angle from the afternoon of the second day until the morning of the 4th day. The motion was made "that we sustain the General Executive Board for suspending the Philadelphia Branch of I. U. No. 510 for not living up to the Constitution". The motion was carried with 20 yeas and 3 nos. On the demand of a roll call vote, the motion was carried by 774 yeas and 96 nos,—26 votes not voting.

The same action was taken with regard to the New York Bakers, known as Local 46. They were also charged with violating the constitution with regards to high initiation fees, which were $15.00.

**Report of Defense Secretary.**

John Martin, Secretary of General Defense, gave a review of the past activities of the Defense. He reported that a large number of fellow workers were still in penitentiaries and that funds were needed to give those fellow workers and their families relief. He also reported the denial by the U. S. Supreme Court of a review of the Chicago case, and that the defendants who were out on bond had been ordered back to the penitentiary. He stated that "Out of the 46 fellow workers who had been released on bonds, all reported at the penitentiary with the exception of the following nine: Wm. D. Haywood, Vladimir Lossieff, J. H. Beyer, Herbert McCutcheon, Grover H. Perry, Charles Rothfisher, Leo. Laukki, Fred Jaakola and George Andreytchine. Haywood, according to the reports received, has left the country and it now in Russia. His reasons for leaving the United States are unknown to me as I had not the least knowledge of his departure, nor even of his intention of taking such a step, until the day I was informed by a Federated Press reporter that he was in Russia. The whereabouts of the others above mentioned are not known and it is to be expected that the government will in the near future forfeit their bonds".

Owing to Fellow Worker Martin having to return to Leavenworth, George Williams was appointed as his successor to the secretaryship of the General Defense Committee. Williams reported the following:

"According to a list compiled by Fellow Worker Martin from accounts of former secretaries, a total of $41,342.27 was collected as loans to the Bail & Bond Fund and a total of $23,228.91 refunded. In addition to the above amount of $23.228.91, the sum of $16,789.45 was put up as bail in the form of cash and Liberty Bonds. This amount ($16,789.45), as near as I can tell by the records, represents cash originally collected by the Defense Committee and used to buy Liberty Bonds for bail and distributed in the following manner:

| | |
|---|---|
| E. J. McCutchion | $ 4,000.00 |
| J. H. Beyer | 10,000.00 |
| Laukki and Jaakkola | 600.00 |
| V. Lossieff | 564.45 |
| Wm. D. Haywood | 1,625.00 |

Fellow worker Williams offered the following suggestions for reimbursing the bond money:

"That the General Executive Board, after the approximate shortage has been definitely established, shall be empowered by this Convention to issue a compulsory assessment stamp, of whatever denomination would be advisable under the circumstances, and the funds from this source be kept exclusively for the purpose of paying back anyone holding receipts for money loaned to the organization as bail on the Chicago defendants and that all money collected over and above the amount needed to meet our obligation on the Chicago case be used as directed by the next Convention.

"That cash refunds be made on the basis of sixty per cent and a further receipt be issued against the fund that is to be collected by the G. E. B. In connection with this, it is, of course, understood that any money left over in the present Bail & Bond fund, by being uncalled for, would be reverted to the fund to be collected by the G. E. B. mentioned before. However, the matter of paying back Liberty Bonds cannot be handled in the same way, because those holding receipts calling for a specific Liberty Bond with a certain number is their personal property and cannot be held after it is demanded. Those who hold receipts for bonds which were placed on those defendants who jumped bail will have to be paid from the special fund mentioned before at their face value.

"Another thing which should be considered by this Convention is a setting of a time limit on the repayment of all cash and Liberty Bonds. It is certain that some cash loans and even Liberty Bonds, will never be called for, and therefore, if no time limit is set for collection by those holding receipts, the residue of the present Bail & Bond Fund would be carried for years. In view of this possibility, I suggest that a limit of six months from the date of the release of bail be set, and after that date all cash and Liberty Bonds received as loans and remaining still uncalled for, be turned over either to discharge obligations pending against the organization for bail, or be turned over to the Defense Fund, or to the Rehabilitation Fund.

"A point has been raised as to our responsibility to those individuals who have furnished bonds for those who have skipped. There are some who think that inasmuch as those who jumped bonds were members of the I. W. W. that we are in duty bound to stand good for losses of this character. About this I have no suggestion to offer. But a declaration of policy concerning this is needed to settle any argument that may arise in the future.

"There are many other problems which will perhaps arise concerning the Bail & Bond Fund, but I think if the matter is handled according to the suggestions made herein, we can terminate the whole matter to the satisfaction of everybody concerned.

"There remains to be dealt with the matter of the future policy of carrying on the Defense work. There is no doubt that in the past there has been both a waste of money and effort in carrying on the work. This condition is not the fault of any individual but it arises, I think, from the loose manner in which relations are maintained with different parts of the country. The present branches of the Defense Committee, with a few exceptions, work entirely independent of the General Defense Committee and in some cases there is a decided hostility between the

branch and what is supposed to be Headquarters. Of course, much of this can be traced to certain conditions and feeling existing between individuals. It must be apparent to anyone that much waste of money has been borne by the organization in handling its affairs. Each branch generally hires its lawyers without regard to the fact that other lawyers could be secured who are already on the payroll of the General Defense Committee. A systematic handling of legal talent by a centralized committee would, no doubt, remove much unnecessary expense from the branches and the organization as a whole. The lawyers are the heaviest expense, and something should be done to cut down the outlay for counsel fees, etc., by adopting an intelligent, systematized method of handling the legal end".

He also suggested the plan of establishing a Rehabilitation Fund for the purpose of taking care of fellow workers upon the expiration of their sentences, in order to give them a chance to recuperate after their long terms of confinement.

### Report of the General Executive Board.

Next the members of the General Executive Board reported their past activities in behalf of the organization. In regards to sending out the referendum to endorse the Third International, they stated that the previous Board had endorsed the Third International and that the last Convention had endorsed the Board's report. Consequently, the present Board was at a loss to know where the membership stood, but after the question had been thoroughly discussed in the organization press, the ballot was declared void.

The Board then brought out the necessity of establishing a Bureau of Industrial Research and stated that it had endeavored to do so, but that owing to a lack of finances the work had to be postponed.

The rest of the report dealt principally with such past activities of the organization with which the membership is already familiar. The important thing in the report was the emphasis laid on the necessity of eliminating inefficiency and wastefulness within the organization to as great an extent as possible. To that end the Board offered the following suggestions:

"In order to have a successful fighting and efficient organization, order, system and discipline are absolutely necessary, and to make this possible we hereby present for your consideration the following recommendations:

"(1) That all Industrial Union Headquarters be centralized in General Headquarters.

"(2) That each Industrial Union be in charge of the Chairman of the General Organization Committee representing said Industrial Unions. Each Industrial Union having a Chairman who will operate the affairs of the organization.

"(3) That financial transactions be taken care of by the General Secretary-Treasurer, who will employ such assistance as is deemed necessary to properly handle the accounts of the Industrial Unions. The accounts of the Industrial Unions be kept separate, indicating just what they have to work with.

"(4) Through the perfection of the present system of handling the accounts of the Small Industrial Unions, the burden of accounting will be taken off the shoulders of the Organization Committee, allowing them more time to function on organization matters.

"(5) The selection of Secretaries of Industrial Unions can be eliminated, as the General Organization Committee would control the Industrial Unions and the Chairman would be left in the office to handle organization work.

"(6) The Chairman of the General Organization Committee should be the member of the General Executive Board representing his industrial union. This would result in the G. E. B. being in close communication at all times, and be under the control of the Industrial Unions.

"(7) The General Executive Board would hold monthly meetings and in case of important issues coming up, a special meeting could be called, for immediate action to be taken thereon.

"(8) The office of the Chairman of the G. O. C. should be located at General Headquarters.

"(9) The Chairman of the G. E. B. would be selected by the members of the G. E. B., as is done under the present system, and the alternate of the member selected as Chairman of the G. E. B. should serve as Board member and Chairman of the G. O. C.

"(10) The General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. should be selected by the G. E. B.

"(11) The duties of the General Secretary-Treasurer should be to manage the General Office and supervise the accounts, and he should have the qualifications necessary to efficiently carry on this work.

"(12) All branches to function direct with General Headquarters and all delegate and branch accounts be accurately kept at all times.

"(13) To give efficient and prompt service to distant districts ordering supplies, etc., it may be found necessary to establish supply stations. These stations, however, would not keep any accounts. By shipping literature and supplies in large enough quantities to go by freight, transportation cost would be reduced and would permit the branches in such immediate vicinity to be promptly served.

"(14) The One Year Service Clause for officers will have to be abolished in time, and the sooner the better. An executive position requires executive ability".

### Reports of "The Industrial Pioneer"

The afternoon session was taken up in the reports of the manager and editor of "The Industrial Pioneer". The manager, Harry Feinberg, reported progress in regards to increased circulation and finances, and concluded with the following:

"The Industrial Pioneer" is the only magazine in the country that advocates clearly and uncompromisingly the ideas of revolutionary industrial unionism, and with the co-operation of the membership there is no reason why it should not be made the most influential labor publication in the country."

The editor, Henry Van Dorn, reported that he was employed to assist John Sandgren on the magazine and that after Sandgren was discharged he was selected by the G. E. B. to take the editorship of the magazine. He reported, in part:

"In the course of the next few weeeks we found that it would be essential to make several far-reaching changes in the magazine if we were to continue to issue it at all. Money was not coming in as fast as it should, and many of the branches had positively refused to handle the magazine, especially the December issue, on account of its reactionary attitude. We had to do something to create favorable sentiment and to improve the finances.

"The first step taken in that direction was the changing of the name to "The Industrial Pioneer". This had to be done as the magazine could not be sold any more under the old name".

He also made a statement in regards to getting the magazine out in a more elaborate and economical manner, as well as the following:

"As far as the policy of "The Industrial Pioneer" is concerned, I have tried to get away from all personal attacks and controversial squabbles, and to print educational propaganda along the lines of pure I. W. W. principles.

"The magazine still continued to point out the fallacies of revolutionary political organizations as represented by the Communist parties, but this was done in a scientific spirit for the purpose of educating our readers, instead of in a spirit of personal and unjudicious attack.

"One of the changes in the policy of the magazine was to lay more emphasis on the necessity of militant direct action and less on the evolutionary exposition of the class struggle. In my opinion what we need at the present time is not philosophy but ACTION. Evolution is not going to get us anything unless we get it ourselves".

### Communication from Christensen

A communication from the Defense attorney, Otto Christensen, was read before the Convention in which was stated that the Organization was in debt to Christensen to the extent of $9,000.00 or $10,000.00. The communication was turned over to the Grievance Committee.

Following this the G. E. B. members made verbal reports, all of which were accepted.

### Telegrams from Philadelphia and R. T. U. I.

A telegram was received from the Philadelphia branch of M. T. W., reading as follows:

"Impossible to hold meeting. Instruction of body if not reinstated after Philadelphia controversy: Return home at once. Body knows change means suicide. Answer requested".

At the morning session of the 6th day a telegram from the American Bureau of Red Trade and Industrial Unions was read, as follows: "In the name of the R. T. U. I. we send greetings to the 13th Convention of the I. W. W. We feel confident that out of this Convention the I. W. W. will emerge with full solidarity with those workers that have already affiliated under the banner of the R. T. U. I."

The greater part of the morning session was taken up in discussion over the past activities of some of the G. E. B. members.

### Report of "Tie Vapauteen"

In the afternoon session Rosa Knuuti, the business manager of "Tie Vapauteen", our monthly Finnish magazine, reported that the vast majority of the Finnish membership wanted the magazine taken from New York and placed in the General Headquarters in Chicago; and that since this was done it has proven to be a good move both financially and editorially.

She stated in part:

"One of the substantial reasons for the above action, was the effort to undo the antipathy that the publication had created by publishing articles either too critical of the 3rd International, on the one hand, or lacking discretion in lauding the aims and purposes of political enthusiasts, on the other, which seriously threatened the existence of the magazine. The circulation of the publication, which at its best ranged from 5,000 to 6,000, came down scarcely 3,500. It was at this figure when the G. E. B. took it over; since then it has recuperated and now with the May issue reaches the 6,500 mark. This is apparently due to the changes made in editorial policy, and the moral backing of Headquarters, which has increased the circulation in general.

"In connection with the printing of the publication at Headquarters, very little trouble or handicap has been experienced.

"As to the future of the magazine: The importance of a monthly publication as a propaganda medium among the Finnish workers cannot be over-estimated. The very life-blood of the organization lies in its current public actions, and emphatically so, in regard to its foreign issues. The philosophy of the I. W. W. is gaining more ground every day, and its literature is not only accepted, but it is being demanded by the workers as logical and consistent teachings for the solution of their social-economic problems.

"Tie Vapauteen" has not as yet become the interest of the whole I. W. W. membership, to the extent that it should, but it is the wish of the Finnish Press Committee, under whose eharge and supervision the magazine is edited, that the membership at large take steps toward increasing the eirculation, aiding it with artieles and taking a real interest in their own publication".

**Resolutions Passed.**

The rest of the afternoon was taken up with resolutions, most of whieh were turned over to the various committees. The following were carried:

"Resolved, that any member who accepts nomination for an official position and declines after name has been plaeed on the ballot, shall not be eligible for any office for two years, unless good eause is given, such as siekness or being in jail.

"Resolved, that the G. E. B. shall see that all I. W. W. papers are pursuing the same editorial poliey of Industrial Unionism.

"Resolved, that we preaeh the general strike as the only means for the liberation of class war prisoners.

"Resolved, that in the future all speakers for the I. W. W. shall be routed by and bear eredentials from the Distriet or the General Organization Committee, or from the G. E. B. of the I. W. W.

"Resolved, that all I. W. W. agitation must be towards the eontrol of industries, more so during periods of unemployment, as at present."

This being Saturday the Convention was adjourned until Monday, May 16th, whieh was the 7th day.

**Greetings to Irish Fighters for Freedom.**

Immediately after opening the morning session a resolution was adopted, whieh read:

"Resolved that the 13th Convention of the I. W. W., assembled in Chieago, Ill., in May, 1921, extends greetings of good will and encouragement to the valiant Irish men and women who are putting up such a splendid fight for the abolition of wage slavery".

**Resolutions About Bulletin, International Affiliation and Press Fund.**

These other important resolutions were passed:

"Resolved that the G. E. B. be instrueted to issue a bulletin once a month to contain matters pertaining to eharges, internal affairs and personal disputes, whieh are of no interest to nonmembers. No articles of this nature to be published in any other I. W. W. publieation".

"Resolved that any international affiliation of the I. W. W. that may be decided upon shall be ratified by a referendum vote of the membership, before beeoming effeetive".

"Resolved that eaeh industrial union of the I. W. W. pay a per eapita tax of 5 eents for eaeh due stamp sold into a fund for the upbuilding and maintaining of a more efficient I. W. W. press".

**The G. E. B. Sustained in Removing John Sandgren.**

During the afternoon session, John Sandgren, the ex-editor of the One Big Union Monthly, was given the floor to explain his position. After a thorough examination of all parties concerned, the G. E. B. was sustained in removing him.

**More Resolutions.**

During the morning session of the 8th day, the following important resolution was concurred in:

"Resolved, that we proceed without delay to an inventory of all industrial equipment, embraeing its produetive eapaeity, its sourees of raw material, and the transportation avenues by which the raw material eomes, and the finished product is distributed. That there be a parallel inventory of all the workers neeessary to operate this equipment, with a view to organizing production and the distribution of the product to the produeers, and, be it further

"Resolved, that we eompile the entire proeess of the production and distribution of the food supply of the country, and as an immediate step, be it further

"Resolved, that the delegates ask their district organization to ascertain at onee:

"A. The supplies of such staple products in their districts as meat, fish, flour, milk, butter, eggs, potatoes, and all staple vegetables and fruits, canned goods and fuel.

"B. The extent to which eaeh district supplies its own wants.

"C. The source of the rest and the means by whieh it is transported.

"D. Loeal records of all warehouses, where food is kept or whenee it is distributed, and, be it further

"Resolved, that the general organization be instrueted to take up an inventory of packing houses, flour mills, canneries, etc., whieh produce food on too large a seale for the loeal investigators."

"The eommittee of Braneh 1, N. Y., I. U. No. 440, elected to draft this resolution, also reeommends that the Convention instruet the general organization to ask each local to ehoose a member to serve on the eommittee to undertake detailed organization of this work."

The afternoon session of the 8th day was taken up by the report of the Constitution Committee. No aetion was taken on the constitutional resolutions.

**Resolutions Concerning Defense.**

The morning session of the 9th day was taken up with resolutions coneerning defense and bond matters. After the Ways and Means Committee brought in their report, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolution No. 1: The Committee of Ways and Means considers the I. W. W. honor bound to pay back those who loaned the organization money and bonds, so therefore, we suggest that the G. E. B.

shall be empowered by the Convention to issue a special voluntary assessment stamp of $1.00. The funds from this source to be kept exclusively for the purpose of paying anyone holding receipts for money loaned to the organization as bail on the Chicago defendants, and that all money collected over and above the amount needed to meet our obligations on the Chicago case be used as directed by the next Convention. This fund to be handled by the G. E. B.

"Resolution No. 2: Resolved that owing to the shortage in the Bail and Bond Fund the paying back of all cash loans be made on the basis of 60%, and another receipt issued for the remaining 40%, same to be paid out of the fund to be raised for the purpose of paying off the shortage.

"Resolution No. 3: Resolved, that on and after January 1st, 1922, all funds remaining in the present Bail and Bond Fund, and still uncalled for, shall revert to the Rehabilitation Fund.

"Resolution No. 4: Resolved, that the General Defense Committee be instructed to handle only cases arising out of organization activity".

The afternoon session was taken up with the report of the General Secretary-Treasurer's office and the report of the international delegate, George Hardy.

An account of the report of the international delegate will be found elsewhere in this magazine.

### Report of General Office.

The report of the General Office follows, in part:

"The financial statement for the fiscal year (April 1st, 1920 to March 31st, 1921) will be found in the General Office Bulletin for April, 1921, on page 2. You will find therein total receipts amounting to $79,653.30; total expenditures, $50,508.98. The difference of $29,144.32 was used to advance the publications and the International Printing Company. This account is the real account of the General Organization.

"The total receipts from publications, International Printing Company, General Recruiting Union and Small Industrial Unions, personal deposits, etc., amount to $187,186.75, and the total expenditures, including withdrawals and advances to the various publications, small Industrial Unions, etc., amount to $183,595.30, leaving balance of $3,591.45.

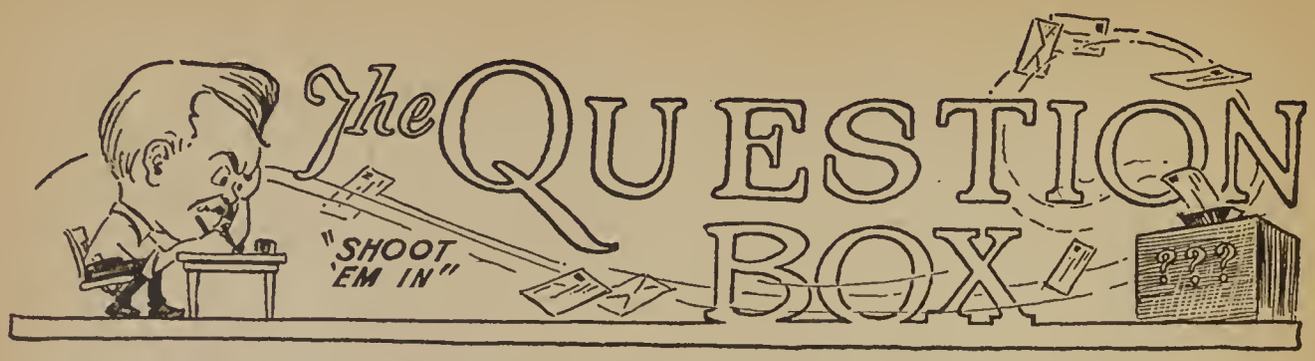
"Cash on hand April 1st, 1920, was $4,690.30, which leaves a balance in the bank April 1st, 1921, of $8,281.75. At the end of the fiscal year there was $9,531.32 belonging to the Small Industrial Unions, the General Defense, publications and personal deposits, which leaves the General Organization a deficit if $1,249.57. The cause of this deficit is on account of various publications and industrial unions, and the International Printing Company owing a large debt to the General Organization.

"You will find our total resources, which takes in the inventory, such as supplies and literature on hand, to be $8,803.28, and the actual debt owing Headquarters from the Industrial Unions, publications and the International Printing Company, amounting to $64,927.73, and the balance on hand in the bank and petty cash, $8,306.75, making the total resources $82,037.76. This total includes the cash on hand of $8,306.75, less $25.00, petty cash, leaving $8,281.75 which does not belong to the General Organization, but, as previously stated, belongs to the Small Indusrial Unions, Defense, etc. You will find that we have entered this in our liabilities of $9,531.32, which leaves an actual debt due the General Organization of $72,506.44.

"The supply account was the actual cost of supplies delivered to the Industrial Unions. The General Organization does not make a cent profit on supplies. Due books were previously sold to the Industrial Unions at 20 cents each, which is practically the actual cost. Since the International Printing Company had machinery installed to manufacture these books they are delivered to the General Organization for 10 cents, to which we have added 3 cents for everhead expenses, such as numbering, stamping, shipping, etc. It is up to the Convention to decide whether the General Organization should stand the full loss of supplies in the field, or whether or not the Industrial Unions should stand for the loss. The General Organization does not get any supplies on credit, but pays the actual cost on delivery. You can readily see by studying the financial report that when Unions do not pay the per capita, the 50% of the assessments, and the cost of supplies and literature owing the General Organization, it cramps the General Organization to such an extent that it takes practically all of the receipts to cover the actual expenses it takes to maintain the General Organization, leaving nothing for education or organization work, which is the function of the General Organization.

"You will find under the caption "Indebtedness of Industrial Unions" that there is owing to the General Organization $12,333.20 for per capita tax alone. This is for dues actually collected by the Industrial Unions from the membership since January 1st, 1920, and $7,839.75 for General Organization assessments that were actually paid for by the membership during the same period.

"When the members pay dues they are expecting the per capita tax to go to the General Organization, also when they buy an Organization Stamp they expect the 50% to go to the General Organization, and without this the General Organizaion cannot accomplish anything in educational and organization work. Again, if the Industrial Unions do not pay for supplies received, the General Organization has to take from whatever per capita




**Do you think that labor, in the long run, will be benefited by "going into business", as has been done in St. Paul, Minn., and other places by some labor unions?—J. S. P.**

We can best answer this question by first seeing how these business ventures, on the part of labor unions, operate. Let us take a concrete example. The St. Paul Building and Loan Association solicits deposits from working people on which an interest of 5½ per cent is paid. This money is then lent to prospective home owners at the "current rate of interest." The People's Construction Company takes some jobs on a profit basis, and others on a time and material basis, and pays the workers the current rate of wages.

Thus we see that these enterprises are managed the same as any others under the capitalist system. The men employed by the company will be expected to work harder than if they were working for a private contractor, under the pretext that they are working for "themselves." These companies are as much liable to go bankrupt as any others, in which case the deposits of these poor workers would go up in blue air.

If these enterprises should happen to be successful, it would be even worse, from the point of view of the class-conscious worker. Instead of making for the eventual abolition of capitalism, the investors, that is to say, the workers whose savings have been deposited, would have a tendency to become bourgeois-minded.

For the workers, it is impossible to fight capital by the use of capitalist institutions. As weapons, big union treasuries, legislatures and congresses, and capitalist courts, are utterly useless. Likewise, it is ridiculous to even attempt to fight the big contracting corporations by the workers themselves turning into contractors, that is, employers of labor guided by the capitalist code of rules. It is impossible to fight fire with more fire.

The sooner the working class cuts loose from all such half-baked, bourgeois notions for improving its conditions, the better off it will be.

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**What is meant by normalcy?—Miss M. S.**

"Normalcy" is derived from the adjective normal, and denotes a state of society where everything is "normal"—from the point of view of the capitalist.

"Normalcy" and "civilization" are synonymous. By these signs you shall know them, wherever you may set your foot:

Millions of men and women working ten, twelve and fourteen hours per day.

Other millions, with gaunt figures and sunken cheeks, walking the streets looking for an ever-elusive "job."

Barefooted, undernourished children, clothed in rags, working in factories or playing on dirty streets, robbed of the life-giving balm of nature's presence.

Starvation wages; mothers praying to Heaven to ease their troubled and despairing hearts.

Robbery, arson, murder—these are the choicest flowers of capitalist civilization.

Graft, degradation, prostitution—these are the finest products of bourgeois democracy.

Big dividends, brazen-faced "society," scabs and thugs, suicides, bread-lines, despair and death—behold, oh, behold, the beautiful, the enticing picture of "normalcy"!

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and assessments are paid in to cover the cost of the supplies rendered to the Industrial Unions.

"The literature debt to Headquarters is light compared with the other accounts. It is $1,614.01. You will find in this statement that the Industrial Unions owe the General Defense $20,957.12. A great portion of this debt they should be given credit for on account of different branches and districts of the Industrial Unions remitting defense assessments and donations to some of the local defense committees, and the Industrial Unions, not rendering any statement or receipts of these transactions, did not receive credit, but the rest of the statement of indebtedness is accurate".

A complete financial statement will be printed in the complete minutes which will be distributed to the membership .

Owing to going to press we are forced to close this article; the balance of the Convention will be reported in the next issue.

# The Premier's Dilemma

**By Francis Davis**

THE truce in England has come to an abrupt end and the workers and owners, the latter supported by the Government, are again at war.

By the re-entry of the railway and transport workers into the fight, the recent Lloyd George victory has been turned into a sharp defeat and that gentleman, speaking for the private owners, is now in a disperate position. Checkmated in his attempt to split the force of the workers by the solidarity which the rank and file is showing, in spite of the leaders, Lloyd George is now making frantic efforts at settlement. On the first of May he reopened the wage conferences and has now offered a fifty million dollar Government subsidy and is even reported to be considering granting the profits pool which is demanded by the miners.

If he does not grant the profits pool, the premier will have civil war, for the miners have rejected any other settlement, and starving men burdened with starving families cannot be kept in a conciliatory mood for long. There are over one million miners involved in the lockout and the total army of unemployed is reported to be more than two and one half millions. This means that approximately one man in three is idle in England. The others are largely working part time. Who will feed the forty-five million people in Great Britain if the lockout lasts? The nobility. The Bank of England? The merchants? If the workers are not fed, they will very shortly step out and take the industries and feed themselves, and if they move to take the industries there will be open war.

The miners do not want war. They ask only a living wage and assurances that in a few months they will not lose it. They ask a national standard and, to guarantee payment, they ask a pool of all profits. Today there is no standard and no guarantee against reductions. The wage is placed at the lowest level which the miners in the poorest pit can be forced to accept. The reduction which the owners are attempting to force will cut wages to a level nearly fifty per cent below the actual cost of living and far below the pre-war level. The miners do not want war, but the ridiculous demands of the owners may force the workers not only into war but to the seizure of the industries as a matter of self-protection.

The Government has made a great gesture of generosity in offering a subsidy, but the offer is full of weasel words. The subsidy will last only until August and it is conditioned on accepting the owners' terms and on abandoning the national scale and the national pool of profits which will guarantee the payment of that scale. The workers have had enough hollow victories. They have had nothing but hollow victories since 1912. Astute politicians have always tricked them out of their demands. But now it is the workers who have turned astute, and by the power of their numbers and the force of their unshakable solidarity they are after what they want without condition, and they are determined that in this settlement no politician will laugh at their expense.

The owners say that profits cannot yield, but the workers know that the owners lie. They know that all the coal properties of Britain have been paid more than twice over out of the earnings they have surrendered in "profits," and they are waking slowly to the conviction that if profits cannot yield there shall no longer be any profits.

And who can break them?

The owners? The mines cannot operate without workers and as long as the Triple Alliance stands firm, supported by the dockers of Belgium and Holland and other countries, the pits will be idle and the American and Silesian coal in the harbors of London and Liverpool and Bristol and Glasgow will lie untouched and useless. Dependent factories will one by one be closed and industry will be at a standstill.

The politicians? They have been reduced to helplessness by the stiffened front of the workers. A million laws cannot force the miners to return to wages which will not guarantee them the food, clothing and shelter they require. They have worked long hours under revolting conditions long enough. They have never done anything else but toil for their noble masters and they have reached a point where the word of the masters and the word of the law, which amounts to the same thing, no longer hold any qualms for them. They will not be broken except by overwhelming power.

The army? Everything hinges on the army. It always does, for when the master's word and the lawyer's word lose force, rifles can be counted upon for action. The workers of Britain are beginning to see that if they are ever to pull themselves out of the mire of their present condition, they will some day have to face the bayonets and machine guns.

But the army is discontented; the morale is crumbling. Reserves which were called up for home duty have suddenly been sent abroad for service in Germany and Poland. They are through with war in Germany and this action angers them and their fellows who remain behind. Moreover, the pay is halting. The Government is finding difficulty in the sixtieth day of the strike in meeting the one million dollars per day which the regular home army is costing, and the reserves are already in arrears. Even the loyal middle class is swinging

**A farewell meeting held in Chicago on April 24th, 1921, which was addressed by I. W. W. class war prisoners on the eve of their departure for Leavenworth Penitentiary. Among the speakers were fellow workers Dan Buckley, James Rowan, Harry Lloyd, Charles Plahn, Giovanni Baldazzi, Pietro Nigra and Clyde Hough.**

to the side of the miners. The arming of the Island, an old policy for India, is a new one for the faithful at home and it is beginning to alienate the affection of the plain folks who have to bear the discipline and pay the taxes. A few weeks ago Lloyd George could call up thousands of reserves and clamp down war time restrictions at will, but the times are rapidly changing and if he orders hostilities today, it is quite probable that he will find the rifles turned on his own walled-in Downing Street.

Something is going to crack in England. The tension has reached a point where a crisis is apt to be precipitated at any moment and where a compromise seems no longer possible. If profits do not yield quickly and concede the miners' entire position, the miners are apt to lose patience and seize the pits and the factories and precipitate a war to the end. There is a growing conviction that it may as well come now as ever.

Whatever the result of the next few weeks may be, the workers of the Triple Alliance have gained a new confidence in the power of their numbers and they are gradually becoming conscious of this fact —which is hopeful—that British industry and British politics and the continuance of the empire rests entirely upon their decision and that the empire itself is theirs for the taking.

# Special Notice to Branch Secretaries and Delegates

The Thirteenth Convention of the I. W. W. in session at Chicago, Ill., adopted on May 19th, the following resolution:

**That all defense and relief stamps, donation lists, receipt books (for donations) and Bail and Bond books now in circulation (issued prior to May 19, 1921) be declared void and called in.**

Job Delegates and Branch Secretaries are requested to turn in all matter as described in the resolution adopted at the Convention as quickly as possible. A new stamp of one dollar, of a different color and design, will be issued immediately.

**Geo. Williams,**
**Defense Sec'y.**

# Defense News

**By Geo. Williams**

ON MONDAY, May 16th, the bonds put up on Wm. D. Haywood, Vladimir Lossieff, J. H. Beyer, Leo Laukki, Fred Jaakkola, Grover H. Perry, Herbert McCutcheon, Charles Rothfisher and George Andreytchine were declared forfeited by the Circuit Court of Appeals of Chicago.

The amount of bonds forfeited is about $65,000.00, of which about $20,000.00 is sustained by the organization.

The problem of raising this amount to repay those who have loaned us their Liberty Bonds and cash has been settled by the General Convention. A Special Voluntary Assessment Stamp of one dollar denomination has been ordered printed at once to raise the money needed. (Read the special notice regarding this in another section of this paper). The policy regarding this stamp will be to call it in as soon as sufficient funds are collected.

It has been reported that parties are already in the field with spurious lists soliciting donations to make good the loss on Bail. No such list has been issued by the General Defense Committee and none is intended. Anyone meeting parties who are attempting to raise money to pay Bail losses in any other way than the sale of the Special Stamp mentioned before is urged to act promptly and effectively. The policy of the General Defense Committee will be to eliminate the Donation List as much as possible, if not to do away with it altogether. All Donation Lists and Receipt Books issued prior to May, 1921, are called in. All future lists and receipt books issued by the General Defense Committee will bear date of issue and will bear the seal of the General Defense Committee. Donate on all others at your own risk.

It will require from a week to ten days from the time the bail is exonerated on those who have returned to Leavenworth to get it in shape to pay back. A large amount of checking will have to be made with the accounts to clear up matters so that the repayment of loans can be made without mistakes.

An article was published broadcast by the capitalist press quoting a fictitious person named Roy Martin as Secretary of the General Defense Committee as saying that Haywood was responsible for a shortage of $35,000.00 in the accounts of the Defense Committee. This is an absolute falsehood and hardly needs a denial. Neither John Martin, the former secretary, nor his successor, have found such a shortage, and none exists.

### Nineteen Wichita Defendants to Be Released.

The U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in a decision handed down on May 14th, 1921, has thrown out the first count in the notorious Wichita indictment. Their release will be effected about the first of June. Under ordinary circumstances where criminals would be involved this action would mean the immediate release of the men involved in the case. But U. S. District Attorney Robertson is throwing every legal obstacle he can in the way and therefore more red tape is necessary to send the liberating order to Leavenworth. The next meeting of the court to settle all matters will be on May 31st.

Every possible effort shauld be made by job delegates everywhere to push the sale of the Special Voluntary Assessment Stamp to pay off the bail shortage. These stamps will soon be in the field. We must pay back everybody who has loaned Cash and Liberty Bonds for bail. Every member should have at least one of these stamps.

**A GROUP OF I. W. W. CLASS WAR PRISONERS.**

**Picture taken just before they returned to Leavenworth Penitentiary.**

Top row, left to right:—Ralph Chaplin, Wm. Weyh, Joe Gordon, Walter T. Nef, J. Graber, Francis Miller, E. F. Doree, Thomas McKinnon.

Bottom row, left to right:—Jack Walsh, Wm. Lewis, Harrison George, Jack Law, Chas. Ashleigh, John M. Foss, Pietro Nigra, Ben Fletcher, (M. J. Smith).

# Special Notice

## TO THOSE WHO HAVE LOANED CASH AND LIBERTY BONDS TO THE BAIL AND BOND FUND:

The following action was taken by the General Convention of the I. W. W. in session at Chicago, on May 18th, 1921:—

**"That the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. shall be empowered by this Convention to issue a special voluntary assessment stamp of one dollar, the funds from this source to be used exclusively for paying anyone bonding receipts for money loaned to the organization as bail on the Chicago defendants."**

**"That owing to the shortage in the Bail and Bond fund the paying back of all cash loans be made on the basis of 60% and another receipt issued for the remaining 40%, same to be paid out of the fund to be raised for the purpose of paying off the shortage."**

**"That on and after Jan. 1st, 1922, all funds remaining in the present Bail and Bond Fund and still uncalled for shall revert to the Rehabilitation Fund."**

The above matter means that those holding receipts for money loaned to the organization will be paid 60% of their loan from the present funds on hand and will receive another receipt for the additional 40% payable by the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. as soon as funds are secured from the special stamp to be issued for that purpose.

The probable loss from defaulting of bail will run close to twenty thousand dollars (including the Northwest Bail and Bond) and the payment of 60% was decided on so that loans could be repaid back on the most equitable basis possible. Those who hold receipts for money loaned to the Bail and Bond Fund and who can afford to wait a while longer will do the organization a great favor by delaying their demand for repayment as long as possible, not forgetting, however, the provision set forth by the Convention that they must present their receipts before Jan. 1st, 1922. After that date all loans still uncalled for will be placed in the Rehabilitation Fund.

Anyone holding receipts for loans made to the Bail and Bond Fund who wishes to donate whole or a part of the loans to help meet the existing shortage can arrange this by communicating with the General Defense office; or money can be donated from loans to the Rehabilitation Fund which has been started. This Rehabilitation Fund is for the purpose of furnishing the Class War prisoners who are released from jails and penitentaries upon the expiration of sentences with enough money to get on their feet and recuperate from their health-breaking confinement.

It is impossible at this time to tabulate a complete list of the Liberty bonds lost by default. As soon as the list is completed and checked those who have Liberty bonds coming will be notified. Those whose Liberty bonds are included in bonds defaulted will be given receipts on the General Executive Board, who will in turn either replace the bond lost or reimburse in any other way suitable to both concerned.

Those who have receipts for bonds and money loaned to the Bail and Bond Fund are urged to leave them with the Defense Committee for use in cases now pending. If you wish to leave it with us write in at once and we will give another receipt.

GEO. WILLIAMS, Sec'y-Treas.,
General Defense Committee.

# Book Review

By S. P.

## Empire, War and the Workers.

**"The American Empire," by Scott Nearing, New York, 1921; The Rand School of Social Science. 50 cents, paper; $1.00, cloth.**

THOSE of us who were of a thinking age at the time the present century was a-borning, should have little difficulty in recalling exactly when, how, and by whom the word "imperialism" was first injected into common American political parlance. The Spanish-American war had been fought and won; our benevolent "protectorate" over Cuba and the other West Indies had been established; and the Philippines had been gently gobbled up "for their own good"—Aguinaldo and his followers to the contrary on this latter point.* Imperialism, insidiously nourished under the republican forms of a capitalistic government, had by this time attained to such proportions that it was no longer possible to ignore it, save for those whose supreme interest it was to do so.

It was, it will be recalled, the silver-tongued orator of La Platte, whose attention has since been diverted to graver pursuits, such as the demolition of Demon Rum and Darwinism, who first made "imperialism" a catch-word in American politics. With Bryan and his following, however, it was merely a convenient cockle-burr to place under the saddle of a Republican administration, one which might possibly cause the steed to turn broncho and ditch the rider.

The imperialism which they had in mind was not the imperialism which is visioned by the modern Marxian. The ailment as they diagnosed it was essentially political, the danger which threatens the cherished institutions of any republican people who have come to extend their sway over other peoples to whom they will not or cannot grant the autonomy which they themselves enjoy. The "Great Commoner" had not been the first to sense this danger. It had been pointed out before him by Goldwyn Smith and, earlier still, by James Anthony Froude, in connection with the downfall of the republic of ancient Rome.

The imperialism, on the other hand, which is viewed by the great proletarian economists of today, is not essentially political, but economic and financial, one which has its roots in the same exploitation, the same cancerous greed for gain which enslaves the working class the world over. This is the imperialism which provides the subject matter for Scott Nearing's latest book, "The American Empire."

This is a book which "left-wingers," "centrists," and "right-wingers" may read with equal interest and profit. Indeed, one need not be a radical at all to start with; all that is required for its reading is that rather rare intellectual phenomenon, an open mind, and the ability to assimilate the material which the writer presents. Herein lies the greatest value of the book, its propaganda value; for, after all, they that are converted need not a messiah. "The American Empire," with its opening section on "The Promise of 1776," starts off as orthodoxly, to all appearances, as a school history. With a little amplification and a little condensation, it might be made into a radical text-book on the subject.

The orthodoxy with which the book opens is, however, only seeming. The first clause, "The genius of revolution presided at the birth of the American Republic," should be enough to put the wary bourgeois heretic-hunter on his guard. It should prepare him somewhat for the cumulative kick he is bound to receive as the treatise progresses. But what can one expect of a college professor who has been outlawed for speaking the truth?

Beginning with the wholesale theft of a continent from the Indians—the original "100-per-centers"—Prof. Nearing traces the stream of American exploitation thru Negro slavery and the Mexican war to its flood tide at the close of the Spanish-American war. The rise of American plutocracy and the building of a great industrial empire is depicted. The author points out how the principle of the divine right of kings, overthrown by the American and French revolutions, has come to be superseded by the principle of the divine right of property. The world war, with its economic and financial aftermath, and the alignments of international imperialism following the war are outlined. This brings us to the crux of the whole matter.

"This monstrous thing called war will occur again!" Read the passage, lyrical in its intensity, on pp. 241-2. This passage was quoted in a recent issue of the **Industrial Pioneer** and need not be reprinted here. It alone is worth the price of the volume. "Again the truth-tellers will be mobbed and jailed and lynched"—how well we know what this means!

That those who drenched the world in blood for the sake of a route to Bagdad are preparing to repeat the ghastly performance for the sake of a few oil fields or a few trade routes in the Pacific, and that they will do so, unless the working class of the world, rising in revolution, prevents them, those who read the signs cannot doubt. And the thing is not far off. In another place, Prof. Nearing tells us: "The American people committed themselves to an imperialist party when they elected Mr. Harding to the presidency." Premier Briand was not far from wrong when he said: "International politics today are oil politics."

The words of Kameneff, in an address to the Sec-

* "The Philippine War was the last political episode in the life of the American Republic. From February 4, 1899, the United States accepted the political status of an empire. —Nearing, p. 72.

ond Congress of the Third International, may also be recalled:

"The danger of a new world war is imminent. It will be for the control of the Pacific Ocean. The conflict will be between the ancient allies, England and America. Japan will be on the side of England. It may be foreseen that all the capitalist nations will become involved in this new conflagration. Only the action of a world proletariat can prevent this disaster."

It is on this note that Nearing ends his book:

"If the United States follows the course of empire, the workers of the United States have no choice but to pay the price of empire—pay it in wealth, in misery, and in blood. But there is an alternative. Instead of going on with the old system of the masters, the workers may establish a new economic system—a system belonging to the workers, and managed by them for their benefit.

"The workers of Europe have tried out imperialism and they have come to the conclusion that the cost is too high. Now they are seeking, thru their own movement—the labor movement—to control and direct the economic life of Europe in the interest of those who produce the wealth and thus make the economic life of Europe possible.

"The American workers have the same opportunity. Will they avail themselves of it? The choice is in their hands.

"Thus far the workers of the United States have been, for the most part, content to live under the old system, so long as it paid them a living wage and offered them a job. The European workers felt that, too, in the pre-war days, but they have been compelled—by the terrible experiences of the past few years—to change their minds. It was no longer a question of wages or a job in Europe. It was a question of life or death.

"Can the American worker profit by that experience? Can he realize that he is living in a century whose rulers have adopted an imperial policy that threatens the peace of the world? Can he see that the pursuit of this policy means war, misery and death to millions in other countries as well as to the millions at home? The workers of Europe have learned the lesson by bitter experience. Is not the American worker wise enough to profit by their example?

Is he? One wonders. Certainly, waiting until we get a majority of the working class to vote a political ticket seems a futile means of averting the imperialistic cataclysm. Waiting until we get a majority of the workers lined up in One Big Union seems almost equally futile, at times. Still, there is Russia, with her lesson of the militant minority and the opportune moment. Who knows?

Prof. Nearing's book ends where another vital volume might begin. We are told that only the worker can avert the deluge. We are not told **how** he can do it. It is to be doubted if the technique of revolution is precisely the same in America as in Europe.

Still, it is just as well, perhaps, that the writer stops where he does. By so doing, he keeps his book altogether out of the realm of revolutionary dogmatism, confining it to the presentation of historical and statistical data. Such generalizations as are made are so obvious as to be almost indisputable.

The material of the volume is not highly original. Much of it—in far less accurate form, of course—has been the staple thunder of the radical soapboxer for years. As a compilation, however, as a really needed text-book on the subject of modern imperialism, it is extremely valuable.

The author's literary style leaves much to be desired. He impresses one as writing at a fairly breathless speed. For one thing we should be thankful: it is not in a professorial style. It is popular, almost oratorical at times.

The make-up of the book, due, perhaps, to an effort at compression, is rather heavy and uninviting. A compensating feature is the price, which might well serve as an example to other publishers.

**
*

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---

May 14th, 1921.

**To the Thirteenth Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World.**

Fellow Workers:

We, the undersigned Auditing Committee, elected by you to audit the accounts of the General Office, wish to report that we have audited the accounts of the Industrial Pioneer from January 1st, 1921, to April 1st 1921, and have found same true and correct. Have found all receipts to cover all expenditures O. K., and the accounts found in fine shape.

**Signed:**

Tom Doyle.
Sam. Fish.
Geo. Speed.
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# What Our Readers Say About "The Industrial Pioneer"

You may increase next month's issue as our sales are increasing, and had I used good judgement I would have increased this month's order.

ERWIN LEISCHER, Br. Sec'y.

* * *

Permit me to congratulate you. The May number is at hand and has been read and re-read. It is superb. I at first thought to give special mention to the best features; but, I find it hard to choose between different examples of near perfection.

JOHN McSLARROW, Everett, Wash.

* * *

But The Industrial Pioneer is something par excellence, for education or the funny side of life, it absolutely cannot be excelled. It is a very hard matter for me to laugh, it is an effort, but believe me, it's no effort when we have the Pioneer. My wife and I laugh our heads off and should be produced on the screen. Keep up the good work. Wishing you success.

E. McINTOSH, Hoquiam, Wash.

* * *

The Industrial Pioneer is getting better every issue, it's a pity money is so scarce.

H. H. DETWILER, Br. Sec'y.
Pittsburg, Pa.

We also received one I. W. W. magazine and the February, March and April numbers of the Pioneer. We return thanks so much more heartily, as we find the contents exceedingly interesting. Particularly the essay on Marine Transport Industry by Tom Barker is highly clever. That's the way to learn from one another.

DEUTSCHER SCHIFFAHRTSBUND
Hamburg, Germany

* * *

You have made a great improvement in The Pioneer over the O. B. U. Monthly, not only in editorials and articles, but in its style and appearance. In your article "For a Concerted Plan of Action" you have hit the keynote, and said something which should be seriously considered and adopted by many radicals.

W. J. LEMON, Mexico City, Mexico.

* * *

I can find no words of praise for this month's issue, for my vocabulary is too poor to express the praise I have for it, so keep up the good work and I hope we will be able to achieve the thing we are fighting for. I like most of all the Question Box.

A. DACLIN, Delegate, St. Louis, Mo.

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# INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

JULY, 1921

Can Labor Unions Function as Revolutionary Organizations?

The Class War in West Virginia

The Lesson of the British Betrayal

"The Hoosierfied Can"
By RALPH WINSTEAD

PRICE 25 CENTS

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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WRITING HISTORY

The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. 1, No. 6 JULY, 1921 Serial No. 6

# The Class War on the Railroads and in West Virginia

By Jan Rus

NO TWO industries in the United States are more replete with arguments for working class solidarity than transportation and coal mining. Could the workers in these two industries be so correlated as to act in unison on all questions involving the rights of each, there would be a speedy end to such tragedies as are enacted from time to time in the West Virginia coal fields—Labor's Valley Forge. America needs no Triple Alliance to tie up her industrial life. Practically self-sustaining and of vast inland distances, the dock workers do not hold the strategic position of the dock workers in, say, Great Britain.

The failure of unity between these powerful industries is nowhere better illustrated than in West Virginia. The miners strike. Scabs and thugs are imported. Coal, if only in small quantities, is produced, ready for hauling to the steel plants in Ohio and Pennsylvania. And union engineers and train crews haul scab coal for the sim[illegible]e reason that, did they refuse, their brotherhoods would penalize them, and did they still persist in acting on their belief that an injury to one is an injury to all, their places would be taken by other union men. That is the sorry state of affairs in which the workers in the United States find themselves. An obsolete form of organization holds back a coming day.

Even within the transportation industry itself there is that lack of harmony characteristic of the whole American labor movement and so welcome to the men whose business it is to make one dollar do the work of twenty dollars, and to find at the end of a year that the twenty have swollen to a hundred. Schism and secession are the order of the day. Nor could it well be otherwise. Having no aim beyond a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, compromising with the enemy when any dual organization shows signs of activity, how is it to be expected that the American Federation of Labor can hold together over 2,000,000 railroad workers?

Events during the "outlaw" railroad shopmen's strike of last year showed how out of sympathy the heads of the Railway Employes' Department of the American Federation of Labor were with the rebels; showed, in fact, more than this. In Pittsburgh, for example, one of the brotherhoods invaded the city, camped there for several weeks, sent out organizers to discredit the striking yard and trainmen, and conferred daily with heads of the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore and Ohio, and the Lake Erie roads, to see what could be done to preserve the "morale" of the disgusted men. This sort of thing was going on everywhere, despite the quite phenomenal outburst of resentment all over the country among the rank and file, as was evidenced by the comparative unanimity of the strike.

It is yet too early to say what the action of the brotherhoods will be in regard to the reduction of wages, effective July 1st, as announced by the United States Railroad Labor Board last month. Ballots have been

sent out. Meantime the labor officials remain silent on the subject of the 12½ per cent cut.

The abrogation of the National Agreements bodes ill for the future. The lack of security the new local agreements offer the men is shown by the recent strike vote of Pullman employes after the company had refused to join in a conference with a view to arriving at suitable rules and working arrangements. B. M. Jewel's organization, the Railway Employes' Department, refused to authorize the strike ballot, which was only halted by the appearance on the scene in Chicago of a government conciliator from the Federal Department of Labor.

What is the exact meaning to the organized railroads of the canceling of these National Agreements? In the first place, the use of local agreements materially reduces the possibilities of a national strike, the only kind of strike that really counts. National strikes are not only combatted, but a localized affair can be broken up with the employment of thugs and strike-breakers.

Local agreements undoubtedly will work to the disadvantage of the men in that the machinery for their enforcement will be so cumbersome that by the time one grievance is redressed others will have accumulated to the extent of discouraging the men to hope for anything like an approach to industrial democracy, something to which the American Federation of Labor is strongly opposed. Local agreements, on the other hand, might well mean the disintegration of the brotherhoods and the setting up of more militant organizations, possibly one such organization, something which far-sighted men in the labor movement see in the future as the only hope of the American railroad workers. Local agreements must signify a loss in dignity and power of the brotherhoods, whilst they are, at the same time, detrimental to the workers themselves.

In considering the possibility of the amalgamation into one powerful industrial unit of the present craft forms of railroad unions, it might be well to recall what Foster says in his "The Railroaders' Next step":

"The supreme advantage of the amalgamation of all the railroad unions into one industrial union would be, of course, the enormous increase in economic power coming from the greater scope of activity, intensified solidarity and clearer vision of the large body."

A one big railroad workers' industrial union would not only gain in fighting power over the present craft organizations by the elimination of internecine strife, it would effect, as well, a saving both in time and in organization expense. It is quite probable that were such an amalgamation in existence now there would have been no talk of local agreements and reductions. The 2,000,000 railroad workers standing together as one body, not only would be able to hold what little gains had been made but would be within measurable distance of industrial control, of operating transportation effectively, of compelling recognition of the right, not only to their own necessities, but to the necessities of that larger body of workers dependent under our system of society, upon the continued operation and development of the transportation industry.

* * * * *

To understand events in West Virginia it might be well to go back a few years. Cabin Creek, Paint Creek, Matewan, Logan, Holly Grove, Tug River! These are only a few of the names that rise up to haunt us with their toll of miners' lives; the days of anxiety in the hearts of their women and children; the evictions, the tent colonies, the Baldwin and Felts armed detectives, and the whole paraphernalia of the law, which the operators are so capable of calling into being and dematerializing, whichever best suits their purposes.

Of the fifty-five counties which comprise the state, thirty-nine have coal areas aggregating 9,500 square miles (6,080,000 acres). The estimated tonnage, 60,800,000,000, represents a latent wealth of $60,000,000,000. The average pay of a union miner in the Kanawa district varies, for different kinds of work, from $5 to $7 a

day. Non-union men get anywhere from a half to a third less. The coal is of the highest quality and is easy to mine, there being but few shaft mines in the state; the increase in the productivity of West Virginia coal has been rapid. The insignificant output of 609,000 tons in 1870 now has increased to well over 60,000,000 tons yearly. Employed in and around the mines in West Virginia are approximately 92,000 persons; of these 55,000 are organized.

The reason for this disparity in numbers and union membership is not far to seek. The operators employ such repressive methods that it is a wonder the United Mine Workers are as strong as they are. Such measures as they find it convenient to adopt are too well-known to need repetition in detail.

Prior to 1902 the miners of West Virginia were fairly well organized, though their organization was not recognized by the operators, as they refused to meet the miners' representatives at a state convention held that year in Huntington. The miners determined to make a vigorous attempt to compel recognition. They prepared a scale of wages and called upon the operators to accept it or to meet the union in a joint conference to discuss a new wage scale. In accordance with their policy the operators ignored the demand, and a strike ensued. After some scrimages the men returned to work again, no better off than before.

Subsequent to 1902 there was no disturbance in the Kanawa district for two years. In the fall of 1904 a strike was called upon the refusal of the operators to take union dues from the men's pay envelopes and pay them into the U. M. W. It lasted ten days and resulted in the union losing all of its organization along Cabin Creek. Immediately thereafter the operators employed four men to act as mine-guards to preserve "order" and to prevent union organizers from coming into the district and mingling with the men. Conditions remained unchanged until the spring of 1912. (Since 1902 and the partial recognition of the union, wages in the district increased about seven per cent, except in completely unorganized Cabin Creek, where smaller advances were doled out by the operators.) In that year serious disturbances again broke out.

The miners formulated their demands and presented them to the operators on April 8th, the opening day of the Kanawa joint conference. The demands included: (1) The Cleveland wage advance; (2) a uniform workday of eight hours; (3) pay every two weeks; and (4) an unlimited "check-off." These the operators refused to grant, but offered to renew the old scale and old conditions. Finding the coal-mine owners firm the men dropped all the demands except No. 1. This was also refused and a strike followed on April 19th, when all the mines in the district closed, excepting the non-union Cabin Creek. There was no violence.

On May 1st of that year a compromise settlement was arrived at, except in Paint Creek, where the miners resented the importation of mine-guards. It was after their arrival on May 7th that violence began.

In the middle of May the company posted eviction notes, which were enforced. Gathering together their few belongings the miners and their familes started a tent colony in Holly Grove. Hostilities already had broken out, and the operators posted a machine gun and otherwise generally fortified themselves at Mucklow.

From that time on for fourteen months intermittent shots were fired that by July 29th, 1913, had ended the lives of thirteen persons. On that day, and effective until April 1st, a truce was called by which wages remained practically unaltered and conditions the same as before.

Operations continued in a state of volcanic quietude until May 19th, 1920, when eleven men were shot to death at Matewan in Mingo county. They were counted as follows: Seven detectives, three miners and one official.

At the beginning of May the miners formed local unions which brought in a membership of 2,000. As fast as the men joined, the company pushed them out of the company-owned houses. The coal companies in West Virginia own everything,

from religion, on which they maintain a lien, down to the canned peaches the miner's wife buys at the company-owned store.

Once again tent colonies were erected and in these the workers lived all through last winter, supported, in part, by union subscriptions. Hostilities were suspended for a year. On May 12th of this year began the assault on Blackberry City. President Frank Keeney, of District No. 17 of the U. M. W., and other union officials, told the labor committee of the Senate that the recent "trouble," which cost several lives, is the climax of the coal operators' attempt to crush unionism in that territory. He told them that this attempt is in line with the policy of the United States Steel Corporation in every other locality and industry under its control, to reduce the workers to industrial slavery by the use of violence.

Thus nearly twenty years of unionism in West Virginia finds conditions today much as they were at the beginning of the century. Nor are matters different in other parts of the country. This is by no means a localized question. Conditions in the Alabama coal mining fields are no whit better. During the strike there from September, 1920, to February, 1921, the whole power of the state government was thrown against the workers to crush their efforts to obtain decent conditions and the right of organization. The governor sent in eleven companies of state militia under command of the adjutant-general of the state, who dominated the district during the strike. He forbade public meetings and issued orders violating rights guaranteed by the constitution.

The strike was ended by an arbitrary and one-sided award on the part of Governor Kilby, who disregarded altogether the claims of the miners, and regardless of merit, rendered an award favorable to the operators. The decision settled no issue whatever, and the economic conflict remains unchanged. In the meantime 18,000 miners, their wives and children are homeless, having been evicted from the company-owned houses.

The mining-towns around Birmingham are for the most part company-owned. Workers cannot even own their own homes, even though they might be in position to buy them. Some of the villages are surrounded by high barbed-wire fences, and guards prevent persons from leaving or entering without permits. A spy-system is maintained by the employers to single out workers joining the miners' union, and a relentless anti-union blacklist has forced hundreds of men into idleness and pauperized thousands of women and children.

The coal miners of Oklahoma are starving because of the unprecedented number of mines that have been shut down. In the entire state of Texas only one coal mine is in operation. John Wilkinson, president of District 21, of the U. M. W., estimates the average total earnings of miners in his district at less than $60 a month.

In West Virginia it is the same old story. Coal operators keep on their pay rolls public officials and pay directly to the sheriffs big sums of money for immunity from unionization. The companies also pay one cent a ton to the funds of the coal operators' association for all purposes. This, of course, includes financing "open shop" propaganda, and generally is used as a fighting fund against unionism. In Logan county, for instance, with its population of 60,000, there are 25 deputy sheriffs and three constables. It has been estimated that for the money paid thugs and such luxuries the coal consumer is taxed three cents a ton.

The value to the operators of keeping unionism out of West Virginia was demonstrated in the 1919 miners' strike, when Logan and McDowell counties worked at full blast and broke the back of the strike.

Absentee ownership, the sort that Ireland knows only too well and which is familiar to the workers of India, is not foreign to the miners of West Virginia. These absentee owners, concerned over nothing but dividends, are paid a tonnage royalty varying between eight and twelve per cent. The system only serves to emphasize the evils of an order of society that every-

where, except in America, is on the verge of ruin. So fastened into a community is this curse of private ownership that in places a county road constitutes the only public property. To this vicious phase of paternalistic management can be laid all the abuses heaped upon the heads of the workers, not only in coal mining but in all industries.

And investigations, gubernatorial reports and senatorial inquiries accomplish nothing of a lasting nature. A famous Y. M. C. A. leader made a searching report a few years ago into the West Virginia situation. What happened to it? It was filed away in the archives of the Department of Labor and there it reposes to this day, overlaid with dust. The senatorial investigation of the steel strike of 1919 is another notorious example of the futility of hoping for amelioration from that quarter. A Senate sub-committee will spend a few days along the meandering Tug River, ask a few questions maybe, and return to Washington, later to make a voluminous report that no doubt will make interesting reading for those who care to read that sort of thing. It will expose enough of the methods of the companies to crush unionism, and should make a vivid supplement to the Inter-church report on the steel strike. But who would be foolish enough to claim that it will be of any lasting benefit to the miners?

Yet, curiously enough, the miners are not altogether despondent. Their faint belief that a Congressional investigation may remove at least a part of the thug army reigning in the Pocahontas-Thacker field is based upon two previous senatorial investigations, the first in Cabin Creek and Paint Creek in 1912, and the second following the Ludlow massacre in the Colorado Fuel and Iron strike of 1913-14. They look forward to such an investigation with a little more opportunistic spirit, but with no more illusions, than did Robert Smillie, who, during the British coal crisis in December, 1919, said:

"The miners were very reluctant to submit their claims to a commission, for their previous experience of such bodies had led them to believe that commissions were usually appointed to get rid, for the time being, of some ugly questions which it was not the intention of the government to deal with seriously."

The hope of political action, also, vanishes into thin air. According to the admission of the very Republican chiefs who saw the present governor, E. F. Morgan, into office, the miners' candidate, S. B. Montgomery, received 160,000 votes at last November's election, almost twice Morgan's poll.

Nothing short of amalgamated industrial unionism, with its concentrated power, will in any way rectify the iniquities that for years a machine-ridden civilization has fastened upon the workers.

# Wesley Everest

### By Ralph Chaplin

**Torn and defiant as a wind-lashed reed,**
**Wounded, he faced you as he stood at bay;**
**You dared not lynch him in the light of day,**
**But on your dungeon stones you let him bleed;**
**Night came . . . and you black vigilants of Greed, ...**
**Like human wolves, seized hard upon your prey,**
**Tortured and killed . . . and, silent, slunk away**
**Without one qualm of horror at the deed.**
**Once . . . long ago . . . do you remember how**
**You hailed Him king for soldiers to deride—**
**You placed a scroll above His bleeding brow**
**And spat upon Him, scourged Him, crucified . . . ?**
**A rebel unto Caesar—then as now—**
**Alone, thorn-crowned, a spear wound in His side!**

# The Lesson of the British Betrayal

By Jack Tanner

THE FAILURE the the Triple Alliance to take action in support of the miners has been looked upon as a great setback to the British labor movement. The fact that a united blow was not struck was certainly a great disappointment. However, after carefully weighing the situation, it is safe to say that more has been gained than lost. The whole affair has been of great educational value to the mass of the workers and a spur to the class-conscious minority. The feeling of the rank and file, since the retreat was sounded by Thomas and Williams on April 5th, now known in labor history as Black Friday, has become more crystallized, and especially bitter against the leaders. This spirit of disgust and resentment is being transformed into action, particularly amongst the railwaymen.

Steps have been taken in various centers to create unofficial machinery which, as stated at one meeting, is for the purpose of "taking collective action in order to bring pressure to bear upon the Executive Council to pursue such a course as in our judgment is in the best interests of the organization, and in view of the overwhelming expression of support for the minority by the rank and file of the National Union of Railwaymen, we feel it our duty to set this machinery in motion immediately."

Black Friday has been a stimulant to the unofficial workers' committee movement. The revolutionary and industrial union ideas expressed by it will receive much greater attention since the hard lesson of of the failure of the Triple Alliance, due to the treachery of its officials. To those who are acquainted with the character of the self-styled "leaders," their treachery came as no surprise, and even the most sceptical were unable to see a way by which they could crawl out of a proposition into which the rank and file had forced them. Hodges' desire to shine as a statesman at the meeting of the members of Parliament in the House of Commons furnished the necessary loop-hole, and Thomas was quick in taking advantage of it.

The days preceding April 15th were inspiring. Discussion was rife in the ranks of labor, as to the possibilities of a strike. Questions were asked: If the Alliance acts what will it mean? Where will it end? The possibilities were great and prophets there were who believed we were on the threshold of a revolution. Although Thomas and other leaders particularly stressed the point that it was purely an economic issue, a matter of wages, and that no political question was involved, yet had the strike taken place there is little doubt that these men, members of the Labor Party, would have fallen into line with Lloyd George and tried to take advantage of the situation and make it a political and parliamentary issue, and appeal to the country for political power—Labor versus Coalition. However, they were afraid of taking chances to bring that about, being doubtful as to whether once the strike began they would be able to control it.

Whatever the developments and results of the strike—and I am not one who prophesied revolution—it would have been of inestimable value to the labor movement not only in England but in the whole world. But the leaders of the Triple Alliance had not the slightest desire for a strike, and even if they had had there was no conception of its vast possibilities nor would any preparations have been made to carry it through so as to gain the fullest results. The Government, as is now the usual custom in labor disputes, had taken all possible steps for the securing of supplies and the distribution of foodstuffs, etc. All the resources of the state were called into operation. Military and naval forces were mobilized. Reserves were called out and the National Defense Corps was formed. Capitalist papers carried full page advertise-

ments setting forth the Government's and the coal owners' case. Bill-boards were decorated with twelve foot posters—appeals from Lloyd George to the nation, which aroused but little enthusiasm. The Government took no chances and was better prepared than labor to go into the fight, but Lloyd George was fully aware of the situation, as shown in a speech he made in March, 1920:

"Four-fifths of this country (Great Britain) is industrial and commercial; hardly one-fifth is agricultural. It is one of the things I have constantly in mind when I think of the dangers of the future here. In France the population is agricultural and you have, therefore, a solid body of opinion which does not move very readily and which is not easily excited by revolutionary movements. That is not the case here. This country is more top-heavy than any country in the world, and if it begins to topple, the crash here, for that reason, will be greater than in any other land."

No one can say what would have happened if the Triple Alliance had taken action, but even if the edifice of capitalism had not crashed it is pretty certain that some of the top hampers would have got shifty. Capitalists and their flunkeys, the labor leaders, have realized that and have succeeded in preventing it for the present.

On the eve of the time set for action the revolutionary elements were considering the position from the point of view of taking control of the industries, but no definite or concerted plans were adopted. Propaganda was made and leaflets issued urging the workers to set up workers' committees and to re-form their Councils of Action which, in many districts, have been dissolved since the Polish peace with Russia. A call was sent out by the Workers' Committee Movement, for the workers to prepare and take stock of the various industries, obtain information as to food supplies, means of transportation, etc. In England the workers have gained some little experience in the control of industry insofar as individual work shops and factories were concerned, but no real effort up to the present has been made on anything like a big scale, to get the necessary facts and understanding regarding the relationship of one industry to another. No statistics or data have been compiled regarding the amount of raw material available, where located and where needed, and how it could be most economically distributed and used. This vital duty has not yet been tackled. No real effort has been made by a movement in Great Britain to obtain this knowledge. The trade union movement has not even considered the question.

Who could expect that? Its officials are not looking to the time when the control of industry will be a practical problem for organized labor to face and to handle, when this will be a real and perhaps a deciding factor. These matters have up to now been considered as belonging in the dim and distant future, but the mobilizing of the Triple Alliance and the likely developments, if action had been taken now, brings them into the realm of realities. These questions must not be left alone until a similar situation arises, as it surely will in the near future. The joint Executive Council did set up certain committees to deal with various phases of it, such as publicity and propaganda, the co-operative side of the movement, the granting of permits for special kinds of work, etc., but their organization would have been totally inadequate to deal with the situation. The all-important question of food was hardly considered at all. The Triple Alliance, which would have been forced to accept responsibility in this matter, left it entirely to the Government.

Great Britain is dependent upon other countries for its food, and upon the sailors and firemen to man and run the ships, in bringing it to its ports. At the present time the Sailors' Union is in the hands of the most reactionary labor leader, J. Havelock Wilson, M. P. It is true that his power is waning, but until it is broken little support can be expected from the Sailors' organization in the way of bringing food in a time of crisis. Much valuable experience would have been gained had the railway men and the transport workers joined the miners. There are a number of lessons

which must be learned even from their failure to do so.

It must be a duty of the revolutionary element to get down to the real hard work of preventing a similar debacle in the future. The very first essential is to remove the officials who have shown their weakness, incapacity and treachery to the workers—Thomas, Hodges and Williams. Thomas will be the most difficult. He, as General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, a centralized industrial union, has control of the machine and knows how to use it. Hodges, as has already been decided, shall leave as soon as the miners' strike is settled, and it is pretty certain that he shall do so. The attitude of Williams has lost him all support in the active and revolutionary minority in the labor movement, and there will be no place for him, particularly as twelve of the thirty unions in the Transport Workers' Federation have recently amalgamated and he has not been appointed as secretary.

The next step logically follows: To change the structure and form of the transport workers' and miners' federations into real industrial unions. This has already been taking place to some extent and the process will be accelerated as the result of the failure of the Triple Alliance, which was largely due to looseness in the organization.

# A Preacher's Solution

**By Hal Brommels**

An orthodox sage of this money-mad age
Was heated to white in a red-damning rage.
Nor God nor the devil could smother his ire,
His words were so hot that they flamed into fire.

He shouted and spouted: "The Reds must be caught!
They must be deported and driven and fought!
We'll lynch them and pinch them and clinch them by law;
We'll trip them and rip them..and whip their backs raw!

"They're foreigners, heathens; ..and pagans and Jews—
But wait till we get them and give them their dues!
We'll take them and break them and send them to jail!
We'll keep them from friends and deny them to bail.

"O, God, why on Earth did you give us the Red?"
Moaned Reverend Right, as he raved in his bed.
No sleep could he get for the vision that loomed
Of Capital crushed and his leisure-life doomed.

He worried and wished till he weakened, all worn—
For ev'ry Red prisoned two others were born.
He looked for no reason nor dug for a cause,
But thought an effect could be blotted by laws.

The struggle is on like it always has been,
The goal has been set and the People will win.
Old Reverend Right must awake and must see
That slaves of all nations are bound to be free!

# The British Miners Come Back

**By Francis Davis**

A GENERAL strike looms again in England. After being sold out by their leaders in April, and after accepting what appeared to be a defeat at the hands of Lloyd George, the rank and file of the Triple Alliance has come to the support of the British Miners and has forced the most serious tie-up of industry in British history.

The government has practically exhausted its resourcefulness in trying to settle the miners' strike by force and trickery. The last Lloyd George effort was a proposal to give a ten million pound government subsidy to the industry and a "commission to adjust" the wage differences. The vote on this proposal has just come in, and it is an overwhelming "Nay" on the part of the miners' rank and file. The final count shows nearly a five to one refusal to accept the government's terms.

The miners have had enough experience with "commissions to adjust". They have learned their lessons well since 1912 and they remember with a blush of shame the settlements they received at the hands of the Sankey Commission and, again, the Commission of last November. They are not in a mood to submit to further Commissions appointed by the masters and bound to make masters' decisions. If any Commission is appointed, they insist, that Commission will be a Workers' Commission, which will install the principle of the National Board and the National Pool and a guaranteed weekly wage.

Every proposal which the government has yet made has adroitly refused to concede the principle of the National Pool. The owners assert that they will be willing to fight to the last ditch rather than grant this principle, for they understand that it will be a first step to extending the workers' power over industrial affairs. The miners, on the other hand, will accept no other settlement and they declare that they will stay out ten weeks more, if necessary, to obtain that one demand.

The "commission to adjust" is only one of the several ruses to which Lloyd George and the owners have resorted in their attempt to break the back of the miners' solidarity. They have circulated every kind of vicious rumor in the press; they have spent thousands of dollars on attractive bill posters announcing the end of the strike and inviting the miners to go back to work while they still could; they have attempted secret conferences with the miners' executives in the hope of bringing them to reason behind the backs of the rank and file, and they have finally spent huge sums of money in attempting to import foreign coal with which to starve the miners into submission.

Every ruse has failed. The miners have maintained a morale and a discipline in their own ranks as effective as any discipline during the war. Through the London Daily Herald they have kept the membership fully informed of every development, have raised forty thousands pounds for the support of miners' wives and children, and have maintained a splendid courage and full confidence in their program.

The starvation policy has been very effectively checkmated by a thorough-going blockade against "scab" or "black-leg" coal. They have had the loyal support of the other crafts in this blockade—particularly of railway men, who are not only refusing to handle any foreign coal, but are refusing, further, to work with "scabs," and have declared that if any one of their members is victimized for supporting this position, a general railway strike will be called immediately. The railway men say that the miners' fight is their fight and that the importation of "black-leg" coal during this period is the same as importing "scab" miners. They refuse to betray their fellow workers.

Even the transport workers, whose leaders fell away when they had an opportunity in April to win the strike for the miners,

are supporting this blockade. On the Clyde, where dockers, members of the Transport Workers' Federation, have been given the choice of unloading foreign coal or quitting the job, several thousand workers have gone out. Strangely enough, this vigorous action on the part of the Transport Workers' rank and file has now the full sanction and support of the Transport Executives!

Word comes from Belgium that Belgian dockers are refusing to handle "tainted" coal bound for England, and that the Belgian miners will refuse to mine coal destined for England. The German and French miners have asked the British workers to call upon them also for any assistance they can give, and have agreed, if necessary, to go out on strike, to stop the importation of Continental coal into the British Isles.

This solidarity is not by any means confined to the "Big Three" in the Triple Alliance; even the workers in the gas and electric plants are refusing to unload or use "black-leg" coal of any character. It has been the hope of Lloyd George that he could keep the public utility industries operating with imported fuel and starve out the mine workers by merely sitting tight until their funds were exhausted. The action of the railway, transport, and utility workers not only defeats this starvation policy completely, but it leaves England facing a momentary shutting off of light, heat and power. It does not require a statesmanlike mind to understand what this event will mean.

One of the most trying problems for the miners has been the suppressing of English "scab" work. The land owners have encouraged the English unemployed to work out-cropping (surface) veins of coal by promising them the full proceeds of the sales. The miners now report that they have induced these workers in practically every field to abandon the veins and even to fill up the holes, so that today there is practically no English coal being mined even by "scabs."

The result of this workers' embargo may be observed in the financial column of almost any daily newspaper. The government estimates that nearly four million British workers are now unemployed, due to the shutting down of industry. Steel production today has fallen to six thousand tons for last month as against six hundred thousand tons for the same month of last year. Last month only fourteen thousand tons of cast iron were produced as against seven hundred thousand tons in the same month last year. Cotton mill owners are glad to continue the wage dispute with their workers and are not eager to resume operations. Industry after industry shows this same ruinous effect of the solidarity of the British workers.

The miners are not hypnotized by phrases. They are perfectly willing to accept a counter-proposal of settlement on any basis that will guarantee them the principle of the National Board and the National Pool and the weekly guaranteed wage. They are, however, disillusioned about the good intentions of the owners, the reformers and the politicians. They are through with charity and have concluded that firmness and solidarity is the only language which the government and the owners can understand.

In all this the miners know exactly where they stand. They know that owners' profits have increased from twenty one million pounds in 1913 to twenty seven million pounds in 1920. They know that fourteen companies, with a combined capital of twenty million pounds, paid an average of 134½% in cash dividends from 1913 to 1919, or twenty seven million pounds, and that some of these companies paid, in addition, 200 per cent or more in stock dividends. The miners feel that under these conditions they are entitled not only to the standard of living of 1914, below which the owners propose to reduce them, but to a material increase over this standard. They feel that if profits cannot come down and if the profit system can no longer guarantee them a living—there must no longer be any profits.

This deadlock between the miners and the owners is not likely to be broken by conferences. The British crisis hangs on

a slender thread of time and waits only for one side or the other to take the offensive. If the miners advance and try to operate the pits they know that they will be met by machine guns; if the owners become aggressive and try to break the lockout by importing "scabs," or the blockade by importing foreign coal, they may be met by a general strike and, it is asserted in some quarters, by even more revolutionary action. The owners and their spokesman, Mr. Lloyd George, have exhausted their resourcefulness; the miners have almost exhausted their patience, and there hangs over England the dead silence of an approaching storm.

# The Rebel Lads Who Won't Come Back Again

By Richard Brazier

NO MARTIAL music blares for them; no bunting decks the lane;
No cheering crowds greet their return, to give ovations vain;
For them no flags with stars of gold, in windows by the way;
For them no Arch of Victory that blazons in the day;
For them no woman's kiss, no chidren's clasping arms;
For them just sleep, long sleep,—and peace without alarms.

For them no flaunting ribbons gay, no medals silver bright;
No hero's name, no soldier's fame, won in some bloody fight.
For they were only workers who manned the ships of grain
That fed War's starving innocents,—sad orphans of the slain.
They were the men that stood the watch through lanes of lurking death,
And sailed the argosies of food across sea's trackless depth.

They were the men that kept the fires in many and many a ship,
And tore from the throats of babes wild hunger's strangling grip.
They were the men who knew: when death stole through the night
They would die like drowning cattle, die in the gray morn's light.
They knew that terror waited in their speeding, foaming path
And 'neath every wave might silent be a thing of horrid wrath.

And yet they sailed on many seas, these bravest of the brave—
And knew full well that for them lay perhaps a sailor's grave.
And thus it was, in dark of night, or some grey hour of dawn
That Death came hurtling, swift and sure; and shattered, maimed and torn
They sank beneath the reddened waves to rest forevermore
Beyond the pale of din and strife. For them the fight was o'er.

For them the bugles will not call, nor solemn music play,
No flowers will bloom upon their graves—they sleep far from the day.
But joyful tears of babes and wives shall bless the food they brought,
And they shall dwell in rebel hearts and live in rebel thoughts.
And the moaning seas a rebel dirge shall sing for rebels slain
For the sailor lads, the rebel lads, who won't come back again.

# A Worker Looks at Reparations

**By Hugo Schurtz**

A YEAR ago there appeared in the London Nation a startling revelation of how the metallurgical kings of Germany and France had controlled the war operations on the western front. A great mass of documentary evidence was presented in which it appeared that a few families not only dominated the coal and iron supply upon which the several armies relied and had distributed this supply so that the war might be continued with profit to themselves, but that they had forced the immunity of a large territory in "No Man's Land" from fire. No shells fell in this territory, no mining property was destroyed and no casualties were reported. One of these families had a son in the Reichstag and another son (who was director of munitions for the French Government) in the French Chamber of Deputies. Armor plate made in Germany was distributed in France and coal and iron manufactured in France was distributed to the German armies. The firms concerned were allied in a great, French controlled, continental metallurgical trust, and dividends were accumulated on both sides of the battle line for distribution after the war. The articles were entitled "Where Iron Is There Is the Fatherland."

Today, while the press of the continent is worrying about what Germany will pay, these families are still directing and extending the metallurgical Fatherland. Basically the metallurgical kings are not concerned about what Germany will pay; they are concerned only about developing an iron-clad monopoly of their industry.

On May 1st the French armies were prepared to occupy the Ruhr basin and, except for the intervention of Lloyd George, who does not want a French industrial monopoly in any field which will threaten British interests, the French would now have full title to these most valuable properties.

The iron kings want another field—Silesia. Silesia today contributes a large part of the coal which feeds German, Polish, Austrian and Italian industry. If the French monopolists can control this field they know that they will have not only a sufficient supply of fuel for all their own purposes, but that they will have an unassailable control over the entire steel industry of the continent. They will be able to cripple their German rivals, particularly.

Blocked in their offensive on the Ruhr basin, the French have turned all their immediate attention to this Silesian field. They do not mean to abandon the Ruhr—they have only postponed that offensive. They know that if they can keep Germany engaged with military operations in Silesia, they will sap German resources to such a degree that the Germans cannot hope to meet the reparations payments. As soon as one payment is defaulted, they will have an irresistable excuse for seizing the Ruhr and possibly Silesia also as security.

Nobody expects Germany to pay and almost nobody cares. Even the lowest reparations figure is so high that to meet it the German owners would have to abandon all profits and the workers would be reduced to less than a subsistence wage.

Perhaps there are French politicians who want the Germans to make good on reparations in order that they may save face with the French people and hold their jobs, but the steel kings want profits, and a surplus in the French treasury means nothing to them. They want the Ruhr and they want Silesia, they want their competitors reduced to dependence and the German workers to such poverty that their mills will be fed with cheap labor. This situation means profits to the steel kings—huge profits—and as for the future, well, "After us the deluge." They have gambled on long stakes with revolution before and, somehow, the revolution has never come.

In the meantime, while the diplomats and the statisticians dash off reams of figures and the French armies prepare to advance, the German workers are taking a last hitch in their belts. They have been reduced from the best paid and the best fed workers in Europe to the rations of the poor-house. It is said that the German workers are immobile because they are overorganized, but they are only tired, exhausted and without hope. They have borne the heaviest privations of the war and are today at the mercy of the Allies' Hoover System, which feeds them, and they are not ready to fight. The Socialist organization has lost face with the German workers, the Trades Unions are disorganized and the Communists have split wide apart into warring factions. It is interesting that most of the revolutionary activity, however, has been conducted in the Ruhr region.

Undoubtedly the French offensive, on whatever excuse, at this time or within the next few months will be successful. The Germans are not a match for the French war machinery, and the French workers are still innoculated with revenge and still not enough awake to their class interests to refuse to conquer their German fellow workers for the French masters. The policy of the steel kings bids fair to succeed.

But this success will, at best, be temporary. The exploitation which the French masters will inflict upon the defeated and vassal German workers is bound to reduce them to even greater penury than they now endure. Time will knit the German organizations, and nationalistic as well as class hatred will bind them together in an unconquerable solidarity. Out of their privations they will emerge with a Plan of Action, and when the next uprising in the Ruhr basin occurs the German proletariat will be the victor. The steel kings are making a very valuable contribution to the cause of the Proletarian Revolution.

# The Revolutionary Movement in India

THE political situation in India at the present moment is very revolutionary, and is becoming more so every day, says the Bombay correspondent of the London Communist. During the last two years the movemcnt in India has been developing two distinct characters, viz., (1) the nationalist revolutionary movement of the educated middle class, and (2) the economic struggle of the workers in the big industrial centres. Lately the Indian Movement has developed another phase—the peasant revolt. All these three taken together embrace more than half of the entire population.

The bourgeois nationalist movement is divided into two main camps, viz., the Constitutional Democrats and the Extremists. The Constitutional Democrats belong to the upper middle class, including rich lawyers, doctors, a certain element of native capitalists, and the progressive landowners. Their program is rather modest; it advocates the continuation of the British rule, but agitates for constitutional and administrativc reforms.

The Extremists or Nationalist Revolutionaries stand for the complete separation of India from the British Empire. The ranks of thc Extremists are swelled by the lower middle class studcnts, and declassed intelligentsia. Thesc are undoubtedly the most numerous, powerful, and influential elements in the Indian bourgeois revolutionary movement. But the Extremists have two points of view in their ranks. One section thinks that Home Rule or Self-Government should be first secured in order to have a widcr field of revolutionary activities; while the other maintains that Home Rule will never be granted to India and that therc is only one remedy —the overthrow of the British Rule by an armed national uprising.

The Extremists constitute a great force as agitators but as organizers they have not been able to do much since they have not adopted a program. The anxiety to preserve the unity of front as against the British Government has prevented them from formulating a program. What they want is to inspire the whole country with anti-British feeling, and in that they have succeeded admirably. Except the rich, land-owning class, big capitalists and high government officials, the entire people of India, irrespective of class, is in a decidedly rebellious mood against British rule.

The real strength of the Indian movement is the growth of revolutionary spirit among the masses. This has been achicvcd not so much by the propaganda of the bourgeois revolutionaries as by the objective conditions. During the years of the European war, India has gone through a tremendous economic transformation. In the last four years, capitalism has been developed with great rapidity. India today is no longer an exclusively agricultural country. Great industrial centres have sprung into existence, accumulating a growing proletarian class. The Indian proletariat on account of its short life has not been altogether separated from the villages wherefrom it originally came. A great number of the city workers still work partly in the city and partly in the villages. Thus they serve the purpose of transmitting the revolutionary spirit that they acquire in the industrial centres. In this way the revolutionary propaganda which, till a few years ago, was mainly confined to the cities, is penctrating to the villages and disturbing the passive resignation of the peasantry.

The growth of the Indian proletarian class is indeed phenomenal. Before the European war, the number of city workers in India hardly exceeded 2,000,000. In 1918, it came up to 5,000,000. Since then it has increased by fifty per cent. On the other hand, owing to the exorbitant rate of taxation and chronic indebtedness, the poor petty-peasants are being rapidly deprived of their lands, thus creating a huge army of agricultural workers, whose number has reached as high as 32,000,000. These millions of exploited workers, industrial and landworkcrs taken together, are being pushed into the revolutionary movement by force of economic necessity. And it is this background which has given such a powerful impetus to the revolutionary movement in general.

The revolutionary movement in India has developed a very strong press. There are more than fifty big daily papers, both in the English and native languages, published from the different cities. These papers are published legally, though they are often suppressed and their printing apparatus confiscated. Besides, there are a number of illegal presses which produce revolutionary literature, mostly of nationalist character.

**The Workers' Challenge.**

## NOTICE TO READERS

In the June Pioneer announcement was made of a number of feature articles that would appear in future issues of the magazine. Owing to unforeseen circumstances we are not able to publish any of them in this number. However, some of them will be printed in the August and September issues of the Pioneer.

On account of lack of space, an installment of "The Story of the Story" did not appear in the June number. The publication of the serial is resumed in this issue and will be continued untill completed.

# The Industrial Pioneer

*A Journal of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism*

H. VAN DORN, Editor

HARRY FEINBERG, Business Manager

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## INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION

IN DISCUSSING business readjustment in America, a writer in a recent issue of the Economic World, a manufacturers' journal, says:

"If the disturbing features in the general situation were of domestic origin and application alone, it would not be difficult to indicate the course of improvement. As things actually are, however, the entire world is involved in the problem. Any improvement, therefore, must involve the re-establishment of normal political and economic conditions abroad, as well as a dependable situation with respect to international credit and exchange. It is idle to think that we can prosper to the full extent of our capacity if deprived of the foreign markets; nor, it may be added, can we prosper if we rear up an insurmountable wall against the importations of the products of Europe, South America and the Far East. In other words, with the horizon thus obscured by all manner of difficult problems, there is little to indicate that the general readjustment of business in the United States will be other than a tediously slow process."

When the master class itself admits that "the readjustment will be a tediously slow process," the workers might as well make up their minds that there will not be any "readjustment"—in the sense of a let up in the unemployment situation. If business enterprises cannot find customers for their products, it stands to reason that production, since it is carried on for profit only, will be stopped altogether or will continue on a part time basis.

Writes Edward G. La Bart in Printer's Ink: "There is enough wool in the United States to supply all demands for two years if not another sheep was clipped. There is enough cotton in the South to supply every want for the next two or three years."

A similar statement could be made about a great many other necessities of life. But that is only half of the truth. For is there a workingman who could not use another suit of clothes for himself, or another dress for his wife and sister—if he had the price? The surplus wool, cotton, leather, food, etc., is on hand largely because the working class has not the money with which to purchase the necessities and luxuries of life. And this brings us to the vicious circle:

Less consumption, less production, more unemployed, wage cuts, still less production and still more unemployed.

Men are now laying steel on the railroad tracks for 27½ cents an hour, while only a year ago they were getting 48½ cents. Advertisements are appearing in the Southern papers for men to work for their board. If a worker who formerly earned $40.00 per week is at present getting only $25.00, it is self-evident that the $15.00 which he now does not have to purchase commodities with will throw some other worker out of a job.

What will this lead us to? If there are five millions out of work now, will not the number be doubled a year, or two years, from now? And then what?

A few possibilities are looming on the horizon which may, to a certain extent, give new life to our industries: Resumption of trade with Russia; war with Mexico; war with Japan. But at any rate, they would offer only temporary relief.

The future, as it unfolds itself for the working class in the United States, is this: Ever-increasing misery and eventual starvation, or—control of industry by the workers for use instead of profit.

Working men and women of America, take your choice!

# Can Labor Unions Function as Revolutionary Organizations?

By H. Van Dorn

THERE appeared in "The Industrial Worker" a few weeks ago an article entitled "Can Unions Act?" written by Walker C. Smith, in which he contends that labor unions cannot function at the same time as revolutionary organizations. The point of view that he sets forth is that a mass organization of labor, which has for its immediate object the obtaining of shorter hours, bigger wages and better working conditions, cannot, in the nature of things, act as an instrument for the eventual overthrow of the capitalist system.

This article was reprinted in a number of radical newspapers and, in my opinion, must have created a good deal of confusion, owing especially to the circumstance that it was written by a well-known member of the I. W. W. It is for the purpose of clarifying the issue raised by Fellow Worker Smith that the present article is written.

It is worthy of note that in presenting his case Fellow Worker Smith does not mention a single instance in the history of the labor movement, nor does he quote any facts or figures to uphold his theory. The whole thing is a plausible piece of metaphysical reasoning, based on apparently logical premises, but bound to fall to pieces as soon as facts are brought into the argument. For instance, one of his paragraphs reads as follows:

"When members are recruited without distinction as to race, color, sex, age, creed or social views, as is proper and necessary in a labor-power combine, it follows that conservatism will dominate the union just as it does the mass of the workers. Despite this obvious fact, industrial unions as well as other unions continue to lay their greatest stress upon organization, assigning to education a minor place."

It would be interesting to know just what it was that led Walker Smith to this brilliant piece of reasoning. If he were the least bit acquainted with the history and the present structure of the world labor movement, he would know how erroneous his declaration is. Instead of it being an "obvious fact" that conservatism always dominates labor unions, the very opposite is true in the case of unions counting millions of members.

Let us, therefore, in order to substantiate the above claim, consider the labor movement in some of the European countries:

In **Italy** about 80% of the industrial proletariat is organized into labor unions. The General Labor Confederation has a membership of two and a half millions. While in radical sentiment and mentality the workers belonging to this Confederation are far in advance of the members of our own A. F. of L. and other craft organizations, we will not, for purposes of argument, call them revolutionary or even radical; but besides the Confederation there are in Italy the Italian Syndicalist unions with a membership of 700,000, the Railway workers with a membership of about 130,000, and the Toilers of the Sea, numbering approximately 70,000. Thus we see that these three organizations contain some 900,000 workers—almost a million strong—and they are as revolutionary as the Communists, or the I. W. W. of the United States.

That such is the case has been demonstrated time and again by recent events in the Italian labor movement. In all their literature the three last named organizations come out squarely for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of industrial communism. In the near revolution last fall it was the syndicalists who played the leading role. The fury of the **fascisti**—the Italian white guards—is di-

rected as much against the syndicalists as against the Communists.

Perhaps had Fellow Worker Smith been informed of the above facts and figures he would not have made the statement that it is an "obvious fact that conservatism will dominate the unions."

It is safe to say that in **Spain**, a country with a population of 20,000,000, by far the greater part of whom are agricultural workers, at least 75% of the industrial proletariat is organized. Of these organized workers, about 1,000,000 belong in the revolutionary **Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo,** while only some 250,000 belong in the conservative **Union General de Trabajadores,** which is dominated by the reactionary Socialist party. It would be curious to know how it will be possible for Fellow Worker Smith to square the above facts with his theory that a mass organization of labor cannot be revolutionary. The workers in this country have come to look upon the political Socialists as radicals, whereas over there they are considered as being so far behind the times as to belong legitimately on the side of the enemies of labor.

When we come to other countries, we find that again the facts refute Fellow Worker Smith's contentions that "labor unionism cannot be revolutionary," and that "labor unions are designed to perform an entirely different function than that of initiating a complete social change." Starting from these contentions, he advocates the formation of an educational body, entirely distinct from any labor union, whose function would be to spread general propaganda for doing away with the present system of capitalist exploitation.

When we look at the labor movement in **France,** we see that in the General Confederation of Labor, with a membership of 1,250,000, the revolutionary Syndicalist Committees count close to 300,000 members, comprised within about a thousand regional groups. These revolutionary Syndicalists act as the militant minority within the Confederation; in other words, they are an organization within an organization. And yet at the same time they remain industrialists, instead of being members of a political party. We, therefore, see that, contrary to Fellow Worker Smith's contention, such a body **can** act as a militant minority to guide the masses, both within the unions and outside of them.

What has been said about France can, with a great amount of justice, be said about **Great Britain** as well. There the function of the French Syndicalist minority is performed by the National Workers' Committee movement, and by radical groups within the existing unions. In the case of some of these unions, where revolutionary sentiment is strong, they are entirely under the domination of this radical minority. This is especially true of the miners.

In **Germany,** where the workers are practically 100% organized the same as in Great Britain, the **Freie Arbeiter Union Syndicalisten** number some 200,000 members. The other unions, which have close to 9,000,000 members, are permeated with revolutionists.

It seems to the writer that the above figures ought to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that labor unions can and naturally do function as revolutionary organizations. The only reason why revolutionary labor unions have not attained power or numerical strength in this country, up to the present time, is because conditions have not been favorable. Just as long as prosperity, of a kind, holds sway in any country, and living conditions are tolerable, just so long will unionism remain conservative. As conditions get worse, as unemployment grows, as actual misery and starvation begin to invade the homes of the workers, revolutionary unionism gradually replaces its conservative predecessor and grows strong in prestige and in numbers. Such conditions have been the order of the day in the European Latin countries for years past and, coupled with the naturally volatile and rebellious spirit of these peoples, have produced the strong revolutionary labor unions enumerated above.

Let us now consider the **United States.**

There are in the neighborhood of 20,000,000 wage earners in this country. Of these only about 5,000,000 are organized. We thus see that by far the great majority of the workers in this country form an unorganized mob. Therefore, whenever we compare our labor movement with that of other countries, we must keep in mind the unique condition that prevails here. Outside of the skilled trades, practically no organized labor movement exists in this country.

What, then, are we going to do with those 15,000,000 unorganized workers? Is anybody foolish enough to believe that changes of any consequence, which would tend to replace the present chaotic system of society with a sane and orderly system under the domination of the working class, can take place while these 15,000,000 remain unorganized? Walker Smith has this to say on the subject:

"The slow process of getting member after member in the manner used to build up labor unions, or even in enlisting them in groups during a strike is **less hopeful** from the viewpoint of social change than the idea of wide-spread educational propaganda to be followed by spontaneous uprising."

In other words, Fellow Worker Smith puts forth the idea that a mob of unorganized workers will be able to fight the army of strongly organized and disciplined bourgeoisie. Can anything be more ridiculous? In this modern age, when everything depends upon efficiency and organization, we see advocated, as a method of defense and offense, unorganized mass action. Such tactics may have been alright at the time of the French Revolution, but today they are deplorably out of date. The only way to oppose the organized might of the capitalists is by the stronger and more efficiently organized might of the workers. "Spontaneous uprisings" can result in nothing but a futile slaughter of the innocent.

Fellow Worker Smith indicates the necessity of spreading educational propaganda of a revolutionary character. Has it not been the experience of the labor movement ever since the inception of capitalism, that the revolutionary character of the working class is best developed while the workers are engaged in actual struggle against the masters? A well-conducted strike will do more towards developing class-consciousness and radical sentiment than ten tons of revolutionary propaganda of a general nature. Will Fellow Worker Smith tell us how the working class can engage in actual struggle against the capitalists on the economic field except through labor unions?

This again brings us back to the 15,000,000 unorganized workers in this country. What are we going to do with them? Are we going to line them up in the boss-controlled A. F. of L.? Should we not rather have them join a radical labor organization such as the I. W. W.? No objection can be raised to revolutionists permeating the A. F. of L. and other labor bodies at present existing, but they are so weak numerically, in comparison with the whole of the American working class, that this should not be looked upon as the main problem. The main problem is the organizing of the now unorganized fifteen million workers.

# Proclamation

We praclaim war! Don't be alarmed but be prepared. We, the workers, proclaim war now against the capitalist system in order that when the enslaving system is destroyed we may proclaim a real and universal peace. Unemployment, poverty and degradation must be wiped out.

Every little child must be born to a life of freedom and happiness. Workers, your emancipation is in your own hands, and you can make America a land fit to live in. What is your answer?

Are you centent to be wage-slaves always? If not, then see you do your bit.

# The Thirteenth Convention of the I. W. W.

THE Thirteenth Convention of the I. W. W. opened in Chicago on the 9th of May, 1921, and closed on the 27th of May. In the opinion of those who attended it, it was one of the most successful conventions held by the I. W. W.

Delegates were present from all parts of the country, representing about a dozen different industries. However, most of them were from the Northwest and Far West, and were representing those industries which play the greatest role in that part of the country, namely: the lumber, construction, mining and agricultural industries. This, of course, gave these delegates a preponderance of votes as well as made of them the determining influence thruout the Convention.

A spirit was manifested from the opening day of the Convention, to take a determined stand in favor of upholding those principles which have made of the I. W. W. the foremost exponent of revolutionary unionism in this country. It was evident from the beginning that the desire of all delegates was to emphasize, as much as possible, that clause in the Preamble which states that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common. This principle has worked out, in practice, in the I. W. W., through the adoption and the carrying out of the following tactics: The universal transfer system, which insures solidarity between workers in different industries; the low initiation fee and monthly dues, whereby all workers may gain admission to the organization; the refusal to sign contracts of any kind with an employer, which sets out vividly in bold relief the deep-seated conviction of the organization that the capitalists cannot be depended upon to keep their word; and the advocacy of taking the industries away from the capitalists and running them for the benefit of the whole working class for use instead of for profits.

In view of the spirit of the Convention, it was fitting that the first order of business should have been the taking up of the Philadelphia controversy. The Philadelphia branch of the Marine Transport Workers of the I. W. W., which at one time numbered some seven thousand members, had adopted, presumably in order to maintain job control, an initiation fee of $25.00, which was contrary to the I. W. W. Constitution. Several months ago this branch had been requested by the General Executive Board to reduce its initiation fee to $2.00 in order to comply with the Constitution, but had refused to do so. As a consequence, that branch was suspended until the coming of the Convention. Since the decision of the controversy involved one of the vital principles of the organization, the discussion over it consumed three days, with the result that the Philadelphia branch was called upon either to comply with the $2.00 initiation fee and $1.00 monthly dues or, failing to do so, it would automatically expel itself from the organization. Like action was taken with an I. W. W. Local of Bakers in New York City, which had persisted in charging a $15.00 initiation fee.

The next step of importance was the action taken to continue the $2.00 initiation fee and the $1.00 dues. A certain amount of agitation had been going on within the ranks of the organization, for a flexible initiation fee, up to at least $15.00. In the thrashing out of this question it became evident that the consensus of opinion among the delegates favored the low initiation fee. As supporting arguments, the delegates pointed out the great amount of unemployment, industrial depression, the open shop drive, and other aspects of the present economic situation which makes well nigh impossible the maintenance of job control or of the closed shop. Under these circumstances, it is imperative that access into an organization such as the I. W. W. be made as easy and as cheap as possible.

Since the I. W. W. is an organization

whose ultimate aim is the doing away with the capitalist system of exploitation, it is willing to co-operate with and encourage any and all other movements which work for similar ends. Since capitalism is world-wide, the I. W. W. acknowledges that a system of working class supremacy can only be attained by waging war on the powers that be, on a world-wide scale. It was for this reason that, recognizing the valiant struggle that the Irish fighters for freedom are putting up against British oppression and militarism, the I. W. W. extended greetings of goodwill and encouragement to the battling working men and women in Ireland. The lengthy resolution embodying the above sentiments, passed by the I. W. W., should go a long way towards establishing a bond of sympathy between the battling proletarian minority in this country and in Ireland.

An incident took place on the second day of the Convention which, perhaps better than anything else, illustrates the present spirit of the I. W. W. One of the delegates suggested that a telegram of goodwill be sent to the fellow workers incarcerated in Leavenworth and other penitentiaries. Thereupon, another delegate jumped up and exclaimed: "What's the use of burning up good money on capitalist wires? They can't eat it and we can't organize with it." A suggestion was made, that instead of sending the telegram, a collection be taken up, which was done and which netted $53.00. The above incident shows how much sentiment is out of place in the I. W. W.

One of the big features of the Convention was George Hardy's report, covering thirty typewritten pages. George Hardy was the I. W. W. delegate to the Berlin Syndicalist Conference held in December, 1920. After the Conference he proceeded to Moscow, for the purpose of clarifying the position of the I. W. W. on the international field. This trip also served to counteract the evil effects and misconceptions concerning the organization, which had become broadspread in Europe as the result of Sandgren's policy in the One Big Union Monthly, of attacking the Communists, and, to a lesser extent, the Russian Soviet Government. We are glad to say that the position of the I. W. W. in reference to the other movements has again been set right and that the organization commands, at present, as much respect in the European countries as it ever did.

While in Soviet Russia, Hardy found that the I. W. W. is looked upon as the revolutionary labor movement on the American continent. A number of highly important resolutions were passed which will tend to direct the future policy of the I. W. W. into the right channels. We might mention, among others, the following two:

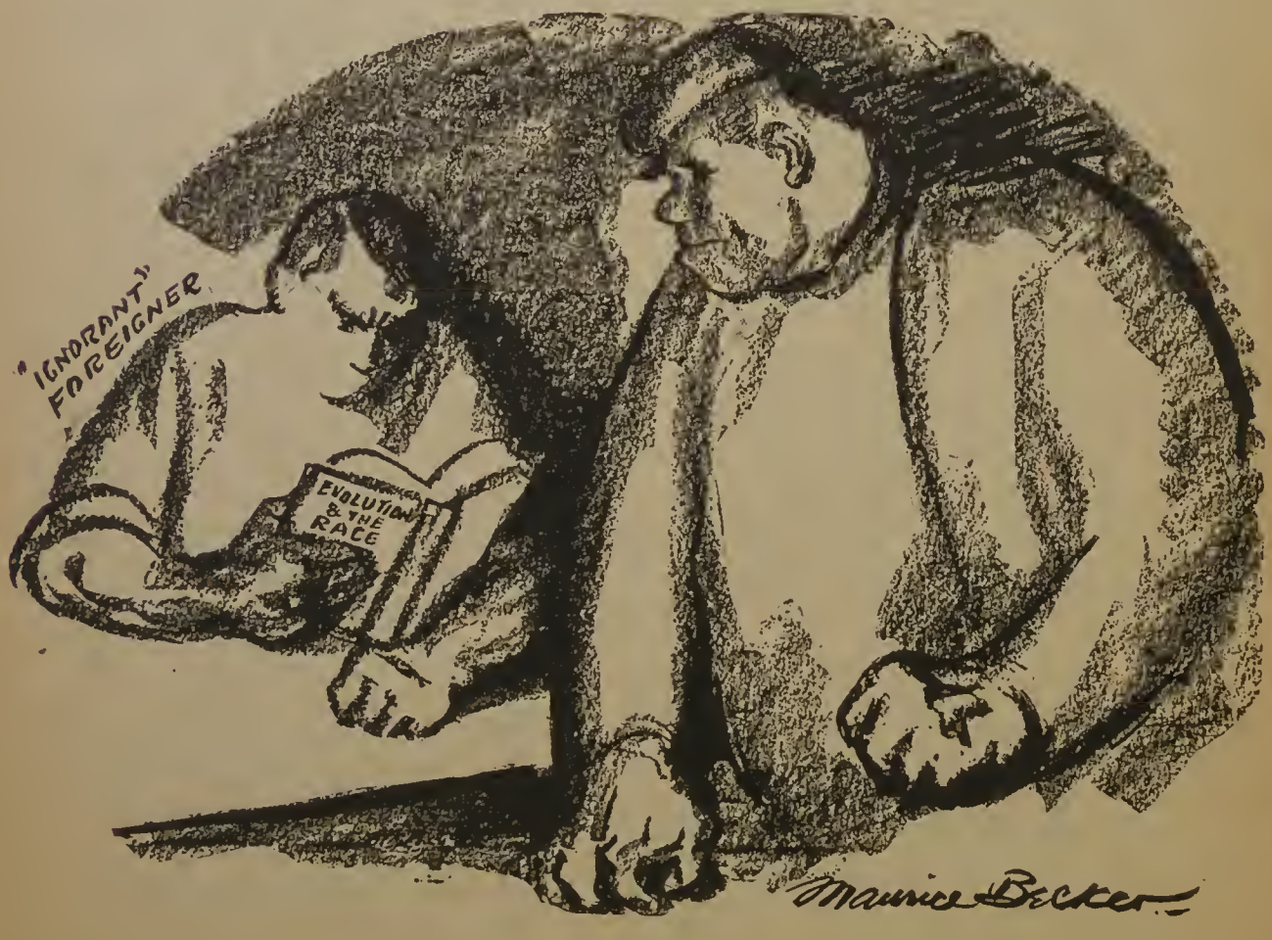
"Resolved, that we preach the general strike as the only means of the liberation of class war prisoners," and

"Resolved, that all I. W. W. agitation must be towards the control of industries, more so during periods of unemployment, as at present."

The stand that the I. W. W. has taken, is that of urging upon the workers, especially the unemployed, that the only solution for their deplorable conditions of existence is to be found in the workers taking the industries away from the capitalists and running them for their own benefit. It is becoming more apparent day by day that, as unemployment grows and as wages are being cut everywhere, no remedial half-measures are going to help the working class. Recent labor history has demonstrated, beyond doubt, that the present American craft unions are bankrupt and not capable of putting up a united front against capitalist aggression. Even the blind can see that these unions are everywhere accepting wage cuts and the imposition of almost unbearable working conditions, and that they are otherwise complying with the ever-increasing encroachments of capitalist piracy upon the rights of labor. In the face of all this, with 5,000,000 men and women in America walking the streets, looking for a job, what solution of its troubles can be offered to the working class? Clearly, nothing but a complete industrial overturn will do. Nothing but the workers' control

of industry will terminate economic chaos, hunger and misery.

The conditions in America are getting rotten-ripe for a revolutionary labor union. Parliamentarism on the political field will no longer do as a weapon for the working class with which to fight its battles; craft unionism, with its antiquated tactics and its incubus of reactionary officialdom, has become equally impotent on the industrial field. The sooner the American workers learn this truth, the better off they will be. They must ever bear in mind the truth which has been advocated by the I. W. W. for the last 16 years, by word and by deed: That the working class and the employing class have nothing in common. Time and again, during the last few years, have the workers been sold out by their bourgeois-minded leaders. Is it not high time that they at last wake up and take a firm, uncompromising stand as class-conscious members of the proletariat who will, under no conditions, engage in any half-way, sentimental bickerings with the master class but, fully realizing the present mission of the working class as the savior of humanity, will get together and build up an organization which all the combined powers of capital will not be able to destroy.




PREJUDICES OF RACE AND NATIONALITY BENEFIT ONLY THE MASTER CLASS.

# Run - Away Slaves

**By Mary E. Marcy**

FOURTEEN hundred years ago there lived in the hills and woods and caverns of what is now known as France, the Gallic slaves who had escaped from their Germanic conquerors, and who were determined to remain free at no matter what cost.

They had to move from place to place with the utmost caution, for when the soldiers (or leudes) of their own masters discovered them upon the road, they were dragged back to torture, heavy labor, and often death. And should the soldiers of a strange lord find them on the highways, they were seized and enslaved by new masters.

The counts and bishops called these run-away slaves **vagrants** or **"Vagres,"** and the Vagres were proud of the name. By stealth they gathered together and formed bands for the purpose of attacking the strongholds of the **seigneurs,** taking back the wealth the counts had stolen from them, killing the lords and freeing the slaves.

Before the earlier invasion of the Romans, the Gauls had been a thriving, happy, and very prosperous people. They tilled the land in common, wove beautiful cloth, and made the finest hand tools in the world. All over France (then called Gaul) the people enjoyed freedom, equality and happy industry; for there was neither exploiter nor exploited to cause dissension or civil war.

After years of warfare, however, during which the Gauls suffered great losses, the Roman invaders were able to thrust the Gauls into a condition of the most miserable slavery. The Gauls were not whipped, but held down by every means of force known to the Romans. Notwithstanding the odds against them, day after day, in cellars, fields and shops, the Gauls labored to organize the revolutionary "Order of the Mistletoe." Their watchwords were "Liberty" and "Death to the Roman Oppressors."

Soon all over Gaul there sprang up sharp revolts on the part of the slaves, during which the Roman masters were often slain and their castles destroyed. The guerilla warfare of the slaves increased until, after a few years, the Romans discovered it cost them more to hold the Gauls in slavery than they were able to collect out of them, and the slaves once more recovered their lands and nearly the whole of their former freedom.

The Gauls again became a peace-loving, industrious, happy people. The people to the east of them, in Germania, were, however, marauding, fighting, looting, barbarians, who scorned to labor and who despised the Gauls.

Accordingly it became the sport and the profit of these Franks (from Germania) to dash down upon the happy villages of the Gauls on horseback, seize their wealth, destroy their crops and houses, and carry off as many Gauls as possible, to be sold later at the slave market in Germania.

And by and by the Frankish counts from Germania began to hold the lands they had formerly destroyed, and to remain upon them. After long and weary struggles the Gauls were again subjugated and enslaved by the new conquerors.

But always there were fearless and independent slaves who risked torture and death in the hope of escape, and often there were loyal Vagres who remained within the castle walls to inform their Vagre comrades of the opportune time for the rebel bands to attack.

Then the Vagres dashed upon the castles, killed the lords and bishops, seized the wealth that had been stolen from them, and within twenty-four hours distributed it to the last ham among the freed slaves and the poor.

Here is one of the old songs sung fourteen hundred years ago by a Vagre band before a successful attack upon the castle of one of the most brutal of the Frankish counts:

"Death unto oppressors! Freedom to the slave!
Let us take from the seigneurs! Let us give unto the poor!
What! A hundred kegs of wine in the master's cellar, and only the water of the stream for the worn-out slave?
What! A hundred cloaks in the wardrobe, and only rags for the toiling slave?
Who was it planted the vine? Who harvested the grape and pressed it into wine? The slave! Who should drink the wine? The slave!
Who was it that tended and sheared the sheep and wove the cloth and made the cloak? The slave!
Who should wear the cloak? The slave!
Up, ye poor and oppressed! Up! Revolt! Here are your good friends the Vagres! They approach! Death to the seigneurs and the bishops!
**Six men united are stronger than a hundred divided: Let us unite! Each for all and all for each! Long live the Vagrery and Old Gaul!"**

The old song always thrills me. It is so much like some of the Wobbly songs of today, this ancient song of the Gauls, who would not remain slaves.

It was this spirit that finally broke the grip of the oppressors from the throats of the Gallic people, and abolished slavery, and later, feudalism, in what is now France.

It is this same spirit in every land, passed down from one generation to another, that will soon make this a real world of the workers, when the motto of all men will be:

**EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH**

# The International Relations of the I. W. W.

IT IS an axiom in sociology that the ideas and social movements of the human race are only a reflex of the existing conditions. It is therefore no mere coincidence that with the launching of the I. W. W. in 1905 we witness the first planned effort at world-unionism and that such a project should have had its origin in the American workers' movement. This event is merely the inevitable consequence of the economic fact that capitalism in the United States has reached further towards operations on a world-wide scale than elsewhere. The spectacle of the U. S. Steel Corporation and the Standard Oil Company with their plants and agencies spread over the four quarters of the globe only lead to the development of a similar plan of organization amongst the advanced thinking minority of the American working class. The I. W. W., therefore, was purposely and consciously christened the Industrial Workers of the World. The original purpose was evidently to spread the organization into all countries of the world and develop in the face of all opposition a new union on a centralized world scale. In fact, before the war broke out, some semblance of organization on a world-scale did exist. Administrations of the I. W. W. were functioning in Australia, Mexico, Chile, South Africa, England, Sweden and elsewhere. The vastness of this plan has had such an influence on the imagination of the I. W. W. members that there is a tendency towards extreme exclusivism, and to disregard existing movements of similar character to the I. W. W. in Europe and elsewhere. The attempt to form an International of Red Trade and Industrial Unions, which will be made at the Moscow Congress set for July 15, 1921, and the recent conference held in Berlin, give this subject practical and immediate importance.

The original plan of the I. W. W. for a world-union may be realized in Moscow in a more natural way than it was originally conceived. Plans in the abstract may have a great deal of perfection and even have their indirect influence on the development of the thinking workers' notions of class-organization, but the evolution of the working-class movement towards world-unity has followed a natural course based on the needs of existing labor units rather than on the improvised plans of theorists. While the I. W. W. was being launched, and even years before, there was growing up in Europe, with a steady and impressive growth, an analogous movement, similar to the I. W. W. in all the essential features and differing only in those points in which a different economic and political environment rendered other tactics more efficient. This movement is generally known as Syndicalism. There is no hope for any co-operation in the proper spirit with efforts towards world-unity which are being made in Europe, unless the I. W. W. recognizes its relationship to this movement in Europe, and gets a picture of its world-position through a more inclusive perspective. All impartial observers, such as Brissenden, Tridon, etc., have recognized in the I. W. W. all the essential features of the syndicalist program (economic direct action, no political alliances, militant tactics, self-reliance of the workers as a class) plus a special emphasis on the structural advantages of centralized industrial unionism. This emphasis is natural when we consider the fact that the I. W. W. is mainly a reaction in tactics to the A. F. of L., with its antiquated baggage of absurd craft-divisions, time-limit contracts, narrow trade spirit and absolute disregard of class-action. In Europe, syndicalism is mainly a reaction to the socialist party domination of the trade unions and their conversion into emasculated electioneering agencies. Capitalism there is not so centralized in its structure as in America; the spirit of class-solidarity and the general idea of revolt is much more diffuse than in this country; the whole emphasis of syndicalist propaganda is consequently directed at undermining the influence of the socialist parties in order to develop a movement on the economic field which shall be self-sufficient to overthrow capitalism and install the new society of the producers. Industrial unionism has been adopted in many of the syndicalist unions of Europe; in 1906 the Confédération Générale du Travail of France decided to admit into its ranks only federations along industrial lines; the Italian Syndicalist Union adopted the National Industrial Syndicat structure in 1909, but nowhere have these changes been regarded as anything but a natural move in the right direction. To the syndicalist, the important point is the conservation of the revolutionary outlook and the militant tactics on the economic field.

The first effort to gather into one world-organization the already considerable forces of world-syndicalism was made through the London Congress held in September, 1913. Delegates were present from Germany, Holland, France, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Norway and Sweden. The I. W. W. was not represented. The results of this conference were nullified by the outbreak of the World War, which threw the entire social structure into a fiery melting-pot, from which new and unforeseen problems are coming forth.

The Berlin Conference of December, 1920, represents the resumption of the international relations between the syndicalist bodies of workers which the World War had interrupted. Several significant points need to be brought out in connection with this important Conference. For the first time, we see the I. W. W. appear at a world-congress of revolutionary labor, where it is duly recognized as the representative of advanced labor in the United States. This fact is a symptom of a more logical

and realistic attitude on the part of the I. W. W. than the original plan to organize the workers of the entire world within its ranks. On this occasion the I. W. W. appears definitely as the representative of the American workers and is face to face with the organized strength of European syndicalism. All differences are easily smoothed over and the I. W. W. becomes aware of the fact that the dream of a world-army of revolutionary labor, which it started out to realize in 1905, has gone further towards becoming a concrete fact in the several nations of Europe than it has in the United States. An examination of the figures on organized syndicalist strength the world over is highly significant and instructive to the American worker. The statistics on this matter are as follows:

| | Population in Millions. | Syndicalist Membership. |
|---|---|---|
| Spain | 20 | 1,000,000 |
| Italy | 40 | 700,000 |
| France | 40 | 300,000 |
| England | 40 | 200,000 |
| Argentina | 7 | 200,000 |
| Holland | 7 | 40,000 |
| Sweden | 6 | 32.000 |
| Germany | 60 | 150,000 |
| United States | 105 | 100,000 |

Considerable syndicalist organizations exist in the smaller nations of Europe and South America not listed here, and the fact must be borne in mind that the syndicalist committees of France and England are organizations of the advanced elements exclusively, and not syndicalist dual unions like the I. W. W. and the Italian Syndicalist Union. From these figures it is evident that, in relation to the population, the I. W. W. is the smallest of the syndicalist organizations, and any policy towards the European syndicalist unions must keep this fact always in view. There is evidently only one road open to the I. W. W. consistent with its revolutionary past, and that is to work in complete harmony with the European syndicalist forces in the efforts being made to weld the advanced elements of labor into one mighty world unit. While the decrepit American Federation of Labor is withdrawing from the yellow Amsterdam International because it is too revolutionary (???) for Gompers and brethren, it is up to the I. W. W. to break the isolation of American labor from the renovating forces at work in the Old World by establishing ever closer relations with our working class allies across the oceans.

One aspect of the coming International Congress of Red Trade and Industrial Unions in Moscow needs to be emphasized. While the Third International on the political field has been able to marshal its forces even at the cost of splitting the old socialist parties into warring fragments, the effort to form an Industrial International has brought the Communists face to face with the hard fact that most of the "Red" unions are syndicalist unions, that they have a definite program of their own which does not coincide in all points with the Communist doctrine, and that these unions are powerful enough in themselves to exact from the political international complete autonomy and non-interference. There will be co-operation where such is desirable, but the syndicalist forces will insist on, and carry, the point that there shall be no dictation by the Communist parties over the workers' organized in the Syndicalist Unions. This matter is of the utmost importance; the syndicalist organizations, representing as they do **directly** the interests of the workers, and animated by their traditional and well-founded distrust of all political bodies, will act as a controlling force determining directly or indirectly through the exercise of economic power the vital policies during the revolutionary period.

The utmost unity, material and moral, between the syndicalist forces of the world is necessary to accomplish this important function; the I. W. W. must unhesitatingly take its place in the ranks and play its role as the representative of the American revolutionary workers in the advancing Red International of Labor.

G. C.

# To a Factory Whistle

**O grim-voiced Demon, soulless Monster, why**
**Must I your summons heed, nor fail to come,**
**When you would call me back to toil, while some**
**Loiter along the way? Is your hoarse cry**
**For me alone? May these stand idle by,**
**Yet take the loaf and leave to me the crumb?**
**Surely! Justice is dead, or else turned dumb:**
**Why does my brother loiter and not I?**
**Or why, with bended back and pain-wracked frame,**
**Must I, for these long, weary hours each day,**
**Stifle both sense and soul? Is it that he**
**May live and labor not? Justice? A name!**
**I toil that both may live and he may play.**
**Why are things so? Grim Monster, answer me!**

S. P.

# Conference of the Unemployed in Great Britain

**By H. Van Dorn**

GREAT Britain is, at present, perhaps as hard hit by unemployment as any country on the European continent. Two months ago, the official figures of the unemployed were set at 2,000,000, which does not include those who worked part time only. At present, what with the coal miners' and the cotton workers' strike, and the stagnation in other industries caused thereby, it is safe to say that at least 4,000,000 find themselves without work, and thereby without the necessities of life.

How is the British working class handling this unprecedented amount of unemployed? What effect has it had on the mental outlook of the average British workman? What lessons can the American worker learn by studying the way the unemployment crisis is handled over there?

We can answer these questions in no better way than by considering what took place at the National Conference of Unemployed Organizations held in London in the month of April, at which were present 81 delegates representing 50 Unemployed Committees. That such Committees exist, in the first place, is in itself significant. In America, which also harbors some 5,000,000 unemployed, no committees or organizations of any importance have as yet been created to look after the demands and requirements of this vast out-of-work army.

In looking over the minutes of that Conference, the first thing that attracts our attention is the **"Aims and Objects:"**

"The aims and objects shall be to organize the whole of the unemployed for the removal of the cause of unemployment, i. e., the capitalist system, and the substitution of a system of workers' ownership and control of industry."

That sounds pretty good, does it not? The unemployed in Great Britain are not organizing for the purpose of patching up capitalism here and there, in order to be able to drag out a miserable existence on "coffee and—", but for the purpose of doing away with the whole despicable system of capitalist exploitation. The workers in Great Britain are coming to realize, and not as slowly as some of us may be inclined to believe, that there is no way for them out of the morass of their misery and degradation except by erection of a proletarian commonwealth. Is it not high time that the unemployed in this country were coming around to adopting the same healthy point of view?

Now let us see what are the immediate demands that these out-of-work Britishers are making upon their responsible and respectable government. The following **"National Demands"** are put forth:

"(1) Work or full maintenance for the unemployed and the partially employed workers at the trade-union rate of wages.

"(2) As the means of finding employment for the unemployed in the trades with which they are associated, the immediate putting into operation of trade agreement with Russia and the recognition of the Soviet Government."

These demands do not sound at all like as if the British unemployed were asking for mission handouts, do they? These unemployed workers have advanced far beyond the mentality of the habitually unemployed in this country who are willing to get "saved" and to inherit the golden key to Heaven three times a day in order to obtain a bowl of soup and a place to flop when night comes. They have fully recognized that they are out of work on account of no fault of their own, but owing to the breakdown of the capitalist system of production and the incompetence of the captains of industry, and that they are entitled to as much consideration and to as big wages as the men and women who are lucky enough to continue to work steadily at their trades.

Next the question arises: How are these demands going to be put into effect? To that end the following **"Methods"** are suggested:

"(1) All unemployed organizations shall, where financial resources allow, carry on an intensive propaganda by meetings, distribution of literature, etc.

"(2) All unemployed committees shall make the fullest demands of the local authorities and Government Boards, such as will insure full maintenance of all unemployed and their dependents.

"(3) That wherever possible, unemployed committees shall work in conjunction with the local workers' committees."

These methods certainly sound sensible to us. Nothing hazy or indefinite about them at all. The British out-of-works know what they want and they are going after it by the use of meetings, propaganda, demands upon the authorities, and co-operation with the men still on the job. They know that unless they themselves take action to extricate themselves from the terrible conditions that confront them, nobody else will; that the day of waiting for a Messiah to lead the blundering and suffering children of men into the promised land of happiness for all is gone. The gospel of a savior from above has robbed the working class of initiative for ages past, and has kept it down in a condition of abject slavery. At last the workers are liberating themselves from the shackles of this deadening tradition; may

the day soon arrive when it will be thrown into the scrap pile with a hundred other superstitions which have turned the earth into hell!

After discussion of the various strikes in progress at that time throughout the British Isles, the following resolution was passed:

"That this national conference of unemployed organizations calls upon the unemployed of Britain to abstain from accepting any work from any source during the present industrial crisis, and further urges them to do all in their power to assist the workers involved, by refusing to blackleg them in their fight for a decent standard of living."

The resolution was carried unanimously and sent to the Executive Committee of the Triple Alliance.

The above action indicates that the best way to keep the unemployed from scabbing on their fellow workers is to organize them.

In the report of the organizer for the city of London it was brought out that the London District Council consists of thirty Committees. If the intelligence of the American working class is what it is cracked up to be, the time should not be far off when cities like New York and Chicago would also have unemployed councils consisting of scores of committees.

Another resolution of great importance was passed which reads as follows:

"In view of the criminal inaction of labor leaders and the imperfections of trade union organizations, this National Conference instructs all Unemployed Committees throughout the country to visit all the factories, workshops, trade union branches, etc., in their respective areas, hold joint meetings with those at work and explain to them the gravity of the situation and the necessity for action; pointing out that the only solution is for the workers, in every factory, etc., to organize themselves into Workers' Committees and elect a central committee to include the unorganized unemployed for the purpose of establishing workers' ownership and control of industry at the first opportunity.

The above resolution contains a much needed lesson for the American workers. During industrial crises it is imperative that some way be found for the men at work to co-operate with the men out of a job. This can only be done through committees in which both are represented. The principle of Workers' Committees is at present emphasized in Great Britain more and more. When we understand that a Workers' Committee is a Soviet in embryo, we will realize that history is being made in Great Britain.

That the spirit of the unemployed is more revolutionary than the spirit that motivates the official labor bodies was brought out by the following resolution about Ireland:

"Resolved, that this Conference, knowing that war on Ireland is the cause of that country's economic ruin and is responsible for much unemployment in England, calls upon the government to withdraw the military forces from Ireland forthwith."

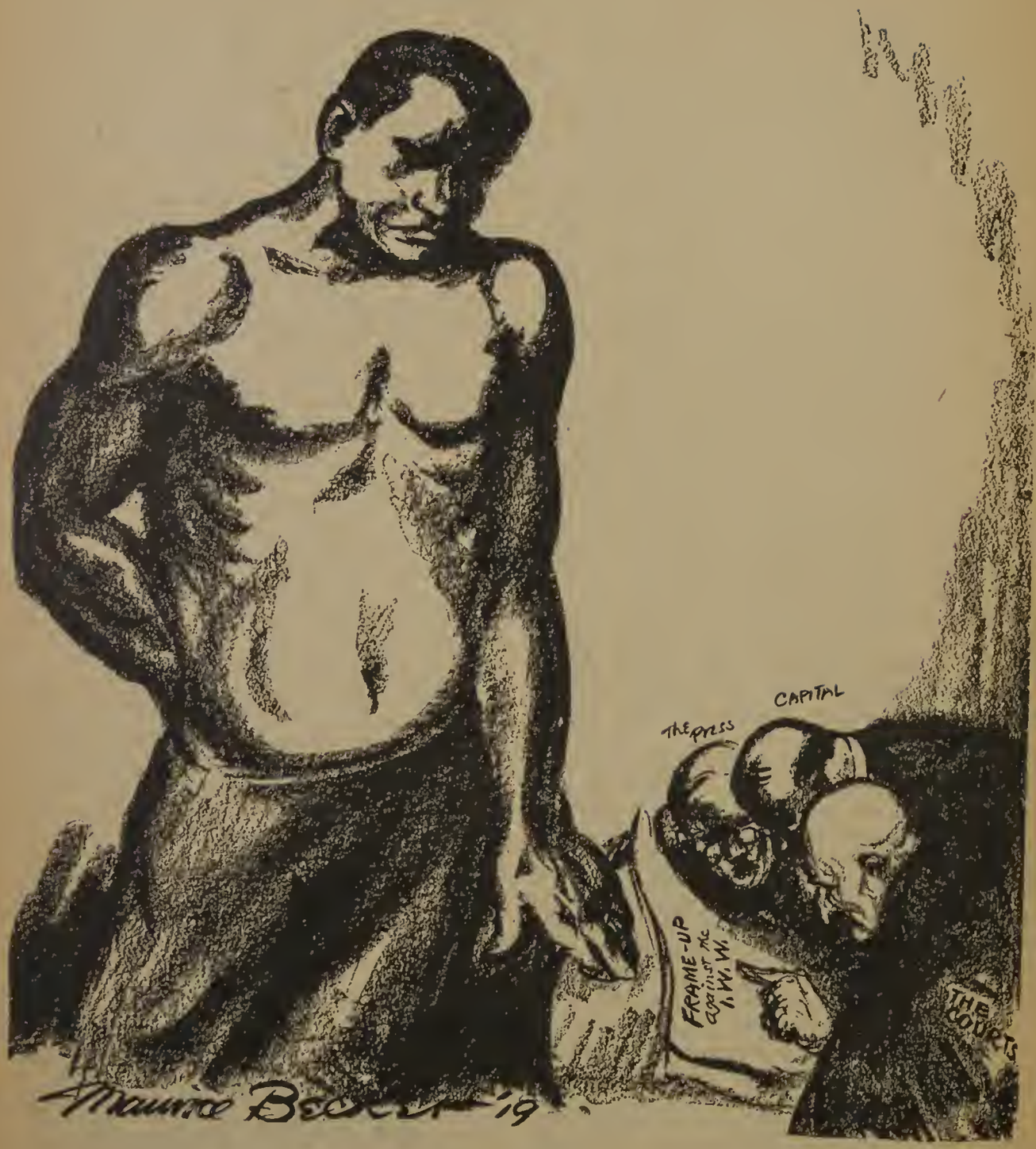
In our opinion, there is nothing that could indicate how much more advanced are the British workers than the American than the following resolution:

"Moved by Hannington, seconded by Cogan: That the objective of the organization shall be the overthrow of capitalism and the setting up of a workers' dictatorship, under the protection of which a system of workers' control and management of industries shall be developed." Carried with two dissentions.

What better indication than the above resolution could we have that the powers-that-be in Great Britain are sitting at the present time on the top of a smouldering volcano? How utterly have those people, who talk about establishing amity between the two opposing camps of labor and capital through the medium of parliament, agreements, partnerships, and such other paraphernelia of a bygone age, failed to grasp the present spirit of the European workers.

The Conference wcund up with the singing of the "Internationale" and "The Red Flag." The last paragraph of the report reads as follows:

"The delegates to the Conference are in a position to congratulate themselves on the fact that they participated in the first National Conference of the Unemployed that has ever been held, and it is indeed a sign of the times that the workers are realizing their true position in society and will remain no longer content with conditions which allow those who produce all to be thrown on the scrap heap at the dictates of the master class."




"THEIR SCHEMING HEADS SHALL AVAIL THEM NAUGHT, FOR LABOR IS INVINCIBLE."

# "The Hoosierfied Can"

**By Ralph Winstead**

I.

DISCOVERY BAY has an awful rep. As a sanatorium for those with weak minds and strong backs it is supposed to stand ace high. Havin' heard loose talk about the piece workers' paradise, I was anxious to have a look, so I didn't hesitate when the yard engineer got chalked on the boards. I bought the job and shipped up to camp.

Now, I've hit worse camps. I got to say that much. But there was a lot of room for improvement. For instance, they hadn't heard yet that man had come down out of the trees to roost, so they was still usin' the double-decked bunks. A sound sleeper that don't roll and has got lots of spring in his legs is O. K. stuck up in one of them toppers, provided that he gets near a window so as to sort of get a sprinkling of oxygen occasionally.

There was twelve men to the bunk house and the company had so far remembered the identity of interest between the workers and the boss as to stick up a wash-house and bath-house. This outfit sure has a good memory on that identity subject. They don't never forget that you should be interested in the company's welfare.

The thing that causes real humans to make a big circle around this section is the low intellectual level insisted on by the main driver. Real literature is carefully extracted from the mails and the sight of such liberal sheets as the "Nation" has been known to throw the entire office force into acute hysteria. As a training place for future postmaster generals and corporals this said office is one hundred per cent efficient.

Naturally the sight of an "Industrial Worker" or a "Liberator" just automatically rings the alarm and calls out the reserves. After that there is nothing seen but dust. So the only literature that can percolate into camp comes in by personal delivery. I was prepared good and plenty and planted the whole stock in a stump out of camp.

Now all this literary dictatorship wasn't enforced on account of pure artistic standards. The Main Stem and all his winders had to keep the slates clean of real reading in order to encourage the boys to become millionaires by the bushel route. The buckers and fallers were working by the million, the hooktender and the engineers was getting a bonus and the cook-house was run on the budget plan. Naturally anything that resembled reasoning was liable to upset, overthrow and trample under such a brainless program, even though the Frenchman says, "Man is not a reasoning animal." But sometimes he believes in reason if he reads about it.

So here was me billed as chief fog-buster for a bonus-hungry hooktender, and with a stock of literature to make Carnegie get out the blue prints. The horizon didn't look very peaceful no matter which way I looked. Peace ain't no long point in this world at that, so far as I can see. These guys that is always so afraid of their precious selves ain't got no need to worry much—their lives ain't worth livin' anyway.

II.

After nosin' round a few of the wire worms on the night that I hit camp I found that my esteemed predecessor had made his stake and had gone to town and failed to return. Said failure being caused by extreme paralysis due to poor judgment as to how much moonshine can be consumed at one sitting.

Out on the job next morning I din't have to do much investigating to surmise that this bird might have been wise to stay in town away from such a wreck as he had made the old Washington Yarder into.

I opened up the throttle and was rewarded with the knowledge that the brasses were all loose on the throttle side. Yeah! That speed artist that had been high-balling the logs out to get a lousy bonus and make a few extra dollars for the boss had sure ruined one good piece of machinery. Aside from the fact that the main drum bearings needed new babit and the friction blocks was wore to a frazzle and—well, to tell the truth, the whole crock was just naturally rim-racked till what it needed was a good doctor and a month in the hospital.

As I said, me and the hooker was the only ones in on the bonus. The rest of the riggin' crew just had the glory of scein' us get a few nickels extra while they did the work. This hooker was one of the loud-mouthed high-ball variety. The quiet, efficient specimens of this animal I often respect because usually they just can't help doing things the easy, quick way, but I got no use for the belly-aching kind.

This hooker wasn't slow on lettin' me know that he expected me to keep an eye peeled on him and hit the grit. He was full of figures about how many thousand we ought to pull, etc.

We worked along for a while and was gettin' used to the engine's various knocks, squeaks and rattles, when we choked a big one. After reefin' on her a couple of times I heard symptoms of a new complaint over on the off-side. While the crew was giving the big one a roll to start it, I wandered around and tried to see what the new complaint was all about. Steam was low, anyway.

While I was away from the throttle the whistle says go ahead. I continued investigatin' the new malady. The whistle blew again, real ambitious this

time, so I wandered around to the throttle side and lent an ear to the wild ravings of the Hopeful Hooker out in the brush. I could catch such samples as "Damned Monkey Wrench Mechanic" and "Haywire Twister" mixed up with a lot of lurid language that never came out of any ladies' sewin' circle.

I opened up until we stuck again and by that time the hooker was within sight, battin' it through the brush and bawling like a lost calf. He came up still spittin' sulphur and the landin' crew was all strainin' their listeners to get the upshot. When the blatherer got within a few feet I says to him, "Too bad, old timer! We must a lôst all of a nickle bonus by not jerkin' that log in on the thick of the whistle. I'll just owe you a nickle."

"Damn it!" he says, sort of calmin' down some. "We want to get out logs here. When that signal says go, why, go and don't go monkey wrenchin' around. If I had my way I'd take every darn wrench and throw 'em in the bay. Show a little pep now and let's get some action on this big one."

This last was in a sort of whinin' tone that I suppose he thought was good-natured. Then he turned around and raced back to the chokermen again.

I watched him out of sight and then went over to the landing crew. I told 'em to keep clear of the riggin' as something was liable to loosen up as we had a big one on. Then I went back and gave the safety valve about fifty pounds more poop.

That crazy loon got his roll all set and started her off with a high ball. I gave her the limit, too, believe me, and the lines came tight with a whip. Now as a sensible engineer I knew better, but as a dub takin' the orders of a speed maniac I wasn't supposed to have any brains anyway. So I just kept the throttle wide open and that old spar tree came swishing over with a whistling of the guy-lines and a cracking of the grain that don't sound pleasant when one is underneath.

I kept the throttle open till a loose line gave the spark catcher a wallop and sent it flying out into the brush, then I shut things off. I released the extra pressure on the safety valve and sat down to wait for the storm. The landin' crew came out and looked at the wreckage. No one was hurt.

The hooker came over and he was so mad he was white in the face. All he could say was, "You're fired," and then he choked. I looked at him and smiled. He was sure a sorrowful lookin' sight to smile at. I bet he lost a year of his life through worry over the loss of that spar-tree.

"Son," says I, "you don't look like the man that hired me. I'll just wait till the good-looking guy fires me."

Well, I didn't have long to wait. The hooker beat it off down the track so as to give the Super an earful and the head loader started to straighten up the lines. I pulled the throttle for him till the train came up with a squeeze. The Super had it all made out. He gave me a slip and never even stopped to figure up the bonus at all.

He says, "You can leave camp as soon as **you** get ready," and accented the you so as to make it sound real hard.

I went down to camp and washed up. I got my literature out of the stump and spread some leaflets so as the boys would find them. Then I lay down to read. The train went down in the morning and I figured on riding out just as I had ridden in.

The crew came in for dinner and went out again. Supper rolled around and the timekeeper followed me out of the cook-shack with one of the leaflets crumpled up in his hands. He was so mad he was poisonous.

"You damned wobbly," he almost cried, "if you don't get out of camp right away quick you are liable to get carried out."

"Son," I told him, "never try to carry a live man any place. He's awful squirmy."

After the boys got settled down I went the rounds with the literature pile. I got rid of most of it, too. Every sucker in camp bought some and then ran to tell the boss and show the evidence. They was going to keep on the right side of both parties, those birds.

After having eased my mind on the educational question I stamped up a few of the members that could be found in such a lay-out. Most of them were track men, though some of the riggin' crew were lined up, and a pumpman. Then I rolled in.

III.

My snooze was just getting interesting when I got a jab in the ribs. A flashlight that had been playin' on my face was turned onto a big, shiny star. "Hell," says I, "pinched again!" and rolled over to go to sleep.

"Johnson!" spoke up a not unpleasant voice. "I guess you will have to dress and come along. I have a warrant for you."

This sure caused me to sit up and take notice. "Warrant?" says I, "I never been pinched with a warrant yet, let's see what it says." And do you know the owner of that good-natured voice pulled out a roll of paper all covered with signatures and seals and things and read it all off from beginning to end. Everything was done so legal and all the bows was so correctly tied in the red tape that I could almost believe in the institutions of justice myself. The complainant and the said complainant and the aforesaid complainant was the gentle Super of the outfit, and me—I was the bad bird that was guilty of criminal syndicalism blacker than shadows. Now, as I said, none of my other complainants had ever taken the trouble to comply with the necessity of getting out all this warrant stuff. They just naturally had surrounded me and hoisted me aboard a "lizzie" and away we had went. Nothing balled up nor legal about it. I was just grabbed because the boss wanted it done and that was all there was to it. This "fol de rol" business was confusing. So

blamed hoosierfied and old fashioned! It was like havin' your wife run to the door to kiss you after you had been married for five years. I couldn't get over it.

While I was getting dressed John Law gathered up some of the evidence from my suitcase and took all my supplies, credentials, etc., into his own pocket. The literature he stuffed back into the suitcase and we pulled out. We rode down the track on the speeder and the timekeeper chauffered the thing. Then we transferred to auto and away we went—another bird doing the driving stunt.

The Law and me sat in the back seat and he started the soft soap stuff, at least I put it down as that. He says: "Why didn't you get out of camp right away and then this wouldn't have happened?"

Once when I was young and foolish I listened to this sort of talk and poured out my innocent insides into the sympathetic listening ears of the tender-hearted fink. After havin' had him get on the witness stand—at three dollars per testimony—and twist every phrase and sentence into some dark, dangerous threat and admission on my part, I had just naturally set down any confidences to the dicks as among the things done only by the mentally deficient.

"Why, John," said I, "I have heard so much about the good grub that you have in your hooze gow that I didn't want to miss any opportunity to pay you a visit. I heard, for instance, that you used real condensed milk with only three times its weight in water for the mush. Other things in proportion."

Conversation didn't get very chummy on such beginnings, so we both started to thinkin' our own thoughts. Somehow a feller never gets used to this pinchin' stuff. Early education, perhaps, but no matter how often it comes there seems to be a kick in it that sets the heart to wallopin' and occasionally skippin' a beat. Its like pay-day: we know that nothing much will come out of it, yet somehow or other we get exited at it just the same.

At last we pulled up to the side-door of a squat little building near the centre of a regulation "county seat" town and disembarked. Lights were turned on and keys jingled and grated and I was introduced into the office.

It was different from any jail office I had ever seen. It was clean. The spittoon had been cleaned out within a week. The old steel locker that stood in the corner to relieve the bird of his valuables did not have the usual dust. Even the electric light globe was without a fly speck. I commenced to suspect that something different was going to happen to me.

"Nice little can you have here," says I. "It must cost something to keep such a cozy little place running."

"Yes," says the Law. "It takes money. Money and time."

"Fair enough," I agreed. "The taxpayers put up the money and I put up the time. Everybody happy?"

After my list of distinguished features had been entered in the book and my cash and listed valuables deposited in the steel locker with the dustless top I was led to my cell. I had a whole four cell tank all to myself. There was a table and chair in the tank corridor. A wall bunk was already made up for me. The electric light switch could be reached from inside the tank. The tank toilet was always accessible. Never in my life had I suspected anything like this. It made me wonder if perhaps I had recently murdered someone. I couldn't remember having done so.

I pulled down the blankets and was further mystified by the fact that they were clean. Then I got the shock of my life. I found a hairpin! It was one of these kind made of the same stuff that they make pipe stems out of. Right there it lay, not six inches from the roll that served as a pillow. That was too much for one time. I turned in and finished my sleep.

At seven-thirty in the morning the sheriff rapped on the bars of the cell. "Breakfast at eight, Johnson," he said in answer to the inquisitive look in my sleepy eyes.

Washed and combed, I examined the different cells and peered out of the windows at the wooden wall of the building across the alley. Then I heard voices in the office and heard a woman laugh. The keys jingled and the office door creaked open. Then the sheriff came in with the breakfast—**on a tray!** There was mush that had been really boiled and milk made up from my prescription of the previous night. Fried potatoes and bread, sugar and coffee. I ate and was consumed with curiosity to know the how and the why of such freakish jail procedure. There was a screw loose somewhere. Jail was never like this.

During the day I got a look at the papers and read the squib that told how I had made a complete wreck of the Discovery Bay Logging Company before getting found out, and that I was now awaiting trial for my misdeeds.

IV.

So I settled down for a long wait. These things is easy after you get used to 'em. Three meals a day I had and grub that wasn't ever seen in the can before, by me.

I sent down to Seattle to one of my stationary friends and he sent me up a whole bale of books. Good stuff, a lot of it, and some of it rather clever bunk that needed lookin' into to see the place where the muddle happened. My idea is that a stiff ought to read all the best stuff put out by the opposition in order to be able to see some of the flaws in his own ranks, and to be able to put up a real argument when one of these bright college students comes along. Don't never get the idea that some of these said students don't know nothing. 'Cause a few of them do. Not all the university plugs is football nuts and longshore scabs. Once in a while

one thinks. Anyway, knowin' a few extra things don't cost nothin' to carry around.

I was deep in the bale when along come a letter from the defense committee stating that legal brains had been hired and would try and be on the job when the social carbuncle comes to a head. I ain't never been lost in admiration for these lawyer plugs, but since here was one already hired by the boys I couldn't very well do otherwise than write and thank them. Tryin' to buy your way out of the can don't seem plausible unless you got lots of money, and even Harry Thaw went broke at it. Money is just what we workin' stiffs ain't got, so I figure that this law business has got to be beat some other way.

However, I made up my mind that I would have to stand for all the "fakealoo" that goes on in a court, and then I dismissed the matter from my mind. I was a lot more interested in figuring out the why and the wherefore of the jail conditions that I was enjoyin'.

One day along about dinner time I was doin' the lion swing up and down the tank, and tryin' to digest and translate into English some junk about the state of the industrial arts, vicarious and conspicuous waste, white collars, nifty figures, etc., by a plug called Veblen. It must have been an awful job tying the meaning up in all that language, but it was worth untying, at that. Like some of this high-priced candy.

Anyway, I was mopin' back and forth doin' the jail house grind when I heard the keys rattle and the door open for dinner. Now, I have never been able to get chummy with a jailer. I got a habit of treatin' them sort of cool. Habits is not a thing to be broke easy, which can be proved by the plug who hooked on as a mule skinner in a dirt movin' camp down on the Columbia. This guy used to conduct one of Ole Hanson's prime street cars about Seattle. He nearly caused a riot on the job by yelling at the mules: "Step forward, please!"

When a pleasant little lady came up and opened the tank and put in my tray I decided that there was such a thing as carryin' a grouch too far. I busted the silence of years in this respect with some bright remark about the weather. It was explained to me that the weather was nice all right (as if it mattered to me) and that Mr. Sheriff had been called away so she had brought my dinner in. Mrs. Sheriff it was.

I got into a real lively discussion with her on the relative hospitality of jails, and soon found out that she didn't know much about such things. In the few minutes that I was eatin' my grub I solved the mystery of all this unusual bunk that had started out with 'gettin' pinched with a warrant. These people actually believed in the law! Can you feature that? A real sheriff who thought that the law was what it said it was? I never heard of anything like it!

This plug was one of these backwood settlers that had pulled some kids out of a river and had got noticed for it. Of course, he had only been in office a short time and perhaps couldn't be blamed for not knowin' better.

After this start the Missus used to bring in my meals every once in a while. She even sometimes brought along her little girl, perhaps to make me ashamed of my wasted life, maybe to scare the kid. The class struggle with her was just plain ornerliness and I had got what was coming to me.

However, I had better sense than to come straight out with such things to her. She sometimes let drop a few remarks that give full explanation of just how she thought on all questions. Her mind was molded on the Woman's Home Companion and Ladies' Home Journal plan. Style and fashion was what people should be ruled by, and my ideas were sure in discard.

It's funny how unimportant little things that have no bearing on the main events will distract us. Here was I, slated for big time in the big house and more of my idle thoughts was devoted to figurin' out the mental habits of this sheriff's wife than to worryin' about my probable retirement. She was sure just the type to lend emphasis to Veblen's point of view. I sure got a lot out of that summer's study.

Days multiplied like rabbits and I kept on collectin' my college education. Three months in the callaboose is like a term in a prep school. Six months equal a college course and a year sizes up to a university degree. If it wasn't for jails and hospitals and the like a lot of us stiffs would be as ignorant as our masters.

So far as real action was concerned I was slightly hemmed in. Yet there was a lot of excitement in livin', just as on the outside. But all the excitement was just sort of mental excitement. You know what I mean. A feller will get all pepped up on the outside over successfully pullin' something off. Don't matter whether he is a bookkeeper that has just chased down a missing cent in the ledger or a whistle punk that has just learned to splice a line a new way. Life seems to be worth while because we just naturally do things and so kind of put ourselves into them. In the can it don't look like there is much that a guy can put himself into except the bunk and the bath tub.

Me—I put myself into studyin' and honest, I got just as many thrills out of tracin' down and grabbin' onto ideas and facts as I would if I had been out correctin' scizzorbills. Every time I got hold of a new point that I had been chasin' I felt just like Mr. Block does when he puts his tobacco money in the bank; only more so. You bet! I was as busy and excited as a hop-headed dip at a country fair.

V.

About the only break in my scholarly pursuits was caused by some of this here "due process of law" that had started with the warrant that pinched me. I got solemnly interviewed by the prosecutor, who didn't seem to have the same respect for the tailor-made rules and the letter of the law, as the sheriff.

However, a short answer turns them birds away, and all their dignified and formal spluttering didn't cause no flurry in my quiet life.

Everything travels along in this here world in spite of such fellers as Judge Gary and Sam Gompers. My little period of hermetical calm came to an end likewise. I got tried.

Nothing is quite so disgusting in this world as to see a bunch of grown men carry through a lot of incantations and ritualized hocus pocus as if they really believed in it. A guy can have a lot of queer cracks in his nut and still act almost sensible, but when one of these freaks puts on a woman's mother hubbard and has everybody around standing up and sitting down, and can't even come into a room without havin' the news broke beforehand by some hanger-on hollerin' "Hereyee, Hereyee, Hereyee" and a lot of other balderdash, then I say that some work by the fool-killer has been badly saboed.

Courts wouldn't be so bad to look at and suffer through if things was run sensible like. When everything is made as buggy as possible like the thirteenth degree of the Royal Order of Sacred White Elephants then I claims that insult as well as the big stick gets handed out to the workin' plug.

The courts was for the purpose of sayin' to me: "Johnson, you're too damn fresh! We ain't goin' to have our good loyal block-headed slaves monkeyed with by you at all. Because you have been tryin' to make some of 'em think it's yours for the cooler till you learn who's who."

Instead of sayin' this to me, why, they go and pull off this fair and impartial stuff. If they had even then given the proceedin's a sort of wink and not pretended to believe what I knew and they knew was the silliest bunko stuff ever pulled off, why, I would have sort of enjoyed it. But as it was, they played the whole fake through with the greatest pains not to let anyone know what everyone knew and thought, except, of course, those poor scizzors that make up about ninety per cent of the population and don't count anyway.

Playin' the game like that allows a stiff to slip through once in a while sort of by accident. It's like playin' against the Chinaman. He lets you win to keep you encouraged, but he has it fixed so that he don't drag down his Jew percentage too raw. When the simp makes his winnin' he never guesses that the Chinaman had figured out long before that a few games would have to be lost in such a way as to appear like the sucker had won on his merits. In fact, the courts don't figure on grabbin' every labor case that comes up. They are so built that one gets by once in a while, and the workin' stiffs point with pride to this evidence of justice and don't seem to know that the game is run that way on purpose to keep him playin'.

However, it is gettin' so even this early, that puttin' out this sort of bait don't appeal to the plutes as much as it used to. They are framin' it so that in the future they will walk away with every agitator that they take a notion to. I believe it's a good idea from our point of view and if we should just fix it so that a few more of the real peppy boys would slip through their legal fingers they would shut down on the legal stuff altogether and we wouldn't have to monkey with it anymore.

I went through the first part of the proceedings with my mind on a lot of no account things that I mostly forgot about afterwards. I was real interested in the way that my defender would rub his legal brow with the thick part of the palm of his hand. The clerk had an awful nervous way of drawin' out the names from the jury box. He jerked his hand out as if he had been used to running a spud planter and was afraid of gettin' his fingers pinched.

Things rolled on. The prospective juror was asked a lot of questions by the defense, who tried by comparin' the answers one with the other to try and discover about how much lyin' the prospects was doing. The other side had made a real good survey of all the names on the jury list and knew everything that could be found out about each candidate's leanings and mental bias. The defense would have done the same thing if they had had the money.

As it was, the lawyer just had to test the amount of consistent lyin' that a feller will do to help one of these alleged wobs get his. As far as my guess went I had it that I was out of luck till number nine came up. Then I woke up and took a real interest. This party had a real twinkle in his eye. He behaved towards the solemn oath and the rest of the initiation with that amount of interested surprise that would naturally show on a man who had not checked his brains at his grandpa's.

He was a druggist. Occasionally employed some help. He guessed that he could give me a fair trial, etc., etc. Not a hair's difference between his answers and the one ahead, but somehow they hit you different. I was for him. Somehow he got in the box.

In cases like this the law don't matter none. It don't cut any ice anywheres, as far as that goes. But the law don't convict a guy and send him over.

This stunt is done by the peerless jury. This is the little arrangement which old "money bags" figures will let through a black sheep once in a while and so keep the rest of the herd comin' on to the slaughter. One man on the jury sometimes gums up the works, the way the game is played. Number nine was the guy that was goin' to ball things up, was what I claimed in my mind. At any rate I figured that he would be just the right sort of a plug to go fishin' or hikin' with, and so I centered my hopes on him.

The twelve good men and true was all selected to come to the aid of "justice," and the trial opened. As far as I could make out whenever one of the opposin' lawyers asked a question that might have

some bearing on the case, the other one would hop up and object. Then the judge would get real solemn and decide whether the jury was strong enough to stand the shock of hearin' the terrible answer. If "my" lawyer objected, why, mostly he thought they was a pretty husky jury, but if my old college visitor objected, why, they was sure sufferin' a relapse.

The two stories sort of conflicted with each other. According to the "Law and Order" bunch I was a bad egg and the organization was just like me, only more so. It preached destruction of property and I practiced it. After listenin' to the many disasters that had befallen the Discovery Bay Logging Co. through my short stay I was amazed at my destructive capacity. I figured that I could have won the World War for either side in less than ninety days.

On the other hand, proof was submitted that the I. W. W. was a strictly legal affair that didn't mean no harm to nobody. Of course, we advocated a few slight reforms such as the expropriation of industry, etc. But then this was nothing much. The Democratic party had expropriated certain worthy saloon keepers, the Republicans had expropriated the owners of the blacks, and all along they had been taking away the property of delinquent taxpayers. Expropriation was quite legal and proper. So on down the line. I almost commenced to think that maybe we were respectable, as I listened to our ardent virtues.

However, neither side mentioned that expropriation had always been a class affair, carried on in the interest of the class in power and that we only were after the power to put our program into effect. You see, the legal mind don't take no notice of classes. With it, it's like what the poet says about the Ginko tree and the Wallaby bird:

> There's no such thing as the Ginko Tree.
> There never was, though there ought to be.
> And it's also true, though most absurd,
> There's no such thing as a Wallaby Bird.

But the peerless ones didn't need to be told that expropriation is a matter of class power and not a question of legality. They just seemed to know that by instinct and they didn't have no respect for the other class that intended to expropriate them. Not much!

Witnesses was a scarce article but there was a few and they all seemed to suffer more than I did. I was sorry for all of 'em. Especially the iron-headed Super. I was so sorry for him that I just hoped that he would get mosquito bit or something, on his way to camp.

At last the bull-biting came to an end and Hizzoner stood up to watch the jury file into the jury room. After listening to his instructions I figured that it would take several hours to get them straight provided they paid any attention to 'em.

Me? I was chased back into my dubious domicile and left to my fate.

I read some and slept and ate when necessary. It was next afternoon when I was jerked up to the court room again. The jury had disagreed. My ace in the whole had stuck out for acquittal. Some day I'm going to look that druggist up and go out ramblin' with him. I bet it would be fun.

## VI

However, my presence had nothing to do with the jury. They had been canned by the judge. But the prosecutor had a proposition. He had been offering the lawyer to turn me loose on my own hook if I would promise to get out of town and stay out.

The judge, it seems, was in on the deal, too, as a sort of adviser or butinsky major. He started to give me instructions that I should do this and not do that, something like the ten commandments. He got about five off his chest when I interrupted the seance.

I told 'em that as for getting out of town I had never had any aspiration towards settling in this burg anyway. They need not worry about that. But that all talk about turnin' me loose was popped-off steam unless they gave me back all the supplies, etc., that I had on me when I was pinched. As to promises to be good I would make as many as they wanted. In fact, I told them that I could make promises faster than a sixteen-year old chicken at a kissing game party.

Unless they came through with all my supplies, report sheets, due stamps, and the whole shebang, why, all mention of throwing me out was off. I liked other places better than this, but then this wasn't so worse.

Learned counsel quit in disgust. He thought I was too hard altogether. Prosecutor says: "Take him back to the lock up." And back I went.

Next mornin' early the sheriff came in and unlocked my cell. Out in the office he forked over all my supplies down to the last empty report blank. Then he told me that a boat pulled out for Seattle in one hour and I had better be movin'. So I moved. I spotted the one drug store in town that I was lookin' for while on my way.

In Seattle I took my report up to the District Office and turned it in. The secretary never opened his bazoo about the thing bein' several months late, either. I checked in my supplies and applied for a clearance. And then, as I was mopin' out towards Hamburger Flats, who should I meet but my old side kicker up in the Chin-Whiskered Country! It was Pearly McCann, happy as ever!

After we got done pawin' each other over we got into a quiet coffee joint and I give him my yarn.

Pearly, you know, made all that peninsula country on his famous pearl divin' tour in 1918. When I give him my high opinion about the brains of sand-dune druggists he give me a little history that explains the whole mystery of why juror number nine had sure stuck to the rails. Pearly, it seems, had sanded those metaphorical rails in the regular day's work of just livin' with everybody he come across.

While up in this burg with the hospitable jail he had felt in need of a stick of shavin' soap. Blowin' into a drug store he had got interested in some nifty advertising posters that this druggist was displayin' and so had started to chewin' the rag on the dominant factors in art. Now Pearly ain't no mealy-mouthed high-brow, but still he can give some straight sensible talks on a lot of stuff that don't seem like there was any sense in it. His ideas about art is that they reflect the dominant states of mind of the people of any country and this state of mind is molded by the industries. At any rate, the subject is just full of the class struggle, although you would never think it to hear some of the long-haired boys talk about it.

This druggist lends Pearly the attentive ear and before long he is readin' some real literature, such as the "Advancing Proletariat" and a couple of other pamphlets that Pearly was specializin' in at the time.

So here was me a free man because Pearly needed a shave. Don't never tell me that whiskers is a good-for-nothing nuisance. Whiskers has always been shunned by me, but this was one time where they was all that saved me.

My ideas ain't changed much on the subject of this here legal stuff. As far as I can detect my lawyer friend had about as much influence on that jury as a talkin' machine. The ideas of the jury is made out in the open where they live. That is, so far as they have any ideas. Most of them ain't got any, and are ready to swing whichever way seems the easiest at the time.

I ain't asayin' that maybe one or two jurors haven't been educated in the jury box, but I am bettin' that even these couple or so had been worked on a whole lot that wasn't noticed before they ever stuck foot in a court. Legal defense—as long as there is such an institution kept up—can be useful mostly by educatin' the jurors before there is any immediate call for "civic duty." Payin' money to lawyers is like feedin' the sharks that follow a ship so that they will all be fat when somebody drops overboard.

Maybe I got excited and one-sided after the way old number nine pulled me through, but I sure have got an awful likin' for distributin' ideas and literature these days. Especially since I can't distribute any labor power even by givin' it away.

No need to worry, however. When times get too bad I am goin' to blow into one of these little towns with a nice hoosierfied can and commit a nuisance right on the court-house steps. Me for the Jay hooze gows every time!

# Everett, November Fifth

**By Charles Ashleigh**

(". . . and then the Fellow Worker died, singing 'Hold the Fort'..."—From the report of a witness.)

**Song on his lips, he came;**
**Song on his lips, he went;—**
**This be the token we bear of him,—**
**Soldier of Discontent!**

**Out of the dark they came; out of the night**
**Of poverty and injury and woe—**
**With flaming hope, their vision thrilled to light,—**
**Song on their lips, and every heart aglow;**

**They came, that none should trample Labor's right**
**To speak, and voice her centuries of pain.**
**Bare hands against the masters' armored might!—**
**A dream to match the tolls of sordid gain!**

**And then the decks went red; and the grey sea**
**Was written crimsonly with ebbing life.**
**The barricade spewed shots and mockery**
**And curses, and the drunken lust of strife.**

**Yet, the mad chorus from that devil's host,—**
**Yea, all the tumult of that butcher throng,—**
**Compound of bullets, booze and coward boast,—**
**Could not out-shriek one dying worker's song!**

**Song on his lips, he came;**
**Song on his lips, he went;—**
**This be the token we bear of him,—**
**Soldier of Discontent!**

# "High Spots" of the Thirteenth I. W. W. Convention

**Compiled by Roy Brown**

(Concluded from Last Month)

THE MORNING SESSION of the 10th day was taken up in debate over the changing of the universal initiation fee and dues. By a vote of 534 to 298, the present universal initiation fee of $2.00 and $1.00 a month dues still stands.

The afternoon session was taken up by the report of the Auditing Committee, who brought in a statement that they had found all accounts correct and in good shape.

### Defense Resolutions

During the morning session of the 11th day the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, that all Branch Defense Committees shall become a part of the General Defense Committee and shall render monthly financial reports to the main office with expense vouchers attached." Committee concurs.

"Resolved, that all stamps, bail and bond receipt books, donation lists, or any other method of raising money shall be issued by the General Defense through the branches and districts." Committee concurs.

"Resolved, that all credentials used for the purpose of raising funds shall bear the seal of the General Defense Committee and the signature of the secretary." Committee concurs.

"Resolved, that all lawyers shall be paid through the General Defense Office only." Committee concurs.

"Resolved, that all defense and relief stamps, donation lists, and bail and bond receipt books now in circulation be declared void and called in." Committee concurs.

"Resolved, that a Rehabilitation Fund be started to insure to those who have served sentences enough money to enable them to recuperate. These funds to be derived from donations and the residue of uncalled for money in the present bail and bond fund." Committee concurs.

"Resolved, that all those who go property bonds on any member of the I. W. W. be notified that the I. W. W. will not be responsible unless agreement is reached between those placing the property bond and the General Defense Committee." Committee concurs.

"Resolved, that the rules regulating the relationship of the branches of the General Defense Committee with the head office be left to the G. E. B. and the General Defense Committee acting as a joint body." Committee concurs.

On the afternoon of the 11th day, the following was concurred in:

"Resolved, that we go on record of leaving the matter of dues and initiations in foreign countries where the I. W. W. are organizing, to their own familiar conditions." Committee concurs.

A resolution was passed that the G. E. B. be instructed to change the design and color of due stamps, general defense stamps and organization stamps once a year. Design of each stamp to contain the year in which stamp is to be used.

### A Pan-American Industrial Conference

"Resolved, that we go on record as being in favor of the General Secretary-Treasurer and the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. calling a conference as soon as conditions will allow, of all revolutionary industrial organizations on the American continent, and especially those which are inclined to break away from the old craft form of organization. The fact that an economic conference is being held somewhere in Europe is no reason why we on the American continent should not hold an economic conference to try and outline a program of organization in which all the workers shall come together with one aim, one principle and one object for the abolition of wage slavery." The committee concurs.

"Resolved, that the G. E. B. must relieve at once editors of our papers and magazines who do not uphold the revolutionary principles of the I. W. W." Committee concurs.

During the morning of the 12th it was decided to hold one of the G. E. B. members over for a period of 30 days to function with the new G. E. B. The following resolutions were also adopted:

### Next Convention

"Resolved, that the next general convention be held on the second Monday of November, 1922, a special convention to be called if necessary."

"Resolved, that the G. E. B. be requested to get out the minutes of the 1919 and 1920 general conventions in book form at once, also be requested to have minutes of 1921 convention put in book form and circulated among the membership. Committee recommends that 1919 and 1920 general convention minutes be printed just as soon as finances will permit."

"On calling in and destroying the Finnish translation of the pamphlet 'The I. W. W., Its Principles, Objects and Methods,' by John Sandgren. Committee recommends that this resolution be turned over to the G. E. B. for immediate action, and that they make the necessary corrections, etc., to cover same."

The afternoon session was taken up after the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, that we insert in Art. 2, Sec. 4, under the duties of the Secretary-Treasurer: 'Except in case he shall resign or be removed, if he does vacate office longer than a period of two weeks, except in case of sickness or being in jail, his place shall be filled by the chairman of the G. E. B." Committee does not concur.

In the discussion of the proposition of accepting records of paid-up union cards and outside unions in lieu of initiation fee of the I. W. W., it was finally decided that the records are not to be taken unless authorized by the G. E. B., or Industrial Union G. O. C.'s.

### Convention Favors the Six-Hour Day

During the morning session of the 13th day there was a lengthy discussion about getting out literature advocating the 6-hour day as a means to fight unemployment. The Convention passed a resolution as being in favor of it.

It was also resolved that continuation cards be issued only by the headquarters of the industrial unions.

The following resolution was rejected:

"Resolved, that in the future a description of the delegate be placed on the credentials, thus enabling a member to see at a glance that the person carrying credentials is a duly authorized delegate. This description should include some distinguishing mark."

### A General Propaganda Bureau

During the afternoon session the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, that our delegates to the Convention will impress the urgent need of organization among the construction workers in the East; that we must get organizers as soon as possible."

"Resolved, that the G. E. B. shall establish a General Propaganda Bureau, which shall consist of the editors of the organization publications, who shall be appointed by and be responsible to the G. E. B. The General Propaganda Bureau shall convene at least semi-monthly to discuss and act upon the maintenance and promotion of the various publications, pamphlets, and literature in general. At these meetings different issues of a conflicting nature shall be decided upon, and not in the columns of our press. The General Propaganda Bureau shall be assisted in its work by a propaganda committee of each paper, but said committee shall not interfere with the regular functions of the industrial unions, such as handling of initiations, dues, assessments, delegate reports, routing of organizers, etc. The General Propaganda Bureau shall be responsible for the management of the organization publishing plant. The G. E. B. shall appoint a general propaganda secretary, who shall have supervision over the affairs that come under the jurisdiction of the General Propaganda Bureau."

"Resolved, that the Convention of Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120 submit to the annual Convention of the I. W. W. for them to consider the indorsing of the Work People's College as an institution of learning, and to determine more specifically to what extent the I. W. W. as an organization can finance, control and make public the Work People's College, which is now maintained by a small group of I. W. W.'s." Committee concurs, and recommends that we give publicity through our I. W. W. publications for the Work People's College of Duluth, Minnesota.

"Resolved, that as all literature got out by the I. W. W. is for the purpose of education and not for profit, it be sold at as near cost as possible."

### Preamble to Be Translated Into Japanese

The morning session of the 14th day was taken up in devising ways and means to produce new literature and to discontinue some of the old. It was recommended that the Preamble and Constitution, and an explanation of them, be translated into the Japanese language, and that new literature dealing with the general construction, railroad, and coal mining industries be put out.

Some of the old literature on hand was ordered to be given away free.

### Industrial Departments Voted Down

The afternoon session was taken up in discussing the changing of the constitution in regard to the departments.

The following resolution caused much discussion, but was rejected:

"Resolved, that an Industrial Department shall consist of Industrial Unions of closely kindred industries appropriate for representation in the Departmental Administration. As soon as two or more Industrial Unions in closely related industries see fit, they shall proceed to call a convention of those Industrial Unions and organize themselves as an Industrial Department of the Industrial Workers of the World, as hereinafter outlined. A Departmental Administration may be formed in any part of the I. W. W., providing it is ordered done by the membership of such Department, as hereinafter provided.

"Any two or more Industrial Unions may form a Departmental Administration regardless of size of membership; when such action is desired by a group of members in one existing Industrial Union, they shall meet and draw up resolutions and send out call for seconds to the membership of their respective Industrial Unions in their Department. Upon receiving sufficient seconds the General Office of the I. W. W. shall submit a referendum to the members of the Department calling for such, the referendum to be voted on only by the members of said Department.

"If the members of the Department decide by referendum upon a Departmental Administration, the Chairman of the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. shall immediately call a convention of said Department.

"The delegates to such convention shall, after agreeing upon all fundamental points, proceed to draw up such by-laws and rules as may be deemed necessary and practical in their particular Department, they shall nominate the officials of the Departmental Administration, which same shall consist of one Secretary-Treasurer, one Chairman, and Department Organization Committee. The size of the Committee, its duties and salary, as well as basis of representation of the Industrial Unions on Committee, shall be determined by the Department Convention, all subject to a referendum vote of the entire membership of the Department.

"Said Departmental Convention and Administration shall pass no legislation contrary to the General Constitution of the I. W. W., and shall at all times be subordinate to the G. E. B. and the General Convention of the I. W. W.

"Sections 3 and 5 in Article 1 to be stricken out concurringly."

The following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, that the committee recommends that all delegates representing the I. W. W. in foreign countries shall be credentialed by the G. E. B. and the credentials must bear the signature of the General Secretary-Treasurer and the Chairman of the G. E. B."

**Philadelphia Branch Given 90 Days' Grace**

"Resolved, that we instruct the G. E. B. to give the Philadelphia Branch of M. T. W. I. U. No. 510, Local 8, ninety days to comply with terms laid down by the Convention, and thereafter start a branch of I. U. 510 in Philadelphia, and transfer all members of the old branch who agree to abide by the constitution."

On the morning of the 15th day the following motions were carried:

"Resolved, that all seamen taken in by Philadelphia Branch No. 510, Local 8, under the universal initiation fee of $2.00 and monthly dues of $1.00, before the expiration of the 90 days allowed Philadelphia Branch No. 510, Local 8, to conform to constitution, be eligible to transfer into the I. W. W."

"Resolved, that no more supplies be furnished Philadephia Branch No. 510, Local 8, while they stand suspended. Any Secretary, G. O. C. member, or other member of the I. W. W. furnishing them any supplies to be expelled." Carried.

**"The Industrial Pioneer" Put on a Returnable Basis**

"Resolved, that the price of the magazine (Industrial Pioneer) remain at 25c., and the magazine to be furnished the news dealers on returnable basis."

"Resolved, that we substitue for Art. 6, Sec. 4, in the general constitution: 'Industrial Union Secretaries shall give a statement on their monthly financial report of their indebtedness to all industrial unions, general headquarters, general defense committee and all subordinate parts of the I. W. W., and remit all indebtedness at the end of each month. Any unit of the I. W. W. who fails to do so at the end of ninety days (three months) is hereby declared delinquent and the G. E. B. must regulate the financial affairs of the delinquent unit until their accounts are paid.'

Moved by Bare, seconded by White, that we concur with the resolution.

Moved by Craig, seconded by Murray, that we amend the last sentence to read, 'Any unit of the I. W. W. who fails to do so at the end of ninety days (three months) is hereby declared on an unsound basis and the G. E. B. must regulate the financial affairs of the unit until the accounts are paid." Amendment carried.

Next, the following resolutions were passed:

"Resolved, that the G. E. B. be instructed to install a budget system in General Headquarters."

"Resolved, that this body go on record in favor of the sustaining fund for the Industrial Research Bureau."

Moved by Sigal, seconded by Archibald, that we concur with the resolution.

Moved by Craig, seconded by Monoek, that the resolution be amended to read that all money expended on a Bureau of Research must come from voluntary contributions and not from the funds of the organization." Amendment carried.

**Bond Forfeitures**

After the above resolutions were adopted the Convention adjourned early to allow the Trial Committee to investigate the bonds of those bond holders who had forfeited them on account of some I. W. W. class war prisoners not returning back to the penitentiary.

During the morning session of the 16th day the Trial Committee brought in the following report with recommendations, that were concurred in by the Convention:

"On bonds forfeited by Haywood and Rothfisher: The Committee wishes to report that we went to lawyer Otto Christensen's office at 8:30 P. M. and interviewed him in regards to the property that was put up as bail on Leavenworth prisoners. We found that certain individuals had signed a writ of indemnity (dated April 23rd, 1919), to guarantee any loss which might be sustained by William Bross Lloyd in furnishing bail for Haywood and 37 other prisoners, including Rothfisher.

"The names of those who signed the writ were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| George F. Vanderveer | $10,000.00 |
| Otto Christensen | 5,000.00 |
| C. E. Payne | 1,000.00 |
| John Burke | 5,000.00 |
| John Korpi | 500.00 |
| Tom Doyle | 1,200.00 |
| James Scott | 1,000.00 |
| Arthur Proctor | 1,000.00 |
| Roscoe Tobias | 1,000.00 |
| T. V. Cooper | 1,000.00 |

"We found that William Bross Lloyd together with Mary E. Marcy furnished property bonds to

secure $4,500.00 on Haywood, also that Lloyd furnished property bonds to the amount of $5,000.00 on Chas. Rothfisher.

"On further inquiring we found that Otto Christensen and friends had deposited $3,500.00 in Liberty Bonds on Haywood, and that Chas. Kerr and Co. furnished property bonds to cover $2,000.00, making a grand total loss of $15,000.00 on Haywood and Rothfisher.

"We find that Howe, who is Secretary to Lloyd, is of the opinion that those who signed this writ of indemnity were representing the organization in doing so, also that Christensen holds this opinion.

"The Committee recommends, inasmuch as these bondsmen consider the organization as being responsible for any loss to them, that Bross Lloyd, Mary E. Marcy and Otto Christensen and friends be compensated as soon as finances permit.

"Signed:

| | |
|---|---|
| **Walter Smith,** | **Tom Connors,** |
| **E. W. Latchem,** | **Joe Monoek,** |
| **Charles Craig,** | **Charles J. Miller."** |

In the afternoon session the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, the convention of the M. M. W. I. U. No. 440 has gone on record for the Department Administration, followed by a like action in the conventions of F. W. I. U. No. 460 and P. & P. W. I. U. No. 450, be it hereby resolved, that the G. E. B. be instructed to issue a referendum to the Department of Manufacturing and General Production No. 400 on the question of a departmental administration for department No. 400. The department administration to function as outlined in Solidarity No. 116, issue of January 22nd, 1921."

### Greetings from the Workers' Committee Movement of Great Britain

A letter from the Workers' Committee Movement of Great Britain was read and accepted by a unanimous vote. The letter follows:

"To the I. W. W. Convention from the Workers' Committees of Great Britain. May the 6th, 1921.

"To the revolutionary proletarian fighters of the I. W. W. in Congress we convey our revolutionary greetings:

"Fellow Workers, you are met in Congress in an age of remarkable revolutionary activities, when the working masses of the world are being forced to a world-wide struggle and when our class enemies are becoming increasingly savage in their attacks upon the workers. This intensification of savagery is no longer confined to particular countries. It is now extensive and general. A few years ago the I. W. W. was almost an isolated body, suffering terrific onslaughts from the class-conscious employers, who did not hesitate to attack you with every conceivable weapon.

"With the advent of the Russian Revolution and the triumph of the Russian Proletariat, your isolation is forever gone. We have entered the epoch of the World Revolution. With the crash of a capitalist peace the workers of every country west of Russia are thrust into the economic mess from which the capitalists can find no way out. In this situation we revolutionary workers have special functions to perform and a special role to fulfill. We are the advance guard of the industrial organization and must accordingly accept the full responsibility of such a position.

"We believe that the Workers' Committee Movement of Britain has accepted its full responsibilities, both nationally and internationally. In the present industrial struggles in this country we are working with might and main to extend the strike of the miners, believing by these means we intensify the growth of class solidarity and bring our fellow workers to face, through experience, the class challenge to the capitalist state. In this struggle we do not hesitate to co-operate with the Communist Party or other revolutionary bodies which are waging revolutionary struggle. Internationally we have declared ourselves with the Russian Proletariat, and have unhesitatingly allied to the Russian Trade Unions in the Red Industrial International. We have responded to their call for an International Congress of revolutionary industrial organizations and are sending delegates to the Congress.

"Fellow Workers, we believe we have much in common with the I. W. W. We believe that every industrial organization responding to the call of the Red International has much in common with you and us. We are confident that to fail in response to the call of the Red International would be to fail in our loyalty to the Russian workers. We, therefore, in sending our delegate to your Congress, appeal to you to rally with us to the Congress of July 1st, 1921, and help to fashion an industrial international weapon capable of carrying the workers' international struggle to victory.

**"Yours, on behalf of the National Workers' Committee Movement,**

**J. R. Campbell."**

Fraternal delegate Jack Tanner made a report, the import of which appeared in the previous issue of this magazine.

A discussion took place on establishing a clearing house for the organization, which resulted in the following action being taken:

"Resolved, that the General Headquarters be the clearing house for all supplies, and that sub-stations be set up where necessary, and numbered as branches, and to issue supplies to all industrial unions in that given locality and the same to be under the jurisdiction of Joint Organization Committees, and as supplies are issued to branches of the different industrial unions, said supplies as issued will be charged to same. And that expense of same be paid on the pro-rata basis of actual receipts for organization."

"Resolved, that when an industrial union notifies Clearing House to cut off supplies from any sub-

ordinate part of the industrial union, and such supplies are not cut off, the industrial union shall not have to pay for them."

### Letter to Workers' Committee Movement

The following communication was drawn up and sent to the Workers' Committee:

**"To the National Workers' Committee**
**Movement of Great Britain:**
**Fellow Workers:**

**Greetings:**

"Your communication conveying revolutionary greetings to the 13th Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World was received by a unanimous vote.

"We are agreed with you that our common enemy is 'World Capitalism.' We therefore extend the hand of International Solidarity for the purpose of eliminating the parasite class and establishing an Industrial International of the World's Workers for the benefit of the working class.

"Yours for Industrial Freedom,

Signed: **Industrial Workers of the World.**
**Walter Smith, Chairman of Convention.**
**Tom Wallace, Recording Secretary."**

The rest of the forenoon was taken up in going through resolutions and suggestions that had been previously acted upon.

During the afternoon session a motion was made and carried that monthly educational features covering different industrial unions be run in the official bulletin, parallel with the structure of the I. W. W., technical routine work, etc.

### Educational Workers' Industrial Union No. 630

The following resolutions were also concurred in:

"Whereas, it has been the policy of the members of the different industrial unions to line up their mothers and wives into the industrial union in which the members themselves are organized, regardless of whether their mothers and wives work in that industry or not, and

"Whereas, by doing this we are misdirecting a lot of useful energy, due to the fact that these mothers and wives of wage workers have no function to perform in the industry in which they do not work and consequently cannot understand how to best function in the affairs pertaining to that industry, and

"Whereas, primarily the mothers and wives are now functioning through the schools' bi-monthly mother meetings, which are being conducted as regular business meetings, and

"Whereas, the mothers and wives of members have a function to perform in the I. W. W., and can perform that function more effectively when they are placed in proper industrial unions, and

"Whereas, the function of the Educational Workers' Industrial Union No. 630 is the physical and mental development of children,

"Therefore be it resolved, that the I. W. W. place this important energy of the mothers and wives of I. W. W. members into the Educational Workers' Industrial Union No. 630, so they can function under their natural environment, the same as other industrial workers."

### Other Important Resolutions

"Resolved, that we recommend to the G. E. B. that a committee be formed of I. U. Secretary-Treasurers and G. O. C. Chairmen to work as an advisory committee to the G. E. B."

"Resolved, that we instruct the G. E. B. to take steps to find ways and means of establishing an I. W. W. school for the promotion of the educational training of job delegates, organizers and speakers for the General Organization."

### Nomination of Officers

The next order of business was the nomination of officers. Roy Brown was nominated and elected to function for a period of 30 days after the expiration of his term with the newly elected members of the General Executive Board.

John Grady, Tom Doyle and George Bradley were nominated as candidates to go on the ballot for General Secretary-Treasurer. After this the Convention adjourned, singing "Hold the Fort."

# Book Review

## RUSSIA AND THE ART OF REPORTING.

**The Crisis in Russia:** By Arthur Ransome: New York: B. W. Huebsch: 1921: $1.60.

OF THE making of books about Russia there would seem to be, veritably, no end.

Many of the reports that come to us from the land of the soviets are horribly garbled. One does not need ever to have been there to sense that. True reporting is a fine art and requires, like any other art, in addition to a certain natural aptitude, an intensive apprenticeship. Persons who would never think of attempting to paint a picture, play the piano, or carve a statue, feel that they are quite qualified to practice the reportorial art. "Why," they reason, "it's so simple—just putting down what one sees." What they do not realize is that observation is itself an art and requires a specialized training, while the proper recording of one's observations is still another matter.

And so, every one who has ever set foot in Russian territory seems to feel that he is forever fitted thereafter to pose as an authority, not merely on Russia, but on the whole theory and practice of communism. Some "authorities," indeed, do not even take the trouble to go to Russia. Take, for example, Mr. Frank Comerford, whose latest means of breaking into print is the "discovery" that the I. W. W. is mobilizing a red army. Mr. Comerford got at least as far as talking to Kerensky in a London drawing room, and so, of course, he knows all about Lenin and Trotzky and their little job.

It is to be doubted, however, if most of those who bring us back these conflicting reports are, consciously, dishonest. Freud and other psychologists of the modern schools have much to teach us with regard to the essential nature of honesty. We are all, more or less, creatures of the subconscious. Deep down below the surface of our consciousness is a bias, in accordance with which we—most of us unconsciously—act, and for which no better ultimate justification has been found, perhaps, than Prof. James' "will to believe."

"An open mind, like an open mouth, is a sign of weakness."

Chesterton, exponent of the facile and futile trick of paradox, has said many foolish things in his time; the above is one of the few wise ones. The truth is, the fabled "open mind" is, among properly cerebrating individuals, a practically non-existent phenomenon. And it is just as well. Otherwise, this woozey old world of ours would scarcely wobble along as well as it does. For, again the modern pragmatist teaches us, the important thing is to believe in something that will get us somewhere, to know where we are going and to be convinced that we are moving in the right direction. What is needed to make the world go round is intellectual certitude of some sort. This philosophy, it is true, may be used to justify anything from Catholocism to Communism. Cardinal Newman required one sort of certitude; Lenin requires another sort; but **some** sort of certitude was and is indispensable to each.

The point is, every one who goes to Russia goes there, consciously or unconsciously, with a bias. Before he has crossed the frontier, he is already pro or con the system which he knows he will find in Russia. The convinced communist goes there, expecting, if he is honest with himself, to find confirmations for his communism. The convinced bourgeois expects to find proofs that communism is and must be a failure. Sincerity, it seems to us, is oftener to be found in the radical than in the adherent to the established order, but it may be found in both. The dangerous reporter is the one who is not honest enough with himself and his readers to frankly recognize and admit his inevitable bias. Such a one was H. G. Wells, whose recent reportorial fiasco is still fresh in mind. Mr. Wells went to Russia, expecting to demolish communism because it did not jibe with his own little yellow-socialist-pseudo-scientific world; and yet, without taking the trouble to ascertain the facts, which any conscientious reporter would have taken, he poses as an impartial observer and recorder.

All this leads us to one of the latest books on Russia, Mr. Arthur Ransome's second on the subject: "The Crisis in Russia." Mr. Ransome's previous volume, "Russia in 1919," will be recalled.

As correspondent for the Manchester Guardian, one of the best and most honest organs of bourgeois journalism, the writer's opportunities for accurate observation were excellent. He seems to have had the **entree** to communist circles, which is so essential, and which Mr. Wells either did not have, or of which he was too timid or too indolent to avail himself. Our present author has the journalistic **flair**, the much abused "nose for news." Witness his chapters on Saturdayings, propaganda trains, industrial conscription, non-partyism, the trade unions, etc., all topics of timely interest to those of us outside Russia, in addition to sections on his more general thesis, the shortage of men and things, the communist dictatorship, etc., and a final chapter, of interest to would-be prophets, on "Possibilities." Such chapters as "A Conference at Jaroslavl" and "Rykov on Economic Plans and on the Transformation of the Communistic Party" are interesting journalistic features.

Mr. Ransome is a trained reporter and a good one. And he is far more honest than many. In the Introduction, he takes us into his confidence by telling us his reason for writing the book. He was

not eager to write it at this time, he hints; there were other things he would have preferred to do; but he felt it was imperative. The crisis which Mr. Ransome sees in Russia today is nothing less than the peak of the struggle between what he calls "civilization" on the one hand and chaos, the complete collapse of civilization, on the other. He sees this merely as part of a general European crisis and one wich other countries must face sooner or later. He tells us quite frankly, in the concluding lines of his book, that he believes the only thing which can save civilization in Russia is, if not communism, at least the communist dictatorship. And he tells us, furthermore, that he believes this dictatorship cannot be overthrown. So far, he is sincere.

In the Introduction, he says:

"It has been said that when two armies face each other across a battle front and engage in mutual slaughter, they may be regarded as a single army engaged in suicide. Now it seems to me that when countries, each one severally doing its best to arrest its private economic ruin, do the utmost to accelerate economic ruin of each other, we are witnessing something very like the suicide of civilization itself. There are people in both camps who believe that armed and economic conflict between revolutionary and non-revolutionary Europe, or if you like between Capitalism and Communism, is inevitable. These people, in both camps, are doing their best to make it inevitable. Sturdy pessimists, in Moscow, no less than in London and Paris, they go so far as to say "the sooner the better," and by all means in their power try to precipitate a conflict. Now the main effort in Russia today, the struggle which absorbs the chief attention of all but the few Communist Churchills and Communist Millerands who, blind to all else, demand an immediate pitched battle over the prostrate body of civilization, is directed to finding a way for Russia herself out of the crisis, the severity of which can hardly be realized by people who have not visited the country again and again, and to bringing her as quickly as possible into a state in which she can export her raw materials and import the manufactured goods of which she stands in need. I believe that this struggle is ours as well as Russia's, though we to whom the threat is less imminent, are less desperately engaged. Victory or defeat in this struggle in Russia, or anywhere else on the world's surface, is victory or defeat for every one. The purpose of my book is to make that clear. For, bearing that in mind, I cannot but think that every honest man, of whatever party, who cares more for humanity than for politics, must do his utmost to postpone the conflict wihch a few extremists on either side of the barricades so fanatically desire. If that conflict is indeed inevitable, its consequences will be less devastating to a Europe cured of her wounds than to a Europe scarcely, even to the most hopeful, to be described as convalescent. But the conflict may not be inevitable, after all. No man not purblind but sees that Communist Europe is changing no less than Capitalist Europe. If we succeed in postponing the struggle long enough, we may well succeed in postponing it until the warlike on both sides look in vain for the reasons for their bellicosity."

Here, it seems to us, the author's essential honesty—with no accord of his own, perhaps—fails him somewhat. His failure is to be quite honest with himself.

What is this thing which he calls "civilization," the saving of which is of so tremendous importance, and for the saving of which Communists and Capitalists must postpone their conflict and join hands? What is this "civilization" but the product of capitalism, or the capitalistic order itself? And yet, we, who do not believe in that order or the desirability of its preservation, are asked to join with its supporters in saving it; we are asked to wait until we have saved it before we set about the work of destroying it. Is this honest logic, even for one who sincerely believes in capitalistic "civilization"?

The real revolutionist knows that, before he can begin to build up aright, he must first tear down; construction must inevitably be preceded by a certain amount of destruction. He knows that, in the transitorial period, at least, there must be a certain amount of confusion and "economic ruin," bordering even on "chaos," perhaps. His evolutionary philosophy of revolution, the philosophy of the materialist conception of history, has taught him to expect this in connection with the breakdown of the capitalistic system.

Personally, we are of those "sturdy pessimists" who believe that present-day civilization is a disease which must be cured by radical remedies. We do not believe it is worth saving. What, after all, is this "economic ruin" of which so much is heard? Is it not merely the "ruin" of the exploiting and parasitic classes? We hardly believe that the condition of the worker could be much worse in any state of society than it is under this same "civilization," which the working class is asked to save. And if it is merely the welfare and comfort of the master class, why should we be interested in saving it?

As to postponing the conflict, we can see no advantage, save to the other side. "Wait," says the Capitalist, "until we are stronger, wait until we have recovered from the near-suicidal results of our own imperialistic folly, wait until Capitalism is safe again, and then we will fight it out, if you still feel like fighting." This is nothing more nor less than an insult to working class intelligence.

If there is one thing that could possibly justify the world war with its terrible toll in human life and happiness, it is that, as an aftermath of the war, may come the collapse of the system which makes war possible. If that result is attained, the war, even with its fearful cost, was not altogether

in vain. If, on the other hand, we go back to the old pre-war system, which can only mean war and more war, then it was a loss, indeed.

The author's belief that "If we succeed in postponing the struggle long enough, we may well succeed in postponing it until the warlike on both sides look in vain for the reasons for their bellicosity" seems to us to be a flagrant example of dishonesty. Why cry peace, when there is no peace?

The author, in the last words of his book, makes an interesting point. In speaking of the likelihood of an economic upheaval in England, he says:

"There is a strange irony in the fact that the Communists desire that upheaval, and, at the same time, desire a re-birth of the Russian market which would tend to make that upheaval unlikely, while those who most fear upheaval are precisely those who urge us, by making recovery in Russia impossible, to improve the chances of collapse at home. The peasants of Russia are not alone in wanting incompatible things."

In conclusion, we may predict that you will find "The Crisis in Russia" interesting reading. The author, if not a John Reed or a Louise Bryant, is at least not a Russell or a Wells.

## TAKING TEA WITH TROTZKY, OR LIGHT READING FOR RADICALS.

**From Mayfair to Moscow: By Clare Sheridan: New York: Boni & Liveright: 1921.**

IF YOU are a Tired Revolutionist, in need of a late-spring tonic in the form of a good laugh, or if you find yourself with a bad case of blues on a rainy day, let us be your doctor and prescribe the volume listed above. If your sense of humor is keen enough, you will find it excruciatingly funny.

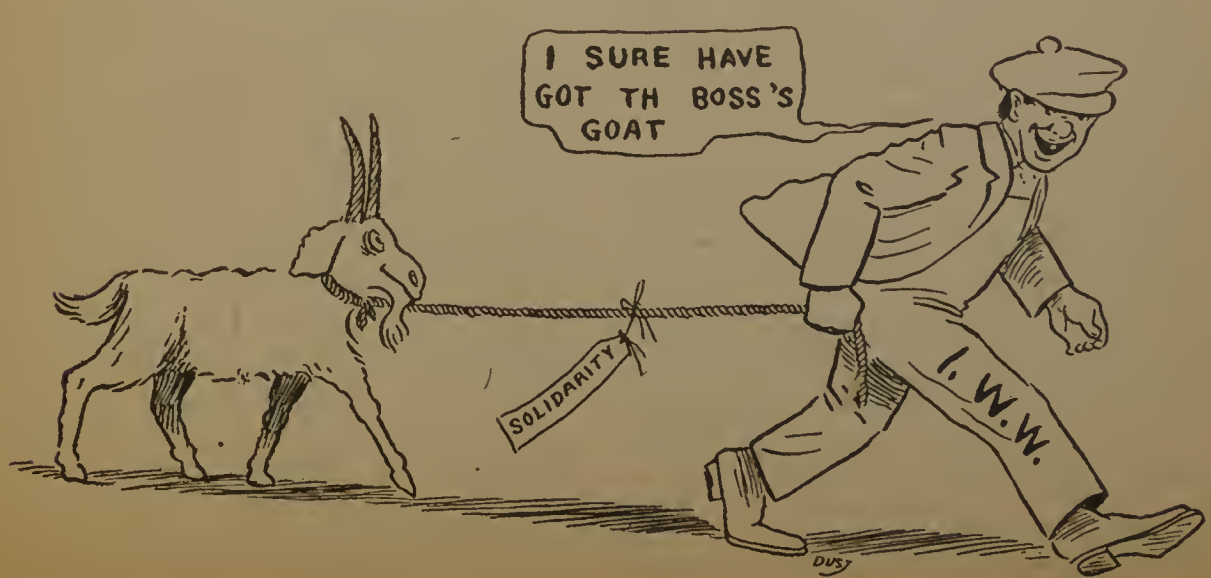
Here is a feminine sprig of British aristocracy, a niece of Winston Churchill, who, becoming suddenly bored, takes it into her head to run over and "do" Lenin, Trotsky, et al. Through the political and social wires she is enabled to pull, she succeeds in her enterprise. She makes her way to Russia via Stockholm and a Soviet representative who appears to have fallen under her spell.

Her purpose is going to Russia, she tells us, was to "sculpt", i. e., make busts of the bearded **enfants terribles** of the revolution. Her success is somewhat surprising. True, when she manifests a desire to go to the front for the purpose of "doing" the leaders of the Red army, she almost gets herself pinched as a spy, but, on the whole, she gets along very well. And she has **such** interesting experiences! My dear! You should see the table manners of those Bolsheviks! And they have **no** sense of class distinction—absolutely none! Why, on one state occasion, when the supply of waiters runs short, a prime minister or something of the sort actually pins an apron on and helps out. **Can** you imagine!

But, of course—and here the perfectly delicious humor of the book comes in—one mustn't say anything against one's hosts. Having accepted their hospitality, it wouldn't be good form. One scarcely can help wondering just what the writer would have said, if she hadn't been quite so well bred.

There are some really interesting passages in the book, as, for example, when the society sculptress describes her efforts to make an appointment with Tchitcherin for a sitting. The latter, it seems, like many Russians, has the habit of turning day into night. Time means nothing to him. He tells our lady that he will telephone her when he finds time to sit for her. She is finally awakened at 3 o'clock one morning by the ringing of the telephone. It is Tchitcherin, ready to pose.

S. P.



# Is Personal Gain a True Incentive?

By Jane A. Lee

ON ALL HANDS the rebel worker is met with the seemingly puzzling query: who will labor, invent, do creative work of any kind if the incentive to endeavor, namely, personal gain, is eliminated?

The assumption is prevalent that human effort is brought into play through fear of physical discomfort, as is seen in the case of a vast number of manual workers, or that the artist's, or scientist's, energies are set in motion because of financial aggrandizements, prestige, social distinction.

The superficial observer, unaccustomed to see beneath the surface, may be led to entertain such a view by virtue of the fact that it holds good of a large majority of toilers in factories, mills, and mines.

A brief analysis, however, will prove to the most sceptical that this is due not to the nature of the workers in those industries, but rather to the nature of the work performed by them.

### Decline of Interest in Labor

Modern large scale production has done away with the interest, the pride the artisan of old took in his handicraft. To call out interest in and love for any given pursuit, co-ordination in such manner that the worker understands the connection between the constituent parts and the whole, is absolutely essential.

The worker today is denied this potent motive power. Capitalist production carried on on the basis of profit instead of use has introduced such minute division of labor that the operative in a modern plant has not the slightest conception of the relation of his part of the work to that of the fellow worker next to him. He is confined to the performance of a most monotonous task under the most unwholesome, disagreeable surroundings. Last but not least there is the consideration of compensation, the so-called incentive translated in terms of an equivalent for labor power, i. e., wages.

It is common knowledge that the producer today receives in wages one-eighth of the value of the product of his labor. The difference in value between his wages and product is appropriated by the owners of the plant in the form of interest and profit.

Under these circumstances is it surprising that the manual worker today works out of fear of actual starvation merely? What other interest is held out to him over and above the pittance he receives and which barely suffices to maintain his existence and reproduce his kind (the latter a sort of deferred asset of the employing class).

With regard to the artist, scientist, etc., the hypothesis of external motive power, i. e., remuneration of one kind or another, is even more fallacious.

No less an opponent of Communism than Herbert Spencer contends that exercise of one's faculty yields the greatest amount of pleasure, and that human conduct responds to but two fundamental instincts, namely, seeking of pleasure and avoiding of pain (the former, in our opinion, being the more potent).

### The Higher Motivation to Labor

We see, then, that human effort has its own intrinsic value, i. e., the pleasure and gratification accruing to one in the exercise of one's faculties.

That this is true is demonstrated daily by examples of the most painstaking labor in laboratories, clinics, etc., carried on not for consideration of financial gain, but in the interest of science and human welfare. The biographies of great minds of all ages furnish many instances of hardship, beginning with physical privation, contemporary hostility and ending in persecution, jail, etc., but these things, instead of checking ardor, zeal, tend to augment the flow of spirit.

And why? Because of the value of the work itself contained in (1) the exercise of one's faculty, and (2) in the service rendered to one's fellow beings.

The individualist, Herbert Spencer, could not appreciate the tremendous role this specific factor plays in the work of those who try to further the interests of humanity instead of serving those of their own.

These are facts which no impartial student of history will undertake to contradict. Whence then this widespread idea of incentive as extrinsic, as something outside of the worker, which must be urged on, as it were, by external influence? To answer this question one must go back to its origin.

### The Ideology of Capitalism

With each social system there is developed a corresponding ideology, concepts, standards of right and wrong, etc.

A social order based on the greatest good to the smallest number and the greatest harm to the largest number must be accompanied by ideas and ideals justifying that arrangement.

Capitalism is fundamentally individualistic, it is based on the principle and practice of "each for himself and the devil take the hindmost." This cutthroat system could not endure were it not reinforced by a philosophy which lends a semblance of justice to it. The justice, we are told by its apologists, lies in the fact that nature itself has not been equally lavish with all of us; has endowed some with a large amount of brain power, others with but a small quantity of that precious gray matter, and still others nature has seen fit to forego altogether.

This so-called natural differentiation is turned to the account of the minority ruling class. Men of the first group become captains of industry; men of the third their industrial serfs or wage slaves; men of the second a sort of intermediary between the first and third, or the modern middle class.

This ingenious division of men into classes is meant to explain and justify a social order which foredooms millions of workers to the part of mere cogs in the social structure, making their work a veritable curse to be shunned were it not for the lash of hunger constantly falling upon their bent backs. In order to continue this brutal social inequality some must be deluded, some blindfolded, and, above all, the wage slaves themselves must be made to believe that nature, rather than man, made them into slaves.

There is another great advantage in this individualistic outlook; it puts the blame on the individual instead of the social aggregate. It points its finger to personal limitations as the cause of failure. And by the same token, it hypnotizes men into the mythical belief that success is the result of individual effort. It creates the paradoxical psychology of the proletarian-bourgeois standards and aims. In fine, the individualistic theory serves the capitalist end admirably in that it explains, sanctions, and holds out the mirage of success for some few isolated persons out of the large mass of workers who must remain in the mire all their lives.

To rise to the "top," to a financial pedestal, is the ideal stressed by capitalism as the most worthy of human aspirations. The decay of capitalism as evidenced in Europe, the industrial conditions of the U. S., the land of fabulous riches in the hands of a few industrial pirates, and unemployment, crime, suicide, the lot of millions who create all the wealth, all these are but eloquent proofs of the lie contained in the conception of human effort for individual gain instead of service for the common good which is simultaneously also an individual pleasure of the highest character.

The essence of this ideal is expressed in the I. W. W. conception of right human associations: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

# The Roar

**From "Factory Echoes." By R. M. Fox.**

**"This is the Machine Age. We are the Machines."**

AS YOU enter the factories you can hear us roar—a hungry, menacing, threatening, exultant roar. We demand food. We must be fed. We live on the bodies, blood, bones, and senews of men, women, and children. They come into the factories in eager shoals. They pass through and go out crushed and broken. Ever they come, flowing in like the waves of the sea, to dash themselves to pieces upon the rocks and breakwaters. We like the young men best. They are so strong. They think that they can dominate us. They hurl themselves upon us. They pull our levers, push, twist, and turn our cogs, clutches, and gears. They are brimful of energy, running over with vitality, and they empty themselves.

We laugh! We know who are the masters.

They never stop to think who worked the machines before they came, or who will work us when they are gone. Some of those who are gone before are in their graves; others are the starving and shivering flotsam and jetsam of the great cities. Others, again, are in the workhouse. They do not know. They are filled with the pride of youth. Sometimes, when they get too proud, we turn and rend them. We blind them and tear their limbs, mangle and break them. But we prefer to work slowly, to suck their blood daily, to keep them bound to us and crush them gradually.

We are iron and steel. We are heartless, brainless, nerveless, compassionless. We bite into metal. We bite into humanity. None can withstand us. We love the delicate human organisms who offer themselves for sacrifice. They have no chance against us, these things of blood and bone and nerve and tissue. We love the frail, bloodless girls who faint by our side; we can see the life oozing out of them as they tend us.

We chuckle with harsh, recurring iron chuckles.

We love the boys from school who walk innocently into our maw. They come in bright-eyed, rosy-cheeked, and full of ambition. Within a year they are dull-eyed, grey-complexioned, and low-spirited. Their feet sag and their shoulders droop. And they stop with us. They cannot escape. We have every ounce of strength till we use them up. Then we cast them off. You can hear us exult in a high crescendo, which rises above our dull, monotonous roar. Men are our slaves, our fodder. They are chained to us; we use them up. And they think they are our masters! What a jest for the gods!

They come and they go. They live and they die; but we go on, we endure.

We roar on exultingly. This is the Machine Age. We are the Machines.

# WOBBLES

WE DON'T want "pie in the sky"—we want the earth and everything that's in and on it. They say we've got a lot of crust—well, maybe we have, and maybe we got that way from eating pie that was made for profit. Sometimes this is called "affection pie," because the upper and lower crusts are in constant embrace and there is no animosity between them.

* * *

The fellow who wrote the following street car ad. knows that the best place for "sentiment" is in the dictionary:

"Men and women, don't fool yourselves! If you won't die tomorrow, you will next year, or the year after. Drop in and let us have a heart to heart talk about your future prospects. We have buried hundreds of our customers to their entire satisfaction, why not you?

—The Golden Gate Undertaker."

* * *

A priest buttons his collar in the back because it is symbolic of his mode of reasoning.

* * *

Oscar Willyum Dugul McQune, who thinks he is a poet, has informed us that he has written a very remarkable poem on the old red barn. We take pleasure in giving this sensational information to our readers. Next time you happen to be in the vicinity of the old red barn, why,—take a look at it!

* * *

The reason budding artists paint in the nude is because they haven't money enough to buy clothes with.

* * *

It is said that exponents of the Einstein theory are capable of explaining what would happen if an irresistible force were to meet an immovable body. Will they please tell us what effect the approaching revolution will have on the man who still thinks that this country is governed according to the wishes of the people?

Fanny, the little daughter of a clergyman, pranced into her father's study one evening while the reverend gentleman was preparing a lengthy sermon for the following Sunday. She looked curiously at the manuscript for a moment, and then turned to her father. "Papa," she began seriously, "does God tell you what to write?"

"Certainly, dearie," replied the clergyman.

"Then why do you scratch so much of it out?" asked Fanny.

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Helen Keller, the woman who has won fame in spite of her physical defects, was asked which mortal affliction is the worst---blindness, deafness or dumbness. She replied: "Neither; it's bone-headedness."

* * *

Since love failed to redeem the world, why not try hate for a change?

* * *

Is there anything more inconsistent than the working man who says that in a collectivist society such as the I. W. W. would establish there would be no incentive to work? Yet, if you observe this bird closely, you will note that rarely a day goes by but what he will comment somewhat in this manner: "Gee, this is a long day—wish it was quitting time." This is equivalent to wishing one's life away, and yet this hick has got the brass to speak of incentives!

* * *

A young woman teacher was talking to the children about God's omnipresence.

The teacher: Now, after the hour is up and you children are running about down on the playground and I cannot see you, who is with you then?

Chorus: The Lord!

The teacher: Yes, and when I, in the meantime, am up here in the class room, who is with me then?

Chorus: Teacher Jensen.

"Solidaritet," Copenhagen.

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power can be attained. Day by day our future becomes blacker; and, adding insult to injury, our union officials humbly request from our masters but a few crumbs from the enormous hoard that we have created ad placed at their feet.

It is the duty of industrial unionists to explain to the marine transport workers how they can obtain power. The national and sectional unions are almost useless, for even within their zones they act independently, fighting among themselves like Kilkenny cats. The dockers of Buenos Aires, on the other hand, are making an effort to solve their own difficulties. **They are holding themselves responsible for their own unemployed.** They are attempting to counter the boss's labor-saving appliances with shorter hours and no night work. And yet, unlike the "superior" Anglo-Saxon, fifty per cent of these dockers cannot read.

Under the present forms of sectional organization, we can hope to do very little; the only road to power is the creation of one organization for all the workers on the ships and wharves. We have to be so organized that all the men handling, loading, transporting and unloading cargo goods, regardless of their nationality, must be in one union. One union on all ships and in all ports. This will put an end to long distance scabbery, and create an organization which, as it grows, will throw the gauntlet to the shipping octopus and drive it from the seas. This organization will be the link connecting the industries of different countries; it will be the cornerstone of the International Labor Movement.

**Fellow workers of the docks, you are the home-guards of the Marine Industry. The men on ships are your fellow workers. Together you are a mighty force, an unbreakable power. Separated you are so many straws in the wind. Get the class idea, fight for it, live for it and, if need be, die for it. ....**

**There is no slavery except ignorance. The other class is powerful because we are ignorant. Let us spread the gospel of class interest, develop our spirit of self-reliance, and remember that we shall be enslaved only until we gain the power to break our chains.**

**There is only one working class. Let there be only One Big Union!**

## CHAPTER 9
## THE INTERNATIONAL FISHERMEN

Scattered in out-of-the-way corners of Mother Earth are to be found the deep-see fishermen. Up in the vicinity of Alaska and the Behring Straits you will find them engaged in the whaling and sealing industries. Down in the Southern Ocean, on the edge of the Antarctic Seas, two thousand miles from the amenities of civilization, they carry on a mighty war against the denizens of the deep. The men of the Northern Seas, in and around the port of Seattle, are semi-organized, while many of the men who work on the inhospitable, treeless shores of South Georgia and Shetland are members of the M. T. W. of Argentina.

These fishermen are mostly Scandinavians and Russians. They are vilely paid, when you take into consideration the loneliness and excessive cold of the desolate isles on which they live. Their employers, who never visit these isles, make enormous profits from oil and guano. The men generally sign, under stress of starvation, very one-sided agreements; on occasion the companies violate these contracts—they have been known to rob their men of every cent that they had earned over periods running sometimes into years.

### South Georgia

During January, 1920, there was a strike on the Grytwiken Station in the Island of South Georgia. The strike was against vile conditions, rotten food and low wages. It was won, but shortly afterwards the British cruiser "Dartmouth" came into port. The new agreement was promptly nullified by the manager when he found he had force to back him up. The men struck again to enforce the new agreement. They were then brought, between a file of armed navy-men, before the manager and the Resident Magistrate, and told that if they would not work under the old conditions, they would be deported. Two whaling steamers were packed with men and they were thrown ashore in Buenos Aires. Several of the men were penalized to the extent of their full wages, running into several thousands of Norwegian krowns—because "they had instigated a strike." The remainder of the men were grossly insulted in the company office.

These conditions will prevail until the fishermen will become organized into the Marine Transport Workers. Once the companies get their men away into these isolated islands they treat them like dogs. For instance, the men who were "deported from South Georgia"—for this was inscribed across their passports by the Resident Magistrate in order to prevent the men getting work again—were working for a company registered in Argentine, on an agreement printed in Norwegian on a British island. This excellent contrivance on the part of the companies deprived the men of getting legal redress in any of the capitalist courts.

### Colonial Office Geography

When the matter was brought before the British House of Commons by Neil MacLean, M.P., the Colonial Office informed him that it was unaware that there was such a place in the British Empire as South Georgia. The office holders do not seem to be as interested in whale oil as in the oil that flows from the wells in Persia and Baku. The smart young men in the Colonial Office may easily mislay some part of the Empire if they do not wake up. A few years in the foc's'le of a ship would teach them more about the Empire than they are likely to learn from the school books for Standard 6, whence they evidently derive their vast knowledge.

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# Wastes in the Coal Industry

By the I. W. W. Bureau of Industrial Research.

### Introduction by the Editor

INDUSTRY in America has developed to a stage where it should be considered in the light of a national concern, and not as the concern of individuals or groups of individuals. One of the gravest charges against capitalism is the tremendous waste of natural resources incident upon private ownership, as well as its wasteful methods of manufacturing commodities. Where the primary object of industry is profit, nothing else could be expected. The forests of this country are being rapidly depleted, the oil wells are getting exhausted, the soil is loosing its fertility, and no thought is being taken by the masters of America of the years to come. What do they care whether the children of the people living today will have gasoline for their automobiles and bread for their cupboards, so long as they can make millions of dollars by wasteful methods of extracting and manufacturing our natural resources.

In the following article is shown the tremendous waste caused by the present-day unscientific and inefficient methods of mining and marketing coal. Special emphasis is laid on the almost inconceivable volume of energy-giving by-products of coal which are at present wasted. We hear and read a great deal about industrial technique and efficiency, but as a matter of fact very little of it is seen in actual life. The technique of industry is only in its infancy, and it will remain in its infancy until such time as industry is taken out of the hands of individuals and turned over to the nation as a whole to be run in the most efficient and sensible manner possible for the benefit of the whole population. For industry to be administered in such a manner requires a centralized form of administration which can co-ordinate activities in each industry all over the country with the end in view of eliminating waste and inefficiency. In privately owned enterprises this, of course, is not possible.

In the coal mining industry, the first step in the right direction would be the taking over of all of the coal mines by the workers themselves. This, however, does not mean the nationalization of the mines as it is being advocated at the present time in some of the capitalist countries. Such nationalization would only mean that from the ownership of the coal trust the mines would be transferred into the ownership of much more extensive combinations of capital. This would not do away with capitalist control of the coal industry. Only when the coal miners themselves will take this industry over, put out the present owners of the mines and claim the full direction and control of this industry will the problem be solved. From the consumers' point of view this, of course, would be a great blessing, as coal could then be sold at cost price after deducting the costs of production, which would mean that the selling price of coal would be cut in half, or even less.

Engineers concerned with the technique of industry on a large scale should especially be interested in having the private ownership of industry done away with and workers' control substituted in its place. At present many highly beneficial engineering projects are not being carried out for the simple reason that by doing so the profits of influential and powerful financial interests would be greatly reduced. There is no better illustration of this than the failure of our captains of industry to take advantage of the power-generating facilities presented by water-falls and rivers. It is possible to generate power fram waterfalls and other streams of water much cheaper than by the utilization of coal, oil and other products which are at present used. This would, of course, put many of our present power companies out of busi-

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run low in certain sections, meaning that some day we must rely on the west for our chief sources of supply.

The original quantity of coal in the ground in the United States has been estimated by the Geological Survey as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Bituminous | 1,442,917,000,000 tons |
| Semi-bituminous | 49,863,000,000 |
| Sub-bituminous | 987,514,000,000 |
| Total bituminous | 2,480,294,000,000 tons |
| Anthracite | 22,053,000,000 tons |
| Lignite | 1,051,290,000,000 |
| Grand total | 3,553,637,000,000 tons |

Three and one-half trillion tons! A vast amount. But it is not the gross quantity which is as important as the location, the accessability and the quality of that which can be mined to advantage. Up to 1921 there had been mined in the United States about 13 billion tons, of which roughly 3 billions was anthracite, and 10 billions bituminous. In a hundred years or so at present rates of mining, anthracite will be exhausted, but there is no national shortage ahead so far as bituminous in total is concerned. The future danger lies rather in the rapid exhaustion of the best grades of coal. The Geological Survey estimates that "within 50 years much of the high-rank coal will be exhausted". There is sound reason then for a policy of conservation in respect to coal, in spite of what appear to be limitless deposits. And it must be remembered that when coal is gone, it is gone forever. It cannot be grown again or nursed back to life like forests of fisheries or herds or other natural resources. It takes several million years to lay down a new bed of coal.

According to the latest estimates, the coal reserves of the world are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Americas (North & South) | 5,628,000,000,000 tons |
| Asia | 1,410,000,000,000 |
| Europe | 864,000,000,000 |
| Oceania | 188,000,000,000 |
| Africa | 64,000,000,000 |
| Total | 8,154,000,000,000 tons |

## PRODUCTION AND REQUIREMENTS OF COAL

It is impossible to calculate how much coal the population of the United States needs, without first specifying on what basis coal is to be utilized. If it is to be burned wastefully under boilers after long railroad haulage as at present, wastefully coked in beehive ovens as at present, converted into illuminating gas as at present, it is probable that the population needs much more coal than is now being mined. Not everybody has had coal enough for light, heat, and power by a large margin in the past decade.

If, on the other hand, new engineering methods were introduced into the coal and power industry, by which some of the great wastes in coal utilization could be eliminated, we would probably need to mine only a fraction of the present output in order to provide all the light, heat and power which the population needs. If water power were extensively substituted for coal, there would need to be mined a still smaller fraction.

The actual production of coal for the past ten years in the United States is shown in the following table:

| Year | Bituminous | Anthracite | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1911 | 372,421,000 | 90,464,000 | 462,885,000 tons |
| 1912 | 362,417,000 | 84,362,000 | 446,779,000 |
| 1913 | 401,879,000 | 91,525,000 | 493,404,000 |
| 1914 | 427,174,000 | 90,822,000 | 517,996,000 |
| 1915 | 377,414,000 | 88,995,000 | 466,409,000 |
| 1916 | 395,200,000 | 87,578,000 | 482,778,000 |
| 1917 | 448,678,000 | 78,195,000 | 526,873,000 |
| 1918 | 492,670,000 | 88,939,000 | 581,609,000 |
| 1919 | 517,309,000 | 88,238,000 | 605,547,000 |

The present use to which this coal is put, is roughly as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| For railroad locomotives | 170,000,000 tons | 28% |
| " coke ovens | 85,000,000 | 14 |
| " house heating | 100,000,000 | 17 |
| " exports | 22,000,000 | 4 |
| " all other uses (manufacturing plants, etc.) | 223,000,000 | 37 |
| Total—1919 | 600,000,000 | 100% |

Thus the railroads use 28% of all coal produced, but as about 33% of all railroad freight consists in the moving of coal cars, it is seen that 57,000,000 tons of coal are burned in moving coal to be burned. 57,000,000 tons is nearly 10% of the total coal output.

Practically all the anthracite is used in house heating, tho a few roads like the Lackawanna, burn anthracite in their engines.

## WASTE OF COAL: MINING OPERATIONS

We have now reached the point in our general survey of the coal industry where a specific review of the present wasteful methods of mining and utilizing coal is in order. First, let us consider mining operations.

There are too many coal mines in the country. As coal is not produced on the basis of public service and human requirements, but solely on the basis of maximum profit to be gained, it has been found that more quick profit can be got by 1) buying coal lands cheap from the Government or an unsuspecting private owner; and 2) working the cream off mine after mine, without making decent provision for getting all the available coal out of the ground in any one mine. As a result, the discarded mine from which the cream has been skimmed, is practically useless for further operations without going to a new and costly development expense. It is all of a piece with a boy taking only one bite out of the rosy side of an apple and throwing the rest of the apple away, because he has lots of other apples in his bag.

Again market conditions with a high price of coal brought about by financial manipulation as like as not, will cause the opening of a lot of new

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| Africa | 64,000,000,000 |
| Total | 8,154,000,000,000 tons |

## PRODUCTION AND REQUIREMENTS OF COAL

It is impossible to calculate how much coal the population of the United States needs, without first specifying on what basis coal is to be utilized. If it is to be burned wastefully under boilers after long railroad haulage as at present, wastefully coked in beehive ovens as at present, converted into illuminating gas as at present, it is probable that the population needs much more coal than is now being mined. Not everybody has had coal enough for light, heat, and power by a large margin in the past decade.

If, on the other hand, new engineering methods were introduced into the coal and power industry, by which some of the great wastes in coal utilization could be eliminated, we would probably need to mine only a fraction of the present output in order to provide all the light, heat and power which the population needs. If water power were extensively substituted for coal, there would need to be mined a still smaller fraction.

The actual production of coal for the past ten years in the United States is shown in the following table:

| Year | Bituminous | Anthracite | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1911 | 372,421,000 | 90,464,000 | 462,885,000 tons |
| 1912 | 362,417,000 | 84,362,000 | 446,779,000 |
| 1913 | 401,879,000 | 91,525,000 | 493,404,000 |
| 1914 | 427,174,000 | 90,822,000 | 517,996,000 |
| 1915 | 377,414,000 | 88,995,000 | 466,409,000 |
| 1916 | 395,200,000 | 87,578,000 | 482,778,000 |
| 1917 | 448,678,000 | 78,195,000 | 526,873,000 |
| 1918 | 492,670,000 | 88,939,000 | 581,609,000 |
| 1919 | 517,309,000 | 88,238,000 | 605,547,000 |

The present use to which this coal is put, is roughly as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| For railroad locomotives | 170,000,000 tons | 28% |
| " coke ovens | 85,000,000 | 14 |
| " house heating | 100,000,000 | 17 |
| " exports | 22,000,000 | 4 |
| " all other uses (manufacturing plants, etc.) | 223,000,000 | 37 |
| Total—1919 | 600,000,000 | 100% |

Thus the railroads use 28% of all coal produced, but as about 33% of all railroad freight consists in the moving of coal cars, it is seen that 57,000,000 tons of coal are burned in moving coal to be burned. 57,000,000 tons is nearly 10% of the total coal output.

Practically all the anthracite is used in house heating, tho a few roads like the Lackawanna, burn anthracite in their engines.

## WASTE OF COAL: MINING OPERATIONS

We have now reached the point in our general survey of the coal industry where a specific review of the present wasteful methods of mining and utilizing coal is in order. First, let us consider mining operations.

There are too many coal mines in the country. As coal is not produced on the basis of public service and human requirements, but solely on the basis of maximum profit to be gained, it has been found that more quick profit can be got by 1) buying coal lands cheap from the Government or an unsuspecting private owner; and 2) working the cream off mine after mine, without making decent provision for getting all the available coal out of the ground in any one mine. As a result, the discarded mine from which the cream has been skimmed, is practically useless for further operations without going to a new and costly development expense. It is all of a piece with a boy taking only one bite out of the rosy side of an apple and throwing the rest of the apple away, because he has lots of other apples in his bag.

Again market conditions with a high price of coal brought about by financial manipulation as like as not, will cause the opening of a lot of new

"snow bird" mines, simply that the operator may get in on the price. When the market drops, these "snow birds" collapse, after wrecking an orderly plan for coal development.

It is an established fact that nearly 50% of coal mined is wasted under present methods of extraction. That is, for every two tons lifted above the ground, one ton is rendered useless by reason of operating mismanagement. Thus in working a mine, it is customary to take the coal from the wide seams only, leaving the thin seams untouched. Again, when the market in smokeless bituminous is high, or is being mined under contract, it is often customary not to mine other kinds of coal—such as high volatile—at all. The operator will dig out only what the market calls for at that particular time. As a result, great quantities of coal are passed over in the operation, coal which is largely lost forever, for the cost of reclamation has now become prohibitive in many cases.

Another item of waste is found in the practice of denuding the forest around coal mines for furnishing mine props.

From the standpoint of administration, the physical operation of the average coal mine is exceedingly inefficient. There are no means of communication provided within the mines, no transportation schedules, no co-ordinated control. The mine manager has nothing to do with the productivity per man. He pays the miner so much per ton brought to the surface, and each miner works blindly for himself with no regard for the development of the whole operation. Such a method would bankrupt a machine shop in a week.

### IDLE TIME.

One of the most disastrous wastes is found in the low percentage of time given to the actual winning of the coal.

The Department of the Interior has estimated the number of days worked in the mines as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1913 | 232 |
| 1914 | 195 |
| 1915 | 203 |
| 1916 | 230 |
| 1917 | 243 |

In other words, out of a possible 304 working days per year, productive work was carried on at a loss varying from 61 days in 1917 to 109 days in 1914, or a waste or from 20 to 36 percent.

The reasons for this idleness were analyzed with the following results. Almost one-fifth of the productive time was lost on account of lack of work—the miners were not permitted to work by the management because cars to move coal or storage to hold it were not available. More time was lost because of the necessity of making repairs. In some cases it was found that men were not available. Another 6% was accounted for by inefficient managerial causes.

If the mines had been in operation 304 days in the year, another 200,000,000 tons of coal could have been produced on the average. But no serious objections are made to this condition for the obvious reason that the country was not using any more coal than was actually mined. It satisfied the demands of the market. The miners' demand of five working days per week represents—with the omission of two weeks for holidays and vacations—250 working days during the year. Government statistics show there never was a call for so large a number of working days in the history of American mining. The highest number recorded is in the war year of 1918 when 242 days were worked in the central competitive district. The average for six preceding years in that district was 206 days, and for the whole country 221 days. There are about 760,000 miners in the country in both the bituminous and anthracite fields, and if as the above figures tend to show, a third of their time is wasted due to reasons over which they have no control, an efficient administration could produce the same amount of coal in 8 months which is now produced in a year. Or to put it in another way, 500,000 miners could produce the same amount in a year if they were permitted to work full time. Present operating methods therefore waste the annual labor of a quarter of a million men.

Another factor chargeable to administration is that on those days when the miners are permitted to work, the actual time, spent on the coal face often averages no more than two hours because of the shortage of cars, the infiltration of water and other administrative causes. Even when electric cars are installed underground, it has been found that often they are not operated as efficiently as the old mule hauled trains.

Finally, it should be pointed out that present mining methods give rise to a great number of preventable accidents. The lives of men are needlessly wasted, because it is not men but profit which is the first consideration of the operators. The figures of fatalities for 1915—1918 are as follows:

**Fatalities in and about Coal Mines**

| | 1915 | 1916 | 1917 | 1918 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Killed underground | 2,069 | 2,027 | 2,379 | 2,280 |
| " in shaft | 40 | 49 | 52 | 52 |
| " on surface | 160 | 150 | 265 | 247 |
| Total killed | 2,269 | 2,226 | 2,696 | 2,579 |

### TRANSPORTATION WASTES

Coal cars are loaded at the mine, move to their destination, dump their load, and return, in most cases, empty to the mine. Consider what this means in waste of hauling empty cars. Could power be generated near the mine and delivered over transmision wires, this hauling of empties and hauling of loaded cars as well, would be eliminated. Of

the total freight traffic in the United States, coal is responsible for at least a third. In 1917, the figures show:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tons of coal carried | 526,873,000 | 34% |
| Tons of all other freight carried | 1,495,072,000 | 66% |
| Total tons of freight carried | 2,270,035,000 | 100% |
| Coal cars | 916,219 | 40% |
| All other freight cars | 1,385,728 | 60% |
| Total freight cars | 2,301,947 | 100% |

This means that a third of all freight locomotives, freight crews, freight line upkeep, freight equipment is devoted to carrying coal. If this burden could be removed, the capacity of the railroads to handle other freight would be increased 50 percent.

Finally, it appears that much coal is hauled by railroads which could more expeditiously be hauled by water. It is notorious that the railroads deliberately ruined the anthracite canals in order to increase their profits by securing extra tonnage over their lines. In the same way much bituminous coal along the Ohio, Tennessee and Kanawa rivers, is diverted from its natural traffic by water, to boost the freight receipts of the railroads.

## WASTES IN THE UTILIZATION OF COAL

The foregoing wastes in mining and transportation sink into insignificance before the failure of the present industrial system to utilize coal scientifically Coal is not only a fuel and a basis for making steel thru the medium of coke; it is also a source of a vast variety of valuable by-products. Under prevailing methods most coal is used simply as a fuel to burn under steam boilers which utilize only 3% of its thermal energy in locomotives, and only 10% in steam turbines. Some coal is used to make coke, the balance of its properties going up into the air in beehive coking ovens. A little coal is scientifically distilled and all the valuable properties are saved. If distillation were applied to all bituminous coal mined, the social saving is staggering in its immensity.

Today, of 500,000,000 tons of bituminous coal mined in the United States in a year, (anthracite is not suitable for distillation), about 80,000,000 tons is converted into coke, the balance, 420,000,000 tons being used as fuel. Of the 80,000,000 tons converted into coke, only 40,000,000 tons are subjected to a by-product process. The other 40,000,000 tons are burned in bechive ovens which waste everything except the coke. Thus of 500,000,000 tons mined, only 40,000,000 tons or 8% is subjected to by-product treatment at the present time.

A ton of coal put thru a beehive oven results in 1200 pounds of coke and nothing else.

A ton of coal put thru a by-product coking plant yields as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Coke | 1400.— pounds |
| Ammonium sulphate | 25.— " |
| Tar | 9.— gallons |
| Pure benzol | 2.3 " |
| Pure toluol | .57 " |
| Crude light solvent (oil) | .22 " |
| Crude heavy solvent (oil) | .11 " |
| Crude napholene | .10 pounds |
| Surplus gas | 6000 cubic feet (at 550 B.T.U. per cu. ft.) |

A ton of coal put thru a Mond gassification process, where coke is not an objective, yields:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ammonium sulphate | 100.— pounds |
| Gas | 140,000 cu. ft. (at 150 B.T.U. per cu. ft.) |

This process is applicable to furnishing power thru the utilization of the gas distilled, plus a large quantity of ammonium sulphate suitable particularly for the manufacture of fertilizers and explosives.

If now, the 40,000,000 tons of coal burned in beehive ovens, were subjected to the by-product, there would be recovered:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ammonium sulphate | 500,000 tons |
| Tar | 360,000,000 gallons |
| Benzol | 92,000,000 " |
| Toluol | 22,800,000 " |
| Light solvent (oil) | 8,800,000 " |
| Heavy solvent (oil) | 4,400,000 " |
| Napholene | 4,000,000 " |
| Gas 240,000,000,000 cu. ft. (at 550 B. T. U.) | |

All above, under present methods is utterly wasted and lost.

The next step in our computation is to estimate how all bituminous coal mined might be subjected to a by-product process and the gas thrown off converted into electrical energy, thru the utilization of gas engines. The energy so gained could be sent by transmission lines into the cities and into manufacturing centers, and used in the electrification of the railroads, thus largely displacing at great social saving, the wasteful utilization of coal as a fuel in steam engines, house furnaces and stoves, etc. It would mean the electrification of industry—an era of cheap and plentiful electric power.

How much coal would be required for this transformation? It would still be necessary to mine 80,000,000 tons for coke, tho it would be subjected to distillation and not half wasted as at present.

The present power requirements of the country are approximately 40 million horse power per year. To generate 40 million horse power would require 28,000,000,000,000 cubic feet of gas obtained from coal by the Mond process. This in turn would demand an annual production of 187,000,000 of bituminous coal.

In other words, to develop all the power now used, to produce all the coke now used and in ad-

dition, to recover great quantities of valuable by-products now thrown away, would require the mining of only 267,000,000 tons of coal, a saving of 233,000,000 tons over the amount now mined—500,000,000 tons.

For each additional 100,000,000 tons of coal mined, 21,000,000 horse power, and 5,000,000 tons of ammonium sulphate would be made available. If all the coal now mined for non-coking purposes were subjected to the Mond process, there would result 88,000,000 horse power from the gas, and 21,000,000 tons of ammonium sulphate—enough to drive every wheel in the country, heat every house, with a large surplus of power remaining, to say nothing of the immense value as fertilizer gained from the ammonium sulphate. It has been estimated that 5,000,000 tons of ammonium sulphate will release enough nitrogen to increase wheat production by 453,000,000 bushels, based on 115 pounds of nitrogen to fertilize one acre.

To sum up:

1) Under the present method of making coke, one half the by-products are wasted.

2) Under the present method of using coal as a fuel under boilers and in furnaces, by-products are wasted, and only a small fraction of the thermal energy of the coal is utilized.

3) If coal were turned into electrical power near the mines by the use of gas engines, less than half the present amount of coal now mined, would supply all the present horse power requirements of the country, and produce immense quantities of valuable fertilizer at the same time.

4) Such a transformation would take a third of the present traffic off the railroads and save a third of the freight operating expenses.

In dealing with estimates of this character, great caution is necessary. The potentiality of transformation is as stated. But actually to make the transformation would require the scrapping of vast quantities of present plant and equipment, and the erection of new generating plants, transmission lines, etc. All this would take time and the withdrawing of much labor from production and distribution to new construction. This must be taken into consideration when dealing with such estimates as are outlined above.

Finally the coming development of water power as a source of electrical energy, will undoubtedly prove more economical in many cases, than the gassification of coal, and thus tend to displace coal as a source of power to a large extent. That is, however, another story. We know that 600,000,000 tons of coal are now mined every year, that most of the thermal energy contained therein is wasted, and vast quantities of valuable by-products thrown away. We know that 300,000,000 tons of coal properly used would do all the work that the 600,000,000 tons is now doing, do it cleaner, better, more efficiently and provide us with materials for fertilizers, dyes, oils, paints and other products at the same time.

# Debs the Dreamer

### By Ellis B. Harris

**A dreamer? Yes, a dreamer, but**
**His dreams are all for you;**
**He dreams the dreams that nations dream,**
**And nations' dreams come true;**
**He dreams the dreams that sowers dream**
**When sun and rain assure**
**A field of silken-tasseled corn**
**From seed that must mature.**
**His ship sails on a sunlit sea—**
**A tide that never ebbs—**
**For country, home and liberty,**
**Come voyage on with Debs.**

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BEFORE his death, Carlton D. Parker, the celebrated American economist, wrote that members of the I. W. W. know more about history, economics, biology and popular science than any group of college students he had ever met. We quite agree with our old friend who did so much to acquaint the world with the aims of the I. W. W.

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# Hunting a Job in the Clouds

By W.J. McSweeney

THE LAST DAY that Con Sullivan worked in the mill, which was owned by the Harvester Trust, was the saddest day of his life. In the first place, when he got out of bed at six o'clock on that memorable morning, his wife Kate, with tears in her eyes, told him that they were both in danger of being arrested and that the disgrace of being locked up would surely break her heart. Con clapped his hands and threw his tired body into an old chair and said: "Kate, you must be losing your senses or troubled with a bad case of what they call nightmare when you talk of either me or yourself being arrested, for an honester couple than ourselves could not be found in a day's walk. I worked with the Harvester Plant for the last thirteen years and during that time I never lost an hour or a day. I worked Sundays and holidays and made my thirteen cents an hour and was allowed to work fourteen hours a day. Now you tell me I am going to be arrested like a common thief or vagabond. As for you, Kate," said Con, "there's no decenter or more respectable woman in town than yourself. You tend strictly to your home and your family. You go to your duties regular and I never heard you say a hard word about a neighbor either to their face or behind their back. Now, for the love of God, woman, tell me what we are going to be arrested for."

"Well," said Kate, "a policeman who called yesterday said he was sent by the Board of Education to find out why Johnnie didn't go to school. Of course, I told him we were very anxious to send the boy to school, but at the present time he had no shoes and his clothes were not fit to be seen on the street, and that we would take a little from the table during the coming month so as to get him a pair of shoes when you get your next pay. I told him that we found it so hard to buy food and pay rent with your wages; that we had little or nothing left for shoes and clothes. He asked me where you worked and I told him you had a position in the plant. He asked me what pay you got. I told him your salary was thirteen cents an hour. He said we had to send the boy to school as there was no charitable socicy which would give him shoes and clothes while he had an able-bodied father who had steady work. He said that if the boy's father was dead or ran away, that the Ladies' Aid Society would give him a pair of second-hand shoes so that he could go to school, but he said that if Johnnie was not sent to school right away we would both be arrested. Now, there is but one thing to do," said Kate, "and that is, cut out milk and butter entirely during this month and increase our income so that we can buy Johnnie a pair of shoes next pay day."

Con said, looking at Kate admiringly: "You're a natural born business woman and 'tis too bad I can't put you behind the counter in a candy store. But another idea just struck me," said Con, "and if you approve of it you can send Jimmie to school before pay day, as well as drink a pint of milk once in a while, and that is for myself to kiss you and the kid good-bye this very night and run away, then you and the boy will get milk and a pair of second-hand shoes from the Ladies' Aid Society. I can hide somewhere during the day and drop in after midnight once in a while when the Ladies' Society is in bed and see how you are getting along with your business."

"Nonsense, Con," said Kate, "if you run away, you will bring shame and disgrace on your family and lose your position in the plant which would cripple us entirely. Be a man—go to your work—and the next time you draw your salary we will buy Johnnie a pair of shoes and send him to school."

With a tired body, aching limbs and a sore heart, Con started for the plant, getting there at six-thirty in the morning. The day wore on as usual, but in the afternoon he noticed great excitement among the workers; they ran around and got together in groups all over the plant. Con noticed that all got furious after reading a notice which was tacked on the wall. He walked up and read it and to his horror it stated that after that date the plant would not only shut down indefinitely, but would be moved to Germany. This was the hardest and saddest story which Con had ever read in his life. He thought of what Kate would say that evening when he told her. How could Johnnie get shoes and how could he avoid being arrested? But when he got home that evening he braced himself up as well as possible and broke the horrible news to Kate when she met him at the door. He said he had bad news for her and she asked if some friend had been killed in the plant today.

"Well," said Con, "two men got killed today, but my news is worse than that; it is that the plant is going to be shut down for good and moved to Germany."

"Con," said Kate, "you have almost broken my poor heart! What in the world are we going to do now? Are they going to take any hands with them?"

Con said "no," that the foreman told him that afternoon that only superintendents would be taken but that they would need some men for several days to tear the buildings down and pack the plant, ready for shipping, and that he had already selected men for that work.

Kate said: "Con, you are tired, worn out and sick at heart, and if you will lie down and rest we

will be in better shape to talk over our troubles tomorrow."

"All right," said Con, "I'll wash and eat a bite after I get up but don't wake me, Kate, as I need a rest,—for the first time in thirteen years."

In a few minutes Con was fast asleep and during the twenty-three hours which he slept, Kate walked on her tip-toes for fear she would wake him. At different times she saw him roll round and swing his arms, shouting, raving and muttering different things which she could not understand. She heard him mention a job. "I worked in the plant"; Johnnie's shoes"; "being arrested"; "purgatory"; "Pierpont Mortan"; "angels and saints" and other things which she could not find head nor tail to, came from him. But when he awoke from his troubled sleep, he told Kate of his wanderings near and far in search of a job, which he said he was determined to find before he returned. He searched under ground; he sailed the seas and he penetrated the clouds. During his first night in the clouds, a furious storm overtook him and he traveled, he knew not where. Finally, he saw a light in the distance and he made for it and the nearer he got to it the more dazzling it became to his eyes, when he reached a great golden gate, the like of which he had never seen before, and read a sign in large letters, which said, "The Throne of God."

Con rapped on a big massive door which was opened by a man in the garb of a saint, who asked him what he wanted. "I want a job," said Con. "Well," said the Saint, whom he found out afterwards was the much-talked-of and memorable Peter, "you are the first man who has ever asked for a job here while in the flesh. You can step inside and take a seat, as no doubt you need a rest."

"Thank you, sir," said Con.

Peter showed him a chair and sat in front of him and said: "What is your name?" and Con said: "Con Sullivan, your Honor."

"Now, Con," said Peter, "which of the planets did you come from?"

"I came from the Harvester Plant, sir," said Con, "and I lost my job when the owner shut it down and took it off to Germany."

"I never heard of the Harvester Planet," said Peter, looking over a chart, "and there must be some mistake, as those planets are revolving on their axes at the rate of several thousand miles a minute and no man could move one an inch out of its course."

"That's right, your Honor," said Con, "the plant I came from did revolve and spin around very lively, —so much so that when we got close to it it would tear our arms from their sockets and kill three or four of us every once in a while."

"Now, Con," said Peter, "did you ever hear of the River Jordan?"

"Yes sir," said Con, "I read all about it in the prayer book."

"I know the planet you came from now," said Peter, "in fact, I was on it myself a short time ago. I worked as a fisherman down there and caught many a mess of pickerel in the Jordan."

"I tried to catch fish in the Galway River, your Honor," said Con, "but I never could get them to bite."

"We have a man here from your planet, who arrived today. His name is Pierpont Mortan," said Peter.

"Why, my God, sir," said Con, "that's the very man I worked for, your Honor."

"Well," said Peter, "I am very glad you wandered up here, as we are going to give him a hearing in a day or so, and you may be a valuable witness in the case. You can remain until his hearing is over, and, of course, there will be some change coming to you in the way of witness fees, which you can send to your family. In the meantime, I will see if it is possible to find you a job."

Con thanked him, took off his coat and shoes, and went to bed. The next morning Peter called and asked him how he felt.

"I feel al right, your Honor," said Con, "but I am troubled about Kate and the child for fear they would want me for anything and get in trouble."

"Yes, there's all kinds of trouble on that old planet you came from," said Peter, "and I had a little trouble on my hands during the short time I was there. In fact, they did pinch a chum of mine, and spiked him to death with tenpenny nails, and I was accused of being a pal of his but I denied it and said I never laid eyes on him before. They let me go and in a short time I came up and I've held this present job down ever since."

"My God, sir," said Con, "you should thank your stars that yourself and wife wasn't arrested, which would bring disgrace on your family forever. You were a lucky duck, sir, to land a steady job like this, and you will be all right if they don't shut down and move the plant to Germany."

Peter, with a smile, said: "No, Con, there is no danger of this plant going to Germany. Now, Sullivan," he said, "as this Mortan case is on the call for tomorrow morning at nine o'clock, we will expect you to appear in the temple at that time."

"On my soul, sir," said Con, "I'll be there if there's life in my body."

Left alone once more Con became very much interested in the surroundings. He saw the angels and saints enjoying themselves in every conceivable way. They played harps, flutes and fiddles which filled the air with strains of the most delightful music he had ever heard. The next morning a venerable looking old saint escorted Con to a beautiful auditorium, which was splendidly decorated with palms, ferns and flowers of all kinds. The room was comfortably filled with angels and saints and a venerable looking old gentleman sat on a golden throne. Mortan sat there, his brow furrowed with sharp lines of anxiety, forlorn and dejected in appearance. Peter, who stood in front of the judge with a paper in his hand, said in a loud voice:

"Will Con Sullivan please take the stand?" Con

did, and without further ceremony Peter asked: "What is your name?" Con said, "I was born and baptized Con Sullivan, your Honor, and used that name until thirteen years ago, when I was given the name of Number Nine in the plant. All the hands were known by numbers and most of them forgot their names after awhile. Of course, I used my baptism name when I got married and got Johnny christened a short time ago."

Peter: "How old are you?"

"I'll tell you that exactly, sir," said Con, "to a day. My brother, Mike, left Ireland eighteen years ago and came to America. He worked in Pittsburgh for seven years and a half. He went from there to the wheat fields of Dakota, where he worked for eleven years. He left there and got a job in a coal mine in Pennsylvania, where he is working ever since. He was five years older than me, so that leaves me forty-three years to a day, your Honor."

Giggling and suppressed laughter was heard among the angels and saints at this answer, and even Mortan smiled, but Peter rapped for order and threatened to clear the room if it happened again. Peter asked:

"What wages did you get and how did you live during the thirteen years which you worked in the Harvester Plant?"

"My salary was thirteen cents an hour, sir," said Con, "I worked fourteen hours a day and seven days a week and I never lost an hour or a minute until I came here to look for work. Until lately we were able to make ends meet all right, but now, your Honor, prices are so high that we are compelled to regulate and control our stomachs according to our income, and, of course, while we ate no high seasoned pastry, which would give a man the gout or dyspepsia, our meals were plain and substantial and we, most of the time, had three of them every day. For breakfast I generally had skim milk and cold cabbage; for dinner I had bread and sausage, whcih I carried in a can. After I got through with my work I had a hot supper of coffee, beans and fresh dandelions, which Kate picked on the hills through the day, bnt now, that the plant is shut down and moved to Germany, your Honor, we will have to economize and live on cheaper diet until I get a job. But the hardest and saddest blow of all is now struck us, as myself and my wife Kate —as decent a woman as ever walked in shoe leather —are going to be arrested because we can't buy Johnnie a pair of shoes and send him to school. The police say that our only avenue of escape is for me to be willing to either die or run away and that while I am at home and able-bodied, that the Ladies' Aid Society could do nothing for the boy."

"That's all," said Peter, and in a loud voice called: "J. Pierpont Mortan!" When Mortan got on the stand, Peter said:

"What is your name?" and he said, "Pierpont Mortan."

"Were you ever known by number?" said Peter.

"No, sir, I never had a number," said Mortan.

"How old are you?" said Peter.

"If I lived until the third day of next March I would be sixty-three years old," said Mortan, "and I generally celebrated all my birthdays with a banquet."

"What did you work at, when alive?"

"I dealt in stocks and bonds and promoted trusts."

"What do you mean by the word 'trust'?"

"A trust is a combination of all the strongest corporations of a given industry."

"What was the purpose and object of the trust?"

"To eliminate wastes of production and distribution and thus greatly increase profits."

"What do you mean by stocks and bonds?"

"By stocks I mean that we sold in advance a right to a portion of the future earnings of the trust. Sometimes we gave the holders extra dividends, but not often; in most cases we squeezed them out; some of the more candid economists said that bonds were a mortgage on the labor of generations unborn."

Peter, with a smile: "Then your business was to make profits by discounting future production. You were connected with the Harvester Trust, were you not?"

"Yes, sir, I was chairman of the Board of Directors."

"Why did you decide to shut that plant down and move to Germany?"

"We were vitally interested in the labor question, labor being a commodity which we were buying and using every day, we had to have it or get out of business entirely. We looked over the labor situation in different countries and we found that the workers were dissatisfied and full of unrest in America; that they were joining a revolutionary union in large numbers, which declared for direct action and the general strike as their only remedy, and they even talked sabotage, which would cripple us entirely. We tried all means to get them into political parties and vote for what they wanted, but it was no use. One of our millionaire friends, whose name was Robert Hunter of New York, wrote letters every day showing the danger of direct action and the general strike, but they just would not listen to him. Instead, they told him to go back and sit down, or something like that. We looked over the labor situation generally, and in that little country we found four million and a half workers entirely controlled by socialist politicians who, at all times, told them of the danger of a general strike and direct action, and that they should go to the ballot box and ask for what they wanted. We decided that such workers were contented and easily handled and that's why we moved the plant to Germany."

Peter: "You being a man that at all times declared from the house-tops that you were a patriot who loved your flag and your country, must have known that you were going to injure America by taking such an extensive plant, which employed an army of men, away from it, and move to a foreign country?"

Mortan: "Love of country is a beautiful sentiment and we encouraged it on all occasions, but we never allowed any foolishness of that kind to interfere with our business."

"Peter: "Where did you die?"

Mortan, in an attempt to become friendly with Peter, said: "I had the honor of dying where you did, sir, in the City of Rome."

Peter: "I never saw Rome, and I neither lived or died in it. Rome became a religious headquarter long after my time. I heard of it as a clearing house for the money lords and speculators, and as I had no training along their lines, naturally I attended strictly to fishing and mending my net far away from Rome. Who was with you when you died?"

Mortan: "My lawyer and doctor."

Peter, with a smile, said: "Well, sir, if you didn't have the honor of dying where I did, you did have the satisfaction of dying between two thieves. That's all," said Peter, and Mortan left the stand in charge of a Purgatory bailiff.

"Now, your Honor," said Peter, addressing the judge, "you will probably agree with me that this man, Mortan, is the smoothest and slickest proposition we have ever had to deal with since the famous Judas came. You heard him admit being a money changer or one of the gang who slugged myself and your oldest son so shamefully that our bones are aching yet. Just think of an industrial system holding mortgages on the labor of generations unborn! It has been admitted here that the business of those great combinations was organizing heartless monsters without body or soul which robbed Con Sullivan of his name and made Number Nine of him. What would our workers in Purgatory think if they had to get along on old cabbage as Sullivan did while working for this man. Our workers complain from time to time of conditions in Purgatory, but they should thank their stars that they are not working for Mortan and his trust, as they at least have the consolation of knowing that they are working for angels and saints. Therefore I recommend, your Honor, that the Mortan case be continued for fifty years, as we want that much time to prepare the evidence in his case, and I would further recommend that he be sent to work in one of the shops in Purgatory until his case is called."

The judge decided as Peter had suggested and Mortan was taken to Purgatory by a bailiff, who was once a stockholder in Wall Street. Peter then asked Con if he felt like eating a bite, and they left the court room together and soon reached a beautiful cafe. When Peter sat down he said: "Sullivan, you were fortunate to escape from that man Mortan with a whole hide."

"Oh, my God, sir," said Con, "it was a miracle he did not rob me completely and strip me to the bone, as he is the slickest hold-up man since the days of Brannon, who robbed every mother's son he met on the Wicklow Mountains."

"Now, Con," said Peter, " as there is an eagle and a half coming to you as witness fees, you had better remit it at once to your wife, as she may need it," and he handed Con the money. "And in regard to giving you a steady job,—we looked over the whole field and discussed the matter thoroughly, and have decided to place you as superintendent of Purgatory, as the man who filled that position for the last thousand years had a final hearing last week, when he was acquitted and allowed to wear saintly robes in future, so we think you are just the man for the job. Your duty will be to take charge of the office force, and see that their accounts are all straight and balance at the end of each month before you send your official report to me. The men and women we will send there from time to time will be assigned to the different departments by you, and you must be careful that they are put at work which they are best fitted for. Your salary will be ten eagles a month and board. Your meals and room you will get here with us, and your washing will be done free in the Purgatory laundry. You will probably find it difficult to find a job for that man Mortan tomorrow morning, as he has never done much of anything in his life, but no doubt you will find some place for him; but I want you, Sullivan," said Peter, "to keep your eye on that man. He has been accustomed to the fat of the land below and is liable to make trouble up here. Of course, you will have troubles, grievances and complaints made to you from time to time by the workers over there, and you will find them a dissatisfied lot enough. They are most all organized in unions and are paid from a Calvary crown and a half to two crowns a day. You must hear most of their grievances and tell them you will take the matter under consideration. Sometimes we grant some slight demands, but most of their so-called complaints and grievances we refuse. So that you will understand the true character of the men and women you are going to take charge of, let me say to you, Sullivan, that you will be the only innocent person in Purgatory. All the rest are undergoing sentence or waiting for trial. Get along with them as best you can, as we don't want any trouble. The angels and saints and all people on the golden shore are getting their supplies from Purgatory, and we don't want any inconvenience. Describe the horrors of the lower regions to them from time to time, when they kick or make any trouble, and the everlasting happiness awaiting them here if they are faithful and tend to their work. Now, Sullivan, that is about all I can tell you in regard to your new duty, and I will have one of the saints call for you tomorrow morning and drive you to the office."

"I want to ask you, sir," said Con, "how much is an eagle in Harvester money?"

(To be continued.)

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# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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THE BLIND MAN'S SHARE

The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. 1, No. 7 AUGUST, 1921 Serial No. 7

# Norway Strikes!

NORWAY, the land of Viking traditions and of marine transport fact, is when judged by population, the most important and highly developed maritime country in the world. The sons of the land of the midnight sun sail on the seven seas and her Diesel-type schooners, her coal and oil burning tramps and flapping windjammers bring home to the coffers of Norway's merchant parasites the wealth which is so conspicuously absent among the sailors.

World capitalism had failed to find markets for the products of her industries. The Norwegian ships were being tied up one by one. The owners being true business men and not having any conception of social causes saw only that they must compete with other ships for the trade. They did not realize that there was to be no trade. They did not take into consideration that without markets shipping companies would have nothing to transport. They only thought as their kind has always throught in terms of price and costs.

Their solution to the world problem of decaying capitalism was to bring down the standard of hours and wages that the sailors on their ships had been receiving. With unemployment and commercial stagnation in the ports of the world they seized on a strategic time to put their ideas into practice.

In early May they notified the seamen and longshoremen that the new scale of wages and hours would go into effect. On May 8 the Marine Transport workers went on strike. Three thousand sailors and six thousand longshoremen were the first to go out.

The shipowners refused to come to any agreement. They ignored the strikers as their ships were tied up comfortably at the docks and had little to do any way. Those ships in foreign ports were not affected by the strike order, except in isolated cases of spontaneous rebellion. There was no international machinery of unionism to make this national strike effective. The ship owners were sitting pretty.

On May 10th the Bergen council of Landsorganizationen decided to call on all organized workers in the whole country to strike if there was no agreement by May 26. They decided not to call out the State workers.

On May 26 the call went out. In Kristiania everything came to a stand still. In other towns things were well tied up. Miners, millmen, electric and powerhouse workers responded solidly to the call besides many other sections of workers in less strategic positions.

The government at once took steps to organize strike breakers. A big campaign was carried on amongst the small farmers of the whole country and they were organized, listed and mobilized for strike breaking action. The business elements and the students completed the force of scabs and under the protection of the military and police they started up the electric stations and had the gas ovens going.

Bloody battles were fought by the workers to protect their position and many were killed and injured. Class lines were clearly drawn and spirits ran high.

The weak spot in the workers line of battle was on the railroads. Six months

before a big strike had been waged on the railroads and was lost. The class conscious elements among the railroad workers were discharged and were not reinstated| A system of espionage and black list prevented reorganization of the fighting elements. The conservatives and reaktionaries were running the rail transport system of the country and aided in every section the strike breaking plans of the government.

They shipped guns and ammunition to shoot down the workers with. They readily transported the scabs and military and were all the way through the servile tools of the master class.

After two weeks continuance of the big sympathetic strike it was called off and the men were ordered back to work. The trade unions had not won their point. The ship owners stood pat when they met the sailors in conference.

With the return of the sympathetic strikers who were estimated to be about a hundred thousand in number, the sailors were in much the same position as before. They continued their strike together with the longshoremen until their executive bodies called the strike off. What the reasons were for calling the men back to work after their heroic struggle of many weeks is not clear. Later news may bring this out.

The workers in the marine transport and other industries are bitterly disillusioned with the executive machinery of their unions. With no centralized head or directive policy the different unions were handicapped when it came to putting up a united fight.

The marine workers now more than ever see the need of international organization. Could they have reached their men in foreign ports and had the backing of the longshoremen there, no doubt the end would have been different but with a purely national strike on their hands even the heroic efforts of the entire rank and file were thrown away. The Marine workers of Norway like the Marine workers of Denmark a few months ago lost their strike and went back on the bosses terms.

Now is the time to put an end to nationalistic unionism and launch the true one big union of sea and port workers. The Mariners of Denmark, Norway and the United States have all felt the futility of craft and nationalistic unionism. There is but one way out. Let us travel that way.—

Compiled from Norwegian Papers by
W. S. & R. W.

# Soft Hands

**By A. Miner**

His face bears the scars of life's battles,
They were made by privation and care,
Yet shines through his eyes the brave spirit
That fears not to do and to dare.

Would you trace the deep tide of his courage?
I can show you the source undefiled
In the soiled grimy hand of the toiler
Lies a little soft hand of a child.

He thinks as more fondly and closely
The delicate fingers are pressed
Of little soft hands that lie folded
And still on the little cold breast.

When he heard the stones fall on her coffin,
He knew—ah the sting of that thought!
That his baby had died for lack of the wealth
That his own calloused hands had wrought.

There are millions of thin little fingers
In this fruitful, this beautiful land,
That are robbed of their plumpness and dimples,
The birthright of each little hand.

# International Class Unionism

By George Hardy

THE progressive deterioration of capitalism is bringing the working class of America to realize that they cannot safeguard their common interests unless they organize on a world class basis. This naturally draws our attention to the International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions now convened at Moscow, for here we have the formation of an International Class Union.

The Industrial Workers of the World—the I. W. W.—commenced its class mission sixteen years ago. It had a mission to perform—the organizing of the workers on the economic field and making them class-conscious.

Gradually and forcefully we have fulfilled our duty; always changing our tactics and program to meet the various changes in the labor world and of capitalism itself. Because of the nature of our program we decided to send our delegate to the Moscow Congress.

We want to ally ourselves with what we believe to be the most **virile** International ever launched on the industrial battlefiield. It is the culmination of our aim.

### The Independent Unions.

The I. W. W. is not blind to the necessity for a closer alliance of the various independent unions of the North American continent. We are not satisfied with the progress made during the last decade, therefore it is our desire to see complete unity accomplished. There is no hope whatsoever of the A. F. of L. ever doing anything officially for the workers. They will only continue to ride on their backs; however, there is hope in the rank and file.

Our chief concern is, that the revolting elements who have severed their connection with the old crafts should get together. There are seven or eight different independent unions which, if united, would make a driving force amongst the great mass of unorganized workers. A large percentage of these can never be induced to join the A. F. of L.

With a united revolutionary union—with its objective abolition of capitalism always foremost—created out of the many independent unions—we will be able to meet any crisis that will happen. It would be tragic to have any of the independents become supporters of worm-eaten craft-union policies.

This does not mean we are against revolutionary nuclei working within the craft-unions in fact we believe the message of discontent and abolition of the wage system should be carried into every labor body.

We even believe organized methods should dominate the groups carrying on such propaganda. Especially do we realize this to be necessary as a general world's policy, because of the large masses inside the trade-unions in England, Germany and France, etc. etc. The workers destiny must be taken out of the hands of Gompers; Thomas-Williams & Co. of England; the Legiens of Germany; the Longuets of France, and Daragonas and Serratis of Italy.

Gompers and his supporters say: "We in America have nothing to do with European Labor"; "We can get along fine without their assistance"; "We want no connection with those European Bolsheviki"; and so on and so forth. The I. W. W. does not believe this! We know that if European labor suffers it will have a detrimental influence upon the condition of the workers in America. Therefore, we pledge our solidarity with all the workers of the world.

### Organization and World Conditions.

We see an economic reason for the U. S. Army participating in the world's war. The capitalist class had to save the invested millions which were loaned to the Entente. The social character of society drew the U. S. financiers and industrial barons into

the struggle which has locked them up economically—the economic and biological laws could not be evaded—the principle of the survival of the fittest always triumphs.

The very same laws are operating in working class organizations. They demand that, to have economic security and to survive, we must become the dominant class. We can only do this by building our movement on an international basis. The I. W. W. knows the war has left central Europe prostrate; we know two thirds of the world-workers are gradually starving to death under the **Iron Dictatorship of Capitalism;** we feel it and see it in the 5 million unemployed in this country; we know no relief is possible under the present system, for the same conditions prevail in every capitalist country in the world, in varying degrees.

Some day the European workers will take action, and the American workers' condition will grow gradually worse if they continue apathetic; factories will close, as the capitalist class will refuse to operate their industries to give goods to a revolutionary Europe. They even now refuse to trade with Russia who is carrying on the actual revolutionary struggle alone.

The I. W. W. takes the same position towards Craft Unionism in America as the International of Trade and Industrial Unions takes towards the yellow Amsterdam "International". We continue outside of the A. F. of L., trying to unite the independent unions to form a rallying ground as soon as disintegration commences. The so-called International of Trade Unions headed by J. H. Thomas—the betrayer of British Labor in the recent miner's strike—went to pieces in August 1914. Legien of Germany tried to use it as an instrument in favor of the Central Powers. The Entente labor fakirs and social traitors protested and lined up with the blood and trade thirsty masters of **their countries.** Thus we find an international betrayal of labor—a betrayal by those whom the workers had trusted with leadership.

### Reactionary Movements.

Since the world's war ended the ruling class have not been slow to seize upon every opportunity to hold these social chauvinists on their side. These hyphenated "labor leaders" continue their social tragedies, professing to represent the workers. They take seats at the oily benches of the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations; urge the workers to work harder and longer, for less wages; using the same blunt statements as the capitalist class—to use J. H. Thomas' phrase—"it is not over-production we are suffering from, it's under-consumption" (?)

True, we are suffering from "under-consumption" because of the system of private ownership of the wealth production. Goods are not produced for consumption, but to sell at a profit. Because of the condition that has been brought on by the collapse of capitalist exchange—due to the war—there is over-production. All the mouthing of phrases favorable to the existing system could not convince the crudest observer otherwise, especially those now walking the streets out of a job, while the factory, shop or warehouse windows that he or she worked in, show stacks of surplus goods.

These same characters, such as Albert Thomas of France and Barnes of England, together with the yellow Amsterdam officials, betrayed the workers of Germany in November 1918, also in every move the workers have made to attempt emancipation since the end of the war. They recently betrayed the coal miners of Britain, and now the "Brotherhood" chiefs of U. S. A. are preparing to betray the railroad workers just as the United Mine Workers officials treacherously threw down the coal miners in 1919.

### The New International.

These facts make imperative the new International of Trade and Industrial Unions —an **International based on the class struggle**—standing always at attention, ready to assist any unit who may be attacked, or find themselves distressed. It will weld the divided revolutionary unions into one united

whole. Upwards of 14 **millions** are now represented by approximately **400 delegates** at the first world's congress of a real International Union.

**Centralism** must be its policy. There can be no heavy attacks made upon capitalism unless we can manoeuvre unitedly. **Discipline throughout the new International must be maintained.** The "International" Federation of Trade Unions failed the workers hopelessly, because it had no policy mapped out to meet a crisis, and an uncourageous leadership.

Wherever we can gain job control in factories, committees should be set up; these committees should refuse all alliances with the employers schemes—such as the Whitley scheme now being put into operation in many factories. It is true that power must be seized out of the hands of the ruling class—but they use **force** as instance the Facisti of Italy, the Orgesch of Germany and White Guard organizations everywhere too numerous to mention.

In order to minimize that force it is necessary to have as much working class organization and understanding of how to control the social processes as possible, before the crash comes.

The new movement must prepare for the workers' dictatorship, for as the I. W. W. always has said: "those who control economically control politically". This is a truism no one can deny who thinks scientifically.

The working class then must have before their eyes a picture of a centralized working-class government; passing decrees regulating the actions of the people; creating laws that say: "He that doth not work, neither shall he eat"; regulating the bourgeoise in keeping with the workers' desires —this is the dictatorship of the proletarian state. This, possibly, will be the policy of the New International.

The I. W. W. have in existence their city central councils which under capitalism, distribute literature and carry on propaganda with local centers. It is the social organ where centralized work is carried on, distinct and separate from the Industrial Union branches. However, city central councils draw their delegates from these industrially organized units.

Extend the idea further and we find we would arrive at the political side of the labor movement—the communal side, as apart from direct production within the industries.

### State Power and Unionism.

The congress of Trade and Industrial Unions cannot shut its eyes, and blindly ignore the existence of a state power as some individuals in the American labor movement would have us do. It must prepare for every emergency. The attitude of the capitalist class in Great Britain during the recent coal strike is a fine example of what they intend to do; mobilization of armies was their first thought, proclamations calling the army and naval reserves to the colors; battleships speedily dispatched to all important ports to wreak the vengeance of a tottering ruling-class upon those who may challenge their right to control.

This young class-conscious International will have a policy to combat this—war on any part of the working class must be met by strikes. If war is declared between two or more capitalist nations the answer must be: **General Strike!** Transport workers should prepare to refuse to handle munitions destined to be used against their fellow-workers, at home or abroad.

Thru the Central Bureau we may know of the activities of all other countries, and gain knowledge that will bind us solidly together. Heretofore we have been groping in the dark, while thousands of our comrades have been shot and thrown into the cold dark dungeons of capitalism at home and in countries far away.

The International of Trade and Industrial Unions is the highest council of the working class on the economic arena. Like the I. W. W. it does not recognize any national boundaries, no color or race divisions; not even a dividing line between the occident and the orient exists; class unionism, with emphasis, is its slogan, emancipation its goal, and the ownership of the world's

creative processes and the earth for the toilers. Centralize the activities of the world's unionists and we will put an end to this inhuman system.

Do as our Russian fellow-workers have done—stop exploitation by the bourgeoise! Feeling free we will work with enthusiasm beyond description. Prostitution of all kinds will be banished from the earth; more determined men will exist, who cannot be bought for a "mess of pottage"; children will be better educated; happier homes and brighter surroundings will be the workers' reward for their adherence to the cause of Solidarity, by being a part of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions.

# Sacco-Vanzetti: Victims

**By Art Shields**

AMERICAN workers are getting hardened to the prostitution of capitalist courts,—so the conviction of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in the court house at Dedham, Mass., does not bring the shock that such action would have brought ten years ago, but none the less the case is the most glaring perversion of that abstraction known as "justice" that has been seen in years.

The multitude of evidence proving the innocence of these two working men of the charge of killing a paymaster and a shoe company guard at South Braintree, Mass., in May, 1920 has been put before working class readers time and again, so there is no need to go over it here. Nor is it necessary to recount again the methods which the Department of Justice and the labor-hating state police of Massachusetts used, to put over their nefarious act. It has been told before in this case and others, the putting of stoolpigeons into adjacent cells with stories of their I. W. W. connections and their desire for dynamite to blow up the prison, for the purpose of entrapping the defendant into conversation in order to pervert his remarks later. The use of witnesses, who were far away from the scene, the burglarizing of defense offices; these and a dozen other dirty finkstunts are nothing new to any intelligent worker.

The point is that these workingmen, whose crime was their advocacy of economic direct action in the shoe and cordage mills of New England, and their determined resistance to the murder tactics of the secret police in the case of their fellow worker, Andrea Salsedo, who pitched to his death from the fourteenth story window of the Department of Justice in New York, the point is that these men have lost a legal batte with the owners of the law.

The lives of Sacco and Vanzetti will not be saved without direct action. This does not mean to state that further legal efforts will not also be necessary. But what is meant it that the added power, the kind of power that obtained the release of Ettor, Giovanitti and Caruso from the death cage at Salem, after the Lawrence strike of nine years ago, comes from the force of organized labor in motion.

STIRRING HIS FEATHERS

# Crafty Gossip

### The A. F. of L. Convention

THE forty-first convention of the American Federation of Labor was pulled off with the usual pepless precision that has marked all the forty preceding ones. The three functions of the convention, aside from the ceremony of re-electing Sam Gompers, took up most of the time and discussion. In the order of their importance —vacation jaunting, jurisdictional disputes and legislative programs, to keep the score or more of lobbyists "busy" for the coming year, were given the devoted attention of the "representatives of the American labor movement."

It was estimated that about seventy-five per cent of the entire business of the body was of a legislative nature. Consider the fact that the labor lobby has after its years of experience and earnest sweat, been unable to gain one concession from the legislative bodies of benificent capitalism and you get a slight conception of the usefulness of this mighty gathering.

More significant were the jurisdictional matters fought out here. Of grave import were these. Up through the serried ranks of labor officialdom had come those questions debated by business agents, executive boards, vice presidents, international vice presidents, boards of international officers, only to balk at settlement and be referred to this astute body for final disposal.

Does a man working in a metal fabricating plant that drills a hole in a piece of iron a half inch thick, one inch wide and two feet long, places the drilled piece in a roll and puts a neat crook in its once straight and rigid beauty, then only to farther mar and mutilate it, places it in an oven and when one end is hot stamps it into a peculiar and ugly shape—does this man, I repeat, "belong" to the International Association of Machinists, the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron shipbuilders or the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers?

These were the questions of moment that furrowed the unadorned brows of delegates. To their credit be it said that they always laid the emphasis when stating such questions on the point where it should have been placed. Does he **"belong"** to us?

With one eye ever on the per capita pulse, craft officialdom forgot to lay plans for amalgamation and centralization for the purpose of fighting the boss. Far be such thoughts from them. As president Kline of the Blacksmiths (etc.) once said in Seattle—"I would be a damn fool to propose or work for One Big Union, me holding the position that I do." And so would they all.

Freedom for Ireland was popular, very popular, that is as long as it didn't cost anything. A motion to give freedom a crutch in the shape of a boycott on British goods was downed with enthusiasm. Freedom should stand on its own legs.

The final and crowning constructive effort was the report of the executive committee on Soviet Russia. Summing up the entire matter they opined that the first workers government in the world was a "brutal defenseless tyranny."

The matter of international affiliation was debated at length, but as there seemed little hope of A. F. of L. persons getting pie cards in the international bureau of the yellow Amsterdam body it was decided that parting with the necessary per capita to pay for such membership would be wasted opportunity. Amsterdam was rigidly repulsed.

The convention closed in plenty of good spirits.

* * *

### The Amalgamation Strike

On June 2, 1921 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America signed up a working agreement which means victory over the open shop element of the New York clothing plutocrats. A six months strike has finally been ended so that the workers can now go back victorious in the very hottest part of the year.

The bosses, happy amongst the profits of the last few years laid down an ultimatum to the Amalgamated something like this.—

1. Individuals have a sacred right to sell themselves to us as they please.
2. If they want to work piece work we can set the prices.
3. Any time we don't like them we can fire them. If they don't like us, they can quit.
4. Any time that wages seem too good for the moral welfare of the slave we will lower them.
5. Day workers will hit the ball or hit the road.

After six months of happy life amongst the idle machines the bosses accepted the following terms by which the slaves agree to be governed:

1. Slaves will maintain closed union shop.
2. Joint arbitration and adjustment machinery by which the bosses and the workers come together reinstalled.
3. Shop standards set by joint committees.
4. Wage reductions not to exceed fifteen per cent.
5. Forty-four hours a week.

It is to be stated that the most notable reason for the Amalgamated winning the strike is because they do **not** belong to the A. F. of L.

* * *

### Railroads and Open Shops

The open shop drive on the craft unions is still gaining momentum in the railroad crafts. The Pennsylvania system has even informed that efficient labor retarding machinery known as the United States Railroad Labor Board that it does not need their help in quelling the workers in the shops and on the road.

They are at present quite sure that they can keep the workers in line with a company union

TO HELL WITH SOVIET RUSSIA! EVERYBODY HAS TO WORK THERE OUR MOTTO SHOULD BE: DRAW YOUR SALARIES AND DON'T GET EXCITED
RIGHT'O
HERE HERE !!!!
LABOR SKATE
DUST

THE CONVENTION CONDEMNS

which operates on the same basis as the well known Four L. in the lumber industry. The Four L. is of about as much use to the boss or the workers now in the lumber industry as a speaking trumpet is to a spring frog. But the railroad workers on the Pennsylvania lines seem to fall, in places, for this stuff.

The brainy policy of the heads of the workers organizations in this industry is responsible for the trend of events. If the workers can be held in submissiveness by a gang of reactionary labor officials, the railroads think that all that is necessary is to get the men into a company union and then they can just as easily hold them down in it and won't have to bother with the ever greedy fakir.

The workers, perhaps seeing no gain to be had from the damnable policy of their respective craft unions have lost interest in trying to maintain unionism, and fall ready victims for the company union plan. The fact that no union, either company, craft or industrial can be of any value to the workers unless it has economic power and is prepared to use this power to enforce demands is quite often overlooked.

So far as actual results is concerned it matters nothing at all to the railroad men whether the craft officials hold them down or whether the holding is done by company officials through the company union. The solution to the problem lies not in taking sides with either of these factions but in forming an industrial union of the railroad workers capable of concerted and united action to enforce demands by the use of economic power.

Many of the workers in the rail transport industry see this very clearly and hundreds of their fellows are coming to understand it every day. Craft officialdom sits serenely on the lid and joyfully steam rolls every attempt of the membership to develope fighting organs.

### The Metal Trades Officials Speak

The metal trades department of the A. F. of L. once again proved its craft purity in resisting the seductive program of the International Association of Machinists.

The machinists in view of present day conditions have at last seen the need of industrial unionism. Not being strong of eye, however, they looked at this need through the smoked glasses of amalgamation and so managed to retain some semblance of their highly valued near sightedness.

They proposed to the metal trades officials in convention assembled to call a conference of the "heads" of the international unions which composed the metal trades body, for the purpose of working out plans for closer affiliation and possible amalgamation.

The popularity of this outrageous attack on official sinecures, at least among the officials, can be judged by the vote. One hundred and seventy-one ballots were cast in favor of the measure while vest pocket ballots made and provided for the occasion by wary labor politicians yielded the sum of three thousand two hundred and ten loud and angry nays. Thus is the virgin purity of craft isolation vindicated and maintained.

* * *

### The United Mine Workers

The United Mine Workers of America represents an anomaly in American unionism. Industrial in form it presents a sort of local activity that is inspiring to those members of the I. W. W. that see the spirit of these members when in action. Each local unit in the mine is solidly organized with the possible exception of the office help, and in many cases they are as good union men as the others.

Local strikes represent co-ordinated action and solidarity that is hard to beat. It is in the method of carrying on the industrial battles as a whole in the coal mining industry that the I. W. W. finds fault with this organization. Divided into districts with separate contracts expiring at different times it is hard to put up a united front to the boss though it is possible to do so providing there is solidarity displayed between the different districts.

Petty politics and personal quarrels often prevent such a display of solidarity. Cowardliness on the part of officials is also responsible and the traitorous actions of some of the bourgeois minded representatives of the miners inclines one to hate organization that centralizes power in the hands of executives.

Yet such centralized power, if used for the good of the workers in the industry instead of the welfare of the individuals who are in office would make the mine workers the foremost battling organization in the world.

The British miners strike has just come to a compromised close. The American miners organization never had a better chance in its existence to promote international solidarity and enforce the demand that no American coal be used for scab purposes.

With a giant treasury at its hand no attempt was made to follow the lead of the German and Russian miners, who, needy as they were, yet gave liberally to the cause of the workers of Great Britain. The policy and attitude of the officials of the United Mine Workers is utterly reactionary and hopeless. Their official magazine with a circulation of over four hundred thousand weekly copies is worse than the reactionary press. In the issue at hand—July the first, it prints an article entitled "American Legion's Heart Beats for Labor." Such twaddle, such reactionary nonsense from the strongest and really the best organized industrial organization in America.

Yet to show what can be done in the way of the class struggles one has but to go into the battle history of any of the local fights of the membership. The trouble with the United Mine Workers is that it is controlled by a machine through the use of caucuses and strict attention to business transacted in the organization.

When a local organization is liable to vote contrary to the machine policy they marshall all their big guns on that local and do their utmost to swing it into line. The rank and file of the miners are not reactionary. What they need to do is to machine up on the machine.

Caucuses and close touch with other groups of the rank and file will soon put the reactionaries out of the running. It is up to the militant members to lay out and carry through such a program and in a short time the miners of America will step out on the stage of world events invincible as a power for working class control of industries.

Alexander Howatt and August Dorchy, president and vice-president of the Kansas miners' district organization, were found guilty of violating the industrial court law of Kansas. The Kansas miners are not working until Howatt is released from jail. The rest of the organization is still on the job and the officialdom is not only not supporting Howatt but are secretly glad that he and his men are having the battle that may break them.

This lack of solidarity is criminal. That the membership of the United Mine Workers can long stand for it reflects a lack of organization ability that must be overcome. Lewis and his whole gang must be put out of office where they will be unable to betray the cause of working class solidarity.

The United Mine Workers must act together in their own common battles and what is the most important of all they must get in line to act for working class emancipation and working class control of industries the world over.

* * *

### The Seamen's Strike

In the greatest marine strike in American history the sea workers of the different crafts of the A. F. of L. stuck out for eight weeks while their union

officials hobnobbed with legislators and quarreled with their fellow representatives.

In glorious A. F. of L. stylc the strike was swimmingly lost. The engincers, being far "superior" in social position to mere firemen and A. B.'s and the rest of the crafts too numerous to mention, compromised with the boss by accepting a fifteen per cent cut.

The rest of the workers were not only not considercd but their craft officials were shown the gate. Most of the shipping on is now signed via the American plan.

With a picket front five thousand milcs long to look after and thousands of members that needed relief and supplies stretched along this mileage there was need for the moment to forget the craft tactics and pay attention to the battle of fighting the boss. In a mcasure somc things were done along this line but nearly all of the activities were initiated by militant members of the rank and file.

The west coast seamen are continuing the battle alone after the rest of the country has been give up by the officials.

The labor generals, without plans of battle, with no contact with the membership except through appiontees of the main offices and the usual dues collecting machinery, were frightened and helpless and resorted to the only tactics that they knew, political lobbying with the bosses.

It is heartrending to see such splendid rank and file spirit thrown to the winds in such vapid and self-doomed organization tactics. Think of the waste of it all, those watchful picket squads that guarded the welfare of the workers in far off ports of Alaska, in the great docks and moorings of Seattle, in the little lumber ports of Washington and Oregon, in Portland, Frisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, in the cotton ports of Texas and thc wharves and docks of Louisiana and the eastern Gulf, from north to south on the Atlantic coast wherc the great trade centers are. The victory so certain and so sure with that display of courage and of solidarity on thc part of the members was thrown away because they wcre organized in crafts with craft officials and craft ideas.

Yet in onc sense no fight is thrown away. The seamen have learned a lesson, not the lesson of servility, but the lesson of the necd for greater solidarity, the need of industrail unionism and industrial tactics.

The seaman today faces the open shop, thc miserable conditions of all the olden days. He need not face them long. Organization on the correct lines, doing away with cringing co-operation with the boss for the sake of a contract will be a start. Real ship committees and active class struggle through job organization is the step that will bring the seamen from their defeat to greater victory than would have been won had the bosses given in to ducs collecting A. F. of L. officialdom.

### The Latest Popular Song

# Slopperene - It Contains Hog Fat

**Words by Jim Seymour**
**Music by the Singer**

**Mary Jane Carter got work, as a starter**
**At 6.87 a week;**
**She weighed out potatoes and wrapped canned tomatoes**
**And acted the humble and meek.**
**The boss was a robber and threatened to mob her**
**If ever she made a mistake—**
**He needed the jinglings for wifey's high minglings,**
**So Mary Jane's health he must break.**
**And wifey would say**
**At the close of the day:**

**Oh John, you're such good old scout,**
**As useful as can be;**
**You gouge the help that never yelp**
**And bring the dough to me.**
**And thanks to all your piles of tin**
**I've grown a secondary chin;**
**I know you're hard as nails, but hully gee,**
**I love to see them worked to death for me.**

**Mary Jane Carter was only a starter,**
**She didn't last very damned long;**
**Her skin it was yellow, her lungs they were mellow,**
**So Mary was not very strong.**
**The work it had knocked her and one day the doctor**
**Called on her and ordered a hearse,**
**So Mary was buried in manner quite hurried**
**And John's wife repeated this verse**
**(Oh, hark to her say**
**At the close of the day):**
**(Repeat refrain very bullissimo).**

# The Ring Around German Capitalism

THE Majority Socialists and Independents boast of having saved the German working class by consenting to the conditions of the Entente ultimatum. Owing to their cowardice and indecision, they are so firmly convinced of the unconquerable and inescapable nature of capitalism, that to them the saving of capitalism appears as the most important thing of the hour, even though it is equivalent to the destruction of the proletariat.

The carrying out of the ultimatum depends on the raising of the export trade, which will require from the working class impossible sacrifices and greatly increased production. But even so, if it should be possible, through the cowardice and treason of the menshevist leaders, to enslave labor beneath this yoke, under which it would eventually be destroyed, still would all the sacrifices brought to the altar of capitalist profit be made in vain.

The carrying out of the terms of the ultimatum, through the abnormal increase of the export trade, will not only be impossible because the physical and spiritual strength of the proletariat will not be equal to these enormous requirements, but also because of the inherent conflicting interests of the capitalist classes of opposing countries; and further because the economic crisis in all capitalist countries will compel them to adopt means of defense against the competition of German commerce.

Besides, the capitalists of other countries are attempting to become the masters of German imports and exports. They do this, on the one hand, by doing everything in their power to strengthen and increase their own industry and commerce through state credits, state export policy, etc., and, on the other hand, by making practically impossible the heightening of the German export trade, by imposing high import and export tariff rates.

In America, as yet, the different capitalist groups have not agreed among themselves upon the details of this plan. Besides the raising of the import taxes, based on the prevailing American prices, several groups of industrial capitalists, especially those who have come into prominence during the war, are working for the passage of laws which would prohibit import trade from Germany. The following is what Dr. Charles Herty of New York, the chairman of the American Chemical Society, has to say on this subject:

"Although the American manufacturers of dye stuffs have sunk $100,000,000 in the building of factories, they cannot withstand, without the help of defensive laws, the onslaught of German competition in the field."

Henry Howard, the chairman of the Board of Directors of the Manufacturing Chemists' Association, writes:

"We shall not consent to lose the benefits which we have gained through the war. German money has now only one-eighteenth of its pre-war value. Were German labor paid eighteen times as much now as before the war, German competition would not be especially harmful to us, but German labor actually receives, at present, only seven or eight times as much as it did then. If, therefore, after peace is signed, Germany is again allowed unhindered to export its products, it is self-evident that American industry must go under, unless a compensating and prohibitive tariff is set up."

Otto Meinicke, the chairman of the Board of Directors of the Ornamental Glass Manufacturers of the United States, writes:

"Importers of German ornamental glass are able to sell the German products for $5.60 per square foot, while American manufacturers, in order to exist, must charge $12.72 per square foot. Only by charging an import tax of $8.00 per foot, and on top of that, 45% of the value of the product, can the American industry be built up."

According to the latest reports, the following far-reaching clause has been added to the Tariff Law: "Every foreign exporter who refuses to submit his accounts to the American inspector will be excluded from the American market."

The import of dye-stuffs has been put for six months in the hands of the Federal Trade Board. Hoover declared in one of his speeches that it is absolutely essential that steps be taken against foreign trade competition: "The bill for the raising of the import tax on foreign commodities has already been passed by the Senate."

Ever since the conclusion of peace, it has been England's aim, above everything else, to destroy German competition by all and any means. Besides the 50% import tax which now, as a result of the last ultimatum, has been lowered to 26%, certain commodities are not allowed to be imported at all. For instance: The import of dye stuffs has been forbidden for 10 years. As a further measure can be considered the protective tariff and the Anti-dumping Law passed recently at its first reading. It will help to protect the so-called "key industry" of England and Ireland for the duration of 5 years with an import tax of 33 and one-third per cent.

The groups of commodities which come under the jurisdiction of the above law comprise some of the most important and most valuable products of German industry. They are, among others, all of the optical instruments, glass and porcelain ware, measuring instruments and other products of fine mechanism, manufactured articles of precious metal, carbon for incandescent lamps, and other chemicals.

The Anti-dumping Law is intended to prevent underbidding in Britain's lands. On specified articles, the importation of which into certain countries has been partly forbidden, beside the regular tax a special tax of 33 and one-third per cent has been imposed. The importation of dye stuffs has also been forbidden into Australia, and in Canada the

taxes on aleohol, aleoholie essenees and wines have been greatly raised. Furthermore, the tariff law has taken on the appearanee of an anti-dumping prohibition.

The Freneh government also plans the raising of the import tariff "whieh has beeome necessary on aecount of the depreeiation of the Mark, in order to eompete favorably with the German import trade into Franee." Recently, a conferenee took plaee in Lyons, at which representatives for the French hat and machine industries put forth pleas for the raising of the import taxes. The importation into the French eolonies of German ehemieals and pharmaeeutieal produets and dye stuffs has been forbidden.

The importation into Italy of fur and fashion produets and artifieial and deeorative fiowers has been eompletely forbidden. The "Frankfurter Zeitung" has this to say on the working out of the above prohibitive measures:

"The prohibition of the exportation of products of the German decorative industry has narrowed the field of this industry to such an extent that the further prohibition of the Italian market is bound to have a disastrous effeet on it. After this market has been elosed, there will be praetieally no outlet for the products of the German artifieial-flower industry as well as other allied industries."

Last month a eonferenee took plaee in Mailand, with representatives of the Italian industries of heavy products, in which measures were taken against the inereasing eompetition of German industry. Propositions were made partly to prohibit the importation of eertain industrial produets as well as to notieeably raise the import tax.

There exists in Japan, since July of last year, an anti-dumping law. While up till now it had not been felt as being necessary, at present workable measures must be adopted for the proteetion of the Japanese market against overflooding by eheaper produets of foreign eountries. At the end of March the Japanese Parliament passed a bill dealing with the import and the raising of the tariff on ehemieals, zink, iron and steel products.

In order to proteet the badly-hit industries of Switzerland—the number of the unemployed has risen in that country from the beginning of this year to the end of February, from 21,300 to 51,000, to whieh must be added 100,000 who work only part-time—whieh have suffered espeeially on aecount of the eountry being flooded by products of other lands, the Swiss government has been eompelled to put into effeet a prohibitive tariff. The German-Swiss Chamber of Commerce, whieh was opposed to the above measure, was eompelled to disband on the 6th of June.

In discussing unemployment in the Duteh Chamber of Commerce, the representatives of many industrial groups complained about the extent of German competition. Through the policy of the minister of eommeree, the Netherlands' industry has been put on its feet, only owing to the passage of a number of orders prohibiting import.

Orders have been passed in Czeeho-Slovakia forbidding the import of ehemieals.

To what extent the German export trade has been hit by the deeisions of the eountries mentioned above will be seen from the following table:

In million marks

| Exported To | Jan. to Aug. 1920 | % of exports |
|---|---|---|
| Holland | 8600 | 21 |
| Switzerland | 3700 | 9 |
| The Balkan States .... | 452 | 1 |
| Italy | 1100 | 3 |
| Belgium | 1200 | 3 |
| Franee | 1200 | 3 |
| England | 2600 | 6 |
| United States | 2900 | 7 |
| Other eountries (Japan, India Canada) | 4000 | 10 |
| | | Total 63% |

So we see that 63% of the German export trade, or almost two-thirds of it, is threatened. Besides this, we find ourselves only at the beginning of this movement. Other eountries as well—Sweden, Norway and Spain—are eontemplating the passage of similar protective measures. The eutting off of German foreign eommeree means more unemployment, greater misery and hunger for the German proletariat. There is no way out for the German bourgeoisie. Its hands are eompletely tied by the Western capitalist eountries. It is the duty of the proletariat to open, against the desire of the bourgeoisie, the door to the East, whieh offers the only way out of the blind alley of industrial depression and misery.

Translated from **Die Rote Fahne.**

## THE EDUCATED AMERICANS

In the United States the pereentage of illiteraey is about seven and seven tenths per eent of the total population over ten years of age. This means that one out of every fourteen persons over ten years of age is illiterate. One at onee thinks of the ignorant foreigner and says what a pity they don't know anything.

But the statisties from whieh the above figures were gathered state that over three per eent of the native born white population of that age belongs to the illiterate elass. In other words the Negroes, who are eompelled ot be ignorant by every foree and eustom within the power of the master whites, and the foreigners both together only make up four and seven tenths of the illiterates in the United States.

In Holland, Denmark, Germany, Sweden and Switzerland the native white population show a smaller per eent of illiterates than do the whites of America. Some other foreign eountries are supposed to also show better results than the United States but no official and exaet eencus has been taken.

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## INDUSTRIAL SCIENCE AND ORGANIZATION

THE abyss into which the world is slipping industrially can only be avoided by reorganizing industry.

Laws, politics, finance, armament, tariffs, and suffrage are matters that are outside and beyond the point. The crux of the question is in the production and distribution of the needs and luxuries of life.

The present arrangement of the process of securing food, clothing, shelter and amusement has been developed by the workers for the benefit of the owning class in society. The owners will not give up their position of control no matter if the whole world perish.

The reorganization of industry is the task of those who are not owners but producers. Their lives and the lives of all the world, parasites included ,depend on their success.

The first step in industrial re-organization is to secure control of the industries. They belong to the workers who built them. The working class must take them over, or go on down the abyss.

The first step in gaining control of the industries is in getting organized into industrial unions. We of the I. W. W. have a nucleus for those unions already organized in a unified and coordinated way according to the plan set out in our chart.

The problem of the I. W. W. and the problem of life continuance is how to organize the working class of the world into those unions and how to exercise the power of organization so as to displace the capitalits owners and develop efficient industrial organs of production and distribution.

Today is no question of waiting for capitalism to break down. It has broken down and is today dragging five million unemployed in the United States into death and degradation. Half a million workers are now on the roads and in the jungles of hobodom. Men and women and children are found on the highways with no work, no food and no shelter except that furnished by the begging, stealing ways of vagabondage.

Our need is to organize hundreds, thousands, millions of workers so that we can act together efficiently in a big all inclusive plan of action which must be worked out now.

We of the I. W. W. have decided once for all that there must be centralized executive organs, to evolve and put across such a plan with the aid of the membership. Now is no question of theory. The question is one of action.

In order to draw up detailed plans for organization campaigns in the different industries we must study and chart out those industries on maps and diagrams just as we charted out our organization's relation to society.

We must get accurate industrial data for our industrial charts and draw up plans for concerted action in the industry we intend to centralize on first. Then the executive bodies of the I. W. W. will be able with accuracy and immediate results, to direct organization and educational drives that will put us in the position of industrial power.

Once that power is achieved we can then take over and operate the industries for the benefit of the working class.

# One Union for All of Us

**By Tom Barker**

THE worker who follows the deep water is the most isolated of the sons of men. His home is a stinking hole, the food he eats is small in quantity and poor in quality.. The shore world conspires against him, from the shanghaier and the harlot down to the policeman. His officers maltreat and cheat him, and the shipowners —arrogant, bloated and stingy—buy up the union leaders and their scurvy, roughhouse myrmidions.

The consuls are against their unfortunate countrymen who go to sea, following in the footsteps of their politicians who have never yet done a thing for marine workers that was worth the paper it was written on.

To the seaman, life is just hell. Yet it is **their** industry that is, in the future, going to make even the life of the wheelsman and the coal-passer worth while. When all the labor front is in motion, the momentum is felt on every ocean route. Every black smur of smoke rising on the horizon marks, in the wilderness of waters, some shrine where crude and slow thinking men are desperately fighting down their own ignorance and seeking to coin into terms of speech their hopes and fears for the future.

To these men the union is everything. It is their only friend, weak and unreliable as it has been in the past. Political platitudes and phrases mean less than nothing to a million and a half of workers of every nationality under the sun, who do the same work, live **the same lives and die the same deaths.**

**The union, and that union ONE UNION, is the only gathering-ground for sweating underdogs who have gambled life, limb and love itself for a mouldy crust,** so that a world of land-dwellers could have their every desire fulfilled. From the port jail to the ocean floor—how often has that been the last journey of the human flotsam and jetsam who toil on tramps, squareriggers, liners and barques? The writing is on the wall. Pliable things change, rigid ones die.

There are gorgeous sunsets and sunrises at sea. The London, Paris and New York proletarians caged in their brick cemeteries do not know what the sun looks like, nor could they appreciate the millions of tints that adorn the sky when the King of Day rises, Neptune-like, from the black waters of the east. No one who is not of the sea can understand the man who lives on the sea. Now and then a Conrad, a London or a Bullen analyses his complexities, breathes in the printed word the tang of salt, the smell of tar and the aroma of cockroach-haunted foc's'les.

**There is a mighty fellowship growing up on the sea. In spite of color, and in blissful indifference to the influence of so-called religion, solidarity is growing and gripping the hand and heart of the pariah and the dispossessed of the deep waters.** In many ports and in many seas it manifests itself, and when it does so the whole world knows.

The crude and hardened men grope towards the light, slowly articulating their simple code. "One union for all of us" are the words they are using. You hear it on every hand. Go to the Liverpool waterfront and see the serious faces and note the enormous respect that is afforded to the man who proposes the One Union and can say half a hundred words in a strong, Mercey accent pointing out the reason why it should be so.

"One union for all of us"—for US, the bottom-diggers, the unwanteds, the stiffs, the overalled and oily, the guys who have spanned the trackless waterways with traffic, which you can trace on the ocean floor by the victims of storm, mine and submarine. "One union for all of us!!!" Wherever we are, night watch or day, port or two thousand miles from land; whether the pitch is oozing out on deck or you are

catching frostbite up in the rigging in a howling, 40-mile blizzard, let us have "One union for all of us!"

"One union" for sailors, firemen, bosuns, carpenters, stewards, cooks, sailmakers, messboys, engineers, oilers, skippers, donkeymen and mates.

"One union" for limejuicers, Swedes, Japs, Chilenos, Downeasters, Danes, Deutchers, Americanos, Spaniards, Greeks, Arabs, Negroes, Dutchmen, Australian, Chinese, Malays and Lascars.

"One union" at Panama, Suez and Kiel, Genoa, Antwerp and Newport News, Liverpool, San Francisco, and Canton; Hamburg, Marseilles and Saigon, Santos, Glasgow and Montreal; Sydney, Odessa and Valparaiso; New Orleans, Rotterdam and Auckland.

And in Petrograd, on the 7th of August, 1921, there will be seen the founding of the Marine Transport Workers' Union. "One union for the whole lot of us!" Goodbye, boss!!

# *The Rubiyat of El Vagabondia*

At dawn when dews bedeck the tulips face
Ere Morning's sun may all the night erase,
  I love to see the slaves in sweaty duds
Toil on—at record breaking pace.

Slaves are they; bowed beneath autocracy
They have no time for wob philosophy,
  Just work and eat and sleep, and work some more
They never heard of solidarity.

The Scissor never asks the Reason why
He does his work without a single sigh,
  But turn an agitator lose on him
Methinks he will recover by and by.

And those who harvested the golden grain,
Alike in Summer's Sun and Autumn's Rain,
  Where are they when the North Wind brings the snow,
Is there for all this Labor then no gain?

Now I remember, stopping by the way
To watch a potter thumping his wet clay,
  And cursing while he worked I think he spoke
Some words about long hours and little pay.

T'was workers who with shovel, bar and maul,
Across the prairies wide and mountains tall,
  Laid all these endless miles of railroad track,
And now they will not let them ride at all.

You built the roads with others of your kind,
Now o'er its path your weary footsteps wind,
  While those who never worked may ride in ease
You walk, and walk, and walk, a weary grind.

For as you lay upon the box car floor,
You hear the shack come banging at the door,
  You know that once again you'll have to hike
To the next town; it's fifty miles or more.

Wake! for the time has come when Labor's might
Shall banish from the Earth eternal Night,
  And in the coming day we shall enjoy
Full product of our toil, so now unite!

Come make the most of what we yet may spend
Before we too into the dust descend,
  Why slave our lives away for other men,
Why not to all this robbery make an end.

Hark! list ye to the call from out the night,
**Wage Workers, Men and Women, all Unite,**
  Cast Slavery's weary chains from off your back,
And **Stand Erect, United** in **Your Might.**

AND NEVER FORGET

Here's to the Red Card Boys, Staunch and True
Who did not flinch their Little (?) Bit to do—
  A Prison Cell for men who Dare to Speak,
Shall it be ever thus?

IT'S UP TO YOU.

# WASTE

By Walter N. Polakov

IF AMERICAN industry, personified by its captains, financiers and managers had been indicted by a grand jury for murder, arson and disorderly conduct in conspriacy to overthrow the existing government and to restrain trade, it would have caused a great sensation. On June 3, 1921 at St. Louis, Missouri, seventeen industrial experts, engineers appointed by Mr. Herbert Hoover, representing about 200,000 engineers of this country, organized in the Federation of American Engineering Societies, adopted and made public, at least in abstract, a report of the Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry.

This committee was not a casual list of incompetent jurors—it was a representative body of industrial councellors, whose demonstrated ability to reduce waste is widely known. Neither could these men possibly be suspected of un-americanism or extremism.

By nature, conviction and income, they are and they desire to be conservative. Least of all, do they seek sensation. **Yet their findings, if stated in legal terms, might exhaust the vocabulary of our Criminal Code.**

In their own words, this report "discloses losses and waste **due to the restraint and dissipation of the creative power** of those who work in industry" and, they think, "it lays the foundation for knowledge of the destructive influences" controlling our industrialism . . .

What are then the findings of these engineers?

"Waste," they found, "results from an interruption of production, low production, restriction of production and lost production."

Let us see what it means.

### Interrupting Production

Interruption of production is only too well known to us today when over 5,000,000 men with 20,000,000 dependents are locked out, jobless, nearing hourly destitution if not desperation. We have had periodic crises: 1893, 1907-8, 1914, 1920, when production was restrained in order to maintain high prices which the limited earnings of the population were unable to meet.

We also know that seasonal interruption of production in the majority of industries is artificially created. We know too that production is interrupted when men are sick and that our state of industrial hygiene is such that 42,000,000 persons are loosing about 350,000,000 working days' production per year due to accidents and sickness of which 42 per cent are preventable. **Authorities agree that 75 per cent of deaths and serious accidents in American industry can be prevented by using methods already perfected.**

Intermittent employment is likewise preventable for it is due to lack of coordination between related industries, the failure of management to link up sales policies with production policies, lack of planning, lack of research, speculative purchases, shut downs for inventory-taking instead of using permanent inventories, etc.

### Low Production

Low production is likewise a time-honored ill of our industries. The report does not evaluate loss of productivity by comparing what is being done with what **can be done** but merely with what actually is accomplished in the best **existing** establishments. This method makes their findings ultra conservative, placing waste between thirty per cent and forty per cent while **actually we produce much less than one half of what we could if we cared to** (with present management).

Obviously the losses of this class are also preventable, for this form of waste represents nothing but failure to apply fully our resources of knowledge, means of production, and materials. Modern technology and management engineering possess today a vast amount of knowledge which is not used.

Plants are usually over-equipped in an-

ticipation of future growth and **nearly half of the machinery constantly remains unproductive.** Stocks of raw materials purchased in speculation and stocks of finished and semi-finished goods are much in excess, usually from four to ten times larger than is reasonably necessary.

Restriction of production, on which the report apparently lays considerable stress, is, similarly, purely an artificial ill. It is due, we are told, to many causes, such as fear of dropping prices if an adequate amount of goods is produced, and to the fact that only owners of patents, trade marks and other protective legalities can produce certain useful goods and can restrain others from doing so, etc.

### Slow Work Means More Employment

It is also found that the employes restrict output, but while they are doing so by "limiting the rate of speed of output of individual workmen," says the report, **the employers "usually limit the total output of an industry."** Limited individual output, of course, could be **more than offset by employment of a larger number of men** but limitation of the output of an entire industry creates both **shortage of goods** for the whole country (and high prices) and **shortage of employment.**

From even this brief review of some outstanding phases of this report, it is quite clear that its conclusion, featured in the daily press, showing that 50 per cent of waste at least is due to management while loss due to labor is but 25 per cent, is not an exaggeration, but a decided soft-pedaling.

For what are, after all, the factors in waste caused by labor? Incompetence, slow working and conflicts are the chief ones. Yet it is the **duty** of the management to train workers and to make them competent and skilful. **Slow rate of work, likewise, is partly a reaction** against the **unreasonable** attitude of many managers in cutting the piece rates, and partly an attempt to relieve the suffering of those unemployed—1,000,000 persons "normally" and over 5,000,000 today,—by offering them room in industry.

Lastly, the waste caused by conflicts and strikes is dismissed by the report as "much less than popularly supposed" and as occurring chiefly in seasonal industries.

### Time Only Can Be Wasted

Let us stop here for a while and ask ourselves a question: What is waste and what is its significance? Let us keep away from metaphysics and supernatural speculations. In positive science, we deal with only three measures: space, matter and time; everything else is derived from these. Waste, therefore, to be real and not fictitious, must be reckoned in these units. If the cause does not produce the possible maximum result—we call it a waste, waste of material, waste of time or any function of these—like waste of energy, waste of life, waste of knowledge.

Now, let us go a step farther. Nature does not know losses. Matter cannot be annihilated nor can energy be dissipated. It does not make any difference for the universe whether it takes 10,000 years or 100,000 for the fern to become anthracite for there is nothing lost in this process of making coal out of plants.

Yet, if mortal man will not reckon with the **time** that his work takes, he will rapidly be reduced to a savage state and the population of the world will shrink to a number which Nature unaided could feed, clothe and house. It is thus plain that **time is the only necessary and sufficient measure of human progress and of human waste.**

### Waste in Labor Hours

With this measure we can size up the significance of our losses. Waste of one ton of coal unproductively burned under a boiler does not mean the loss of 2000 pounds of carbon and other elements, for they are still present in the air, and ashes may even be usefully employed in road building. Loss of five dollars is not loss either—it is simply money passed from hand to hand.

This ton of coal wasted is one of the thousand which a miner has dug out during a year of his life. He worked two hundred days a year and this one ton represents one hour and thirty-six minutes of his life.

If we waste, because of reckless methods of firing, twenty-five per cent of our coal, it does not mean that we waste $750,000,000 but that **we waste the lives of 150,000 men each year, not only utterly uselessly for the country, but we keep them in a needless treadmill, in solitary confinement underground!**

Similarly, if we have built a machine and use it only half the time, what we waste is half of the productive life-time for those who invented, designed and built that machine. Likewise, if we keep materials and ideas idle, we dissipate the life-time of those who worked them out and we imperil, and sometimes actually destroy, the lives of those from whose use these goods and ideas were withheld.

### Time Factor Unconsidered

In the absence of this clear, definitely human measurement and sizing up of industrial wastes we see a tragic shortcoming in this report. Of all the people, the engineers shold have been the last ones to confuse the dimensions! The engineers would scoff at one who added yards to cubic inches or attempted to measure the strength of a bridge in gallons.

Yet, living in an age of double standards, they blundered themselves, confusing classes, all their college training in mathematically correct thinking notwithstanding. The report pathetically attempts to express the harm of idle equipment in billions of dollars, preventable disease and death as equal to $3,000,000,000, as if each human corpse has a value of so much a pound!

Material wealth and its possession is in space. It can be acquired, exhanged and moved from one place to another, whereas human creative capacity can be measured only in time, not only because our life-time has a supreme value and cannot be indefinitely extended, but because men are the only living creatures that can bind time and achievements of the past generations with the present, and pass on their knowledge and render service to the future. Moreover, because time is the only thing that stands between the cause and the effect, we cannot think correctly unless we are careful in analyzing what is the cause and what is the effect.

The engineering report falls into the tenets of this long honored fallacy. It attempts to measure the human worth of life in yards, tons and dollars—all space measures, instead of measuring it in the units of a life-time, say in the hours of mans life which were either wasted in producing something which is unnecessary or harmful, or in producing something which, though necessary, is unduly slow or which is not lasting.

### Confusion of Cause and Effect

Stil another deplorable limitation of this report is that it mysteriously confuses causes and effects. Waste is described as a result of idleness, restriction and interruption of production, etc. Yet idleness, etc., is the waste or act of wasting time, that is, life, and of life sustaining production. But let us assume that waste is understood by the writers of the report in the lower dimension,—as mere loss of monetary profit. Even so there is no evidence that the restraint of production or sales policy is the cause; it is in itself caused by an economic regime where waste is a system. The report thus fails to live up to its proclaimed purpose to "lay the foundation for knowledge."

Because of this timidity of the authors of the report to get to the fundamental cause of industrial wastes, their recommendations are also not fundamental but pallaitive, based on the **uncritical assumption that the powers that be of our economic society are willing to eliminate waste.** Yet an element of doubt may be suspected in that the proposed program calls for "governmental assistance" as a co-ordinating and **coercive** agency, forcing the carnage of **"taking"** into orderly **"rending of service."**

To conclude this brief review of the momentous engineering report on waste, one should remember the noble hope of its authors, that "from this knowledge will grow the certain vision that mental and moral forces must be added to the physical resources now employed, if industry is to serve all" . . . **Indeed, an industry as described, devoid of mental force and lacking in morality, is but a monstrous Frankenstein—the author of its own undoing and a scourage to all mankind.**

(The New Republic)

# The Lunch Hour Gang Discusses Nationalism

YOU couldn't stop them from "chewing the rag" with a fire-hose. They were at it, as soon as they met one another on the way to work and in the shop, whenever opportunity offered while at work. But it was the noon-day lunch "hour" that gave them all the best chance at argument, some of it rough and ready, and all of it interesting.

This noon they got around to the "damned foreigners," after they had "passed up," that is, discussed, every subject, apparently, under the sun.

"Aw," said "Shorty" Phelps, "They oughta stop them cheap guys comin' in here from across the pond! I say 'America for Americans,' them's my sentiments."

"It's good," observed "Tim" Connors dryly, "it's good the Indians couldn't cnforce that slogan, or none of us would be here!"

All hands gave "Shorty" the laugh.

Then "Doc" Thompson spoke up. Now "Doc" had acquired his sobriquet because of his ability to make a good chemical analysis of the various kinds of liquors, and to prescribe them accordingly. In addition, he was well read and almost scholarly in his literary tastes and talk. "Doc" coughed slightly, and then spoke up. Said he:

"It appears to me that this idea of 'America for Americans' ought to be more closely observed by our financeers—I call them 'ours' because they are the ones who stick to us so closely while plucking us, that they can hardly be distinguished from us; otherwise we have nothing in common."

The close attention with which he was followed, and the laugh that greeted this sally, encouraged the "Doc" to continue, thusly:

"These men, who are economically the greatest factors in this country's development, and who derive the most wealth from it, and, therefore, should be our foremost patriots,—these men seem most intent, not on financing 'America first,' but on th extension of their financial control abroad. They are allied with French, English, German, and Japanese bankers in the development of China; they are financing Germany, and are in a so-called world-trust with English and German financiers for the commercial exploitation of Russia. They are making immense loans to Canada, France and England, both governmental and industrial. They are represented in all the international financial conferences and meetings of the international chambers of commerce. In fact, they seem to be more active abroad than at home. They also seem to be, in my opinion, more international than national."

"They have got to be," chimed in Sam Redding, who was known as the 'forum hound,' from his habit of attending all the open forums in town.

"How's that?" asked all the rest of the "gang" simultaneously.

"Well, if you read H. G. Wells, you'd know!" said Sam tersely.

"Aw, can that high brow book stuff!" exclaimed "Shorty," in disgust.

"I'd like to can a little of it in your cranium," retorted Sam, and all "the gang" laughed—they were familiar with "Shorty's" and Sam's temperamental and intellectual differences.

"Aw, cut out that smart stuff, Sam, and give us the rest of your dope," urged "Limpy" Long, so named because of his lame, limping leg.

"Well," resumed Sam, "Wells says that all the countries of Europe must expand economically, even if they have to overlap national barriers—the machinery of production, its international sources, character and outlets require it, and make it necessary. Now, Wells might have said the same thing of the U. S., where production is on an even greater scale than in Europe and where the need for economic expansion is correspondingly greater."

"Hey, Sam; for Christ's sake, where in hell do you get all that lingo, and what in hell does it all mean?" broke in "Shorty."

"Aw, dry up!!" "Go way back and sit down!" "Cut out the racing stuff and you'll get a chance to know something."

"Give the ponies a rest, and your brains more exercise! Go ahead, Sam; don't mind him; he's full of prunes, anyway!" shouted "the gang" in unison.

"Oh, "Shorty" is only bluffing; he is not the damn fool he pretends to be," said Sam, consiliatorily.

"Now wait a minute, Sam; let me but in," broke in "Jonesy," the machinist's helper. "Where do the workingmen get off in all this stuff?"

"Now you're asking something, "Jonesy," boy!" shouted "the gang" approvingly.

"That's the question, Jonesy, that's the question," repeated Sam. "It seems to me that in order to fit into this change at all the workingmen will be forced to expand, too. That is, they'll have to become internationalists, too. Just think, Jonesy, when you grow up and some American corporation sends you abroad to help open up some of its foreign works, just think who'll be the 'damned foreigners' then, just think of how this 'damned' foreignerism will disappear in the intermixing of the nationalities that this economic expansion will compel. Why, even now the labor organizations of Europe and America are getting together in accordance with this expansion of national capitalisms. It's a great development, from which the workingmen here can't escape even if they want to!"

Just then the powerhouse whistle called all "hands" back to work with a rush, excepting "Jonesy," who lingered behind in order to ask more questions and to get the thing straight in his own mind.

J. E.

# Organization in the Lumber Industry

THE only labor organization in the lumber industry at the present time, that has the slightest respect of the workers in the industry, is the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W. Its battles in this industry have been many; some have been won and some lost. Yet, regardless of any of its defeats, it stands far out and above any other group, both in courage and in honesty of purpose.

The most rapid growth of the I. W. W. in the lumber industry occurred during 1917. It was a result largely of spontaneous rebellion on the part of the workers in that industry. It was not brought about by carefully laid plans and executed maneuvers of a centralized labor executive body.

The successes of the I. W. W. can be attributed to the fact that their tactics are the only ones acceptable to the lumber workers. The A. F. of L. and similar unions refused to take into account the class antagonisms that were rife through the industry; they failed to convince the workers.

The terrible conditions in the lumber camps created a situation which was easily controlled, without much effort, by the I. W. W. The workers in that industry, however, even while they were striking, were properly impressed neither with the value of disciplined organization, nor with that of revolutionary education. The tactics used in the great strikes were largely improvised by the separate groups on the spur of the moment.

Yet, because of the rapid movements of the small minority of the old-time members who really directed the strike, the battle took on much of a uniform character. After the fight for the eight-hour day was won, the organization seemed to fail to hold the new members that had been gathered in. The voluntary centralization that had grown up during time of action had insufficient expression in the big machinery which had rapidly, and often carelessly, developed.

It is readily admitted that in many sections the organization was entirely too top heavy with new members, to permit a successful democratic functioning until such a time as the new members could have been educated. However, no organs of centralized control and of executive power had been installed, so it is not to be wondered at that many of the new members dropped out, in view of the persecution and villification that was heaped on the membership.

In point of theory, the I. W. W. is highly centralized. Due, however, to the sudden success of the spontaneous strike policy during 1917, centralized organs have not evolved, as they should have after the victory for the centralizationists in 1913. Great need for centralized organs existed then and exists now, and this need, wide-felt, is causing such organs to be created more in an evolutionary manner than according to a blue-printed theory.

### New Tendencies

The last convention took some steps to further change the organization as a whole, from a propaganda organization to one of industrial power. This will affect the lumber workers as well as others. To properly administrate a centralized lumber workers' organization, the central executives must have access to properly organized data of the lumber industry. This data they cannot procure from capitalist research sources. It must be dug out by the lumber workers themselves.

The capitalist organization of the lumber industry has been rather haphazard, and with no general plan for efficient exploitation of the timber supply. The individual capitalists have purchased sections of timber, and with no idea of co-ordinating the cutting of their holdings with general industrial methods, they have gone ahead and erected mills, camps, roads and power sites with no concern than their own small immediate plan.

These units have been scattered haphazard across the country. No unified plan, no data of productivity, no knowledge of proper technical methods were employed by the early capitalists. We see now in the lumber industry a jumble of competitive plants with no correct engineering plan of production. They co-operate on the marketing of products and solidly unite to fight organized labor.

### Getting the Facts

To properly battle these organized lumber barons, we must get the industrial facts which they have neglected. We must study the lumber industry, not from the point of view of finance but from the point of view of actual production. We must know the location and strategic value of every plant in the lumber industry. We must have easily accessible charts so that this knowledge can be drawn on at all times.

Using this industrial knowledge as a basis, we must draw up plans, regular campaigns for organization and education. In the past we have been attacking the lumber barons in much the same manner as they have been tackling the lumber production problem. We have not gone into the game with a unified plan of action. We have only tackled them as the special case seemed to call for.

With a unified, executive plan, concurred in by the membership and based on the actual facts of industry, we could hit such a wallop as to jar the old plute into a knowledge that we were really alive. With such a plan laid down we could organize flying squadrons of militant members working directly under orders from the central executive office. We would tackle the enemy section by section, one locality at a time with overwhelming numbers. We would be able to throw our greatest strength into sections where it was needed, with precision and an assurance of victory.

### New Tactics

Three factors must enter into the new tactics, that will assure the lumber workers the power in that industry. First, centralized executive efficiency in all organization matters. Second, industrial knowledge such as the Industrial Research Bureau should be made to furnish. Third, the application of such knowledge by a self-disciplined rank and file, working in co-ordinated action.

These factors are not ideas put out by some individual to be followed by the rest. They are tendencies that are manifesting themselves in widely divergent parts of the organization. At the last Convention the centralization tendency was expressed in many resolutions submitted to the body. Among them were the clearing-house idea, the departmental system and the recommendations submitted by the General Executive Board.

Not only has the I. W. W. accepted in theory the idea of centralization, but they are working out plans for unity. They are giving careful study to methods by which centralization may be applied.

The Research Bureau has been established. While no really remarkable results have yet been achieved by this organ, of gathering industrial knowledge, yet the foundation is being laid for great results along these lines. Financial stringencies are to be blamed for the slowness of action in this department.

In widely scattered articles in the I. W. W. press we hear calls for discipline. These items are a reflex of the general attitude of mind of the membership. Of course there is opposition to some of these ideas and developing tendencies but that they are maturing seems evident to the unprejudiced observer. The I. W. W. is evolving instruments of class emancipation from the material at hand. Industrial power will be achieved at the point of production whether times become better or not. The lumber workers are actively supporting centralization plans. The job branches have long been hailed as a means to solidify and make permánent reorganization work. The comparative success of this system of carrying on routine organization work has been demonstrated beyond doubt. The data of the mills and camps should make possible well laid plans which, if carried out, will mould a powerful as well as a constructive organization upon the job branch base. The catch-as-catch-can method of attack is well enough in a simple prapaganda organization. When the aim is industrial power we must use bigger and more comprehensive methods.

# Ownership Developments in American Basic Industry

**By Perkons**

THE great number of the American people still believe that the problem of social discontent can be solved by inducing the masses of laboring people who do not find a permanent employment in the industries to "go back to the farm." They are ignorant of the fact that farming has been entirely revolutionized within the last half-century, and that the possibilities for a city proletarian to become an independent farmer are about as great as those for a peanut vendor to become a captain of industry.

The invention of modern labor-saving machines has brought about the same changes in agriculture as it has done in industry. There has been going on, in agriculture, the same concentration of ownership as in industry. Just as a centralization of capital in industry has produced a class of industrial proletariat and city slums, so a concentratiion of the land, into the hands of a few, has produced a rural proletariat and rural slums. **We are fast becoming a nation of landlords and tenants.** In this process of social transformation we are repeating the history of Europe with its landed nobility and its peasantry who live in abject poverty.

In 1890 J. G. Collins, engaged in U. S. census work, computed that about 10 per cent of the total population of the United States owned about 90 per cent of the total land of the nation, urban as well as rural.

It is known that land monopoly has made the most alarming strides in this country within the last three-quarters of the century, and it is still growing by leaps and bounds.

Statistics show that during the short period of twenty years, from 1850 to 1870, the American Congress bestowed upon railroad corporations nearly 200,000,000 acres of the peoples patrimony, or an amount equal to one twelfth of the total area of the United States.

Fifty-six alien individuals and corporations own 26,816,390 acres of American soil; this is 1,678,000 more than is comprised in the states of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachuscts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey and Delaware with their population of about nine million.

Sixty-three American corporations and individuals own 174,485,966 acres—or one-thirteenth of the total area of the United States.

Thirty-five persons and corporations own more than 5,000,000 acres in California.

And thus we have a few railroad corporations, fifty-six alien corporations and individuals and ninety-eight American citizens and corporations owning 419,034,899 acres of land, an amount equal to one-sixth of the total area of the United States.

As in industry great and powerful corporations have sprung up, so in agriculture the great landlord is becoming the dominant factor in determining the conditions of agricultural labor..

Half of the farm lands of Texas are included in 2.7% of the farms, according to Bulletin No. 39, 1915, University of Texas.

The Texas Land Syndicate No. 3 owns 3,000,000 acres in Texas. Another syndicate, the British Land Co. owns 300,000 acres in Kansas besides tracts in other states. The Duke of Sutherland owns hundreds of thousands, and Sir Edward Reid controls 1,000,000 acres—both in Florida.

A syndicate of Lady Gordon and the Marquis of Dalhousie controls 2,000,000 acres in Mississippi.

The Industrial Relations Committee reports that the farms of 1000 acres and over, at a valuation of $2,333,000,000, comprise 19% of all the farm land of the country and are held by one per cent of farm owners. Not only is there an alarming concentration of farm lands in the hands of a few, but the same thing is true of timber lands. The Bureau of Corporations of the United States Government has found that 1802 holders of timber land had a total of 18,252,000 acres.

The Northern Pacific, the Southern Pacific (omitting the Union Pacific) and the Santa Fe hold 33,500,000 acres, or an area equivalent to that of the whole of England.

733 lumber holders have acreage equal to the territory of Ohio, W. Virginia, Indiana, Kentucky and one-third of Tennessee.

1694 holders own the equivalent of four-fifths of the area of France, or more than the entire state of California.

In Florida 18,949,000 acres, or 54% of the total area of the state, are held by 290 owners, these tracts ranging from 10,000 acres to 1,730,000 acres apiece. Twenty-four holders of over 130,000 acres each have 27.7% of the total area of the state.

In the mining industry there is a similar concentration of land ownership. In 1909 there were in the United States a total of 35,208 proprietors and firms engaged in the mining business.

In anthracite-coal mining 18 operators employed five-sixths of all the wage earners. In iron mining 9 operators employed one-half of the wage earners. In bituminous coal mining 77 operators employed nearly one-half of the wage earners. The 8,703,000 acres of land furnishing raw materials in the mining industry is in the hands of the 116 operators listed above. According to the 1910 census, there are less than 6,000,000 farms in the United States employing more than 10,000,000. Out of this number there are about 2,500,000 transient laborers engaged in agriculture.

**The average laborer's income at that time, for each person engaged in agriculture, slightly exceeded $288 in the United States as a whole. They worked long hours and, in the majority of cases, their sleeping quarters were assigned in some of the stables or hay barns.**

In the United States is being created a new privileged class of absolute landlords and a class of serfs in the form of tenants. The number of tenant farms has increased 130% in the last 30 years, while farm ownership has increased, in the same time, but 34%. It is in the great grain-growing districts of the Middle West and in the cotton and rice-growing districts of the South that tenantry has reached its greatest height and still shows the greatest tendency to increase. In the highest priced land of Illinois and Iowa the proportion of tenantry is increasing and the number of rural residents per square mile, is decreasing.

The economic position of the tenant is very far from being enviable. The competition of tenants for good land leads to a rise in rents which lessens the returns to the tenant until his total returns will not be better than the wages of the laborers in the industries.

The breaking down of the present capitalistic order of production is seen very well in the developments taking place in agriculture.

The creation of a large, ever-shifting population of farm laborers who find only a temporary employment on the farms, the reduction of the ever-increasing class of tenants to the status of unqualified laborers, the rise of a landed aristocracy in the form of absentee landlords, all tend to sharpen the class struggle in this country, which will ultimately and inevitably lead to the downfall of the present system of production. However, there are certain factors which might prolong the already senile life of capitalism in this country for an indefinite time. One of them is the lack of solidarity among the laboring population, which hinders organization and the acquiring of the spirit of co-operation and class-consciousness. **But no matter how distant our final goal, we should work so much more strenuously towards liberating mankind from the slavery of capitalism.**

# California Agriculture Demands Industrial Tactics

**By Mortimer Downing**

INDUSTRIALIZATION of food production exhibits its influence in ranches of the Pacific Slope and especially in California. In present-day culture there are traces of the buccaneer-occupation of land by the Spaniards, and already trustified food culture is in full swing. To understand this region—its needs and absolute necessities—requires that the industrial organizer should appreciate the past competitive conditions and the present urge toward centralization of effort.

In Southern California are still imperial areas under a single ownership and exploited as a unit. Around them are intensively cultivated orchards or gardens—small in acreage, rich in yield. Produce runs the gamut from wheat, potatoes and cotton, neccessities, to small vegetables and semitropical fruit, luxuries. There are no farms in California; every plantation is a ranch from the kitchen garden to the chicken yards of Petalunia. Climatic or regional conditions have developed special customs.

California may be described as 800 miles long by 250 miles wide. In this broad expanse the Commission of Immigration and Housing found 1500 labor camps employing from a score or so to thousands of hands. Carlton H. Parker in 1915 estimatcd the migratory workers in California to be 75,000 persons.

Such then is the human factor which the industrial organizer must mold before he can seize or control the vast membership of "home guard" labor which also functions in this Californian agricultural problem.

### Products of Every Clime

Let us first survey the regional industrial geography. Climate varies from the soft, subtropical, frostless belt of the coast to the arid plains, torrid in summer, freezing in winter, but snowless—and then to the mountain areas with their warm "first benches" where ranges abound, and the high areas where summer is brief and winter is long. Apples and oranges grow prolifically in areas not far apart. Cotton in one place vies with the north temperate culture within a day's journey. Roses bloom in the coast warm gardens, and snow twenty feet deep covers heights not thirty miles away.

These conditions attract to the play ground the idle spendthrift as well as the thrifty, moderately rich grubber. In a word, the luxurious desires of the present ruling class seeks California as a home. All these factors must be reckoned with.

### Development of Small Farms

These imaginative exploiters first stole the holdings of the bucolic Spanish grandees. From these vast areas they raped the land of cattle, wheat and fruits. Fertilization was neglected. The soil was looted.

Years ago, spreads of 40,000 or 50,000 acres of wheat were known as "bonanza ranches." Then intruded the insistent little scizzor-bill. Here and there this class gained a foothold, as see Riverside and Redlands in the 80's. These little landers forced a "district irrigation" law in 1888 which was fought and denounced by the great exploiters as anarchistic, because it held that water owed a "public duty."

Irrigation, the basic need of small ranches, and "bonanza" wheat dry farming having clashed, there developed the present agricultural structure of California.

### Co-ordinating the industry

Co-operation in exploitation was recognized as necessary. Hence alongsidc of the orchard is found the packing house. This unit is associated with other packing houses in a marketing concern, so that Californian fruit is not dumped into a middleman's market, but from tree to tablc feels the fostering care of organized ownership.

Oranges, pears, grapes, peaches, apples only blossom and get thcir skins under individual supervision. Once picked; their way to the market is through the chutes of a socialized machine. Around every packing house a resident labor population grows up. Time put in at the packing plants can be estimated at a given number of weeks; other incidental employment can be figured on and a semi-static population results. These and the 75,000 migratory workers harvest the hundrets of millions of California food products. It has been estimated that potatoes alone have brought morc wealth to the Golden State than all her mines.

### The Labor Force

Survey the situation: a grape ranch of 100 productive acres has been planted for five years. Roughly speaking, the rancher secures a dozen or less home workers. These are for his stock, run the disc plows, ctc., and carry on the routine work. He needs extra labor in the pruning and the picking seasons.

Newspapers advertise the rancher's labor needs. Ranchers stand at their front gates in harvest time and pick their "hands." Some engage man-catchers called "employment agents" in the cities. These agents merely put a sign out in the labor market and the migratory worker does all the rest, from auctioning to transporting himself to the job. For the mere address of a rancher the "working stiff"

mortgages away his first day's pay. Then he herds himself to the job and begins to heap up wealth for his smiling boss.

When the grapes are picked they go, largely, either to the winery or to the raisin boxes. The winery is closed, but the dry yards of the raisin industry are spreading wider. Pickers work on a tonnage basis. In the dry yards workers get various day wages, none high. Raisins have been selling at from six to ten cents a pound at the ranches. If workers would figure their value as pickers according to the product they would find that their

wages—the most important factor in production because they harvest the wealth and work frantically—rarely compare as one to ten with the relative output of the ranch. Workers should accustom themselves to estimate their pounds of products per day and the current prices as gossiped by every fat-waisted employer they meet. Until the workers think in such terms they will fail to grasp the process in which they participate, or to learn why John Rancher feels poor with but two autos and Jack Stiff is rich with ten dollars and a blanket roll.

All the products then of these ranches are smoothly gathered into value heaps under Associated Ownership. There is the Raisin Growers' Association, the Citrus Culture Association, etc., who not only produce all this wealth of the ranchside but ally themselves as shippers and merchants in distant warkets. It is this associated power of the exploiters which fortifies the California ranchers.

### Workers Organize

When the workers design an industrial organization, promptly the associated owners pass a law which declares labor unionists to be criminal syndicalists; and fourteen years in the penitentiary reward the spokesmen of toil. Jack Stiff must remember that in the 80's these same ranchers were denounced as anarchists because they demanded the right to organize and, as small organized producers, own the water of a district and the right to expropriate the princely proprietors who counted acreage in the hundred thousands rather than in the dozens.

**In the lessons of the past California directs the wage workers to the Lincoln Highway of Freedom. "Organize!" shouts history. "Organize! Ye are many, they are few."**

When the owners arrange the process of industry so that potatoes go from the field to the dessicating kiln; grapes to the dry yards and trays,

and thenee to the communal-owned paeking house; prunes from the tree to housewife; and all nature's bounty is ordered for the interest and glory of the few; then let the many grasp the prineiple of eo-operative force.

Unions must be so formed that the home-guard and the hobo recognize a eommon interest, enlist themselves for a eommon end, and use their powers for a united gain. These ranehers got their start by organization. Jaek Stiff, why may not you?

### Factory System Used

Food production on the ranehes of California resembles ordinary faetory methods. The food goes from the soil direet to the preserving and paeking proeesses close by, with all the effieiency of material going through a mill.

It varies in that all preparation for eonsumption occurs at the point of origin. In these eireumstanees the struggle between workers and employers is no longer the bargaining of the neighborhood poor with the loeal landlord but a battle pitched between organized employers and disorganized bands of wanderers, pitiful as beggars in their need, and with no higher form of organization than sheep. These forees meet at bargaining and the hobos lose.

As the manufaeturing proeess forces diseipline and organization upon the faetory slaves, so the disordered bands of mendicant migratory workers are eompelled to organize. Therefore the brief history of the Ford and Suhr case will illustrate the perseeution and tempering now thrust upon Jack Stiff and his kind. This battle took place in the hop fields.

### Hop Yard Methods

By advertisement and other deviees owners of the hop yards sought annually to attraet thousands of workers to their fields. Stories of the delightful California elimate were eireulated in the east, with suggestions that a real picnic with profit and health was in store for anyone who would join the hop-piekers. Throughout the state, also, the unwary were annually lined up—at least 50,000 men, women and ehildren were drafted.

**In hop harvesting, the factory character of this agriculture is immediately seen.** Hordes of unskilled labor are driven into the vines. The flowers are stripped and plaeed into bags. All workers are paid by the weight. They are assured that the ordinary worker can earn $6 to $8 a day. Averages about $1.50 are as good as the piekers find. Pieking is done on a bonus system, and in 1913 the offer was 90 cents per 100 lbs, with $1.00 if the pieker remained three weeks—the average season. In other words, the owners bet nothing against 10 eents that they eould make the workers quit. They won 99 per eent of their bets. Why?

According to the investigations of the Housing Commission, temperature in the fields often ran above 120 degrees. Filth and desease ramped through the sleeping quarters. Hygiene was utterly negleeted. Men and women, boys and girls, stood in line to use toilets so foul and obseene that stomaehs siekened. These were some of the loaded diee the boss rolled when he bet nothing against ten eents, that the toiler would quit before the job was ended.

When the hops were pieked and bagged they were sent to the dryer under a number. Then the inspeetors threw another pair of loaded diee. Vast quantities of hops were eondemned as "dirty," and at the seeond verdict the worker was fined, that is, besides the eonfiseation of the condemned "pick," an amount of his already-passed produet was grabbed though afterwards sold.

All this while the sun sweltered at 120 degrees. Some workers rose at 2 A. M., and were at work an hour later. They toiled and sweated until five or six in the evening. Their piek averaged under 150 pounds. Some few experts exeeeded 500 pounds. One of the incidents of this picnie was hop poisoning, by whieh the pieker's skin was infeeted by an eruption worse than poison ivy. Heroes indeed were these "pienieers"!

About seven pounds of ripe hops go to make one pound of dried hops. Then the produet is baled and ready for shipment to New York or London. It will be noted that at no stage of this agrieultural proeess is it other than a faetory proeess. From the pieking to the baling and shipping it is a modern industrial brutality. Concern for human life or comfort is expressed mueh like that of the eannibals at their feast.

In August, 1913, there were assembled on the Durst Ranches near Wheatland, California, 3000 workers of both sexes and all ages. They eomprised twenty-seven nationalities. There were about a dozen toilets for this labor horde, and the whole mass was crowded into a field of seant acreage. In this filthy eompound Durst Brothers eharged rentals which netted them in exeess of $2000.00. The thrist was intolerable, whereupon a eousin of the family exercised the lemonade privilege and charged five eents a glass for eitrie acid and water. These are only surface ineidentals to the evils which launehed the battle of August 3rd, when two of Durst's hirelings and two workers were killed and seores wounded. What really eaused the struggle was typhus raging in the camp, deaths daily and starvation among these thousands who were delayed in their entry to the fields by the owners.

### I. W. W. Protest

These workers, protesting against overwhelming misery, eried aloud to the I. W. W. Ralph Durst eame to the diseontented and suggested some form of organization. They picked Dick Ford, a former member of the I. W. W., as their spokesman.

This is what Ralph Durst told Diek Ford at their first interview:

"You will never succeed. I have seen these strikes before. You are beaten by the many lan-

guages. Money alone talks around here so as to be understood." He then struck Ford in the face and ordered him off the ranch.

Next day, Sunday morning, this crowd of twenty-seven nationalities, marching four abreast, orderly took the way from their festering quarters to Durst's office. There was a great hop wagon in the office yard. Upon this mounted a company of quiet men. They ranged themselves right and left of Dick Ford. In front of each man on that wagon was a solid block of people and each block spoke the language of the man they fronted. There were Japanese, Chinese, Hindus, Turks, Armenians, Syrians, Arabs from Asia Minor, Georgian Cossacks, Kurds from the Caucasus and Transcaspia; the neighborhood. He also appealed to the county sheriff, saying he was being expelled from his own land.

After the refusal, the strikers conferred and, at their request, Herman D. Suhr of Stockton, the only I. W. W. member known officially to be present, sent out an appeal by telegraph to the I. W. W. unions for organizers and for money to feed these starving workers. When the telegram was sent, the committee returned to report. At this meeting someone shouted, "Let us slash down the hop vines!" Dick Ford stooped and raised before the crowd a little baby with its face marked by the hop poison. Holding this infant forward, he made this historic appeal:

all Europe lent groups. Porto Rico sent a man who now sleeps calmly in his bloody grave. Two of his oppressors preceded him to death.

This meeting also was invited by Ralph Durst. It assembled peacefully. When its orderly organization was completed, Dick Ford went to Durst and was again taunted about the 'unruly mob.' He presented the demands: More toilets; drinking water in the fields; high-pole men to bring down the higher vines; the right to deal with town merchants for food (Durst had a company store); one dollar per hundred pounds and no bonus.

Sneeringly Durst refused. Ford returned to the meeting, told Durst's reply and asked the will of the meeting. As Ford talked, twenty-six others translated, each to his group. Then the question was put: "Shall we continue this strike?"

"Yes!" unanimously roared the crowd.

Durst was astounded and asked for time. It was granted. Durst then left the meeting and the workers filed back to their quarters. Then Durst, by telephone and messenger, sent for every gun in

**Don't slash down the hop vines. They will sprout again next year. Let us organize so that never again shall men and women suffer as we do. Let us organize so that no more babies will look like this."**

His audience responded with order and good cheer. They were filthy personally, weak individually, but in organization formidable and hopeful with faith in the industrial gospel of the I. W. W.

### The Slaughter

While Ford was counseling peace and order, Durst was mustering guns, and thugs to use these guns. He gathered every weapon in Wheatland. On the outskirts of the meeting he disposed his butchers—as the consequences will testify to. He had also demanded the sheriff's posse. Then—

As day died in gorgeous twilight, and these three thousand workers were listening to the peace advices, there came a fleet of automobiles surging through the lane! Guns stuck over the sides of machines. These cars charged upon the meeting, crashed to a stop, the ferocious posse advanced. The meeting opened its ranks quietly. "There was no resistance," testified the sheriff.

As this armed posse advanced, a Durst thug, Harry Dakin, now boasts that he fired two shots on the crowd. Lee Anderson, near the front of the posse, also fired a pistol. Now in this meeting were scores—maybe hundreds—of children. Their mothers flew to the rescue. In their rush the burly deputies were powerless as straws in a whirlpool. In thirty seconds, so terrible were these mothers in their agony, that no deputy stood erect. Dead, dying and wounded were strewn about the ground. Harry Dakin testified: "I got home, went inside. I heard the lock click. I covered up in bed." . . .

Nobly calm was this meeting, but terrible were the mothers who sought to save their children from these murderous deputies.

And this, in part, was Wheatland, the Bunker Hill of organization by the California ranch workers.

Then began the usual White Terror. Raids, third degrees and free prison beds were the order of the day. False witnesses, press hysteria and class lying were the preamble to the joke repeatedly foisted on the working class in this country. The "fair and impartial trial" ended with the conviction of Ford and Suhr. So terrific were the exposures of life in labor camps that the Commission on Immigration and Housing got busy and compelled some sort of decency in the camps of 1914 and 1915. In 1916 the conditions began to lapse. It was said that the camps were never as bad then as of old. Ford and Suhr from Folsom prison gaze upon a better world. There has never been the utter degradation they fought.

### Battle Still Goes on

Since Ford and Suhr there have been other battles in California by the workers. They have passed their Brandywine and Monmouth. They now may be described as in their Valley Forge. Organized ownership has passed its criminal syndicalism statute. Anita Whitney, a philantropist whose connections are high in station, has been sentenced to fourteen years in prison because she actively protested against such wrongs.

This woman whose only children are the poor and outcast has been convicted of criminal syndicalism and of conspiring to overthrow such benign rule by force and violence. They have convicted J. P. Malley, James McHugo, R. C. Lewis, C. F. Bentley, and are trying others; but just as surely as the horrors of Valley Forge led to the triumph of Yorktown, so will the workers move on to the freedom of Ford and Suhr, Mooney and Billings, and all the individuals whom Californian associated greed holds as hostages.

"We are coming home, John Farmer,
We are coming to stay!"

### Industrial Organization and Action

That necessary lesson of organization is sinking into the consciousness of California ranch hands. Workers with red cards in their hearts will organize the workers with red blood in their veins. There are more discontented workers in California than there is room for them in the penitentiaries. Those owners who have won their ease in the beautiful gardens of California are still so foolish as to deny living wages to non-unionized labor. General Organizer Greed is abroad. Hunger A. Plenty is his assistant. Criminal-Syndicalize that hunger pain, John Rancher!

The lesson which you have demonstrated in your own organization is creeping into the consciousness of the patient masses. Long has labor come onto jobs "loaded like a long-eared Jack." Labor knows how "forty year's gatherings" sits on its shoulders. Jack Stiff has learned he can "sleep anywhere on your acres so long as he don't disturb the hogs." Labor has seen you Little Landers establish a social control in California. Don't fool yourself, John Rancher, with Criminal Syndicalism. Labor will organize and own the earth.

You may dam up the River of Progress—at your peril and cost. Food cultivation in California is now industrialized. Ford and Suhr are still on the job to unionize it. Their prison is the light-house. Terror either in 1913 or 1921 avail employers naught. Labor has seen beyond the veil. It signals for organization.

# The Spirit of Centralia Victims

MODERN labor history has produced little that has created so profound an impression as did the events of armistice day in Centralia on Nov. 11, 1919.

Attacked in their own hall, members of the Industrial Workers of the World defended their lives and the property of the organization in regular battle with a mob composed largely of members of the American Legion. Three Legionaries were killed in the attack and one ex-soldier, a member of the I. W. W., was murdered by a mob after his capture.

Reflecting the fact of the class struggle in the lumber industry in the state of Washington, the prosecution was directed not against the instigators of the mob who made the attack, but against the members of the I. W. W., who were on the defensive. The lumber trust largely financed the prosecution and were loyally supported by every branch of organized business in the state and country.

Ten men were placed in the dock for their lives. After a sensational trial lasting several wecks a verdict was brought in on March 13th, 1920. Seven men were declared to be guilty of second degree murder by the jury. Two were found not guilty and one judged insane. On the same day the labor jury that had been sent down from represcntative labor bodies, in no way connected with the I. W. W., returned a verdict of not guilty.

Sentence was later passed by Judge Wilson on the seven convicted men. They were given from twenty-five to forty years in Walla Walla penitentiary.

Their case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Washington and in a decision handed down on April 14, 1921 the appeal was dcnied and thc verdict and sentence upheld. On June 22, 1921 the seven victims of the Lumber Trust were spirited away to Walla Walla to begin scrving their long weary years of confinement.

These are the few outstanding facts of the case that acquaint the reader with the actual events. Yet somehow they convey no idea of the tremendous signifiicance and the personal development of individuals concerned with this defeat.

The Industrial Workers of the World as a whole and largely as individual members have come to see that battle with capitalism means a series of defeats so far as the ultimate goal is concerned, until the final fight when victory will mcan the taking over of industrial and social power by the working class. Nothing short of such a victory can be construcd as anything but defeat by the revolutionary workers.

As the organization and its membcrs have gone from one partial victory or outright defeat to another they know and feel that it is the series of battles that are fought and the constant effort to achieve that will mean success.

It is in this light that the Centralia case must be viewed. The fact that seven convicted men by their brave spoken and written words and the every day acts of their narrow and restricted lives adopt and express this attitude intensifies the knowledge that defeat is no disaster. It is part of the proletarian battle and the great fight must be carried on.

Nevcr perhaps in any similar case involving as large a number of men has the courage and valor and unflinching attitude of the victims been sò unanimous. The seven imprisoned workers have by their every act and deed practised and expressed their solidarity with those who were on the outside, or in other prisons.

It is not so hard perhaps for pcrsons spurred on by great emotions and stimulated by being the center of great attention, to put forth a brave face in the moment of trial. From November 11, 1919 to June 22, 1921 thc Centralia boys have lain in confinement. They have passed through terrible nerve racking situations. They have existed in that close promiscuity that wears on friendship and solidarity more harshly than any possible situation that could be imagined.

Yet tHeir time has been spent in creative personal and organization work. Never from the first to the last of this trying period has any evidence of the great strain put upon them made itself manifest in their attitude. Quarrels, bickerings, petty misunderstandings, unavoidable it would seem under the circumstances have failed to materialize.

Education as a class and as individuals has beer always a star in the I. W. W. firmament. Self-education has been the main activity of its jailed members. In the case of the Centralia boys the advance that they have made in self-education can b: judged by an examination of the literary work that they have turned out for the I. W. W. press. Cartoons and pictures, of vision and of artistic value, have from time to time been produced by these prisoners and have been reproduced in the press. In their letters wide spread in point of time and written under all sorts of circumstances in regard to personal health and feeling a great contribution to thc fighting spirit of the I. W. W. has been made.

Bravc, earnest, yet with that touch of human understanding and humorous point of view that sifts out the dogmatist from the person of true breath of mind, the hcroes of the Centralia battle have endeared themsclves in the hearts of their fellow workers as much by their calm self-control as by their active bravery.

It is thesc sevcn mcn who have been taken to

Walla Walla to face the spirit crushing machine of penitentiary discipline. That they will come out unbroken and unafraid is the firm conviction of every one who has followed their case from beginning to end.

That labor will release them from their servitude is the purpose that is deep in the I. W. W. Earnest is the determination that the battle for our class supremacy will be carried on in the lumber industry and in Centralia.

The organization of the territory around Centralia is now going on full blast. The I. W. W. is well represented on the social map of this once terrorized community.

In the January 1921 active organization work was resumed in Centralia at the request of members of the organization in that place. The statement was made that should the White Terror in all the rest of the country burn and destroy the halls and scatter the members of the I. W. W., yet Centralia would maintain an organization and keep alight the spirit of revolt.

Since January a regular organization campaign has been carried on. The police officials on the instructions of the lumber interests started at once to apply pressure to stop the movement. Newsboys, branch secretaries, organizers and members were arrested. Some were released and others held on charges of criminal syndicalism.

In answer to this move the organization laid out a concerted plan of action. All the spare forces in the district were centered on Centralia. Instead of running for cover in fear of the iniquitous syndicalism law the membership rallied to the fight and dozens of men were soon in town selling literature, making house to house canvases, carrying on an educational campaign that will make forever impossible the recurrence of the armistice day tragedy of 1919.

Halls have been rented and openly advertised speakers have spoken on behalf of the I. W. W. program. Consistent press matter has been gotten out so that the whole district is behind the action of the vanguard on the job.

In organizing this educational campaign it was necessary to look out for the welfare of the educators. Housing accommodations were secured. Committees for looking after the house work, the food and the clothing were appointed and fill their duties thus securing the necessities of life for those engaged in propaganda work. Farmers are cooperating in the activities. Autos collect foodstuffs and the workers engaged in this fight are well supplied.

Four of the first members arrested in this drive were tried in Chehalis, the county seat located a few miles from Centralia. Two were declared guilty of criminal syndicalism and two were turned loose, on June 17th, 1921. Eighteen men have been in jail at one time. On June 25, 1921 nine men were unconditionally released.

They headed a parade up the streets to the place used as headquarters by the self-appointed educators. More workers are coming to town. The campaign is gaining attention, and a hearing from the formerly disinterested residents. Centralia will yet be known for acts of civic intelligence. Some day the picture of a noose bound form mangled and bleeding will not be symbolic of the reception given members of the I. W. W. by Centralia's residents.

The spirit of unselfishness and the habits of patient constructive workmanship have been held up to us by the victims of armistice day in Centralia. This spirit and these habits are bedded deep in the make up of the working class. Trough their militant expression the jail doors will yet swing open on Centralia's victims and the working class will always claim them as its own.

# *Facts are Universal*

No words have created such mischief in the world of today as these four—East and West, Europe and Asia. Division of mankind in such sharp catagories in a terrible thing. The reason is that both sides of the division are masses of old habits, and these old habits are mostly a bundle of ignorance, and superstitions. The West has its accumulated ignorance. The East has its inherited and clustered and garnered rubbish heaps. Ignorance cannot tolerate ignorance of a different sort.

But truth is the same everywhere, and for every one. The truth of science is universal. Fire burns in Tokio, in Calcutta and in London, according to the same laws. What is correct of the truths of physical science is also correct of the truths of human science.

On the basis of a scientific law, all mankind can meet. The division between East and West is a legacy of the past. The sooner we forget it the better.

In the case of India, however, this division has proved an utmost lie.

For to call India Asiatic, in the sense of China or Japan being Asiatic, is the biggest bunk possible.

The plain fact is that India is at bottom, and at top, a land of the same sort of people as inhabit the Eastern and Southern regions of Europe. India is a land of European national inclinations. She differs from Western Europe, merely in being in a state of arrested development.

Modern India was born and has been since brought up in a prison where darkness prevails. That is an English prison. For India to think of herself, to talk of herself, to aspire even for her liberty—is sedition.

# Industrial Unionism and the Strike in Steel

By Robert Grayson

THE book written on the 1919 steel strike by William Z. Foster has contributed a great deal of light where darkness previously prevailed concerning the general walk-out of over 300,000 workers of the great steel industry. It is not this illumination that the writer wishes to discuss, but rather the twisting of fact that is to be found in his concluding chapter.

After pointing out the strike's hopeful aspects in clear-cut words, Foster becomes confused, apparently by trying the impossible role of serving two masters. He is very clear as follows:

"... When one considers that they (the organizers) substituted a **group** of twenty-four unions for individual action in other campaigns; established a standard initiation fee instead of the **multitude** that existed before; adopted **modern** methods of organizing in place of the **antiquated** system previously prevailing; organized a **joint** commissariat, carried on a successful organizing campaign and waged a great strike together, one must admit that a **tremendous stride forward** has been made."

Commenting on this it is interesting to notice that every improvement over old methods are such changes as have been advocated and practiced by the I. W. W., in direct opposition to the general policy of the A. F. of L. Thus Mr. Foster admits that the strike tactics of the Industrial Workers of the World were so good as to be adopted as the means best fitted to wage the largest strike in American history.

Foster informs us that we have been telling the world that the A. F. of L. is not revolutionary; and that it has neither the intelligence nor courage to fight toward industrial freedom. He also says that we have given but slight investigation to test the soundness of these charges.

Now, who is responsible for radicals regarding the trade union movement of this country as reactionary? Is it not the trade union movement itself by its practices since it first came into prominence here? Despite what Foster declares, trade unionists do take very seriously the motto that is a disgrace to any worker believing it: "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work."

I was a trade unionist for eleven years. I, for one, do know that the trade unionists not only own that motto with the greatest respect, but it is the pinnacle of their circumscribed industrial vision. That no one can decide or even approximate just what is a fair day's work or a fair day's pay makes no difference, for the mob is always moved by phrases, catchwords and slogans; the mass never reasons.

The trade unionists do believe as a body that their interests are the same as those of their masters, after this fashion: That when the boss has orders he gives them work and when he has no orders they are left in idleness. Hence they believe that they have the same interests—orders. As a body they have not realized that there is a class struggle, that it is existing because what is good for the slave is bad for the master and vice versa.

Foster assures us that these slogans are for the consumption of the bosses; that even if the workers uttering them do believe what they are saying it matters not a bit, for, "Most movements are blind to their own goals anyway." Rather bad juggling, Mr. Foster, most movements may be blind to their future, as you say, but we are in a movement that is builded not on blindness. Ours is a movement that is not hap-hazard. We are in a class conscious movement! Conscious, get that, not blind.

As an ex-member of the A. F. of L. I may speak with some freedom as well as certitude about the vision of that organization. The A. F. of L. is blind to its future, as well as to most else that requires social vision. Its membership on the whole believe its slogans. And because they were strikers for more pay, etc., how can Mr. Foster say the Federation is revolutionary since such tactics are not revolutionary in themselves, and the order has forever been opposed to the downfall of the capitalist scheme?

A union that concerns itself entirely with the question of wages, hours and conditions is, at best, a reform outfit, and that in name chiefly, for as wages increase so do the prices of life's necessities. That this immediate effort is absolutely necessary against unbearable encroachments is not denied, but more than immediate militancy must be evidenced to stamp an organized body of workers as revolutionary.

That the trade unions are extremely conservative in spite of Foster's rather amusing revolutionary characterization of them is seen even in the handling of what they deal mostly in—funds. Twenty-four of these unions assessed themselves one hundred dollars each to fight United States Steel! These unions have millions in their treasuries.

These unions, or some of the more important ones, ordered their members back to work to scab on the other strikers. This attitude, though treacherous, was true to the inmost tenets of the Federation formed on craft autonomy, sectional interests.

Mr. Foster invites us to come into the fold of the white sheep and try to shape the destiny of American labor by infusing our revolutionary unionism within the A. F. of L.

Foster knows as well as I that the officialdom of the Federation itself and of the various **trade**

unions affiliated with it compose an impregnable obstacle to such kind of agitation on any justifiable scale; he knows that most of the trade unionists are by very nature of their craft skill conservative, opposed to any program that embraces the happiness of all the working class. More than any agitators modern machinery displacing mechanics from the safety of their skilled bulwarks is working to leaven the ranks of the trade unions with industrial union ideas.

Mr. Foster attempts to draw a comparison between the tactics operating in Great Britain and this country in the labor movements. He points out that over there the radicals work within trade unions, do not set up new organizations distinct from the craft ones previously in existence. This attempt to compare us with Britain fails for the simple reason that the conditions are very dissimilar in these two countries.

We know that working class organization over there has been a fact for about a hundred years. We know that it is the rule in England to belong to a union. In America it is the exception. There are over 75% of the workers of this country without labor organization of any kind. They are chiefly unskilled workers, not sought after by the American Federation of Labor.

It may best be said that revolutionary labor in America decided once and for all time in 1905 that the A. F. of L. scheme, which should be called not a movement but a stagnation, was definitely opposed to the performance of labor'c historic mission. The I. W. W. came into being. The A. F. of L. is a dam, flung by crafty craftsmen and official parasites before the onrushing river of progres. The Industrial Workers of the World may not be that entire stream, but surely in American labor it is the most direct current, and the clearest of the waters of this river of progress.

The I. W. W. has a vision and a plan. The vision is happy humanity, humankind toiling together and sharing together, and playing together, no masters and no slaves. The plan is the organization of the workers into strong industrial unions for the purpose of fighting the battle against master class encroachment day after day until the organization is powerful enough to decree that the master class as such is a thing of the dark ages of the past.

Mr. Foster tells us we are idealistic. Well, after being carricatured for so long as bomb-throwers that is very nice of him, but it states only a half-truth. Our social goal visioned for human happiness is idealistic. Our plan of organization is quite realistic and practical. Its practicability is vouched for by all the might and terror of the rulers of this land, by the courts that have damned and jailed our members; by the firing squad that blew out the magic flame of Joe Hill's singing heart; by the finks and thugs that gave us a red memory of Everett; by the cowards that hanged Frank Little to a trestle, and by the conspirators of Centralia.

Mr. Foster complained that the steel strikers could not exercise free speech. He seems to have forgotten that I. W. W. organizers and speakers and common working-stiff rebels fought free speech fights from one end of America to the other.

Mr. Foster criticizes our idealization of the Preamble. The clear-cut utterances of the I. W. W. Preamble have given us clear concepts, have stated briefly but fully just what we are in business for. Acting on the principles of the Preamble the I. W. W. has inspired the syndicalists of all the world, and the I. W. W. has come to be regarded by the revolutionary unionists of the world as the hope of the American proletariat.

No, Mr. Foster, we will not betray our trust to ourselves and to our fellow workers. We will go on and on, no matter what the cost to ourselves or to the aspirations of those who live by preying on the workers either as employers of labor or as officials of yellow trade unions. We have these considerations for us: That the introduction of modern machinery ever acts to displace skill in production, thus forever militating against labor orders that unite only workers who are skilled; and, again, that, in America, there are around 75% simon-pure scissorbills who need organization.

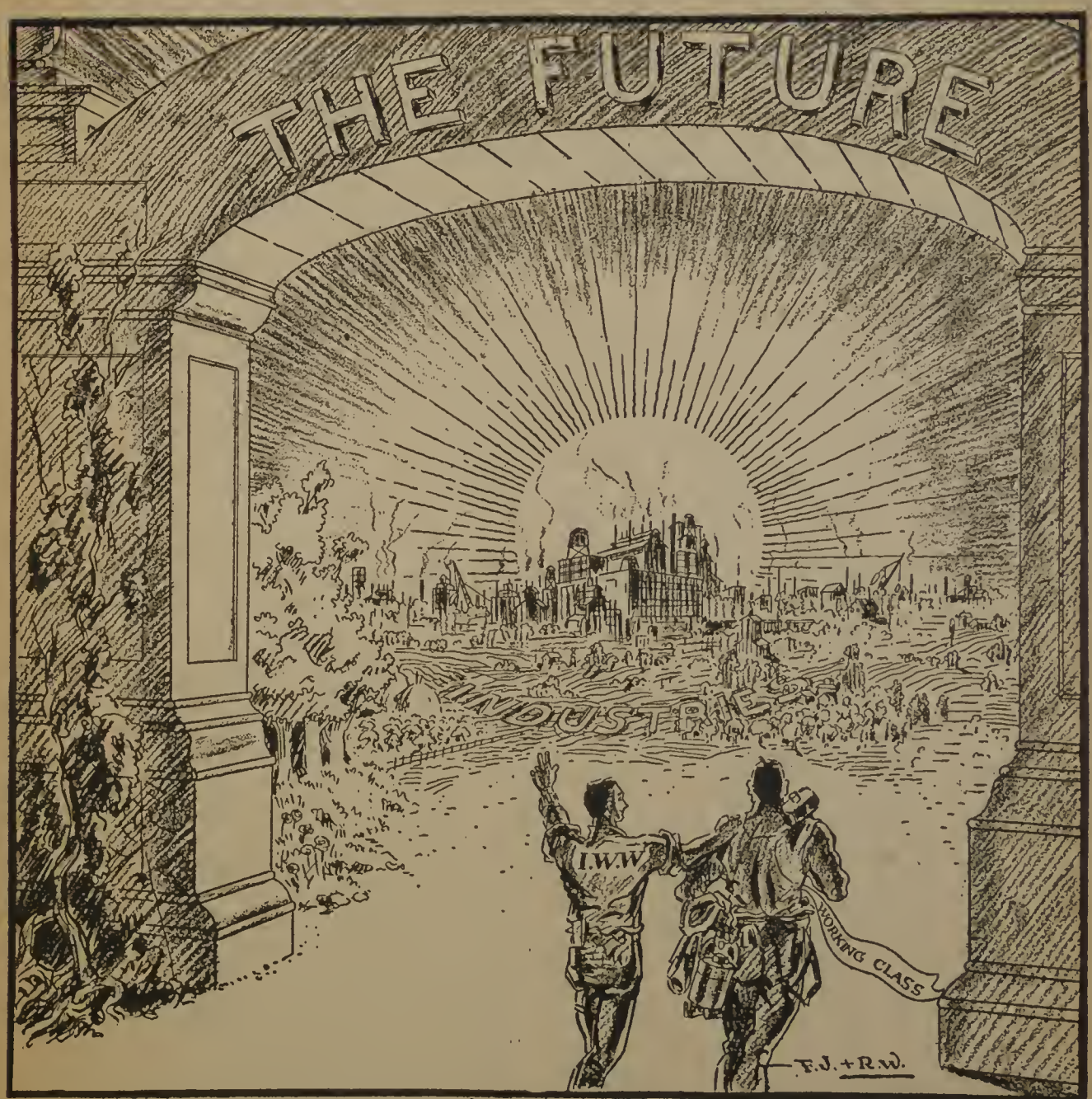
The I. W. W. will strive without halt to organize these workers and all workers possible to reach. No one can say just how many will be within the red ranks when the final contest between the two opposing classes is fought here.

Suffice to say that in every revolution of the world the great mass of people have aligned themselves with the side best equipped to win. Dynamic minorities have moved the world from savagery to the thing men now call civilization. Again in the future, near or distant, the dynamic minority of class conscious workers will remove the thing men call civilization, and put in its place what we have come to term the Industrial Communism.

* * *

It is generally conceded by members of the Industrial Workers of the World that boring within tactics are a waste of time in either the strong purely craft unions of the A. F. of L. or in the weakling so-called industrial unions which are in existence. However, there is at least one organization that does not come under either of these heads and is yet an integral part of the A. F. of L.

That organization is the United Mine Workers of America. As it is not a craft union it does not come under the critical analyses of tactics given above.—(Editor).




FELLOW WORKER! THEY BELONG TO US!

# The Story of the Sea

**By Tom Barker**

## CHAPTER X.

### Some Things That a World Organization Could Do

SINCE the war has ended there has been constant changes in the value of currency in the various countries. The central powers have felt these variations most keenly, while some of the allies have also suffered considerably. The currency of the United States has maintained the strongest position, while the neutral countries like Holland, Sweden and Argentina have been affected in a minor degree.

These alterations in the currency value in the different countries are due to several causes, including the borrowing of money on a large scale and the swamping of markets and bourses with large amounts of paper money which have an insufficient gold backing.

This is observed if you go to change gold and paper notes in overseas ports. On the thirteenth of November 1920, an English sovereign would purchase American money to the value of $4.87 while a one pound treasury note is only worth the sum of $3.37. It is much the same in other ports outside of the British Empire.

### An International Wage Scale

When a seaman signs on in a British ship he signs for so many pounds "sterling." People are under the impression that the word sterling means gold. It is not correct, for when the man pays off in a foreign port he will be paid at the paper rate.

This matter has not interested the national unions, in fact it is doubtful whether they even know that it is going on. The least that they can do is to insist that their men should be signed on in "gold" currency. **At present by the slick juggling of the exchange the shipping companies rob the marine workers of hundreds of thousands of pounds each year.**

The highest wages in the marine world are paid out of the ports of North and South America. American officers get forty per cent more wages than those sailing out of European ports. The wages for seamen out of American ports are $85.00 per month which is equivalent to about twenty-five pounds English. The British seamen work twelve hours a day and the Americans work eight. The following table shows the wages out of various countries and the amount that should be paid if the men received an international wage upon the same basis as is paid out of the United States—$85.00 a month.

| Port | Wages today | Internat. scale |
|---|---|---|
| London | 5.00 pounds | 25.00 pounds |
| Rotterdam | 140.00 gulden | 283.00 gulden |
| Athens | 560.00 drachma | 937.50 drachma |
| Hamburg | 720.00 marks | 7300.00 marks |
| Antwerp | 15. pounds | 25.00 pounds |
| Copenhagen | | |
| Kristiania | 316.00 kronen | 643.75 kronen |
| Stockholm | 320.00 kronen | 450.00 kroncn |
| Helsingfors | 450.00 finmarks | 3800.00 finmarks |
| Barcelona | 240.00 pesetas | 709.00 pesetas |
| Genoa | 800.00 lire | 2425.00 lire |
| Montreal | 85.00 dollars | 95.00 dollars |
| Monte Vidco | 81.50 pesos | 81.50 pesos |
| Bucnos Aaires | | |
| (overseas) | 202.00 pesos | 202.00 pesos |
| (local) | 90.00 pesos | 90 pesos |
| Valparaiso | 160.00 pesos | 525.00 pesos |
| Melbourne | 14.00 pounds | 25.00 pounds |

This table speaks for itself.

### Counteracting the Effect of Cheap Asiatic Labor

The creation of an International Wages Scale would compel the ship-owners to pay full wages to Chinese, Lascars and other Asiatics who work under rates. We cannot ignore these men. They have to be unionized. Wailing against their presence on ships has never done anything and never can. We can settle that vexing question by organizing them and getting them to fight for the same wages and conditions.

It will be interesting to see whether the Inchcapes and the Pirries employed these men because they love them or because they work cheaper than the whites. By forcing the power of the Marine International we are on our way to settling for all time the matter of colored labor on ships.

Hence you will see, fellow workers, the necessity for an international wage scale based on the highest wages paid out of any port. There is no reason why seamen and allied workers should be penalized on account of the changes in the currency. Any national "funeral" society that does not stand for this is better swamped. If the forthcoming conference at Brussels does not take this up then it will be their funeral. This question is merely a reform but it is a thing that will be welcomed, and it will go far towards proving to men the utility of an international.

### Reduce and Standardise Hours of Labor

Some time ago the League of Nations convened a meeting of ship owners and union officials in Genoa. They were supposed to be very much con-

cerned about the marine workers but when the question of hours came up for the seamen it was contrived that the proposal for the forty-eight hour week be defeated by one eighth of a vote. The British ship-owners wailed that it would mean bankruptcy for them and a compromise was fixed at sixty-six hours a week,—which is more real work than most of these delegates have performed in a life time.

In Australian and American ships the eight hour day has already been established and for a time likewise in Denmark and Sweden but Denmark lost out after the March, 1920, strike. The League of Nations Labor Office is merely a capitalistic tool to sidetrack the workers into hoping for something. The workers of the sea are to them what the frog is to the snake. Beware of Monsieur Albert Thomas with his nice black whiskers, fellow workers.

An International Marine Organization could enforce the 44-hour week in port, and the 36-hour week in port in tropical countries, and a 48-hour week at sea, with no overtime except under extraordinary circumstances. As I have pointed out, we are not doing our duty to our fellows as long as we are working 12 hours a day while they are starving on the docks. We have to be responsible for our own unemployed. A strong organization would reduce the hours in the stoke-hole from 8 to 6, with four watches for firemen. If there are not enough firemen to work the extra shift then let the ship-owners work the additional watch.

Instead of waiting for the bell-wethers to do things for us, we have to do things for ourselves. We have to counteract the new laborsaving processes, the new rates, by strong and determined world unionism. We have to wage ruthless war against the decadent and vicious class who have coined enormous fortunes out of our overwork, our hunger and our misery. We have to develop the feeling that we are out to **win** and that the forces of **hell** cannot prevail against us.

Again we have to force the right for our members to pay off in any port and to get their wages in full, that the system of logging be abolished, and that the business of signing period articles shall be abolished. All men shall be engaged solely through the union office and by rotation. Any delegate grafting or selling jobs should be expelled from the organization and blacklisted. No union dues shall be collected under the nose of the shipping agents as is the case in many countries today.

### In Regard to Accommodations

Ships that are minus decent living accommodations could be held up until they are refitted. The Marine International should approach all the workers engaged in the ship-building industry and ask them to refuse to build ships unless there are separate cabins for the men as well as properly fitted mess-rooms and hot and cold water baths. Deck-houses should be built for the steersman, so that he is protected from the weather during his watch. Lifeboats should be in excellent condition, and electrically launched. Ship's Committees to insist that only third class passengers clear a ship before the crew when she is in a dangerous position. Let the parasites save their own hides. The Committees to have the power to stop the officers from racing in foggy or iceberg frequented seas, and to reduce the speed to one that is considered safe. Put an end to enormities such as the 'Titanic' disaster, where the parasitical herds are saved and the firemen and seamen go down to their last grave leaving their desolate wives and hungry children to mourn the loss of their breadwinners. Our class, first, last and always.

A Marine International will give us a true appreciation of ourselves and a contempt for the idlers with their white hands and the best saloons and the best good food. We do not want seamen's missions, nor pipes at Christmas, nor tracts at Easter. We want power, for that is the basis of everything in the future.

### As to Food

The food schedules have to be drawn up again. Food must be inspected before the ship sails, and must be of the best. No margarine should be carried. There should be a refrigerator aboard every foreign-going ship. Ice or oatmeal water must always be available for the firemen. Ample fresh fruit and vegetables shall be procured at each port, and the ship should not be moved until those conditions have been carried out. As for the minimum food scale provided by politicians, we will fit a few ships especially for those type of people and send them to sea on their own schedule in order to educate them.

### As to the Future

When you read this, fellow worker, don't gasp, but get into the fight to bring it about. The things that I have mentioned, after all, are merely minor reforms, and will not make any serious hole into the banking accounts of our masters. But they are a basis of common agreement, things that we all desire, and things that we can bind the workers of the sea together on. They will help us understand each other and encourage us towards the glorious day, when the workers of the sea will be the dominant force on the ocean routes. In a few months you will see the ships of the Russian Workers' Republics on the sea. They will be built for **men** to live in, not for wild animals, who are housed like dogs and worked like bullocks, such as we are today. All things are possible with an intelligent organized working class.

Let us be in such a position that we will be able to go into any port in the world carrying the same card as the docker. Let us stick together in fine or dirty weather, for a fight is the fight of everyone of us, whatever our flag, our ship, or our job.

## CHAPTER XI.

### A Few Words on Fighting.

It must be plain as daylight to intelligent marine workers that the Shipping Octopus cannot be defeated by organizations as they exist today. The legislative acts of a country have no operation outside of its own boundaries. The men on deep water ships only work a small portion of their time within their home ports. No political party can claim to protect the sea workers outside their own radius of action. In addition to this, not one in five sea workers possesses a vote. Under the control of capitalism, the relative and actual position of the working class becomes steadily worse from year to year. The other class becomes richer and more powerful. These tendencies continue under Labor Governments (as in Australia) just the same as under the bourgeois political parties.

Under these conditions the marine workers have to find other means of expression than merely voting for politicians, or relying upon the limited power of their local organizations. Political power does not come from nose-counting; it comes from industry. A slave class industrially is a slave class politically. Men who cannot conquer freedom where they work can never conquer any other kind of freedom. That has been demonstrated in nearly every country, since the termination of the war.

The scientific fighting organization upon which the future depends has to rise from the workers, and not to fall from the professional secretaries and officials. The idea of CLASS has to subordinate all other things to its own predominance. To that end, we have to regard all capitalists, reactionary college professors, politicians and other undesirables as **enemies** and **foreigners**, and all workers as our class brothers. That is to say, the Liverpool dockers and the Antwerp crane-drivers have more in common with the Chinese firemen and the Lascar seamen than they have with the Liverpool shipowners or the Belgian importers.

Capitalism is tottering. Hoary with a million crimes it staggers towards its death. Social systems like human beings have their birth, adolescence, zenith, decay and death. From the womb of the old system, comes the new. Chattel slavery grew out of tribal communism, feudalism out of chattel slavery, and capitalism out of feudalism. One class after another has climbed to the possession and control of the earth, to be overthrown in its turn by another better fitted to manage, direct and possess. The last of the classes, and the most numerous, is now preparing itself to overthrow capitalism. "It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism." "By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." On the side of the working class are all the vital social forces. Treachery, faulty organization, political opportunism, and side issues may delay the coming of the triumph of the workers, but cannot prevent it.

The working class is destined to master the world. It is the destiny that can only come from clear and decisive knowledge. It must find its origin in the growth of the ideas of **control** and **possession** of the ships and wharves on which men work. The disintegrating forces of capitalism must give way to the aggressive, masterful masses of the workers.

### As to Classes.

On certain days at Buckingham Palace or the White House you will see the representatives of the ruling classes of the different countries meet despite their varying religions, colors and languages, on terms of equality and comradeship. They do not war, nor wrangle, nor squabble about their respective differences. They leave that to the working class; furthermore, they foster it as much as possible, for in sectionalism and nationalism lies their own safety.

And yet, in February, 1921, I sailed out of the port of Buenos Aires on the Norwegian steamer "Vela," which had eleven nationalities aboard. All the crew, with the exception of the officers and engineers, were members of the M. T. W. in Buenos Aires. We stuck together and agreed among ourselves. Our united efforts gave us strength, for we were as unbreakable in our solidarity as our class enemies who meet in courts and castles. The Chinese in the galley, the Chilians, Spaniards, Italians, Swedes and Finns in the stokehole and the Norwegians, English, Germans, Esthonians and Russians on deck, agreed like brothers. When we had a strike in Buenos Aires—against the captain for attempting to take a crew from a notorious shanghaier—it was the Argentine dockers and carters who aided us, and together we **compelled** the captain to submit to the law of the **organized workers enacted in the Union Hall.**

Such is the method upon which the units of the Marine International must depend for their triumph. It will establish a fraternity and a brotherhood in every ship and every port, and create an impregnable buttress against exploitation. In its extension and practice it will give the marine workers the **power** to determine their own lives, the course of the ships on which they sail **and the cargo that they shall carry.**

This will leave the hell-found instruments of war rust in the railway sidings, or to be forged into implements of peace; the grey monsters that blight the bosom of the ocean will cease their vile work, and the Workers of the World, united through the far-reaching arms of the Marine Workers International, shall extend the rule of the proletariat to the uttermost places in the world.

### The Barbed Wire in the Path.

It is a lamentable fact that the people who know least about the requirements of the workers are the officials of their organizations. We hear the Yellow

Amsterdam International, composed of the bell-wether leaders of pre-war days, talking the same old platitudes, since they are now even more than ever embedded in their nationalism. The world has gone past them, but they persist in believing that the world of labor is following them. The world of labor is not only sick of their incapacity, but of the machine that sends them, year after year, and generation after generation, to talk the same generalities in so-called International Congresses.

And yet the men in the different industries are more than ready for something better. There are no men more capable of responding to the call for a fighting International than the men who risk their lives in every latitude. It is in their bones, it is the unspoken thought in their minds, that merely needs expressing for them to realize its vast importance.

In the past these men have sailed the seas. The National Unions have collected their initiation fees and dues and given little in return. I have seen men with five or six union cards in their possession. Ignorance and incapacity of the officials has withheld any systematic co-operation between the different unions. No effort has ever been made to educate the workers, and with the single exception of the **"Australian Seamen's Journal"**, the maritime union papers are the most woeful productions that were ever consigned to a butcher's shop for wrapping up meat.

In the former chapter I mentioned the dinner given to the ship-owners by the British Union. Compare this with the following advertisement which appeared in the columns of the London "Observer" on the 28th day of October, 1920:

**They Look for You For Help.**

The spectre of hunger, cold and misery is staring in the face of the widows and children of the British Merchant Seamen, there are 320 incapacitated merchant seamen, 887 widows, 1100 dependents and children on our books who lack the means of existence. Can you help them?

Please send a donation today to Thomas Scott, Secretary, British Merchant Seamen and their Dependents' Fund. Tower Building, Liverpool.

The advertisement is not only a condemnation of the swinish inhumanity and greediness of the ship-owners; it is as well a striking proof of the failure of the existing form of organization. If there are any eight course meals to come from

WAIT! LET US HAVE AN ARBITRATION CONFERENCE BEFORE WE PROCEED!

union funds, it would surely be more just that some of the workers and their dependents above mentioned should have the honor and pleasure instead of the rich plutocrats of ocean transport. But, I forgot that it is the work of the union in question to **bury** its members when they are dead.

**Forward! The Advance Guard!**

Let us unite, fellow workers! Let us establish the New School of Unionism—Industrial Unionism, World Unionism. Let us remember that we have to rely upon ourselves, and to build for ourselves. We have not merely to conquer the ships in which we work but we have to **run** them as social floating machines engaged in supplying the economic wants of society.

Instead of waiting for **coup d'etats**, or for the bottom to fall out of capitalism, it is our duty to work for the day, and to realize what the Red Navy at Kiel realized, that there can be no success, unless there is a powerful, well-equipped organization in the field of industry. We learn by experience, and there is no field so fruitful in results, so encouraging to the enthusiast as the creation of the foundations of an Industrial Commonwealth. Therefore it is our duty and our joy to encourage action, to dissipate ignorance, and by working within the field of our experience, and with the things and the men with whom we have contact, to make steady progress towards our objective. The compilation of knowledge dealing with our particular industry is imperative, for the time is coming when our future will depend upon what we **know**—upon the organization that we possess, its virility and its mobility.

On our side are vital social forces, and the advantage of numbers. We need but the Will to Power. The time is nearing when the merchant navies will pass into the control of the workers aboard them. A common flag will fly at the masthead; it will be the insignia of the Universal and International Organization, on a red banner. For whatever may be the tint of our skins, in our veins surges the red blood of our class, and we do not envy the titled and blue-blooded plutocrats their special variety.

**....Hail the sunrise of the Industrial Communards on the ocean routes, ye men of the sea! Hail the dawn of our class solidarity! It will strike the shackless from our limbs, and make us free as the laughing wind which whitens the wave-tips on the Pacific.**

## CHAPTER XII.

## TOWARDS INDUSTRIAL COMMUNISM.

**Towards Industrial Communism.**

Some time ago I was an interested spectator at a socialist conference in London. One of the speakers, in putting up the case in favor of participation in parliamentary action, suggested that when the workingman came to understand the capitalist tiger, through his activity in parliament and on local councils, all he would have to do would be to push his hand down the tiger's throat, grab him by the tail, and then turn him inside out. Thus we would have socialism, which the speaker stated, was but an inversion of capitalism. It was so wonderfully simple that I wondered why it had not occurred to anyone before.

The labor movement, unfortunately, has got into the habit of taking its formulas from other parts of the world; for example, from Russia, where the workers have obtained power, and are maintaining it. No allowance is made for the different degrees of industrial development in countries like the Great Britain, Belgium or the United States. In a copy of the "One Big Union Monthly" I read an article by a very capable writer, who uses the nom de plume of "Industrial Engineer". Says he:

> "The majority of the labor organizations are not capable of operating it as well as the capitalist, but that is not sufficient. There are none that can operate and co-ordinate the present producing mechanism with the needed accompaniment of a change of technique. A reply is often made to the statement of this condition, to wit, "The workers will acquire the knowledge and the organization after they come into power." In Russia, where 92 per cent of the population are peasants, and where there is only a young industrial development, a dislocation of industry, while serious in itself, does not bring starvation to any large percentage of people. In the United States to attempt to acquire an operating knowledge of an industry and an organization after the change would be preparing for birth while the autopsy was already being carried on. The interdependence of industry with industry is such that the absence of a producing organization capable of directing and operating industry would bring about nothing short of chaos and dissolution."

But even if in the United States there is enough food grown to meet the elementary needs of the people during a revolutionary crisis, in England, Belgium and France the results will be disastrous if matters are allowed to drift in the haphazard fashon of today. Most of the advanced members of Communist parties are more concerned with the spectacular outward forms of revolution than with the actual creation of a working class power having at its command the technical knowledge necessary for the requirements of the people, as well as the organization and industrial discipline that will make it possible to keep in working order the land and the over-seas transport systems. When we contemplate the fact that Great Britain can barely feed herself for three months, and that in a crisis very likely the shipping would be tied up or would lay idle through lack of initiative, we can form some idea of the hunger and starvation that would be

bound to ensue. Russia in its worst hours would be a paradise when compared with England under such conditions. The more pastoral a country, the less necessary for successful revolution is a technical industrial organization. In highly industrialized and specialized countries like the Unted States, Great Britain, Belgium, or France, the politigal organization is of very minor importance, indeed. And yet in spite of this, a lamentable confusion of thought prevails among the workers concerning this subject, when everything ought to be as clear as daylight.

With such an organization of marine workers as I have mentioned, we would be in position to do things. Our men know what has to be done. They know that foodstuffs are vitally necessary, and they know further, where to get them. They are in touch with the men who load goods in Buenos Aires, Melbourne, or Odessa, for the long chain of organization of the transport industry runs into every corner of the earth. The technical branch of the organzation knows that coal is needed in Argentine, and iron rails in Chile. It knows the number of surplus bushels of wheat in Odessa, and how many yards of cotton are needed in Java. It knows how many ships there are, and where they are distributed and whither they are bound. In this it is the knowledge of facts that will count; upon that will depend the success of the working class, or a lapse into disorganized confusion. There is far more talent for running ships than there are ships. In fact, I know ten men who could, owing to their knowledge of ports and marine transport, assume control of the world's marine transport tomorrow; but to look at them one would not believe that they had ever worn anything else but a dungaree suit. The industry is overflowing with good men and true, and with a little initiative the whole industry could be altered as much as we altered the port of Buenos Aires in the month of May, 1919.

The philosophy of industrial unionism provides for the creation of real unions with far-flung connections. Industrial unionism takes the economics of Marx out of the class-room, popularizes them and applies the lessons learned to wages, shovels, food, clothing, horses, anvils, spanners, saws, hammers, hours of labor, machines, ships, cranes, winches and compasses. It uses the language and the "why and the wherefore" of the job; a twenty minute talk on the job in the vernacular is worth twenty meetings dealing with generalities.

### The Ship Committee.

This is the unit of the organization. On large ships there will be delegates for each section of the men employed aboard. On small ships one delegate will be sufficient. At each port a report will be issued by the delegate to the shore office, giving names, grade and standing of the crew and name, nature and condition of the ship. It will be every man's duty to fit himself to undertake the duties of a delegate, so that he may educate his fellows.

### The Shore Council.

This shall consist of the delegates of ships temporarily in port. The shore delegates shall be members of this council also. They shall meet twice a week on certain nights, in order to deal with general matters affecting their ships.

### Port District Council.

This shall consist of delegates from the dockers and the seamen. They shall engage themselves in the supervision of the port, in order to force speedy action. They should meet at least weekly, except on important business, when they should be called together at an hour's notice. Whenever possible the marine workers and the dockers will occupy the same building, and utilize the same hall for meetings.

### Transport Workers District Council.

Shall consist of delegates elected from the dockers, marine workers, railwaymen, tramwaymen, and road transport men. This shall be the connecting link between the various organizations within the district port zone. The Council shall meet regularly, and shall have the business of solidifying the ranks within the industry, and be prepared to take action, in case of necessity.

### Regional Council.

This shall be equivalent to the National Union of Marine Workers, but for the sake of economy and efficiency of organization its jurisdiction shall not be determined by national frontiers. It shall be, as far as possible, in the centre of an area, and shall conform more to language needs than national requirements. For instance, Copenhagen could be utilized as headquarters for the whole of Scandinavia and Finland; Liverpool for the United Kingdom; Buenos Aires for the River Plate; Genoa for the Levant; Melbourne for Australia, and so on.

It shall be the duty of the Regional Council to provide sound and educational literature to the marine workers within its jurisdiction. It will print the necessary dues-books made to a universal design, in the prevailing language of the district. It will, also, undertake the tabulating of the general information on shipping, cargoes, clearances, etc. One of its duties will be to have such information at its command as will enable it to take control of the shipping industry at any moment. It will keep a complete roll of membership, and shall render at stated intervals reports on finances and other information to the International Headquarters. In addition to being an Information Bureau, it will possess administrative powers to act in matters of controversy within its own jurisdiction, providing that the conflict is of a local nature. It will exercise a watchful eye over the whole scope of its responsibilities, and will use all its efforts to create and perpetuate solidarity in the industrial field. It shall

be maintained by a per capita tax from the membership, and shall act as the connecting link between its own region and the International Headquarters, and from thence to the regional organizations in other parts of the world.

**The International Headquarters.**

The International Headquarters should be established in some large cosmopolitan port, like Liverpool, New York, Rotterdam, or Antwerp. The International Council should consist of one delegate from each area, and should be permanently stationed and maintained at the Headquarters. The delegates should be selected for their militancy; if possible, they should be able to write and translate in several languages. The Headquarters, in addition to being the world administrative organization in the Marine Industry, shall have full instructions to act in international crises, and to call for general action. Standardized propaganda material shall be issued by the Headquarters for translation into different languages. Information shall be carefully tabulated and published for the benefit of the whole industry. Standardized conditions shall be insisted upon in all countries, and a general standard of remuneration enforced. Instead of being a mere cypher boasting of so many hundreds of thousands of affiliated members, it shall be a live, growing force, expressing the will and determination of the men of the ships and the docks. Where a region is backward it will be the duty of the Headquarters to realize that a chain is only as strong as its weakest link; therefore a sustained propaganda must be carried on to bring the backward or conservative area into line. The Headquarters should be maintained by a per capita tax, to be collected through the Regional Councils.

The Headquarters could also be used as a centre for distributing literature from one region to another. It should arrange means of communication through ships' delegates to the affiliated councils in different regions. It should mobilize all its forces against war, declare blockades of reactionary countries, and refuse to allow ships to be used for the carrying of weapons or munitions likely to be used against the workers of any country. It shall issue regular reports in different languages and shall deal with such questions as wrecks, new tonnage, withdrawn tonnage, general port statistics, clearances, and all things pertaining particularly to the marine workers, and generally to the working class. It shall be pledged to the World Revolution, and irrevocably opposed to the yellow International of Oudegeest, Jouhaux and Thorne.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## CONCLUSION.

The last chapter of this small book will form a summary of suggestions for building a Marine International. Conditions vary in different countries, existing organizations are of different shades of militancy and reaction, but still the principles of capitalism are much the same, although more pronounced at one point than at another. I have suggested that we have to build something better than the employers have—something stronger, something more powerful. Capitalism is a standardizing force; hence our idea of standardizing conditions is only in accordance with the general tendencies. In company with many fellow workers of different nationalities, I have thrashed the matter out. We honestly believe that the thing can be done, and further we know that there are the men to do it.

The reactionaries may, of course, doubt it, but what has been said is true, nevertheless. Fine houses, good cigars, well-clothed friends may have convinced them that human stupidity is likely to last an eternity. When I state that the men of the sea are tired of things as they are, I state facts, for I have been in possibly the best position of any man to judge of the present-day direction of the men who go to sea. For twelve months I was secretary of the deep sea men's organization in Buenos Aires, the largest port south of the equator. Our membership was the most cosmopolitan in the world; members from every conceivable marine organization passed through our office. I am told that we have had the most intelligent and the best union meetings in that port, by men of great experience. A better body of men I have never met, but I do not believe that they would be exceptional under the correct form of organization. I believe that almost any other port could produce such intelligent and militant types, if the organization were based upon the principles of Industrial Unionism, and a correct attitude taken in regard to organizing the workers for fight, and not for the benefit of the ship-owners.

Many and many's the time a fellow would come in to join and would demand to know first, "Is this an International Union?" That's what the men want. A little initiative here and there, a little of the right kind of propaganda, and the results soon become visible. The results give you a determined and energetic membership—men whom you are proud to know, and men who are proud to be in the organization. Furthermore, the men get the idea of **possessing** and **controlling**, and when a man feels like that you have got him for all the time.

The Russian workers have overthrown their brutal oppresors and established a Workers' Republic. In a short time we will see the ships of the Soviets with the Red Flag at the mastheads. The battle is coming on the sea to determine whether the workers' or the capitalists' flag is to be supreme. Oil and water cannot mix; neither can the Octopus of Inchcape, Ellerman, Schwab and Spreckels agree with the growing giant of the Marine Transport Workers. Conflict is coming, and the race is to the strong. The Marine Transport Workers calls you to organize in the only effective manner, upon the basis of Class. It calls upon you to exercise your power, to guard it jealously and to increase it daily.

We can look forward to a time when workers' control of industry will make work a pleasure; when machines will perform the heavy laborious work, when the stokehole will give way to the tiny engine room with its super-Diesel engines; when in building ships the first consideration will be given to the housing and accommodation of the men who will have to man them; when seamen will be of more importance than cargo; when the men's wives will be able to go to sea with them—and the children, also; when the avaricious grip of the wealthy magnates will be forever broken.

We look forward to the time when the marine worker, upon reaching the age of fifty, or when broken by accident, will have his wants attended to; when he will not be obliged to beg from door to door or to sleep in the dismal wards of a parish workhouse.

**....All the injuries inflicted upon our martyred comrades call us to go forward. All the hundreds of thousands of dead who lie beneath the waves of the Seven Seas cry to us to end the vile rule of the money hogs, whose riches have been coined from dead and broken bodies. Let us not forget a single coffin-ship, or a night in the cells, or a half month's logging, or a sneer from a consul's clerk. Let us rouse ourselves for conflict, and, armed with the ONE BIG UNION of the Workers of the sea, meet the enemy in open combat.**

**The sea produces today as many real men as it ever did! Men of wide purpose and speedy action! Men who know their own power, and how to use it! Men who know what they want and how to get it!**

**Build, ye men o' the sea, build the ONE BIG UNION of your class in whatever port or ship you may be, for the dawn riseth across the waters! The darkest night is going, the capitalist era is ending, and the workers in their millions are marching to greet the sunrise of the New Day.**

**Build the One Big Union, Fellows of the Seas!**

**THE END.**

# Tactics

Did you ever
Go on a job
Thinking you would
Last one day?
Made your mind up
That no matter
**What was to happen**
You were going
**To propagandise?**
Then when you
Get on the job
The bunch don't
Appeal to you at all
Because they tell these
Dirty stories
And talk about the booze
And other nonsense.
When you become disgusted
And bawl them out
For being scissorbills
Sapheads and fools—
At night time
When the boss
Tells you to go
You're not surprised a bit—
ARE YOU?

Suppose that you had
Joined the bunch
With a different spirit
Had told
As good a story
Of your humorous
Hard times
And kind of
Let them know that you
Were normal.
Gradually to get
Into their confidence
And in a clever way
Turn discussion into
Lines that you want.
Soon you talk about
**Working class conditions**
In all the world
**And right on the job.**
Even though they disagree
Don't you think
It's best to have the bunch
So any other
Wob can talk
Where you left off?
DONTCHA NOW— DONTCHA?

**Achef.**

# Economics in American Universities

**By Max Lippet Larkin**

ROUGHLY speaking, university economics can be divided into three periods—the positively scientific, the pragmatic and the modern business-college type.

In the days of Adam Smith, when the labor movement was as yet unborn, the problem of wages and of the distribution of wealth was handled very simply and yet, on the surface, quite scientifically by the seers.

Wherever one could travel and observe, one would find that labor was getting enough, but no more than necessary to sustain life. Therefore, the great scientists argued, there is a natural law that labor must inevitably get no more than is necessary for its existence. So, just as it was foolish to change, or even to try to change, the natural order of the stars and their movements, so was it vain to change the great, immutable, scientific natural law upon which the pay for labor seemed to them to be regulated.

To be sure, it sounded pessimistic—it presaged an eternally miserable fate for the working man; but "economists" must bravely face the facts—and spread them. Besides, they thought, if labor once got this great truth into its "noodle," all social restlessness would at once be prevented and labor would try to find its salvation in spiritual realms!.. Pathetic and insignificant were the scholastic discussions as to what was meant by "bare existence as the regulator of wages." Did it mean, enough for a working man to save for old age; did it mean, enough for a working man and his family; did it mean, mere physical existence?

They could not explain the difference between the amount of subsistence necessary, say, for a Chinaman, and that necessary for an Englishman of that day. Once they had gradually drifted into certain standards of living they felt the need of modifying the phrase "bare existence," but they continued to stick throughout to this "great scientific law" because it was a common condition throughout the universe, therefore, they said, it must be a natural law that labor could not get any more.

The textile industries began to organize, strikes occurred, and some support for the masters was demanded from the theoreticians of the "natural law." Several economists tried to patch it up, notably Malthus. He argued, the poverty of the masses is a natural law because it is an existing condition. He discovered the "law" of population and supply, according to which poverty becomes still more inevitable, still more natural, and still more scientific.

There are still several representatives of this school living right among us and sincerely arguing in its favor. The former head of the economics department of Chicago University, who is still its Professor Emeritus, defended it and preached it for many years in our own midst. **He was humane enough to hold out one hope for labor—the saving habit.**

When a student would indicate that it might be very difficult for a laborer to save on the present scale of wages, he would kindly and seriously, for the millionth time, relate the story of a rich man who carried his own laundry to the shop to save twenty per cent.

But back of this grotesque and inapplicable remedy one could sense the positive pronouncement that all our economic relations and industrial occurrences are due, mercilessly and inevitably, to great economic, natural laws against which revolt is foolish.

### Pragmatism—the Questioning

Now let us return to the breakdown of the "scientific" period in college economics. Only a few relics of this period are at present left in our universities.

We must remember that the great underlaying principle of that type of economics was the argument for the inevitability of poverty. So well founded and substantiated was this dogma that its greatest enemies accepted parts of it.

"Poverty is inevitable," admitted Mill, Lasalle and Karl Marx, "but only under the present system. Change or modify or destroy the present system, and poverty ceases to be inevitable."

Thinking workers heard this message. It aided them to an awakening consciousness of their strength and importance. With various changes, this optimistic viewpoint on the lot of the workers became popular.

The universities dare not accept this modern view.

It involves flux, human effort, social volition, and all these capricious, non-scientific, uncontrollable forces. They therefore chose an alternative. They rejected their own theory, refused to accept the evolutionary viewpoint, and created a new school—positive, less fatalistic, more hopeful, encouraging and boastful, but just as clever a defense of our modern class relationships. This school has generated the productive theory.

**No more does a working man receive little because it is the law of nature, but because he does not produce enough,** so say the new seers.

From the fact that an employer would rather dispense with the services of a laborer than pay him a higher wage, yet is willing to pay high wages to a foreman, a good salesman or a highly skilled working man, the new school of economists draws

the final proof for their contentions, just because the accounting department tells the employers that the laborer does not produce enough to warrant paying him a higher wage.

Smugly and proudly do hundreds of college professors preach this doctrine daily to our college students. It at once quashes the indictment of capitalist society and holds forth—supposedly—a definite remedy for our social ills.

### Produce More!

One can easily see that, in the first place, the idea of the social problem as a whole is broken up by reverting to a highly individualized scheme of reform. This at once centers the attention upon the individual struggle between the various members of society. It is evident that if the modern distribution of wealth can be proven to be based directly upon the idea of productivity, this distribution at once becomes just and inevitable, and can be changed only in so far as the individual workingman will improve his own productive capacity.

It is almost heartrending to watch young college boys and girls who, because they may be aware of the wave of social reconstruction, attack the wise and cynical professor with their numerous questions: "Does the employer get no more than he produces?"—"What share of the general increased wealth, because of new discoveries and inventions, goes to the masses?"—"Why is there such a great uniformity of poverty among working men?"—"What about unemployment?" The more daring souls ask whether trade unions, strikes or I. W. W.'s can force the employing class to give a larger share to the workers.

### Decay of Prestige

I wish I could reproduce here a snapshot of the professor answering these eager youngsters. He reads to them a quotation in which it is proven that wages can mathematically be determined by multiplying and inter-multiplying and dividing about ten fixed and variable quantities. The students, he academically warns, must not forget that they are and must remain scientific observers and must not be moved by what he calls a "popular" and "ipso facto" unsientific, economic chattel.

There are, he points out, too many reformers, too many forces interfering with these wonderful mathematical truths, too many unions upsetting violently the productivity theory, by forcing a raise in wages through their sheer numerical strength.

Add to this the many revolutionary organizations and other upsetters, and our universities are desperate and are giving up what they consider an impossible job. One could write an elegy on the death of the economic departments of the American universities.

In some other article we may try to trace the development of the sociological department to which the faculty on economics contentedly transfers the task of handling the troublesome problems of labor, social service, distribution of income, etc., which is but the grandest passing of the buck.

It would be too much to expect of them to yield their private jobs and the income that the teaching of economics afforded. They will give up their high position of economic prophets, but far be it from them, the old and wise economists, to give up the economists' incomes, meager though they be.

Now the latest and most modern type of economics department has blossomed out. It is called the college of business administration. For dignity's sake they still employ one or two old-fashioned economists, but the bulk of money and energy goes to the school of commerce. We find the smooth, clerkly type of professor of political economy, who gets invited to the convention dinners of various manufacturers' associations, who actually feels that he is no longer a detached, useless academician but the practical man of affairs in a practical world.

All shame is thrown off. No more is found the old pretentiousness of a systematic school of thought, of academic, cultural pursuits. Callousness is triumphant.

Today the average business college does its job of turning out individualists much better and much cheaper than the university. Hundreds of young men and women are yearly misled by the hope that in the department of economy they will find some reply to the many questions everyday life asks, particularly now when we are in the widst of a great economic struggle. Their questions are mocked and perverted. They find no answer there.

There is solace for us in this final tottering of "political economy." The field is left by the defeated enemy. We are the only ones to discuss the economic problems seriously and scientifically. As a former instructor, I may be pardoned if I express the wish and hope that some way could be found to transmit our lessons in economics to the hundreds of college boys and girls to whom we may some day have to appeal to side with us.

# A Letter from Russia

Moscow, Russia,
Dear M.: May 2, 1921.

ARRIVED here without mishap. Write me care of Hotel Lux, Moscow, as this is the hotel of the delegates. As you no doubt know, the Industrial Union convention has been postponed till July. The Third International meets in June and the Trade Unions of Russia on the 15th of May. So we will have many things to keep us busy.

Three more years of proletarian rule here and the world will go Communist in the next generation if not before. In our wildest days of activity we never reached such enthusiasm, such devotion to our idea as has the Russian vanguard, the Communist party.

### The Army School

One day we stumped in to a building, having heard the sound of the band during the graduation exercises of a group of Red Commanders. Just a few months before these had been gathered from their peasant and workman activities to come to the school for red officers. The school was in the Kremlin, in what used to be the barracks of the Kremlin guard. There were 1300 students from all quarters of Russia. Fine, husky workmen and peasant lads.

The graduating comrades are speeded into the ranks protecting Soviet Russia, by exercises simple yet full of revolutionary meaning. We were there unexpectedly, yet at once the international character of the occasion required that we from America, England, etc., greet these new defenders of the conquests of the Revolution. Then they must needs show us their quarters. As one passed through the rows of cots, one noticed the books, the signs of study . . .

Their club room is in the old palace of the widow of some Grand Duke. It is just under the windows of the room where Lenin works. On the walls of the clubroom, near the ceiling as a decorative border are inscriptions as follows:

"Study the old but create the new."

"The proletarian class must create its own art."

"Art will beautify your life and enlighten your mind."

"Art for the people."

"Long live the art of the workers."

The walls are decorated with painting by the student commanders. When before was an army interested in creating anything, especially literature and art? Their magazine is called "The Hammer and Sword," their emblem is the red star. The I. W. W. emblem has three such stars.

### Industrial Construction

In Russia the industrial construction is on. In Theater Square, the first of May, and throughout Moscow, were erected billboards full of posters of production. To the right a pile of coal; to the left a pile of peat; here a record of coal and iron production in the Urals and the Don region; there a graphic representation of transportation, looking as if it had just stepped out of a college textbook on industrial economics. Education and ideas in Russia are for the workers.

Here is a silhuette of a Red soldier with red flag, cheering a dark background of marching workers who carry pick and shovel. Over there is a full view of a peasant digging with his hoe. Everywhere the value of labor is pushed to the front. This all promises much for the future. To realize it Soviet Russia wants peace.

### Holidays in Moscow

For the first time in the history of Soviet Russia the first of May is a peaceful holiday. Before this Russia has been at war. This Mayday the people were in holiday spirits. They filled the parks. From the center of the city came street cars in groups of two, one a flat car decorated as a stage, carried the actors and speakers to the people. Auto and trucks reached the places off the car lines. It was a day of pleasure and propaganda. I went with a car of players dressed to represent the Mexicans and the cowboys of southwestern United States. The visiting speakers, besides myself, were representatives of the miners from Great Britain and of the Communist party from the United States. We spoke to five large crowds.

All the theatres closed a few days previous to Mayday and the actors prepared the international plays which they gave from the street car stages. The whole world was brought in costume to Moscow. As a part of each performance the international delegates addressed the crowds. Each meeting closed by everyone singing the Internationale with great enthusiasm. The children sang best. Soviet Russia celebrated her first peaceful first of May. No one was killed—no one was clubbed in Moscow's Mayday.

Yesterday, in one of Moscow's many parks, the English delegates and a few substitutes played football against a team of Russian schoolboys of 18 to 20 years old. It was an English game, but this game went to the Russians. The ball was in English territory througout the play and the score was England 0, Russian schoolboys 12. There are a few very stiff delegates this morning.

In Soviet Russia the people are still eating black bread with pleasure when it can be obtained. Every worker gets a certain amount from the soviets. To their ration most of them add occasional purchases from the peasants. Crowds in Moscow look well dressed and well fed. Yet the food situation necessitates conservation of supplies until the next harvest.

### Industry and the Army

Soviet Russia's industry is still in the stage of small handicraft production. Her social organization, excepting that of the army and of education, is somewhere between that of Mexico and the United States. Those who know among the English, French and German delegates, say that Soviet Russia's army is the best in the world for organization, skill, morale and general efficiency. Its limitations are the backwardness of Russian industry. Yet Soviet Russia has reached a daily production of 1000 machine guns and 5000 rifles. It has equipped over one million soldiers entirely with the products of its own manufacture. All this in the face of ruin, and the civil war which capitalism and Kerensky left behind them. Primitive and modern production go on side by side. Auto trucks deliver the Soviet ration. The peasant carries his food for sale on his back. Many people are worrying over the "free trade" and the speculation, but it is really only a push-cart competition compared to the developing communist soviet economy.

The educational system is experimental, but everywhere efficient. The theatres are under the Department of Education. The schools and pupils must be seen to be appreciated. Without books, paper, pencils, ink or adequate buildings, education has gone on and on to new victories. The school children go to the theatre. They see "Carmen," the ballets, the drama, the "Blue Bird" of Macterlinck. They make excursions. Now the school children of Moscow have gone out of the city. The country homes built by the czarist nobility are now the summer playgrounds of the children. So the children learn.

### Social Action

Social hygiene has done wonders in two years. It works along the lines of education and prevention. It has established museums everywhere. It organizes groups and gives lectures in these museums, on man and healthy bodies.

The Communsit party of Russia is carrying the burden of the revolution on its shoulders. They have been given that burden by history. There is no other group to bear even a part of the work of pointing out the way for the masses. The Communists work harder and live on less than any other section of the population. The program of the party is holding the masses on the road to communism. All other roads seem to lead to counter-revolution.

Literally, the Communists of Russia are "building the new society within the shell of the old." One can see the "new" sprouting everywhere. The destructive work has reached a foundation, and on that foundation the building will expand until it breaks the old shell. This partly explains the fact that the churches are unmolested and doing business as usual, on a reduced patronage.

### Celebrations

Sunday there was a ceremony celebrating the liquidation of the Kronstadt counter-revolution. "Ye have been naught, ye shall be all." Trotsky was the speaker of the day and his voice rang out over the assembled mass of the Red soldiers and workers like the crack of a whip. It rebounded from the shops at the far side of the Red Square and rolled over the crowd. Concluding the speeches, Trotsky presented on behalf of the Red Army and Soviet Russia, a banner to the regiments who fought in Kronstadt. Later there was held a military review which was the event of the day. How they marched! The youths of Labor, carrying Labor's flag, red, with gold letters, the stars and the new rising sun shining through the crowned hammer and sickle!

Soviet Russia can defend herself. She knows how to march to war, if war be necessary. Her seven years of horror have imposed their cost, but they have trained. Every soldier is a post-graduate in the art of defense, gun in hand. Her manpower seems to be untouched. Her people are trained to withstand the shock of a war—a war for a cause. What greater cause than the cause of Labor? Yet Soviet Russia wants peace. The hammer and sickle are tired of rusting away because of war.

You should have seen the red sashes and wiry horses of the artillery, the red caps of the cavalry, the long, grey coats of the infantry! Heard the songs and cheers of the bicycle corps, automachine guns and tanks, dressed in black leather coats! To their right, as they marched lay the graves of the revolutionary dead beneath the Kremlin wall... To their left stood, crowded together, a vast gathering of the workers of Moscow... Unless the Red Army is there, do not go to the Red Square to rejoice—for it is the resting place of the heroic dead. But the Red Guards give it the color and life of the new victories of Labor.

**It has been raining the last few days in Russia, which is good for the harvest and the revolution. The rain this season is drowning the mensheviks.**

Card No. 418,588.

# Nationalism and Direct Action in India

**By A Hindoo Nationalist**

THE Hindoos are a race of mystics. Their philosophical conceptions seem weird and foolish to the average realistic I. W. W. Yet as this letter shows they have put into real action under other names realistic tactics that the I. W. W. has not yet had opportunity to try on as large a scale. This article with its honest presentation of nationalism and class co-operation gives an accurate picture of India today.—(Editor).

### The New Movement in India

The wave of new ideas that swept czaristic despotism out of Russia and struck terror to the hearts of the plutocrats of the world, has not missed India. "Depots must go" is the present cry of India. She is determined to weed out despotism root and branch from her land, and truc to her traditions she has adopted "soul force" as her weapon to fight out her salvation.

Mahatma Gandhi, the devotee of soul force, the uncrowned prince of India, is the brain of this movement. He has dedicated himself to win "Swaraj" (independence for India).

Mr. C. R. Das and several attorneys of Calcutta High Court together with numerous lawyers in the provincial courts have given up their practices and are devoting their entire time to rousing the people so as to attain freedom. A host of government officials all over the country have also resigned.

A huge propaganda work to liberate the country from British imperialistic designs, is on foot. Boycott of British piece goods is also in full swing. The peasants of Bengal have given up jute cultivation for export purposes and are raising food crops to stop the tide of famine. Excise taxes (government taxes on liquor and various drinks etc.) are hard hit. Even the most sodden and ignorant of people are giving up drinking rather that support the government to the extent of paying their drink tax. They are organizing "panchayat" (village councils) of their own to decide matters for themselves.

Public sentiment is running high against the British government. His Highness the Duke of Connaught who came to India to formally declare the so-called Reform Scheme for India, was completely boycotted by the public under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. "**Hartal**" (boycott or strike) followed his Royal Highness wherever he went. Shops and markets were closed and there was complete suspension of business. Taxicabs and all kinds of conveyances stopped running in Calcutta and the mill laborers and railroad workers ceased working. The Britishers had to walk home from the railroad station and carry their own luggage.

**Hartal** is now a matter of everyday occurrence. In past years enthusiastic welcome was the order of the day when the government officials came to visit towns. Now they are greeted by **hartal**. On one occasion when the governor of the state of Bengal went to visit Dacca (a town of some 200,000 population) the **hartal** was so complete that even the mighty Bengal police could not get a coolie or a carriage to carry the baggage of his Excellency from the station. The authorities offered as much as a hundred dollars (American money) to the laborers and four hundred dollars to the drivers but no one responded. Such is the temper of the country.

Another incident will tell you of the present mind of the people even more clearly. Recently Mr. C. R. Das went to Mymensingh to address a meeting. When he reached the town in the morning a notice was served him at the station prohibiting him to enter the city by order of the Additional District Magistrate who was a Britisher. About ten thousand people gathered outside to welcome C. R. Das. As soon as the news of the government order reached the ears of the waiting public, there was a great excitement. Mr. C. R. Das, true to the principle of the non-violent, non-co-operation movement insisted that they should leave the station coolly and wait for developments.

The news spread through the entire city and the shop keepers began to close down their shops, the lawyers left the courts, the laborers laid down their tools, and the students, who were busy at their matriculation examinations, left the examination halls.

In vain did the Additional Magistrate plead with the people to go back. Shops, courts and manufacture were closed and not only in the city. The movement spread to nearby towns. The situation became so tense that a higher authority was forced to intervene and suspend the order of the Additional Magistrate prohibiting Mr. C. R. Das to speak in the city. The government felt it necessary to apologise to the people—but the people understood.

### An Explanation

By misunderstanding the first part of a story by W. J. McSweeny, entitled "Hunting a Job in the Clouds," was run in the July issue of the Industrial Pioneer. A book review was all that should have been run as the story was copyrighted.

To those who wish to conclude the story it can be obtained from the writer at 5520 Prairie Ave., Chicago, Ill., for twenty-five cents a copy or for twelve dollars and fifty cents a hundred.

# WOBBLES

In a blind boosting article the Merchants and Manufacturers News claims that in no period in the history of the United States has greater progress been made than during the first half of 1921.

With stronger organization we could smear a little grease on the toboggan and the Merchants and Manufacturers would gain more speed yet.

* * *

World progress can easily be estimated. In ancient Greece the average freeman considered that he needed five slaves to take care of himself and family. Today one slave produces enough to take care of five families.

* * *

In 1904 the average power used by each industrial worker was two and one half horsepower. In 1920 he used three and a half horsepower. By the end of 1922 it is predicted that he will be using some headpower.

* * *

The program of the American Legion seems to now be in harmony with tendencies in other organizations. Even they are becoming industrial. According to the latest reports they have spoken against the advisability of raiding wobbly halls and are bending their efforts toward job activity. Scabbing on striking union men is conceded by them to be better tactics than mass action.

* * *

Perhaps after all the fifteen Legion members that kidnapped Kate Richards O'Hare from Twin Falls, Idaho, only were playing a little game of Hare and Hounds.

* * *

We must heed the Legion's claim of having accomplished a 500,000 organization drive. Numbers lend needed courage when it comes to kidnapping a woman.

* * *

A governor pardoned an elderly man for his activities against the war. Because of the vehement protests from the Legion, he was forced to cancel the pardon. Another war for democracy and these boys will turn cannibals.

The bonus so hard fought for by the Legion was protested against by President Harding. Maybe he thinks the way we do, that the bosses ought to pay them direct for their valuable assistance.

* * *

There was one lad who went to war against his wishes. During a battle he was the only one of the bunch who had the courage to assist an officer caught in a dangerous position. He was a member of the I. W. W.

The government awarded him one of the highest honors for his display of courage. When discharged he displayed his working class honor by taking out I. W. W. organizer's credentials and going to work in industry.

* * *

Plain prose can do no justice to the type of heroes characterized as America's Ideal by president Elliot of Harvard. Like Homer we must burst into song:

A patriotic blood and guts instructor
Is no longer on the job these peaceful eves.
For peace, the bloodless, scheming, arch disrupter
Had turned him loose—with chevrons on his sleeves.

A predigested headline labor bomb plot
He spied, above premeditated lies.
His brain—a mass of corrugated dry rot—
Was duck soup for the boss to hypnotize.

A weary disillusioned agitatress
Was marked down as a Bolshevistic spy.
She prestidigitated as a waitress
And went on strike for wages—none too high.

Our hero with his bloody inclination
Was mobilized and marched upon the scene.
He scabbed upon the girl—and saved the nation
By scalding thumbs in every soup turene!

# The British Miners' Struggle

A GRAND fight took place between the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and the British Coal Owners' Association, backed and supported by the government. The skirmishes that have preceded this gigantic struggle commenced in the early eighties. They followed along until the first national clash that was reached. This was the six weeks' strike for a national minimum wage when legislation was hurried through the House of Commons guaranteeing the miners a minimum wage of five shillings per day, whether they were employed on the piece-work system or on the day-wage system.

Previous to this, thousands of skilled hewers in the bituminous mines in the Forest of Dean and South Wales district, were unable to earn more than from three to four shillings per working day of nine and a half hours. Since that time numerous strikes have taken place in the different districts which have been long and bitter struggles, and are more and more inclined to take on the attitude of the class struggle.

### Miners' Union and the State

By the way, it is very interesting to observe the attitude of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain during the European war towards the state. Sidney Webb's "History of Trade Unions" says: "Trade unionism itself has been tacitly accepted as a part of the administrative machinery of the state."

The getting and enforcing of legislation is, it seems, historically, as much a part of a trade union's function as maintaining a strike.

Trade unionism, in 1920, won its recognition by Parliament and the government, by law and by custom, as a separate element in the community, "entitled to distinct recognition as a part of the social machinery of the state." "It is now distinctly represented on Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees. It has entered the inner Council of the Government, and is recognized as part of the machinery of state administration." (In 1917 coal control was instituted, in 1918 a coal mine control agreement was made.)

The miners were pampered by the government during the war, the unions themselves assisting in recruiting and combing out their members from the mines. Conditions in general assisted greatly in the rapid development of this big cumbersome organization.

### Destroying the Miners' Political Position

The British imperialists are now undertaking the work of destruction. The state has no future use for such an organization. Leading up towards the present clash one can carefully analyze the Coal Commission inquiry of March 19, formed by the government to deal with the demands of the miners for a six-hour day and a guaranteed wage of one pound a day.

This committee consisted of twelve persons and a chairman, Judge Sankey. Three commissioners were coal owners, three were miners representatives, three were (impartial?) representatives of allied great industries, three were economists, representatives of democratic ideas.

After several weeks' sitting, during which one hundred and twelve witnesses were examined, a report was presented to the government. Clause nine of the report says: "Even upon evidence already given, the present system of ownership and working of the coal industry stands condemned, and some other system must be substituted for it—either nationalization, or a method of unification of national purchase, or by joint control." Also, Sankey recommended the continuance of coal control for three years from the date of the report.

The point-blank refusal of the government to carry out the decisions on an enquiry selected by themselves proved an eye-opener to the miners. Their distrust of the existing government was demonstrated throughout the country by vigorous protests sent forward from mass meetings denouncing them for the manner in which they turned down the recommendations of the respective Coal Commission inquiry. The government undoubtedly was disappointed with the report of Judge Sankey, because it indirectly suggested state ownership and joint control. Many important features were disclosed at this inquiry which were generally unknown.

Nevertheless the Coal Commission and the inquiry were strategical tactics used by the exploiters to postpone any direct action that threatened the interests of the industries concerned. In July, 1919, the country of Yorkshire, with one hundred and seventy thousand miners, struck work for five or six weeks over two points difference, in the award. The owners were offering 12.2%, while the miners' contention was that they were entitled to 14.2%. This ended in defeat for the miners.

### Falling for Compromises

In October, 1920, the miners are again found taking up the cudgels and were persuaded by their reactionary leaders to accept a temporary settlement of the matter in dispute. This is known as the datum line strike, where the government was desirous of basing wages upon national output. With the fluctuations of production, wages increased or decreased.

This was strongly resented by the miners, knowing that they have no voice in the management of

the mines, or the development of the industry. The dircctorates of the large colliery combincs held the lever of producticn in their own hands.

Nevertheless, certain terms were submitted to thc men to be balloted upon for a temporary settlement, thc government pledging to create an apparatus in the form of National Wages Board. This was to bc ready by the end of Marcb. The result of the ballot was a majority of 8459 against the terms, this according to rule not being sufficient to continue the strike (the rule stating that a majority of two-thirds is neeessary before a strike can be called) work was resumed under a temporary agreement, the same extending over March, 1921.

### Making Economic Demands

The government held firmly to their decisions upon the decontrol of the mines on the 31st of March, in spite of the appeals from the Miners' Federation of Great Britain to at least extend the period for another six months. "The industry must pay its own way without any further subsidies from the treasury."

### Miners' Demands

a) National Wages Board.

b) Standard wage of present basic wages and district percentages, plus last year's 20% advance.

c) Standard profit to employers to be 10% of national aggregate wages.

d) Surplus over this 10 per cent to be divided, 90% to miners and 10% to owners.

### Owners' Demands

a) District Boards.

b) Present basic rates plus percentage paid in 1914 to be standard wage.

c) Standard employers' profit to be 17% of district aggregates.

d) Surplus to be divided, 80% to miners and 20% to owners.

### The Form of Organization

A brief explanation of the system in pre-war days will explain the reason why the owners desire to take a retrogressive step to the district boards.

The industry itself consisted of thirteen districts with a wage or conciliation board for each of these districts. The miners' organizations were also geographically divided and equal in number, each section of the Miners' Federation having autonomy to make its own agreement and settle its own disputes. This meant that each agreement expired at a prearranged date. Agreements were skilfully manouvered never to expire at any time two districts together.

Hence sectional strikes took place against the forces of the National Coal Owners' Association. The result was naturally defeat for the workers. The rapid growth of industrial unionism in the mining country during the war makes it absolutely impossible to revert to district wage agreement.

The above terms were submitted to the different districts to vote upon. Two districts were for acceptance, Yorkshire and Northumberland. For rejection there were eleven, S. Wales, the whole of Scotland, Durham, Lancashire and Cheshire, Nottingham, Derbyshire, N. Wales, Gloucester and Forest of Dean. Important meetings took place between the government, the miners and the coal owners.

### Preparing for Direct Action

Nothing, however, was accomplished by the government towards bridging fundamental differences between owners and men. The executives of the Miners' Federation discussed for two hours the situation before meeting Sir R. Horne. At the close of the meeting Frank Hodges issued the following statement: "It has been resolved that the following communication be sent to the districts, that all strike notices must take effect regardless of occupation in every mine and plant in the Miners' Federation."

This meant that the pumpsmen and others, enginemen and ventilation men were to cease work on the 31st of March simultaneusly with other mine workers. Without question, this was the most effective move by the miners to induce the owners to yield to their demands. It forced the hands of the government who was declaring its neutrality in the fight. Immediately the decision became known, the neutrality of the government passed out of pretended existence and provision for employing naval ratings to work the pumps followed.

### Stopping the Works

On April 1st, the three thousand three hundred mines were closed down and a general stoppage of the whole of the British coal fields resulted. This, in my opinion, is the dawn of the greatest industrial crisis in the world's history, and should take on an absolutely revolutionary character. With skill and directive ability it should lead up towards the goal.

The State Emergency Act of 1920 was immediately put into force. Every coercive unit was mobilized for government use.

On March 31st, the Miners' Executive Committee proceeded to Unity House where it joined with the Executive Committee of the National Railwaymen's Union and Transport Workers' Union. Conferences were called to take place on the 5th and 6th of April. These conferences decided to give full support to the miners.

At the same time skirmishes were taking place in different parts between the police and the miners. Shots were fired at blacklegs in Lanarkshire, also some supply trains stopped and looted. Colliery officials engaged in working the pumps were given fifteen minutes to clear.

On April 6th, the prime minister sent letters to Hodges and to Evan Williams, President of the Mining Association, offering to move for the reopening of negotiations between the miners and the owners, "but he assumed that the miners would

first have taken steps to ensure the mines from being flooded. The miners' Executive Committee, when informed of this condition, indicated that it would not agree to order back the pumpmen, and also with regard to pit ponies said," if there are any ponies in the mines they are there with the approval of the management."

### Negotiations Again

The prime minister withdrew the condition that was laid down by him, and summoned both parties to meet on April 11th, the Railwaymen and Transport Workers having warned the government that if negotiations were not resumed they would strike in sympathy with the miners on the 12th of April. The characteristic peacemaker that plays a conspicuous part at this juncture is the yellow-gutted J. H. Thomas.

Bob Williams, the secretary of the Transport Workers, in an interview, says with gasbag bombast: "That the full power of the Triple Alliance is and from Tuesday next will stand as binding as when the decision was passed."

The proposals submitted by the government to the Executive Committee of the miners were practically the same as the original terms of the owners. Only they had a little coloring and dressing peculiar to documents that are issued from that quarter.

In the actual words of Hodges as speaking for the Executive Committee: "We have fully considered the terms set forth in writing this morning by you. For reasons already stated to you in full conference, my executives feel compelled to reject the terms proposed as they offer no solution to the present dispute."

After fourteen days lockout of over one million miners, during which period the Triple Alliance had made two definite postponements of its threatened strike, a further threat was issued which says: "Tonight at 10 o'clock, unless the government gives way, over one million railway and transport workers are ready to strike and to enforce by direct means what reason and argument have failed to ensure."

On April 15th Frank Hodges addressed a meeting of members of Parliament at Downing Street, and suggested a temporary settlement. Condemnation of such conduct by the miners' Executive Committee caused Hodges to offer to resign.

### Playing the Traitors

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, J. H. Thomas and Bob Williams made the following dramatic announcement: "Our communication to the three organizations, National Union of Railwaymen, Enginemen and Firemen and Transport Workers, is to announce that the strike called for tonight is canceled."

The explanation given for the same was that the miners' Executive Committee refused to accept the prime minister's invitation to a conference based upon Frank Hodges' personal remark to certain members of Parliament.

During the whole of this period the most militant section of the miners were the Scotch, who were kept at the point of bayonet from executing further destruction to machinery and the pitheads, yet huge quantities of coal and wood were carried away, the police being unable to cope with the strikers. The estimated cost of same amounted to 20,000 pounds sterling.

### Forming White Guards

At this time, the government, through the press, was endeavouring to create an impression that the miners were raising a political issue when they insisted on a National Wages Board and National Pool. The government stated that they are purely economic questions not concerned with politics.

The only suggestion of a political character was raised by the prime minister himself. An army of 300,000 men, White Guards, are at the disposal of the government for distribution over affected areas. A defense corps also, consisting mostly of middle class youths enlisted in the role of privates and also acting as spies, was an indication of the determination of the employing class to crush the workers into submission.

### Miners Show Fighting Spirit

At this juncture the feelings of the miners were again tested after the latest betrayal of the Triple Alliance. The results of the voting show emphatically the fixed determination of the miners to adhere to their original demands by a decisive majority of fourteen to one. It is safe to say, that the British miner is a real fighter and displays great courage and power of endurance over minor questions in dispute.

His characteristics are prominently displayed in strikes for the improvement of working conditions, and wage advances or against reductions. He will undoubtedly play an active part in the front line trenches when the future attack is made upon capitalism.

Mr. J. H. Thomas and Bob Williams were stormed with written protests from the rank and file after their decisions to cancel the strike of the 15th. The sheer audacity of Thomas is shown when out of 1300 branches only one voted against a strike, yet this sneaking betrayer is allowed to continue in office in spite of such conduct.

### Power of Reactionaries

One peculiar feature in the rules of the National Union, of which Jim Thomas is president, is that its executive has power to call a strike, or to cancel strike notices without consulting its members. There is no fear of the present Railwaymen's Executive Committee making use of the former part of that clause. It only affords a channel for the reactionary leaders to put the latter part in operation.

A later phase of the strike developed on April 26th, when the prime minister offered to meet the miners unconditionally. A series of conferences between government, miners and owners commenced on the 26th of April. The result of such a meeting ended in a point blank refusal by the

men to accept the proffered terms. The chancellor of the exchequer made the final offer of the government to the miners on April 28th.

### The New Offer

The offer: The sum of 10,000,000 pounds sterling shall be paid by the government to maintain wages during the next four months. This is to subsidise the wages earned on the basic rate laid down by the owners. Thus, giving a guarantee that the reduction in May should not exceed three shillings per day, in June not more than three shillings and six pence and the remainder of the sum to cover July and August.

The government offer:

1. No National Pool.
2. District settlements.
3. Arbitration on the question of new standard wages.
4. Subsidy of 10,000,000 pounds sterling for four months.
5. District cuts of three shillings per shift, for May, three shillings six pence for June, and further losses for July and August.

A delegate conference met on the evening of April twenty-eighth, to consider the proposals of the government and, on the ground that they did not concede to the fundamental principles of the National Wages Board and the National Pool, for which they have already stood firm for four weeks, rejected the offer, by 899,000 votes to 43,000.

### Owners Are Crafty

British coal owners are skilled in ring craft and scientific fighting, the developments of this strike is a confirmation of this. The labor leading pawns on the national chess board were moved by the strong hand of the master class to forsake the miners in their great struggle. This proves absolutely the putridity of both Thomas and Bob Williams, and, if no National Pool is conceded by the government the workers of England would do well to create one of their own in which these scoundrels could flounder in their last moments.

To justify their outrageous backslidings, the railwaymen have placed an embargo on all coal in pit sidings, and have instructed their members to refuse to remove it. The consequences of this decision resulted in the Great Northern Railway Co. dismissing nine or ten men. An agitation arose for the reinstatement of these men. That ended in them being reinstated unconditionally.

These are strategical points least understood by the workers themselves, nevertheless sufficiently important to divert the attention of the masses, to fight on matters of minor importance and to allow the great issue to pass unchallenged.

### The Miners Determined

The miners are determined to fight to the bitter end. Better to die of starvation in idleness, than to submit to working conditions amounting to nothing better than starvation. If the reductions decided by the owners were accepted, it would mean to the S. Wales miners eleven shillings, seven pence and four farthings per day reduction, varying in different districts from eleven shillings, seven pence and four farthings to a reduction of about three shillings per day in Yorkshire.

The owners plead that they can pay only what the industry will stand. The miners' reply to that is, that if an industry cannot yield a full livelihood to every worker there is something seriously wrong with it. But, suppose you accept the employers' plea, what then?

### Parasites Get Wealth

Let figures talk. The mine owners took out of the industry at least 350,000,000 pounds, in the last twelve years, recovering their capital nearly three times in that period.

In addition, royalty owners took well on to another 100,000,000 pounds.

Huge fees were paid to directors of all the tinpots concerned and there was all the waste of inefficient methods, overlapping and competition.

Sir Richard Redmayne, His Majesty's Inspector of Mines told the Coal Commission:

"The present system is wasteful and extravagant."

### Aspects of Wind Up

The mine owners are divided. A large section wants to abandon the fight and to accept the National Wages Board and National Pool. The other section wants to fight this at all costs. This section draws its strength from the Federation of British Industries whose policy it is to break down national agreements where they already exist. But the Federation of British Industries is wavering as it sees its members' property in peril.

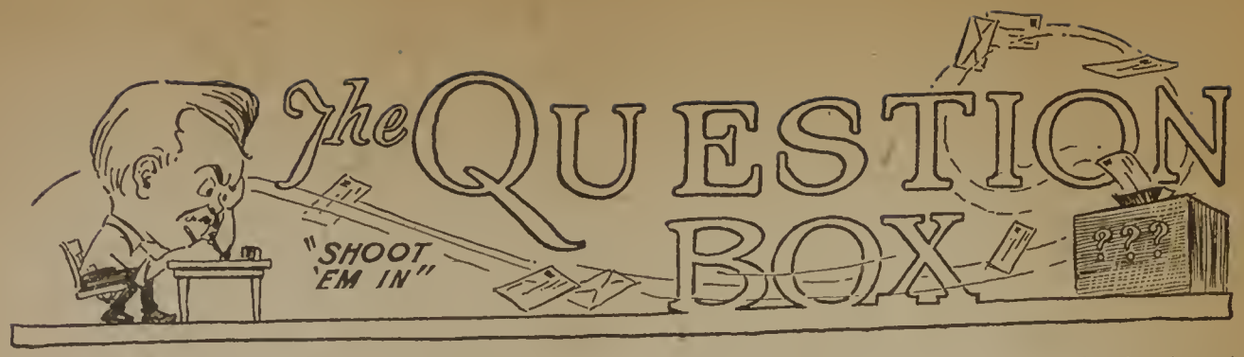
The National Workers' Committee Movement have already circularized all the delegates of the Railway and Transport Workers' Unions about the betrayal by the leaders, and an unofficial strike is being organized to take place on the 15th of May. Action is called for and, in every probability, the Railway and Transport Workers, in defiance of influential leaders, will line up for drastic action on that date.

### Need for International O. B. U.

This is the psychological moment in the history of the miners of the world. Conditions in England, Germany and America are mellow and ripe. The cry of the miners for an international is heard in all lands. **French capitalists are now dispatching an army of two hundred thousand men to the Ruhr valley,** to act as slave drivers on behalf of Entente exploiters and to inflict further tortures upon those miners who have striven to defeat their German oppressors.

Having only a bogey International in Amsterdam and a skeleton mining International serving no other prpose than that of providing an annual holiday for the corpulent leaders, the miners of the world are at the mercy of International capital,

Continued on page 57.




# The QUESTION BOX

**Why can't working men get justice in the courts?—M. B**

It is true, as this question scems to infer, that courts are not for the purpose of bencfiting working men. However, the use of thc term justicc muddles up the idca that is wished to convey.

Justice is that idcal state of affairs wherein everyone gets everything that hc should have. The only drawback to the installation of justicc is that the desires and wants of people arc not governed by what they should have but a lot of notions and idcas that arc aside from the simple matters of food, clothing and shelter.

When people come in contact with each other there is a certain amount of conflict, for people unlike the bees, have individualistic traits that will not down and that often come uppermost in treating of social matters. In other words human beings are strictly selfish besides being social. This seems to be a matter of inherent instinct besides being well developed through capitalistic cducation.

Justice then would have to nullify and overcome all the conflicts of selfish desire that might arise. This might be done to the satisfaction of the majority of the community but could never completely satisfy the person who judgcd that his claims were the greatest. Justice in its true sense cannot satisfy all. In its aplication it is essentially a matter of force. It may be mental, moral or physical force.

The type of justice which is now handed out to the working men through the capitalïstic courts has no connections with the equitable settling of affairs. Capitalistic courts are for one thing mainly, and that is the protection of private property. The protection of life which seems to take up some of its time is treated also in the same manner as protcction of property.

Now property intercsts clash and the purpose of the courts is to scttle any such clash not in the interest of one of the contenders but in the interest of thc owners of thc majority of the property.

Courts are capitalist class institutions for the benefit of the capitalist class. They are not for thc workers benefit. This is not bccause they do not deal out justice. Thcy do dcal out justice but it is capitalist justicc for thc benefit of the majority property owners. They are not for the workers benefit because they do not deal out the workers justice for the benefit of the worker and to the dctriment of the capitalist.

The way to achieve working class justice is not to look forward to some utopia where master and slavc will lie down in peace together and everyonc will do what is "right." The thing that is to the pcrsonal interest of the individual always seems right to him. The way to achieve this working class justicc is to achieve a tyranny over the capitalist class and deal out what they will term, injustice, to them.

Capitalist courts must tyrannize over the workers, in order to give justice to the capitalists. Workers' courts must tyrannize over the capitalists in order to give justice to the workers. The party with the strongest forcc wins. The working class cannot get anything but tyranny from capitalist courts.

**Why was the American Legion started?—C. W.**

The American Legion was started in the United States to act as an extra legal weapon of the capitalist class. Courts are so bound by rules, regulations, precedents etc., that they cannot be mobilized quickly to meet sudden needs and emergencies of the capitalists.

For instancc an I. W. W. hall is private property and the court must make a ruling that as this is sacred private property it is inviolate from the incursion of a mob. Otherwise the court would not be upholding the interests of the majority of property owners.

In order to get around these matters it is necessary to have some organization that need not be bothered with these little quibbles. In the United States the American Legion is the result.

The Legion can and does destroy the private and sacred propcrty of the I. W. W. and the capitalist courts gravely rule that such destruction is not lawful and is against the preccpts of property ownership. That is as far as it goes.

Not only in America has this weapon of the decaying capitalist class been formed. In Finland it is called the White Guard. In Italy it is the Fascisti. In Ireland the Blacks and Tans. In other countries they have different names but they are all one and the same thing.

Capitalism must have a more drastic and terror inspiring tool than the slow property honoring courts. The assassins knife, the white guards bullet and the rope of thc mob of American Legionaires are all instruments of warfare used by the master class to keep the workers in submission while the world totters and seems about to crash into economic chaos.

# Book Review

**The Labor Movement.—By Frank Tannenbaum: New York: G. N. Putnam Sons.**

A FELLOW gets a cynical attitude towards new books on the labor movement these days: there is so much damning with faint praise and attempting to reconcile the classes which have nothing in common. So when the post man brought around a plum colored volume, "The Labor Movement," published by G. N. Putnam Sons, I picked it up half sceptically, till the name of the author struck my eye—"Frank Tannenbaum."

"Frank Tannenbaum," I reflected, "Oh yes, he is the fellow worker who did a year in Blackwells Island for using one of the homes of Christ for a lodging house, without the permission of the church wardens, during the desperate unemployment days of 1914—he and some two hundred others who had not where to lay their heads. After that he figured in the Bayonne strike, and then he sort of dropped out of sight. But here he comes up again with a well bound book from the most respectable of publishing houses, and about the labor movement. "Well," I though, "We'll look it over," though I guessed that Frank had "slipped."

But the first few pages quickly undeceived me. There was still nothing in common between the two classes as far as he was concerned.

Said a paragraph in Part 1:

"There are apparently only two alternatives. Either the business community is going to destroy the labor movement or the labor movement will absorb the control and power now in the hands of the business community, and by such absorption displace competition and substitute co-operation."

This was introduced by previous chapters explaining how the workers who operated the machinery of production were forced to unite into social defensive forces—the unions—to resist the exploitation of the owners of the machines.

These unions are forced by the nature of the fight to struggle without ceasing toward the control of the machine, whether they know the direction they are traveling or not, and the owner is likewise forced to carry the fight to them. It is a fight for security, for this is the age of insecurity for everyone, business man and worker, though the insecurity presses hardest on the worker. The fight for security centers around the machine which is the center of gravity in modern civilization. Workers' control of the machine means the elimination of capitalism as truly as the development of commerce meant the elimination of the feudal system, and the struggle must go on till unionism is broken entirely or business is displaced entirely.

It all sounded very much like the opening guns of the historic class war document of 1905 and I looked for more, and found it. The opening lines of Chapter X, on "Industrial Government," read as follows:

**Building the New Society**

"In its preamble the Industrial Workers of the World proclaims that in organizing along industrial lines the labor movement is "building the structure of a new society within the shell of the old." This sounds like an extravagant statement. On analysis, however, of the actual contribution to the structural changes which the labor movement is making to society, it becomes evident that the quoted opinion is more than a wish."

Though this particular quotation is taken from the middle of the book the greater part of the volume is devoted to a development of this general theme. Tannenbaum shows how the unions are building the new society. The most important method which he cites, in my opinion, is the actual structural organization of producers' units, though the author perhaps lays largest emphasis on the unions' work in developing the social sense through group consciousness. This idea runs through the entire book and is illustrated with all its many sides. No other force in American life, says the writer, equals the union in transmuting individual consciousness into group consciousness. Whether a worker joins a union with the most conservative defensive purposes or not, he argues, the effect of his new environment is nearly always to shed off his narrow individualism and to give him more or less of the common social aim—the desire for group betterment. Many individuals are caught so thoroughly by the new atmosphere that they will make the highest sacrifices for the benefit of the group, and even those who retain selfish aims—such as the desire for the applause of the group, are by the same token thinking in group terms. Though this development of group consciousness is only one function of the labor union, in fact is a by-product, yet it is one of the most valuable contributions to the times. The more unsocial and migratory a worker has been, because of the nature of his work, the greater the social service which is performed by his unionization. Pointing out that the I. W. W. has been the chief force in the organization of such workers he says:

"This in a measure tends to give the I. W. W. an importance which is generally overlooked. It makes independent, self-reliant, thoughtful and socially-minded men out of migratory, unskilled and isolated workers."

"It might also be remarked," he says later, "that this fact probably tends to explain the loyalty which the workers who have been organized by the I. W. W. have shown to the organization in the face of almost unbearable persecution. Their need for association is so intense, their individual helplessness is so great, that no amount of pressure, apparently, can break the love, the idealism and the loyalty which has grown up around this instrument of self-defense and this means of personal dignity."

The solidarity of labor is made possible, he says, because the unions group men together in such a natural way. They are brought together in their unions as they are united by their skill or by their industry. The machine is the center of gravity. This mechanical setting holds the workers together as they cannot be held together by unassisted idealism—though idealism is a by-product of the labor movement. The steel rails of the railroads hold the railroad unions together, he says, and the mines bind the miners into one body.

(It might be said here is passing that the more nearly men are organized according to the way they work the greater is their solidarity, and vice versa, which is one explanation of the failure of a craft union to hold together after the craft has been displaced by modern industrial processes).

This socializing influence of the unions, goes on Tannenbaum, extends through the district councils to the workers of the community; through the national unions to workers in the same industry all over the country; and through international industrial consciousness, based partly on the international nature of industry, comes a measure of international industrial solidarity, even in advance of international unionism. This international solidarity has been shown in the many instances of direct action by which the war of the Allies on the Russian Labor Republic has been held back, as when American longshoremen refused to send ammunition abroad.

The Seattle strike is given to illustrate the workings of the structure of the new society which is building within the shell of the old, the author telling how the industrial representatives of the workers administered the feeding of the city and the supplying of milk for babies when power fell from the helpless hands of the politicians.

### A Producers Government

The "Labor Movement" sees the politician as an animal out of date in this age of industrial grouping. Every extension of unionism, with its growth of power for the workers and its system of industrial representation, means a lessening of the power of territorially organized political rule. When full organization of labor has been reached, and full power consequently is transferred to the workers, then the government will naturally fall into the hands of the representatives of the industries. Tannenbaum cannot see where the geographically organized political state will have a chance to function and he gives some pages to the subject of British Guild Socialism, the social theory which would compromise the proposals of state socialists and industrialists. The guild socialist theory would have a political parliament, representing the citizens according to territory, as consumers, sitting side by side with a producers' congress representing the workers according to industry, as producers. Producer and consumer are one and the same in a workers' society, explains Tannenbaum, and as such will have common interests, the interests involved in adequate production of the things most needed for human life. The determination of the quantity of production, according to the consumptive needs of the workers and the various industries which use raw products, is something for the producers themselves to determine.

Industrial representation means functional representation; that is, each representative in the producers' congress, or central council of the industrial unions, will represent not only a certain set of workers but the work itself, and he will presumably be acquainted with the facts of the industry he is elected to represent. In his duties, of course, he will be assisted by experts and statisticians, but his industrial experience will enable him to understand the data submitted on the subjects under advisement. The contrast with a political state organized on a basis of territorial representation, with the representative responsible for the interests of a mixed community containing a hundred different industries, becomes obvious.

### Industrial Education

In this connection the writer gives a valuable chapter on labor education:

"Industrial democracy requires organization," he explains. "Next to organization it must have education **about industry** by those who are to manipulate it on a democratic basis."

"This is the problem of working class education that radicals and socialists who have talked about industrial democracy have generally neglected, and yet this is **the problem** of working class education."

"The primary aim of this education should be to make each worker in the industry conscious of the more general character and relationships of the industry and the part he plays in it."

He goes on to tell of the necessity of any worker who would participate in the direction of the industry vizualizing the industry as a whole, and he emphasizes the lack of interest of the average worker today in his work. His interest is through his pay-check. The monotonous grind he hates, and outside of his own little operation he has no vision of the industry as a whole, or even the shop, as a rule. He is a cog in the wheel, and a cog cannot participate in the management of the mechanism, necessary as it is.

Tannenbaum just touches on the essential working class nature of the technicians and the part they will play in the new administration, but for a thorough and clear cut exposition of this subject it is necessary to read the new book by Professor Veblen, "The Engineers and the Price System" which will be reviewed in the September "Pioneer."

It is well to mention, before dismissing this subject of industrial education, that the author slightly exaggerates the lack of industrial vision of the workers as a whole, though he does not exaggerate the neglect of this subject by the radicals. He will find that in almost every machine shop, or electricians' department there are several young fellows working on correspondence courses

in mechanical or electrical engineering or related subjects. It sometimes happens that there are more men in the shop who take a progressive attitude towards industry than towards the labor movement, as now constituted. The newer developments of industrial unionism tend to utilize this scientific interest in the furtherance of workers' control of industry.

Tannenbaum conceives industrial knowledge to be valuable for the coming industrial administration but he does not mention its significance in the class war today. In fact this significance is strangely overlooked even by many of the Russians who have done such good service in showing the need for industrial knowledge in the future. It would seem apparent that the more knowledge the workers have the more power—today. For instance, unions properly equipped with the facts of their industry would know when to strike, in order to inflict the greatest economic damage on the enemy, and they would know where to strike, for they would have full knowledge of the key spots of industry. And they would have the data by which to lay out systematic organization drives on the unorganized parts of the industry. Examples will occur to the reader in any industry with which he is acquainted.

The "Labor Movement" is one of the few worth while contributions to the subject in the last year, but before closing the writer of this review would like to take courteous issue with the author regarding a statement that is emphasized distinctly in several parts of the book, that is, that any labor union is essentially revolutionary, the theory being based on the facts that the union brings workers together, develops group consciousness and fights the exploiter. This statement is an old acquaintance, though not usually developed as fully as in this book, but it always causes surprise to the worker who has been through an industrial union strike which was scabbed on by a craft union within the same industry. He cannot see that craft union in any other but that of a counter revolutionary role, for the very reason that it is blocking the group interests of a larger number of workers. I had such an experience in Newark, N. J. two years ago when a dozen cutlery shops were three-quarters shut down by an industrial union strike and the metal polishers' union of the A. F. of L. officially fought the strike, the business agent going out on the picket line and using all the arts of coercion and cajolery to force the workers back to scabbery, including those outside his own craft. Such experiences have been repeated in very industry where an industrial union movement, which for the time represented the majority of the workers, has been opposed by a craft union which represented only a small fraction.

Regarding the evolution of the present craft unions towards the industrial form and greater strength, the author is over optimistic. The recent action of the Metal Trades Department heads of the A. F. of L., (since the manuscript of the book was written) in turning down by an immense majority the machinists' mild proposal for a conference of international presidents to consider the question of closer affiliation, is a case in point, which is more striking than the favorable settlement of some minor jurisdictional disputes. As far as the development of A. F. of L. strength is concerned, it is well to consider that a loss in membership, estimated at 1,500,000 to 2,000,000, has taken place since the industrial depression and the accompanying open shop drive, which the craft unions were unable to resist, because of structural and spiritual weakness. But it is only fair to Tannenbaum to point out that the book was written, though not published, before these later developments.

But by and large the book is good, and even a veteran in the industrial union movement will gain from perusal of the more essential phases of the book. Especially will he be interested in the socializing effect which the labor movement, in the main, unavoidably exercises on the worker who enters it. This emphasis on what may broadly be called the spiritual side of the movement is refreshing in a period when the grimmer aspects of the struggle are being forced so emphatically on our attention. A. S.

## THE BRITISH MINERS' STRUGGLE

(Continued from page 53.)

that crushes English and German worker alike. Russia, the only exception, is free from the tendrils of the capitalist octopus and, having completely exterminated its supporters, is now engaged in the reconstruction of her industries, under great difficulties. To defeat the International capitalists, the workers of the world must construct an International Union having all the technical mechanism of modern science embodied in its structure, powerful and capable of overthrowing its enemy.

(Signed) N. Watkins,

Member of Provisional Council of International Trade and Industrial Unions, Moscow. E. C. Member of National Workers' Committee, England.

* * *

The latest news from the coal front in England show wavering and uncertainty there.

The miners executives have recommended that the miners accept the offer of the government. This offer was essentially the same as that put forward on April 18th except for some verbal dressings. The miners formerly turned it down emphatically by referendum vote.

Some of the miners have already reported for work but the majority are standing fast till the new ballot is taken.

The government threatened to withdraw its offer of ten million pounds subsidy unless immediate resumption of work occurred on the part of the miners. It is this threat, it is reported, that caused the miners' executives to recommend acceptance.—(Editor).

# The International Situation

THROUGHOUT the capitalistic world the process of slowing down and disintegration is going on in the industrial fields. The joint committees of capitalism known as political governments, are frantically applying those nostrums and remedies which custom and belief have led them to believe will effect a cure. These political measures are nationalistic in their outlook. They deal with tariffs and subsidies and seek to improve the conditions of the capitalists in single nations, having no reference to the whole world nor its problems. Industry is international, and today the social life of peoples is international, as it depends upon industry.

Selfish national measures, instead of aiding the industrial situation tend only to further disruption. Tariff walls against the commodities of foreign countries prevent the recovery of exchange and foreign finance. Industry suffers and retaliatory measures nullify any benefits that might accrue to the first nation.

Normal outlets for surplus values have in the past been supplied through foreign investments, loans and development schemes. Preparation for war armament, munitions, etc., has always been an exceptionally profitable matter for nationalistic-minded capitalists. There is a tendency today to economize on war programs. Whether or not it will have effect, in curtailing the extravagant expenditures on war material remains to be seen.

Social conditions are in the hands of men who look at things through the eyes of business enterprise. Business management, that thinks in terms of profit and loss and curtailment of overhead expense, rather than in terms of industrial production is unable to conceive of any means to bring back industry to something like a normal state.

With millions of people throughout the world facing starvation, conditions are rapidly reaching the state where a solution must be had. There is no solution other than the complete abolition of the capitalist system. All power must be assumed by the working class. Industrial problems can only be solved by dealing with the material facts of industry. To get at these facts and to put the machinery in motion to achieve betterment, the empowered working class need to convoke congresses of industrial engineers.

The organizing of these engineers and experts to work with the industrial unions is a problem which we are facing today. Upon the correct solution of this problem depends largely the welfare of the future race.

Production for use instead of for profit is the only alternative to social chaos.

### Russia and Germany

Russia and Germany today are centers of complex industrial issues. As yet, Russia has not had time to develop foreign trade to any large extent. Most of her trade has been in the line of imports. Exports have consisted of such materials as flax, lumber, timber, etc.

The development of the Russian international trade depends upon the ability of the Soviet Government to speed up production in the Russian industries this summer.

Everywhere in Russia there is swarming activity. The organization of industry for immediate production takes precedence over every other question. In order to produce goods, food is the essential thing. The crop situation of Russia is perhaps the most vital point of the whole situation. So far, the harvest appears above normal, pre-war days.

Only the upper Volga which is a semi-arid country and only occasionally gives good crops reports a failure. Organs for barter with the peasants are being prepared, in order to swing this great agricultural production into international trade channels.

Transport facilities are being vastly improved. Trains that a year ago could travel only 50 versts in 24 hours are now making 400 in the same time. Special lines have been made more efficient than in pre-war days. From Omsk which is a great grain center in western Siberia, to Petrograd the time used to be 10 days on fast freight shipments. Today the provision trains are making it in 8 days.

Through trains are running from Odessa, via Kiev and Moscow to Petrograd. Everywhere the transportation problems are being attacked and solved with vigor.

The arrival of shiploads of fuel and food in Petrograd has relieved an immense amount of railroad equipment for important industrial transportation work in the interior. This fall will see Russia billed to play an important part in the international trade activities. Their industrial production is well on the upward trend.

The German industrial position grows more hopeless day by day. For quite a period German capitalism was regaining its grip on the markets of the world. Activities were becoming intense in great German plants.

No sooner, however, did the flood of German goods commence to pour out than the capitalist governments in the other countries took steps to offset this German advance. Restrictions of all sorts then met the German capitalist in his attempts to market the products of his poorly paid workers. The situation among the working class is growing worse. There seems to be no outlet for German material except in the direction of Russia. This outlet has not been exploited except in specialties. Pressure, however, is forcing the German capital to find markets in Soviet Russia.

There is little unity at present in the ranks of the German working class. The communist uprisings at Halle seem to have been premature and

ill-advised. At present German courts are dealing out sentences to those communists whom they have been able to capture, and on whom they are fixing the responsibility for the trouble.

The breakdown of the capitalist system is becoming more acute daily. Among the working class, however, no real, efficient, detailed plan or program has been advanced. The rebel spirit by itself seems unable to solve the difficulties of a proletarian revolution.

### Scandinavia

In the Scandinavian countries the working class is active and is in a better position economically. Sweden is enjoying some measure of prosperity through her trade with Russia. This trade is increasing the percentage of her total exports.

Norway is in the grip of a marine workers' strike and a general strike has been declared to support the mariners. This general outbreak started in Bergen, in the north of Norway and spread rapidly to the industrial and sea-port towns.

### Great Britain

In Great Britain the miners' strike was settled by compromise, and the situation there was treated separately in this magazine.

### France

In France the labor movement seems to be going through a process of reorganization and centralization. They are preparing for a final struggle. Industries are in worse shape now than at the close of the war.

### Small European Countries

In Italy, Spain and Portugal the White Terror has been running rampant. In Poland there is open rebellion amongst patriots against the German victory in the Silesian plebiscite. A practical state of war exists in Silesia. Whole areas refuse to recognize the German authorities. Production is at a standstill. In the Balkans, capitalist rule is only maintained by means of well-organized White Guards.

The Great strike of Jugo-Slavia has left a bitterness and a class hatred that makes reconciliation and compromise impossible. In Bulgaria and Roumania conditions have improved slightly since winter but no solution of the production problem is in sight. Organization of the workers is carried on under greatest difficulties. Persecution and terrorism are used to keep the workers in submission.

In Egypt, the nationalist, anti-British movement has grown to tremendous proportions. Rioting has repeatedly broken out in Alexandria. All the dependencies of Great Britain seem filled with revolt.

### Japan

In Japan the revolutionary workers have made great strides in organized and co-ordinated activity. Strikes and demonstrations have shown unheard-of solidarity. Among the ship-yard workers especially, has the revolutionary spirit and organized action been seen. According to the capitalist press a new revolt has broken out amongst these workers at Kobe. It was reported that they had taken control of the yards and were defending their position against all attempts to dislodge them.

### China

In China the revolutionary spirit is more of a nationalistic movement aimed at the imperialistic policies of Great Britain and Japan. Industry being in a handicraft stage, no industrial movement of any size is in existence. In the few industrial plants that are in operation the workers there are like the Japanese fellow workers—very revolutionary.

The tremendous suffering of the Chinese through famine and disease has not produced any corresponding growth in revolutionary spirit. It seems that all Chinese rebellions have been personally organized and are not the results of spontaneous uprisings. The best laid plans have always won. Industrial depression, famine and disease are sapping the life of millions of Chinese people. Yet this has been the chronic condition for thousands of years.

### South America

In South America industrial breakdown is more acute than elsewhere. In northern Chile nitrate deposits are closed up. The shipping of Valparaiso has dropped off to very little. Hundreds of thousands are without work.

In Peru the great copper camps of the Guggenheim and English syndicates are closed to the workers. Silver mining in Bolivia is still going ahead and the biggest mining camp in the world still holds its lead now, far ahead of Butte, Montana which once ran a close second.

The rest of South America shows conditions of depression. Organization is met with the persecution and the mailed fist of the state. At that, however, progress seems better than in North America, for the workers are getting together for action.

### Australasia

Australia, New Zealand and the islands of the East Indies all reflect the same general conditions of the rest of the world. Especially miserable is the lot of the Hindu coolies working in the big industrialized plantations in the islands. That a tremendous spirit of revolt is growing amongst them can be seen by the occasional news of uprisings, revolts and reprisals that leak out.

Never was the need of a definite centralized industrial and social program so necessary. As if to fill this imperative need, the Red Industrial International met in Moscow on July 10th. Upon their adoption and prompt carrying out of a definite constructive program depends the welfare of a stricken world.

Intelligent revolutionists averywhere must place their abilities and energies in the elaborating and carrying out of the world program, else civilization itself is doomed. There is one hope: World wide working class action.

# DEFENSE NEWS

ATTEMPTS are being made in almost every state in the Union to suppress the activities of the I. W. W. Particularly so in the harvest fields where the I. W. W. is carrying on an extensive campaign of organization. In Kansas and Oklahoma hundreds of members are being arrested for having literature and cards in their possession.

In the state of Kansas where an injunction against the I. W. W. exists, members are being thrown into jail, some being charged with criminal syndicalism, and in many cases no charge whatever placed against them. In quite a few instances cases are pending with the possibilities of the men having to go to the penitentiary.

In South Dakota the newspapers have already started their campaign of inferences, insinuations, and lies. This is done for the purpose of justifying the persecution that has now commenced. Those who are thrown in jail have charges of vagrancy placed against them, a technical charge that is being overplayed by the agents of our masters.

Yet in spite of all the persecution the membership of the I. W. W. go merrily on, talking to the slaves of the necessary remedy to change existing conditions. In California where the agents are bending every effort to break up the I. W. W. they only lend impetus to the organizers and delegates.

Charges of criminal syndicalism, vagrancy and a number of other fake "crimes" continually used against workers and their organizations, have not disheartened the membership but on the contrary, has made them more determined than ever to place the industries where they properly belong.

New agencies are being organized by the employers to combat the I. W. W. and other liberal organizations. These new bodies parade under the name of the Ku Klux Klan and the Commercial Club. They are using the war time method of tar and feathering, whipping, and deportations. The capitalist press in its silence acquieses.

The county and state officials are rather encouraging these mobs and in some cases are giving a helping hand. It is known fact that the farmers in the harvest disapprove of these tactics, but they themselves are sometimes threatened if they should give more wages than is set by the Commercial Clubs.

The members of the I. W. W. realize the gravity of the situation. They realize that it is an attempt of the powers that be to suppress every bit of acivity that the American workers might show. Unless something is done, mob rule shall again prevail in America.

There is but one answer to the challenge of the masters who are bending every effort toward destroying the organization, and that is for each and every member to rally to the support of the principles they believe and the organization stands for. It is only by acting together can we win. Solidarity should be our watchword.

The General Defense is in need of funds to supply relief for the dependents of those men who are now imprisoned in the various jails and penitentiaries throughout the country and for comforts that are denied the defendants themselves.

We want every member to send in something, no matter how small the amount may be, and to get others to do likewise. By our action, let us show the boys that we haven't forgotten them. Let us make our answer to the master emphatic.

Donations should be sent to the General Defense Committee at 1001 W. Madison St.

**Harry Feinberg**, Sec'y.

# RAILROAD JUGGLING

**By Jan Rus**

UPON the balloting now going forward among the 2,000,000 railroad men of the country will depend whether the nation's transportation system will be tied up or not this fall. They are voting upon the proposition to accept or reject the ruling of the United States Railroad Labor Board abrogating the national agreements, which the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor hold to be indispensable if present working conditions are to be maintained, let alone improved. The board, prompted by the importunities of the railroad managements of the country, ruled that the national agreements are unworkable, cumbersome, and that they should be displaced by local arrangements that would permit of a looser form of agreement to exist between employers and employed.

Whatever merit there may be in this contention it is a fact that once local agreements are put into effect the railroad brotherhoods will find much of their power gone and once labor organizations, no matter how yellow they may be, lose even a particle of the power they have gained through years of fighting and negotiation so much the worse for the radical labor movement in the United States. Of what use is the yeast if there is no dough? No matter what happens, unions, as such, must be kept intact, and that is not to say no effort, however small, must not be made to convert them to more modern forms of industrial organizations.

And so the railroad unions, independent or affiliated with the American Federation of Labor through the railway employes' department, will find themselves either losing what they have gained or all but maintaining ground conquered only after much hard fighting. The rank and file have the

issue in their hands. Tom, Dick and Harry have it in their power to decide whether the national agreements shall continue or whether their unions shall deal individually with the roads in all parts of the country. The latter will mean, that, though their work is identical, a freight handler in Boston, compared to a freight handler in San Diego, may receive preferential treatment, not because of any inherent strength in the union to secure more favorable terms in Boston than in San Diego but because of certain other conditions obtaining that will compel the union to temporize on the question of working conditions.

It is only necessary to bear in mind the phrase "local agreements" to get the full impact of the chaos to which the labor forces of the nation must revert if local agreements go into effect. Even under national agreements, uniform and liable to but one interpretation, there is enough delay in getting wrongs righted and squables settled. But local agreements can mean only a sort of guerilla warfare that would augur badly for the nation's transportation system. The carriers would contest every difficulty with all the means, legal and extra-legal, at their disposal. And there is a suspicion that this is what they desire. They want to reduce the roads of the country to such a pass that to bring some order into the system the federal government would be only too glad to pay and pay handsomely for appropriating the lines, lock, stock and barrel. The managements already have had a taste, sweet to them, of the public treasury, and they are crying for more to the tune of $800,000,000 at least.

Rea, of the Pennsylvania railroad, recently informed a listening public that this amount of $800,000,000 would hardly cover the disparity between what labor was being paid and what labor was really only worth to the roads. For good measure he added a few other items of a few millions or so, for repairs found necessary after the government returned the roads to private ownership, all this in spite of the fact that grants of several billion have been made out of the United States treasury since the memorable March 1, 1920.

We may be sure that if Uncle Sam did take over the roads for good his right hand would not know what the left was doing, and government ownership under any plan than that of out and out confiscation would be on a par with that form of state socialism in which the future is mortgaged to pay for the dissipations of the present and the past. Through years of exploiting the lives of others a certain class in this and other countries has grown so accustomed to profits that a form of society where profits are withheld is quite incomprehensible to them.

And so any nationalization scheme that the railroads might advance as being the only solution of the mess into which they with their money-grabbing hands have brought them would have to be taken with a barrel of aslt.

It would not be a sudden change of heart on their part. In fact it is quite on the books that the nation would wake up to find itself in possession of a gold brick. The stockholders would continue to draw dividents and interest on dividents; the directors their fat fees; the managers the high prices for their valuable services. And not only would the nation be paying for these but in addition would have the cares of ownership upon its head.

There is every indication that the roads are contemplating some such move. W. W. Atterbury, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, appearing before the United States Railroad Labor Board some time ago, and speaking in behalf of the managers of other important roads, startled his hearers by declaring the carriers were facing immediate bankruptcy. This camouflaged as a reason for redecision of the board to cut pay 12 and 15 per cent, according to classification among the employes, proved to be successful. But it is highly probable that there was something else than a mere reduction in wages behind it.

Atterbury, egged on by his formal competitors, who, behind the scenes, are his best friends, sobbed out the confession as a piece of stage play destined to prepare the public for the grand finale. Too great a shock would never do.

To carry out the tragi-comedy to perfection the abrogation of national agreements is yet another of the properties necessary to the capitalist art of deceiving the public. These fellows are excellent at sleight-of-hand. Now you see it; now you don't. Hey, presto! You thought you were looking at labor getting its just reward and with a start you find your own pockets were being picked.

## A NEW PERIODICAL

**A new periodical is now added to the list of publications being put out by the Industrial Workers of the World. It is published in New York City by the M. T. W. I. U. No. 510. Full of breezy organization news and timely articles of value to seamen it should be well supported by the membership in seaport towns.**

**The Marine Worker will be published every two weeks, the 1st and 15th, and will contain articles pertaining to the marine industry the world over and especially the work of the delegates of the M. T. W. in the ports of the United States. The Marine Worker is for free distribution and the only means of financing it will be through voluntary contributions from the workers who want to see the I. W. W. gain in the Marine Transport Industry.**

**Address is:**

**THE MARINE WORKER**
**P. O. Box 69, Station D, New York City.**

# TO MARINE WORKERS OF THE WORLD

**Organize to Overcome the Capitalist Sea Wolf**

Moscow, Russia,
May First, 1921.

Fellow Workers:

CAPITALISM is suffering from one of its inevitable crises which recur. The old system is tottering to its end. It has long ago failed to satisfy the needs and desires of the human race. No intelligent workers can find an apology for its continuance. It must be destroyed by the people who suffer. It is only power that can count. And to commence in that great work is the task of the marine workers of all the seas and the oceans.

Fellow workers of the sea, let us hail this sorrowful First of May by resolving to construct a form of organization that will render us invincible. The capitalist class have nothing to offer us except rags, poverty, and hunger. We refuse to die of hunger in a world of plenty. We refuse to sleep beneath the stars of heaven while there are houses, beds, and linen occupied. We refuse to wear rags while there are clothes to be had.

Let our slogan be, "The abolition of the system of robbery which men call capitalsim." Let all our efforts be towards converting the ruling class into useful workers, and placing the great industry in which we work under the control of the workers. The marine transport industry has within it thousands of sober, intelligent, capable fellow workers, who are as competent to organize it on a modern proletarian basis as the other class are incompetent.

We refuse further to be lured by the promise of unemployment doles on the part of the various governments, and we refuse to be further misled by the yellow fakirs, who murder every strike, sabotage every effort by the marine workers to improve their standard of life. We declare war upon local and national unionism and its upholders, the pot-bellied bourgeoisie. The world is big enough for us, and the sea at least shall no longer be the property of the monarchs of ocean transport.

Our logical position today is to establish for the earth one organization for all workers on ships and wharves, regardless of nationality, creed, or colour. We will place our religious and color differences on one side, and organize as a class. The working class first, last and all the time. The foreign proletarian is more to us than the bourgeoise of our native countries. Universal organization, one union for the definite and final control of the great marine industry, is our programme. The mastery of the industry will be determined, not by fine words or well-polished phrases but by actual, tangible, concrete power. The one big union of the marine transport workers will possess, when organized, such power.

To this end the Provisional Council for the convening of the Marine International have decided to hold a congress for all marine workers in the historic city of Red Petrograd during the month of August of this year. The general principles outlined for this new organization are as follows, and all marine workers are requested to study them closely:

Name.—Marine Transport Workers Union, part of Red International of Trade Unions.

Headquarters.—To be fixed at congress.

Aims and problems.—To organize all the workers in the marine transport industry into one union. To carry on an active struggle against the national unions who oppose this organization, and who are based upon the premise that the workers and their masters have interests in common. To extend full protection to all members of the organization in all parts of the world. To exert all the efforts of the organization to take the industry into its own hands, and to render protection to workers in all regions of the earth.

Composition.—The organization will be divided into sections comprising the various elements of the marine industry viz.: wharf laborers, stevedores, coal and oil workers in ports, and the men employed on the deck, enginecrs and pursers' departments aboard ship. Also ship painters, cleaners and riggers.

Executive Board.—The Executive Board of the M. T. W. Union shall be elected by the congress, and shall continue in office until the following congress. This Board shall be composed of practical marine workers, and representatives of the various regions of the marine industry, who speak various languages and thoroughly understand the work in hand.

This executive shall standardize the work of organization and see that it is centralized in each port. As far as possible the offices of the different sections will be under one roof. Educational meetings will be regularly conducted, and newspapers and literature published in the language that is easily understood by the men engaged in ships and wharves.

Through the regional and port offices the Executive Board will acquire all data necessary to them taking the entire merchant fleets of the world and operating them. They will compile the tonnage of the different ports, the nature of ports, and the different types of ships. They will study the economical running of shipping to prevent trips in ballast and generally acquaint themselves and the members of their organization with the complete technique of the industry.

Offices.—Regional offices will be opened in the following ports, which may be varied from time to time owing to economic or political changes, viz., Goteborg, Christiania, Copenhagen, Helsingfors, Hamburg, Le Havre, Athens, Singapore, Sydney, Rio de Janeiro, Havana, Montreal, Reval, Rotterdam, Lisbon, Constantinople, Batavia, Wellington, Callao, Tampico, Petrograd, Antwerp, Barcelona, Port Said, Hong Kong, Durban, Valparaiso, New

York, Odessa, Liverpool, Genoa, Calcutta, Yokohama, Buenos Aires, San Francisco, Superior.

As far as possible each district will publish its own newspapers in the language of the region and a system of general distribution will be devised so that every region will have a continuous supply of such for every ship and nationality within its zone.

Control by members.—In all ports regular meetings shall be held of all the workers. In large ports, when neeessary, language sections may be formed. These meetings shall always be utilized to develop the ideas of industrial control among the members. Vital matters from port meetings shall be forwarded to the regional offiee and thence forwarded to the Exeeutive Board.

Dues and initiations.—The monthly dues shall be determined between the regional organizations and the Executive Board. These dues shall be as low as possible, and shall be arranged so that they coineide as near as possible with the eurrency rates and the wages paid in the different regions. For the maintenanee of regional offiees a per capita system shall be adopted that shall meet with the approval of the first congress. The system of dues shall be upon a monthly basis to simplify bookkeeping and a stamp system of payments utilized. Monthly accounts shall be kept.

Assistance.—In eases of vital necessity monetary assistance shall be granted to members during strikes and fights against the employer and the ruling elass.

Discipline.—Within the ranks of the Marine Transport Workers Union there shall be complete solidarity between all members regardless of eolor, religion, or nationality, oeeupation or profession.

Ships committees shall be elected from the various departments, and shall consist at least of two men, where the crew does not exceed 20. When the crew exceeds 50, one representative shall be eompletely released from all work for the carrying out of his duties. The duties of the ships committees shall be to supervise the work aboard ship, so that they may develop the self-reliance and the initiative essential. They shall inspect all supplies of food, and see that they are of the quantity and quality desired. They shall render reports in writing immediately on their arrival in overseas ports to the port offices.

There shall be regular meetings of delegates in the various ports. They shall concern themselves with dismissals, loggings, penalties, and see that the water line is maintained in a satisfactory manner. They shall be instrueted to inspect life boats, and see that all gear is in perfeet order. That the eargo is stowed without danger to the ship or the crew. The ships delegate shall be elected from the committee, and shall keep a journal of happenings during voyages. The committee shall be elected from the bottom up, and any member may be liable to instant reeall at the will of membership.

Things to be done.—The Marine Transport Workers Union shall engage itself upon the general standardization of remuneration, hours, and working eonditions for the whole industry. They shall keep in direct communication with all the various shipbuilding organizations, for the purpose of eollaborating in the needs of the workers in regard to the structure of living aeeommodation, etc. They shall legislate for the industry, approving terms of serviee and fixing the age limit for workers. They shall seek by every means to make the union capable of controlling the whole of the industry upon the disintegration of eapitalism.

Schools.—Marine and teehnical sehools shall be established, the serviee of which shall be free to all marine workers desiring to use them. Observatories and rescue stations would also ultimately eome under the eontrol of the union, as would all questions of cosmopolitan importanee affecting any part of the marine workers.

The general work of surveying, maintenance, and eontrol of light-houses and ships, beaeons, buoys, harbor and coastal signals will ultimately also pass into the hands of the union. The scientific and speedy handling of cargo and its supervision will come under the work of the union, as will meteorological studies, oeeanography, etc.

Fellow workers of the ports and ships, the hour has struck for the M. T. W. U. The old unions are breaking up. Their day is finished. They were as cowardly as they were useless. They failed in the great British miners' strike, and in every country the marine workers are fighting in strike and struggle against the ruling class and their own black-hearted traitors who have sold them again and again. The time is ripe for the new form of organization. With you, fellow worker, behind it, it must prevail.

In Moscow the Provisional Bureau for the preparatory work for the M. T. W. international is carrying on its work. The delegates and members of nearly 500,000 marine and river workers have studied this vital matter from every standpoint, and they are confident that the time is red hot for the holding of a great congress that will end the days of the rotten Seafarer Federation and woeful aggregation of deadwood that trades and snuffles under the name of the International Transport Workers Federation, and is guided by the hands of the most lamentable ereature, who ever climbed upon the shoulders of the trusting working elass, J. H. Thomas, who is a worthy colleague of the other unspeakable blaekwhiskered Thomas.

In Petrograd in the month of August this eongress will be held. Representatives from all the eorners of the world will be present, who are intent upon the positive and definite ereation of One Union for the whole marine transport industry. Come, then, fellow workers, and make history, and throw down the gauntlet to the magnates of ocean transport.

Long live the Marine Transport Workers Union, Universal and International ! ! !

COMMITTEE

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SEPTEMBER, 1921

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The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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THE OUTPOST OF CAPITALISM

The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. 1, No. 8 SEPTEMBER, 1921 Serial No. 8

# An Organized Harvest

By Wm. Dimmit

THE American grain harvest introduces into the tranquil life of the farm that form of labor division with machine processes that on a large scale marks the factory production of the bigger cities.

The American harvest worker is a migratory worker. The harvest including the threshing, lasts but a few months from the time that the first binder enters the fields in Oklahoma till the last bushel of wheat is separated in Alberta, Canada. The average harvest job lasts from nine to twelve days while the threshing rigs usually furnish employment for no longer than from twenty-five to thirty-five days.

From Enid, Oklahoma, to Northern Alberta is over fifteen hundred miles. Across these rolling plains in frontier days the migratory herds of buffalo used to pass twice a year. Today the migratory worker covers the entire distance working from job to job harvesting and threshing, transporting himself on freight trains with an occasional lift on the blind of a passenger, on foot and by borrowed lifts from local farmers.

These workers enter the harvest in Oklahoma or southern Kansas. They put in a week or two in one locality and having finished their work they get paid off. They either transport their wages on their persons as they climb on the freights or they send them to some distant place for safe keeping or they blow in at the nearest town. By far the majority carry the cash on them.

After riding on the freights till they have arrived at new territory where work is going on they disembark and enter into the harvest workers' hotel, the jungle. Here they cook their food, wash their clothes, sleep and rest up a little for the next job.

These jungles are situated in places handy to the railroads. They form the connecting link from job to rail or back to job again. Coming or going the worker passes through the jungles and partakes of their hospitality.

In days before the I. W. W. organized these workers, there existed and flourished a peculiar brand of outlawry in this western harvest region. A combination of high jacks (plain hold up men) and gamblers were organized and preyed on the workers throughout the harvest.

These parasites, like others of their kind that infested the big cities such as white slavers, gun men, stool pigeons and detectives of all shades, worked hand in glove with the police authorities.

They victimized the migratory worker traveling by way of freight and jungle from job to job. They were not a menace to the moneyed interests of the towns and were given a free reign by all the guardians of law and order.

Gangs of high jacks ruled the freights. Heavily armed and well organized they would pass down from car to car sticking up the travellers and exacting tribute from them. High jacks and gamblers ruled the jungles and if their gambling games were so crude as to leave the worker cold and uninfluenced they would beat him up, rob him or drive him out of the place.

Resistance to their armed rule was hopeless for an individual. Many a dark tale of cruel murder could be told of these early days. Many a beaten form was dropped down between the swaying ends of box cars to be ground to pieces beneath the wheels of the moving train. For workers to apply to the authorities was to be joked and twitted. There was no protection from these blood suckers of capitalism

except by the remedy that all parasites fear, and that is labor organization.

The conditions of work that force a man to become a hobo can be imagined. Conditions of the job were not in most instances fit for cattle. Long strenuous hours of labor under a scorching sun, poor food and no place to sleep are things that cannot be tolerated always.

The I. W. W. entered the field. It organized the workers on the jobs, on the trains and in the jungles. The organized harvest workers fought for better working conditions and declared uncompromising warfare on the high jacks and gamblers.

Following the Harvest.

The improvement of working conditions is a matter of record. Hours have been shortened and food improved wherever the organized workers on the job have understood and practiced the tactics of the I. W. W. Still they are far from being satisfactory. Still the battle goes on for better working conditions and better pay.

But the high jack has not been tolerated. That he resisted with all his treacherous brutality cannot be doubted. His rule of freights and jungles could only be overcome by organized force. Law and order cared nothing for the migratory workers. The law is not made to protect such as they.

The workers organized their train and jungle committees. Many a pitched gun battle in inky black box car or hand to hand combat on the top of swaying, rattling freight trains have marked the elimination of the high jack and his fellow the gambler. Today workers' committees rule the freights and jungles and these committees are I. W. W. committees. That they have freed themselves from the leeches of the old days is due to nothing but their organized fighting ability. It is the way to the elimination of all parasites.

The first drive by the I. W. W. was in 1915, but was not very successful except as they learned by their failures. Definite plans of action were laid and in 1916 the famous harvest drive was put across that generated such vitality in the whole organization that it was able to withstand the ferocious attacks of subsequent years.

In the time during the war there was little activity in the harvest compared with 1916. The organization was taken up with defense work. No coordinated plans were laid down. High jacks crept back into bold activity and together with the rest of the organization things seemed to be failing.

In the fall of 1920 the agricultural workers' convention in New Rockford, North Dakota, nominated their new general officers and laid plans for real work in 1921. Early in the spring of 1921 the General Organization Committee met and detailed plans for the drive that has rejuvenated the I. W. W., were laid.

Careful study was made of the physical facts of the harvest country and the industry. The militant forces of the organization were centered at the beginning of

the drive at Enid, Oklahoma. Their activity started the ball rolling. From Enid they moved with the ripening crop in a wedge shape spreading out like a huge fan up through Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and at this date are entering North Dakota and Minnesota.

Each section of this immense area was studied. At every strategic point in the entire country was placed one of the members of the G. O. C. who furnished supplies and gave information and directive advice in the momentum gathering drive. Committees were on the trains. Committees had charge of the jungles. Job delegates were on the job. Everything had been provided for in this great, inspiring, well planned drive to organize and educate the harvest workers.

In the past the harvest drives have been subject to much criticism because of the lack of educational features for the new members. In this drive from July till August, in scarcely a month, 160,000 new leaflets have been distributed to the harvest workers. 40,000 pamphlets have been sent out, all this besides the thousands of copies of Solidarities, Industrial Workers, and Industrial Pioneers that are sold to and read by the harvest workers.

Never was such an educational drive carried on by the I. W. W. The workers everywhere are alive to the need for understanding and are eager to get knowledge of the system of society that has so lately and rapidly thrust them into war and then into the degradation of unemployment and misery.

Up to August first over 5000 new members have taken out cards in the I. W. W. That these workers will stick to the organization is the firm belief of all who are in constant touch with the changing phases of the thousand mile picket line. Hundreds are stamping up ahead getting ready for the times next winter when organized action will be more necessary than now and they may not have the money to pay up with. The I. W. W. spirit has come back with such a wallop that every one has been surprised, old time members most of all.

To enumerate the little job battles over this great area would be to fill volumes. Everywhere that pep was shown for betterment of conditions and wages the workers have won hands down. That they have met with some defeats is to be expected. That the law has snatched off its quota of victims is the usual thing but the drive sweeps on and gains such magnitude as to be irresistible at the present writing.

On the jobs throughout the wide wheat belt the binders were at work rolling out the yellow bundles for the shockers or

**Old Style Reaping—Binding by Hand**

stackers to handle as the case may have been. Shocking or stacking grain in the broiling sun is a terrific job. Men used to inside work can seldom stand it. But the clumsy looking binders cut swath after swath and the grain shocked or stacked is ready for the threshing.

In some places the combine threshers cut, thresh and sack the grain at one operation. These are big, unwieldy machines

**WOWIE!**

that are usable only on large, well levelled fields. If one part of the machine goes wrong the entire work is stopped. They are not the decided success that they were thought to be a few years ago. Dust clouds fill the air and the great automaton moves on with its productive task. How different from the old style mowers and hand binders!

Where the binding and threshing is done separately as is the rule the compact threshing machine or separator comes around, some weeks after the grain is cut.

On every crew of workers the I. W. W. is a living force. On the binders and amongst the shockers, pitching bundles on the stack, or sewing sacks on the combine, feeding the separator or hauling the grain there will be found men carrying red I. W. W. cards, reading I. W. W. literature and thinking and talking I. W. W. language. The harvest drive is a big success.

A delegate was arrested at Devil's Lake and the workers at once pulled a general strike in the whole county for his release. In short order he was back on the job. At Valley City in the same state of North Dakota a delegate was arrested within the last couple of days. Already from farm to farm throughout the county the work has been passed to strike unless this worker is released unconditionally.

With this force of the I.W.W. generated in one month with the use of coordinated plans by determined workers, think what could be done to the criminal syndicalism laws of the more southern states next year if we entered the harvest with the workers that we now have organized.

Down through Kansas and South Dakota the fellow workers who now are lying in jail for their working class activities would be free. There is but one way to secure the workers' rights and that is to organize and fight for them. Organized power gets the goods.

By the time of publication the drive will be entering Canada, stronger, more virile and with greater spirit and solidarity. Already plans are made to divert part of this great organized force out to the coast to take in and organize the beet, apple, and potato workers of that section.

Part of this great army are going into Colorado to take in the beet and potato work there. Then will commence the big new drive on the corn huskers. Plans have been laid out for this drive for the first time. Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota and Minnesota will be covered again with the great thousand mile picket line this year. The I. W. W. has come into the ring again. With its new spirit, with its new planful methods of attack and new tactics, hard learned from lessons of the past, it will be invincible. On with industrial organization. All power to the Industrial Workers of the World.

**A Combine Thresher and Wobbly Crew**

# Industrial Research

OUR Department of Industrial Research should be developed to the highest degree of perfection. The importance of this department is, perhaps, not sufficiently recognized. Let us consider the reason for its existence, and how it is designed to function to perform an anticipated need of the workers.

In the end, the social revolution is not a matter of free verse poetry and cubist art, nor even an armed uprising, but is the act of a new class in society assuming the control of production and distribution of those things which men must have to live. There is no revolution until this act has been consummated. It is entirely possible that conditions will develop here in which this may be accomplished.

One need not be an oracle in order to predict great rebellions of the workers. Whether or not these rebellions will culminate in the social revolution depends entirely upon the workers' ability to organize, to seize power and then to use it upon a higher and more efficient plane than is possible to that class which at present rules.

A rebellion can at most but deprive the present masters of their power. The workers' power can come but from themselves. If this power is not immediately developed and held by the workers and applied to the direction of the economic functions of society, then indeed there has been no revolution but merely a revolt. A rebellion is merely an emotional outburst, while the social revolution is entirely a matter of intelligent action.

Even at the present time there is plenty and to spare of rebellion, but it is of a sporadic nature, it lacks co-ordination, and has in general little or no immediate revolutionary significance. We are, in truth, a nation of scissor-bills, for in us the contradiction of the existing economic system finds its reflex in our emotions, hardly, if ever, in our intellect.

This process, in turn, is reflected in the acts of individual or local group revolts, seldom in conscious effort to seek cause, effect and remedy. There are, however, potent forces at work which tend to co-ordinate these revolts and to make clear to the workers the cause and cure for their economic ills. To do this, is of course illegal and cannot be done by any organization without great loss and hardships on the part of the active members.

The spirit of revolt, however, should not be discouraged, nor should those who seek to direct it to practical ends be condemned, but it is the peculiar revolutionary duty of the I. W. W. to organize the workers for the tasks of production and distribution in the coming new society.

We must be fully prepared to place at the workers' disposal the most perfect economic organization, and to supply these with the most detailed information upon all matters of production and distribution. Against that day we must now gather facts, facts and more facts, numbers and statistics. Every available tool in the country must be listed, all processes fully understood by our own specialists, all sources of supply must be known as well as the wants of all localities.

All this, and more our industrial engineers must have available, and it is the work of the general membership to collect this data. Each branch should have a secretary of industrial data who will collect this information from the members, and classify it and forward it to the Bureau of Industrial Research. This bureau should be composed of our best revolutionary engineers and they, in turn, will digest this acquired information and prepare it for the service of the workers in the old and new society.

Then, if the workers accomplish a successful revolt, the machinery will be at hand for these to immediately take up the tasks of production and distribution with little or no confusion, and they shall be secure against the expropriated "owners" efforts to sabotage, thus escaping and eliminating a most painful period of transition, an example of which we have recently witnessed.

Our engineers should make known to the fellow workers just what information is required, and each should exert every effort to acquire it. The idea should be developed to the point of economic espionage, so that no machine or process shall remain a secret.

**Bud.**

# Economic Determinism

By Mary E. Marcy

THERE are three well known ways of explaining history. Some folks believe a God or Gods reach down from Heaven or Olympus and take a hand in the affairs of mankind. They believe in the theological interpretation of history. Others insist that if the years had not been occasionally sprinkled with Great Men, who stepped into the arena and yanked society forward, we would still be living primitive lives. They fancy that all the progress of the human race has been caused by a few hundred men of genius who found some great New Idea and led the people into new paths. In almost all colleges, schools and universities the teachings of history are based on this Great Man theory.

Then there is the economic, or materialistic conception of history, based on economic conditions, methods of production and the class struggles which arise from these between the makers of products and the takers of products.

The materialistic conception of history teaches us that the method of production determines all the institutions of a country, the governments, the laws, the press, religions, education, in fact the intellectual life of the people.

Instead of believing that the great ideas of great men pulled us forward, we know that economic need forced us to struggle forward.

The believers in the great man theory would say that we might just as well have had industrial unionism in the middle ages (when almost all production was carried on by serfs, tied to the land) as now, provided only that some man had been brilliant enough to think of it. They do not understand that it required machines and machine production to release men and women from the farms and from hand spinning, hand weaving, etc., etc. so that there would be an available supply of laborers to employ in new factory enterprises, and that it is modern machinery and modern productive methods which are taking the skill out of the workers and putting it into the machine. This reduces skilled and unskilled workers to the same level and the pressing need for industrial unionism arises.

When I studied English history at school I would have told you that the history of England was the story of the kings and queens, their quarrels, love affairs, marriages and deaths. To me history meant courts and parliaments, Senate and Congress, while these institutions, as the materialistic conception of history teaches us, are only the result, the superstructures catering to the economic needs of the exploiting classes.

During the days of kings and serfs all the laws were about the rights of the king, the duties of the nobles to the king, taxes, the rights of the lords, giving him power over his serfs, the duties of serfs toward their lords. And all the teachers and priests and preachers taught the people that these were right and everlasting. All the institutions did reflect the mode of production and the interests of the ruling classes as the materialistic conception of history teaches us they have always done.

Nobody thought about railroad legislation in those days because there were no railroads. And nobody thought of limiting the hours of the work day. These ideas came after factory production when workers were gathered in groups and could communicate with each other readily, could organize and fight for their demands.

In the early days in America it took nearly all of the people all the time to supply the actual necessities of life. Then came the steam engine (which burned wood for a long time) but which carried products from one part of the country with much less labor power than transportation had formerly required. People could send their products to a central point by railroad; and villages grew up. Farm machinery liberated some of the farmers from the land and small machine-operated factories began to spring up in the towns.

The farmers migrated to the towns to get work. And every improved method in production threw men out of work somewhere and enabled the rising capitalist class to hire them for wages in new factories.

And the towns grew into great cities with mills and shops and factories. The population of the cities became greater than the number of people engaged at work on the farms. And always there were class struggles—struggles over the product of the workers, whether the employers should have more or the workers more.

We can see how impossible it would have been for men to start great industrial institutions in the old days before the railroad, steam power, machinery. Men and women could not be separated from the land. There was no great army of unemployed to hire. And all this American history has been made by a change in the methods of production and distribution. The laws changed; the teachings of the college professors changed; the churches changed; the press changed—all to meet the needs of the rising capitalist class.

All the kings that ever lived were unable to make as much real history as the steam engine, or the spinning jenney, or the farm machines, or the cotton gin. These new tools changed the whole lives of the people, changed the whole face of the country.

And this is economic determinism, meaning that the economic conditions determine.. This is what we call the materialistic conception of history.

**Boss (arguing with striker): "ME work???? An who in hell'l be left to pay ye yer wages ye fool!"**

# Oil and Oil Workers

By Albert Barr

LONG ages before the enslavement of one man by another and longer ages before anything even remotely resembling modern civilization existed, oil was evolving, drop by drop, in old Earth's chemic depths—evolving, accumulating, awaiting the time when a certain desire of man's would drive him to seek an assistant to the functioning of the machines he had builded as a result of other desires. Yet the liquid treasure that the ages had stored was not drawn upon until, in the late 50's of the last century the treasure house was smashed open with a giant steel drill a short distance from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.

Swiftly around the industrial world went the news that crude mineral oil had been found in large but unknown quantity. Every intelligent owner of machines knew not only that a new industry had been born, but also that the way had been opened for rapid and almost unlimited advancement in his own industry; and but a few years elapsed after the finding of oil, before that oil became an industrial necessity.

With remarkable swiftness there sprang up in Pennsylvania many "boom" towns inhabited chiefly by men who had money to put into the new industry and men who had nothing but hard muscles and a desire to live. New wells were drilled; new fortunes were made certain; and a new slave group—oil-field workers, sires of those who were to be shot down at Bayonne, of those who were to be mobbed at Tulsa, and of those who were to be sent to Leavenworth from Wichita—was added to that larger slave group—the working class.

The first oil shipped out of Pennsylvania was barreled and floated on barges down the creeks and rivers. In a few years, however, came the pipe line. And the pipe line's quick coming is typical of the application of improved mechanical methods to oil production. The industry originated lately enough to have profited by all that other industries had been long years in evolving.

From Pennsylvania, the oil industry spread westward across the United States. With the growth of the industry went the growth of the oil working group of the working class; and with the growth of this oil working group went inter-group specialization of function—one man becoming definitely a driller; another a pipe-liner; another a pumper, and so on. And concomitant with this growth of specialization went what we may call functional clannishness—the hobnobbing of "tankies" with "tankies," pipe-liners with pipe-liners, etc., etc., each group isolating itself from and treating with contempt all other groups. To be sure, the owners of oil property encouraged this proneness of workers in one line of oil production to treat with contempt the workers in other lines, as it made and still makes for lack of working class solidarity.

As oil production in the United States spread westward, all oil-producing and many other states were dotted with a new kind of industrial plants—drilling rigs, earthen and steel storage tanks, refineries, gas-pumping stations, gasoline plants, etc., etc. As the total production for the United States increased, the number, size and modernity of these plants also increased; and while the total number of oil workers also increased, due to the addition of new fields to already producing fields, improved machinery was displacing men in certain lines of oil production. This displacement of man by machine continues in the oil industry as in all industries.

From the United States the oil industry leaped around the world. For 1918 the figures for oil production (figures compiled by the U. S. Geological Survey) are, in barrels of 42 gallons:

| | |
|---|---|
| United States | 355,928,000 |
| Mexico | 63,828,000 |
| Russia | 40,456,000 |
| Dutch East Indies | 13,285,000 |
| Roumania | 8,730,000 |
| India | 8,000,000 |
| Persia | 7,200,000 |
| Galicia | 5,592,000 |
| Peru | 2,536,000 |
| Japan and Formosa | 2,449,000 |
| Trinidad | 2,082,000 |
| Egypt | 2,080,000 |
| Argentina | 1,321,000 |
| Germany | 711,000 |
| Canada | 305,000 |
| Venezuela | 190,000 |
| Italy | 36,000 |

The figures for total production from 1857 to 1918 in barrels of 42 gallons are:

| | |
|---|---|
| United States | 4,608,572,000 |
| Mexico | 285,182,000 |
| Russia | 1,873,999,000 |
| Dutch East Indies | 188,389,000 |
| Roumania | 151,408,000 |
| India | 106,162,000 |
| Persia | 14,056,000 |
| Galicia | 154,051,000 |
| Peru | 24,415,000 |
| Japan and Formosa | 38,498,000 |
| Trinidad | 7,432,000 |
| Egypt | 4,849,000 |
| Argentina | 4,296,000 |
| Germany | 16,664,000 |
| Canada | 24,426,000 |
| Venezuela | 318,000 |
| Italy | 974,000 |

U. S. figures are limited to quantity marketed.) These figures show that while there has been some changing of places among other countries, the United States has always been easily the greatest producer of crude oil—producing 67.82% of the world's total in 1918, Mexico coming next with 13.58%; from 1857 to 1918 the United States produced 61.11% of the world's total; Russia coming next with 24.66%. And from the following table of production for 1919 by fields, in barrels of 42 gallons, it will be seen that the Mid-Continent field is the largest producer in the U. S.:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mid-Continent | 196,891,000 |
| California | 101,564,000 |
| Appalachian | 29,232,000 |
| Gulf | 20,568,000 |
| Rocky Mountains | 13,584,000 |
| Illinois | 12,436,000 |
| Indiana | 3,444,000 |

The growth of oil production in the United States from 500,000-42 gallon barrels in 1860 to 377,719,000 barrels in 1919 followed the demand for oil and more oil, as more industrial uses for oil were found. As exemplifying the fact of the necessity for oil in the present social and industrial scheme, consider the minor fact that the number of officially registered motor cars in the United States for 1921, is 12,000,000. These cars, excepting perhaps one half of one per cent, are driven with gasoline, one of the most important of oil by-products. As exemplifying the anarchy of the present methods of oil production—production for profit—consider the important fact that the Capitol Crude Oil Co. has a refinery—their only refinery—at Santa Paula, Calif., with a total daily capacity of only 40 barrels, while at Bayonne, N. J.—Bayonne, city of evil reputation where the lives of 18 striking oil slaves were ended by company-gunmen's bullets—The Standard Oil Co. has a refinery with a daily capacity of 88,000 barrels.

On the part of the large oil companies there has been, of course, some striving towards concentration of plants and coordination of working forces; but even so, the waste of effort in the oil industry is notorious.

In 1916-17 the Oil Workers' Industrial Union (I. W. W.) carried on a vigorous organizing campaign in the Mid-Continent oil fields. The oil workers responded to the call of the I. W. W. for organization, some thousands joining and remaining in the union. The oil companies expressed their resentment of the I. W. W.'s activity at Tulsa in 1917, by organizing a mob of very law-abiding citizens to beat, tar and feather a group of active I. W. W. oil workers; and in Kansas with the well-known Wichita indictment, on which 26 men were sent to Leavenworth prison for terms ranging from 3 to 9 years. With the last-named atrocity, organization work in the oil fields ceased, unfortunately.

After the signing of the armistice, hundreds of soldier workers went back into the oil industry; the labor market became swollen and the unusual wages paid to oil workers during the war were cut and working conditions became bad.

Now, since the supply of crude oil surely cannot be unlimited; since present methods of oil production are extremely inefficient, and wasteful of oil and energy; and since the great mass of oil workers is unorganized—two things must be done:

The oil workers must be organized industrially; and such plans must be made as will insure rapid and complete concentration of energy in oil production when the oil industry as we know it today crashes in the general—and inevitable—collapse of the capitalistic system of production. Both of these tasks are gigantic and cannot be completed without hard thinking, hard working and hard fighting. Therefore, the sooner and more seriously they are begun, the sooner will they be completed.

# The American Railway Industry and its Workers

**By W. J. Lemon**

THE railway industry of America is not only the largest industry in the nation, but with its 2,000,000 employees in times of prosperity is in all probability the largest in the world. In America as in all countries it is the key of the key industries; it is the connecting link of all industries. Industry would cease should this vast network of railways cease to operate for any length of time.

As the nerves of the human body are connected to all its parts, so are the railways related, and connected to the industrial and economic life of the nation. It is true that the railways cannot exist and operate for long without the other essential industries, but still there are none that hold the important and strategic position of the transportation system.

The majority of our other industries, with the exception of a few, can store their products, and still continue to function so long as the transportation systems remain in operation, and continue to distribute their products. Not so with transportation. It is an everyday necessity. Social life starts to go to pieces at once when it stops functioning.

There is another prominent factor that we must now reckon with in the transportation problem, and that is the auto truck, which is taking a great part these days, especially in the short hauls between urban and interurban localities, with every indication that in time as the good roads plan progresses and grows, it will be a strong competitor for long distance traffic. Who knows but that in time the auto service may outstrip the steam and electric systems of transportation?

What is necessary is to impress upon the minds of the reader, not the superiority of the railways or its workers over other industries, and their workers, but to make clear how the organized workers of the railways have failed to perform their duty to their class and themselves, and what they can do in the future if they only become conscious of themselves as a class, and organize in the proper form.

### History of the Railroads

In less than a century, to be exact just 90 years ago, the first railroad was constructed in America. From an insignificant line of a few miles in length, the system now totals approximately 265,000 miles exclusive of yards and sidings. In comparison as the mileage and volume of traffic increased, so all other features of the railways changed, such as materials used in construction, and in the method of operation.

The first lines that were built used ties or sleepers as they are sometimes called, somewhat similar to those in use today; but the rails were made of wooden four by fours, with straps of iron nailed on for the wheels to run upon. The locomotive was a very simple affair, light of weight, and slow on speed, with about as much tractive power as two good span of mules. The cars for both freight and passengers were as crude and simple as the locomotive that pulled them, and the track upon which they ran.

The movement of trains was not directed by telegraph until near the sixties, because the telegraph was not invented until about 1850, or at least is was not demonstrated to be practical and useful until about that time. Neither could you purchase a ticket over more than one line of railway, and the same rule applied to shipping or checking your baggage, for interline traffic had not yet come into vogue.

The speed and the stopping of the trains were controlled by the simple hand brake, which meant plenty of old fashioned hand power. The electric block system for safety, or the electric switches for speed and economy were things unheard of in the early days of railroading. Since those pioneer days a great and rapid change has taken place, both in the construction and operation of railways. This development was apparently much faster than the evolution in the workers unions.

Instead of the old fashioned wood and strap iron rail, we have the steel rail weighing 110 lbs to the yard, upon which the giant locomotive and the electric motor weighing hundreds of tons pull trains of a 100 cars or more. An ordinary car of today weighs more than an entire train of primitive days. Instead of the equipment being made of wood as of old, it is now constructed of steel. The coaches are marvels of beauty and comfort, and installed with every device for comfort and safety. Now we have the automatic air brake that is operated by one individual—the engineer, who controls the speed, or stops a train of 100 cars as easily and simply as he formerly stopped one. One can now buy a ticket, check your baggage or ship your freight from the Atlantic to the Pacific with no more trouble than is caused in going to the next cross road station. The merging of hundreds of small lines into a few systems has made it possible to simplify the clerical and accounting work.

We also have the automatic car coupler, the automatic electric block signal, and electric switches. We are told that all these appliances are installed for safety; in reality it is all done for economy, and dividends. Train wrecks, and damage suits are much more expensive than safety appliances. All this improvement has been brought about by the brain and the brawn of the workers. The despised immigrant from Mexico, Asia, and Slavic or Latin Europe, who have constructed the roads, and maintained the tracks, played the same essential part in this task as the so-called skilled aristocratic worker, for without their work these roads would not be here.

### Finance

According to history railroads were financed to some extent by stocks (water) and bonds, but to a greater extent by bonuses, national subsidies, and government land grants. In the early period in the eastern states many of the old canal companies developed into railroad corporations, and financed their projects with the state grants, and municipal bonuses that had been given for the building of canals. In the western and Pacific states they were financed principally by national subsidies, land grants, and loans. From the year 1850 to 1872 the national government had given outright to the railroads 155,000,000 acres of land, and $140,000,000.00 in cash, besides many substantial loans.

The following is only a partial summary of the favored few. The Union Pacific was granted $16,000 per mile from Omaha to the Rockies, and $32,000 per mile through the Rockies. Meyer's History of Great American Fortunes states that the Rockies were moved 200 miles east. $48,000 per mile was granted for track laid to its connecting link, the Central Pacific which ran from the Rockies to the coast.

The Union Pacific received a land grant of 13,000,000 acres, and later on a loan of $27,000,000. The Central Pacific received a grant of 9,000,000 acres; the Northern Pacific 47,000,000 acres; the Kansas Pacific 12,100,000 acres, and the Southern Pacific 18,000,000 acres. Only a few weeks ago the government handed over another cool half billion on top of what they had already given to the roads since their return to private ownership; and this right after congress had refused a bonus of $3,000,000,000 to the returned soldiers, for reasons which they asserted would practically ruin the credit and finances of the nation.

### The Railroad Workers and Organization

No class of workers in America have been more brutally treated and exploited than the railway workers; both as to wages, general conditions, and excessive hours of labor. They have been slaughtered, maimed, driven and blacklisted without limit; and still they are one of the most submissive and servile groups that we have in America today.

In the beginning there was no such a thing as organized labor on the railroads, unless it was among one or two of the skilled shop crafts, and that is doubtful. The pay was small, so much per hour, per trip, per day or month. No collective bargaining existed. It was all individual bargaining and the individual who got the best of everything was the boss. The day for the trackmen and shopmen was 10 or 12 hours without any bonus for overtime. For the enginemen and trainmen it was work until the trip was completed, whether it was a few hours or a week without any overtime allowance.

The first engineers were machinists, which no doubt explains why they received the highest pay. This fact once becoming an established precedent, it remained so for a number of years.

Not until about 1856 was the first railroad union organized, when the engineers launched the Brotherhood of the Footboard, now the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. In 1867 the conductors organized; in 1873 the firemen; in 1883 the brakemen, baggagemen, and switchmen, later on the telegraphers, but the unskilled were left alone and unorganized until just before the war when the Maintenance of Way and Shop Laborers united, but really did not make much headway until this country went into the war. The first railroad industrial union that opened its doors to all railway workers was the A. R. U., led by Eugene V. Debs and others in the early 90's. It went down after the great Pullman strike in 1894, principally due to the treachery of the old line brotherhoods to their class.

The U. B. R. E., another industrial union followed, but it, too, died out in a few years. The last independent industrial railroad union to come into existence which is still alive and organizing, is the United Association of Railway Employees of North America. Of course the I. W. W. has always been open to all wage workers, and today has an industrial union of railroad workers.

The U. A. R. E. of N. A. is the result of the outlaw movement of April, 1920, and the Los Angeles and Winnipeg outbreaks in 1919. It was formed because the Brotherhood executives failed to function in the interests of the workers, but lashed their members back on the job thus forcing the workers to scab on each other, and assisting the masters to gain a victory.

There is no denying the fact, however, that the present unions have accomplished good in the past when conditions were much different from now, but those days are gone never to return. The only real fundamental things they have accomplished, is the raising of the wages, the shorter work day, and the arbitrary overtime. The railway corporations have likewise lengthened the trains, adopted improved mechanical, and other methods of operation that more than offset the gains of the workers. Likewise the cost of living has advanced ahead of the money rise in wages, so in reality the increased productive power of the railroad workers like all other workers, makes them cheaper slaves today than ever before.

The Limit of Service Law, not to exceed 16 hours work in any 24 hour period was secured by act of Congress, not to protect the workers from performing unlimited hours of toil, but to protect the lives of the traveling public. In all the history of the Brotherhoods and the crafts there has never been a spirit of solidarity displayed on the part of the leaders, except in 1916 when the 8 hour day (Adamson Law) was forced through Congress by the strike ballot of the four Brotherhoods.

On numerous occasions, organized crafts have scabbed on other organized crafts in order to gain

some petty concession. We should mention two things in particular that have done an incalculable amount of damage to the railroad workers in the way of breaking and crushing their morale, and militant spirit. The first is the seniority and jurisdictional agreements introduced by the unions themselves which only tends to create friction and prejudice amongst the workers, thereby preventing solidarity, and only redounding to the benefit of the masters. The other is the age limit, and physical examination, introduced after the 1894 strike to punish the rebellious slaves; but is still in operation, and is used just as effectively in punishing the rebels of today. It is nothing more or less than a blacklist; a club in the hands of the masters, and none of the "recognized" unions has made any attempt to abolish it.

Times have changed wonderfully in the last year or so. It used to be two jobs for every man; now it is two men for every job. It used to be fight or work, now it is a fight for work. What the capitalists gave to the workers during the war, they are now going to take away, and more if they can.

On July 1st they took back the first slice in the way of a 12% reduction, and the next to come is the abrogation of the national agreement, which is the time and a half, and other arbitration awards. According to reports the decreases shall continue as far as the masters have the power to push us. And why shouldn't they, so long as the workers are divided and lack the power of organization with which to halt them? The leaders of the unions are doing nothing to stop them, except using a lot of old time threats and worn out phraseology, and appealing to capitalist politicians to help save them. They well know that they are powerless to save themselves under present conditions.

Some will no doubt take exception to the statement that railroad workers are poorly paid. It has been understood by many that the railway workers were the aristocracy of labor. Even the highest paid among them—the engineers—received no more than many mechanics. During the war there were many workers in war industries that received much more. The railroad workers' pay was brought up to the highest rate when labor was scarce, when the profiteers were in competition with each other for labor power.

There was a time when most of the present unions were considered quite militant, with the exception of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and the Order of Railroad Conductors; these two organizations were never accused of having any radical or progressive ideas. They always stayed on the job, let the other fellow do the fighting while they came in for the cream. For many years they held aloof from all other organizations, either feeling their superiority over the other workers, or else believing in that old quack idea that too many crafts in one union makes an unworkable piece of machinery. Later on, however, they found out that they could no longer get any of the increases unless they got in the harness, and helped to get it. They began to see that a lone union was of no use to get anything from organized capital, so they gradually associated themselves with other organizations of the train and engine service only.

Like many other craft organizations they have not yet learned the necessity of organizing on the One Big Union plan. They don't yet seem to realize that that is why the bosses are whipping them now. The capitalist class is organized in the only real One Big Union in the country, while the workers are divided and powerless to save themselves. The American plan, or open shop is condemning the Brotherhoods and the railroad crafts to death.

While the courts and the chambers of commerce, ably assisted by patriotic organizations, were busy persecuting I. W. W's and other radicals for working class activities, the leaders of the A. F. of L. and the Brotherhoods sat back self poised and quite contented, in fact more than pleased. They were saying to themselves—they'll never bother us, for we are "Respectable and Law Abiding Organizations." Their hopes and dreams are being shattered—the masters are going to wipe their unions out of existence, as though they were chaff before the wind.

It is too late now for the old unions to recover and gather their fragments together, to present a solid craft front to the enemy. With no foreign markets to absorb the surplus goods produced by the American workers, industrial and social conditions must get worse, before they can get better. With industries closing, and millions of workers walking the streets looking for work, it is utterly impossible for the present unions to solve the problem of unemployment.

The first step towards a real solution is the forming of industrial unions. This is opposed strenuously by all the reactionary officials of the railroad brotherhoods and the crafts.

The second step in arriving at the correct solution of the problem of society is in putting into operation workers control of production and distribution. The master class cannot operate the industries unless there is a profit to be had. The working class can and must, if they intend to exist, operate the industries for use and not for profit of anyone.

The only solution to this age long struggle of the classes is for the railroad and other workers to build the One Union of all the workers, regardless of creed, race, color or sex, upon the ruins of the old, and through organized **power** take possession of the means of life, for only by the ownership of your own jobs can you be free men and women. Organize like the capitalist class; they have shown us the way to freedom.

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## UNEMPLOYMENT

Factories, mines and mills throughout the country still remain idle or work part time. Others everywhere are closing down. In the needle trades which is largely seasonal work, the season for many sorts of goods is long overdue and there is no activity.

The five million unemployed is rapidly swelling to six million. Still there is no attempt on the part of the owners of industry to even as much as understand the situation with which the world is faced. They hide from the disagreeable truth that capitalism is in its death convulsions, chatter wildly about deflation, normalcy and lack of demand, but do nothing.

The working class of the Volga region of Russia are faced with a famine because of the lack of rain. Ten million persons are liable to suffer in this catastrophe either death or great privation. The entire machinery of the centralized Russian Workers' Republic is at work vigorously trying to solve the problem of feeding these victims of combined capitalistic greed and climatic accident.

The number of persons now affected by the unemployment in the United States is greater than those liable to be affected by the Russian famine. No steps whatever have been taken by any of the powers that are in control in this country except the paltry remedy of a few bowls of soup and a few chunks of bread that usually serve to keep the hungry ones from disorder. Such paliative measures will be ridiculous in the terrible winter that is now facing the workers of America. At the present progress of disintegration there will be ten million men out of work this winter and this will mean more than twenty five million persons with no means of support.

There is but one answer to the question of what shall be done. The only persons capable of solving the problems of the working class is the working class themselves. Industrial organization, industrial study, industrial planning by the industrially organized workers can be the only answer to the problems of starvation that confront us.

To declare the greatest strike in history and go back to work, move in and occupy the factories, the workshops and warehouses that the capitalists are letting lie idle, these things are the only means that can bring relief to the working class.

We are not prepared for such a move now. We of the I. W. W. must get prepared between now and that day in the near future when there will be no other solution for the workers of America but to move in and take over the industries.

Let us lend our energies now to constructive effort at organizing the three things that we cannot do without in such a move, the workers, the industrial knowledge and the plans of action.

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## POWER

The capitalist class today has no power that the workers can take over and use. We must generate our own power from our own class if we would ever achieve any control over the means of life.

The development of working class power is a bitterly hard process and does not come from any spontaneous freeing of the "soul" from the restraints of capitalism. It comes from the constant and recurring restraints of having to deal with and solve problems vital to the working class.

Remember this, that the working class has all the power that there is in society at all times. We need only to organize it and set it to work. Let us get on the job now! Map out the industries! Gather the data of the movement of materials! Create the organs of economic control and lay the plans for action!

## THE PRISON HOUSE OF REALITY

REALITY seems a miserable and unwarranted affair. It is a dingy commonplace arrangement from which most of us are always trying to escape, but to which we are being forcibly brought back by that incorrigible policeman—Fact.

The queer part about it is that once Fact has hustled us out of the gay and happy building of our fancy and with sundry punches, jolts and wallops has deposited us back in our original prison we cannot escape again to our former warm and trustful menage—that is, we can't unless there is a road to this dream land to be had by way of the long stemmed pipe, the three inch hypo gun, the mysterious bottle, or a Billy Sunday revival. As a rule we next escape to a new house.

It is true that some persons have the happy faculty of eluding fact altogether. Great respect is due deeply religious or dogmatic and fanatical people. When the old flat foot Fact comes knocking at their doors with a warrant in his hand they with the greatest of dispatch fall upon him and annihilate him clothes, flesh, blood, bones and all. They are the greatest resisters in the world. Yet even they occasionally give in at some unguarded moment and are placed in that cell house of things as they are for a while.

Now there are very few of us who can shamefacedly say that we never even sought to escape from our lazy guards. Most of us slip out with various pretexts and have a jolly dissipated time with our freedom until we get rounded up and herded back again.

Some of us repeatedly evade reality for things that we call virtues and which we make a big fuss about. Love, patriotism and revolutionary faith are samples of these virtues which are used by us and which we select according to our age, ignorance and former or present condition of servitude.

A lot of us who have, from various visitations of brutal fact and studious observance, become aware of certain big social forces that are operating to change somewhat the structure of society, made quite recently an escape into the realms of fictitious conjecture and revolutionary fervor over the far distant and well organized happenings in Russia.

The gradual rounding of us up by our dogged jailor is being accomplished with great pain and suffering, on our part. But every day we are landing back in our prison house wiser and more willing to use a workmanlike attitude toward things that we find there. Our prison is jammed full of reality. That is why we have always wanted to get out of it.

For instance it is something wonderful to escape on one of these great inspiring Madison Square Garden or Peoples Park revoltingly enthusiastic adventures. Unanimously we resolve to fold our Giant Arms or Build Barricades and die for the ragged remnants of a Red Flag as it flutters close to a manhole choked with gory dead. Such things as industrial facts be damned! We want nothing to do with reality while we are on this big revival. Industry! It is the vilest torture chamber of the boss. Away with the job! Give us liberty, freedom and industrial democracy!!!!

Then, when we organize our forces on these mass lines, what glory to gather together and discuss this and that line of action. It is so wonderful and inspiring that we never want to stop discussions. Action itself requires real knowledge and effort: plain everyday prison house knowledge and the drudgery of effort.

So we steer clear of action for we know that as soon as we get to dabbling in knowledge the old tyrannical jailer Fact will come along and send us back from our vacation to the colorless rooms of the prison house of reality. That is, some of us steer clear. We don't like those other persons who are always dabbling in facts and trying to set us to work. They **are** such nuisances.

* * *

The rumblings of a social cataclysm are heard and today those who have lately been confining themselves to reality are widely aware that the only escape from the impending ruin and its threat of total anni-

hilation lies in the reorganization of those distasteful and commonplace things—the industries.

There can be but one method employed by those revolutionists who are able to keep themselves in the gray walls of reality—by all those who are able to keep their feet on the ground and use their heads for other purposes than as instruments of hat measurement. That is the method of workmanship—the method of science.

Confronted with a problem, and we were never confronted with such a big and varied problem in all our race history, the workmanlike and scientific way to a solution is to get the facts in the case that can be had and having the facts, real definite facts, mind you, and not a lot of good guesses, then lay down and carry out a plan of action based on these said facts.

The social problem of most vital importance is one of industrial management compared with mismanagement. Things that we need are being produced for profit rather than for use. Social service and industry are not even on hearsay terms of acquaintanceship. The I. W. W. solution is to make them one and the same thing.

The way to do this is to study the industries, get the industrial facts and organize the workers according to the form and structure of the industry.

It is only through industrial union organization that we can achieve the power that is needed to put the industries on a footing of efficient operation for use and by this only means avert the crushing out of millions of lives during the period of starvation and chaos coming on with the dissolution of capitalism.

# "I" or "We"

He was young
Just from the army
And a member
Of the Legion strong.
Bound for the harvest
Being adventurous
He went riding
On a west bound freight.
Great were his thoughts.
He'd fix the Wobs
And show the great men
Just what
He could do.
His start was
Sioux City,
And a little
Out of the town
Some one asked him
If he had a card.
He showed his Legion button
With a lot of pride.
Somehow or other
He quickly quit his ride.

He hooked on the next one
And after a while
Found himself waiting
For another freight.
He got peeved and cried,
"By God, I'll ride
On the next, I'll bet!"
And got stung
Worse yet.
Being helpless and alone
And hungry and tired
When morning came,
He made one more attempt
On another train
And failed again.
But he rode the next
And was heard
To exclaim,
"By God—Fellow Workers,
We'll make John Farmer
Come through this year.
WON'T WE?

Achef.

# Revolutions in Industrial Countries

**By Charles W. Wood**

DOES anybody know how a revolution takes plaee in an industrial eountry?

I have happened to see only one. I wrote a pieee for the papers about it at the time; but few people even in the country where the revolution oeeurred, could believe that any sueh thing had taken plaee.

It was a funny revolution. In the first plaee, nobody mueh wanted it to happen, but nobody mueh opposed it. It was a neeessity of the moment, and it went through without a hiteh; but it was agreed on all sides that the new arrangement would be temporary; and when the erisis had passed, the people set about, almost unainmously, to restore the old order.

**Years have passed since then, but the old order has not yet been restored. The new order was smashed conmpletely—by common consent.** The whole maehine, which had worked so marvelously, was taken to pieees and buried without ceremony. But the old maehine—the one that had broken down—refused somehow to work.

Very soon the prosperity of the eountry began to wane. A year later things got worse. Two years later, the industries throughout the land shut down wholesale and millions of workers were left without a job. A crime wave swept the nation. The people beeame almost desperate, and they are getting more desperate every day. There is mueh talk among them of "revolution," but the whole thing ends in talks; for nobody knows, among the 100,000,000 inhabitants, how a revolution oeeurs in an industrial eountry.

You may never have heard of the country of whieh I speak as it hasn't figured much, for the past eentury, in the revolutionary news of the world.

It is known as the United States. It is located on the Continent of North America. The revolution I refer to occurred in the year 1918.

For a full year this eountry had been at war with Germany and it was the eonsensus of opinion that it had to win the war. Up to date, however, it hadn't even figured in the war, to say nothing of winning. In the spring of 1918, somebody found out what the trouble was. The country had plenty of resourees, equipment and man-power. But the whole thing wasn't of any fighting use, in that there was no eo-ordination. Production was earried on hit-or-miss, as individual enterprise determined. The war administration tried its best to regulate affairs, but it eouldn't even regulate itself. The army commandeered things that the navy needed, and viee versa. The railroad administration similarly eompeted with shipbuilding and the manufacture of munitions. Everything was hopelessly balled up until the industries of the country got together and ealled upon engineering experts to devise a plan of eo-ordination.

**Nobody called it revolution, but it changed the whole industrial face of the country overnight.** And it generated a power that surprised the world. Granted that it was only war power and that nobody thought of using the same methods in peaee; the faet remains that produetion for sale was supplanted by produetion for use, and that the prineiple of eo-ordination began to supplant the principle of eompetition as the governing prineiple of our industrial life.

Whieh is, of eourse, why the whole maehine was busted by unanimous eonsent about seven minutes after the signing of the armistiee.

"Back to Normalcy" has been our slogan ever since. Baek to ineffieieney and produetion for sale! Baek to the eompetitive struggle for markets and to the eonditions that produeed the war! Baek to the system that broke down!

Of eourse, there are a few "revolutionists" who propose a different eourse. But what do they propose? I have been unable to understand.

Communism? Yes, but how? A dietatorship of the proletariat? Not a bad phrase, but just what is the proletariat which so unanimously voted for "normaley" expected to dietate? And how are they to gain the upper hand in the first plaee—to wrest the power from the ruling elass of today? It all harks baek to my first question: How do revolutions oceur in an industrial eountry?

Mosts revolutionists have a pretty elear pieture as to how revolutions have oeeurred in the past—when countries were politieal rather than industrial. It wasn't a bad idea then to establish a political party. The party might not be legal, but the more illegal the more revolutionary it was apt to be.

Then there was pamphleteering, with underground propaganda among the intellectuals. Eventually the eommittee of aetion might make an open deelaration, and the people would spring to the defense of liberty.

"Ring, grandpa, ring!" Let the bugles blow! Proclaim liberty throughout the land! Gather in the publie square and defy the tyrant to do his worst!

Those were the happy days when revolutions could be won by fervor. All you had to do was to get everybody mad enough—"willing to die for an idea" is the proper way, I believe, to analyze the frenzy—then the eity hall or the eourt house or something eould be blown up, or the bastille stormed—and everybody knew that a revolution had occurred.

Ain't is tough, though, to be a revolutionist in times like these—when nobody knows how revolutions happen, and when they are just as apt to be made and unmade without anybody getting wise? As for getting the people into the right state of frenzy—the stolid, spiritless rank and file of Amer-

ica today is more afraid of frenzies than it is of anything on earth.

Frenzies haven't got them anything, in recent years, at last. They have won elections and got the politicians something, but the matter generally ended right there. They have brought on revivals and got the revivalists something, but in a few weeks things spiritual seemed to sag as badly as before. Even those frenzies which have resulted in the frenzied ones getting married haven't left all the participants permanently enthusiastic.

It may be stated as a matter of history that the people of the United States, since the civil war, have gradually become less and less amenable to frenzy. There was one exception. Frenzy became popular again in 1917, but the great majority refused stolidly to fall even for that until they were perfectly certain that the best people had all got in line. Today, if I am not in error, they are generally rather sore at themselves for falling even then.

**Revolutionary Engineering**

I think it is relevant to remark right here that the United States, since the civil war, has become an industrial rather than a political country. Less and less have things been accomplished through frenzy: more and more things have been accomplished through engineering. Even the white-hot patriotism of 1917 didn't hurt Germany very much. It required the engineering of 1918 to break the Hindenburg line.

Does this give us any clue as to what is likely to happen in the United States? The whole world is in a state of revolution. It is hardly thinkable that the world changes which are being made will leave this country unchanged. There will be some sort of revolution here. But how will it come?

Will it come through the people becoming sufficiently excited? If so, just how mad will they have to get? Will it come through great mass meetings and parades of the unemployed? Will the populace bare its breast to the machine guns of the capitalists in some great outpouring in Union Square? Or will the proletariat march up Fifth Avenue and seize the palaces of the rich?

I confess to having inherited a somewhat revolutionary temperament, and I hate to throw a damper on anybody's enthusiasm; but I think it quite possible that the revolution will not come to us just like that: for we are an industrial country, and these doings all hark back to revolutions of a different sort.

Once upon a time, seizing the palaces of the rich was a revolution in itself. For the palace was on a hill and the huts of the serfs lay all about; and when the palace cellar got empty, the serfs could just trot over to where they used to hang out; and if they hadn't forgotten to put in their crops, they could harvest them as usual and drag them up the big hill.

But they could hardly get away with that on Fifth Avenue. When the ice-boxes get empty there, they are habitually restocked in a different way. Somebody goes to the telephone and calls up Park and Tilford. Any modern proletarian, to be sure, could do this: but Mrs. Tilford might be out and she might forget to leave any of the family to answer the phone. Revolutions of this sort do upset people dreadfully, and it is even possible that some of the telephone girls would be strolling up the avenues themselves, instead of sticking to the switchboard until the new residents were all installed.

Incidentally, where do the delicatessen folk keep their hens?—in case the supply you are able to find doesn't last you more than a week or two. And where does Mrs. Borden keep her cow? The milk in the bottles might be all right, but you've got to locate the cow if you want a permanent supply.

And the meat? And the new clothes and shoes? How do people get these things anyway—in an industrial civilization? They come from human labor applied to natural resources, and there is no question that the workers are entitled to them. But how do they get them? And how would they get them in an industrial country, during and after a "revolution" which had happened in Union Square? There aren't any cows in Union Square. There aren't any mines there; no tanneries, no steel mills, no mercantile marine. Without these things in constant action, life simply cannot go on in an industrial country.

The answer is, of course, that these things would have to be kept in action, and the only way that they can be kept in action is through industrial organization on the job. Most revolutionists today admit that political revolutions in themselves could never turn the trick; but what have they to offer instead? Parades, marches, mass meetings—strike, fold your arms, overthrow the tyrant—in other words, go generally wild. Then by some mystic hocus-pocus you will come into possession of the great industrial machine which you haven't the slightest idea how to run.

The most important fact in America today, however, is the new unionism which refuses to be swayed by such so-called revolutionary notions. The new unionism is revolutionary to an extent which the old industrial union never dreamed of being. But it aims at more than getting the workers into one big body. It is aiming to **organize labor**—which means organizing the work of the world. And when labor is really organized, it will be ready for something far more significant than a strike—far more significant even than "seizing the ownership of the means of production." It will be organized to use the means of production to keep the machinery going, to carry on production and distribution as an industrial and not as a business proposition.

"No spirit," has been a common verdict of professional radicals in regard to the working class of the United States. "The people here will suffer and complain but they will not revolt." It seems

more to the point to observe that things happen in such a country as this not in answer to emotional fury but in accordance with the laws of scientific engineering.

### The New I. W. W.

The I. W. W., as an organization, is observing that fact. It is concentrating upon a technical program. Many A. F. of L. and independent unions are stepping in the same direction, notably the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. They are not "abandoning the class struggle," but they are recognizing that the class struggle is a much bigger thing than the fight of the workers against the employing class. They see in it the struggle of the workers for power and for freedom, neither of which can be wrested from the master class today.

The master class has no liberty. It is enslaved by its own inhuman aims. And it hasn't the power and cannot possibly develop the power to protect its possessions against panic, disorder and war. **If the workers are to attain real power, they must get it not from their masters but from themselves.** They must acquire the knowledge from which the power comes. They must learn how to run the machine not only as well as capitalism has succeeded in running it but much more efficiently. And they must learn how to run it not only for maximum material production but for the utmost human service. They must make the machine fit for men to work in, and not for men only but for women and children, too. They must abolish, as Charles P. Steinmetz says, all the jobs which lead nowhere, which do not release the creative powers of the individual and assist in all-around human development.

As Sidney Hillman recently pointed out, the workers can get 10 times more from industry than they can ever get from their employers: and it is because the Amalgamated recognized this sound industrial principle that they won the greatest labor victory in recent years.

"One Big Union" used to be a sufficient motto. Get all the workers of an industry into one organization, so that if trouble occurs in any particular department, all the employes of the industry can go out together. This was a thrilling idea and scientifically unassailable. But it was not revolutionary. It contained a full program for the stoppage of production, but it gave nobody an inkling of how production might be carried on.

The new idea is to organize for production: and that means that the workers shall not be organized in a hall—for production is not carried on in halls—but that they shall be organized on the job. They must be organized to go to work, not to quit. **They must be organized to carry on productoin and distribution in every necessary industry, and to produce and distribute more efficiently than the capitalist system can.**

And this is not a matter of religious frenzy. It is not a matter of oratory and debate. It is not a matter, either, of politics, law or government, nor of business nor economics. It is purely a matter of engineering and industrial technique, hence this type of revolutionist insists on placing all emphasis upon the technical program.

It is significant that the monthly organ of the I. W. W., the One Big Union Monthly, has been succeeded by the Industrial Pioneer. It is significant that I. W. W. workers throughout the country have dropped their propaganda concerning the "ownership" of the means of production, and are talking definitely about how they may be used.

And who opposes this program? The greatest opposition I have seen comes from self-styled "Socialists" and "Communists." Ultra-revolutionaries, they think they are, and I have little doubt of their sincerity. I don't believe that one-half of 1 per cent of them are spies of capitalism, for capitalism is still too blind to the situation to recognize red on sight. Capitalism is seeing red all right, but it is seeing red where red does not exist, and it is so concerned with economics and banking that when it hears working men talking about increasing production, it thinks fatuously that they have "given up their foolishness."

But the fact remains that capitalism can put down any movement, no matter how widespread it is, which fails to keep the machinery of production and distribution going. **But there is no power on earth which can overthrow a system which uninterruptedly performs these functions.**

It is true that the industrial administration of 1918 was scrapped, but not by any outside force. If the group which controlled this experiment in co-ordination had wanted to continue its control, the government itself would have been helpless. That group, in fact, was the government, and bossed the army and the navy as well as the other functions of these United States.

And if the working class of America does organize industry, instead of contending itself with organizing citizens and baptizing them in the name of one union or another, it can avail itself at once of all the power which the industrial machine can generate.

### The Situation

Perhaps it cannot be proved that an industrial country can have a revolution. Perhaps things will inevitably get worse and worse untill the race gradually starves itself into giving up industry and reverts to individual farming with crooked wooden sticks in place of plows. From industrial Austria and industrial Germany and industrial America we have not yet seen anything to give us hope. But three facts, at least, are obvious.

First: Capitalism has proven its incompetency. The financial genius of the world has plotted for three years to make capitalism function as it did function before the war and has so far miserably failed.

Second: No revolution of the kind which most revolutionists have been dreaming about can occur in an industrial country; for modern industry

is a question, not of conservative or radical thought but of collective technique.

Third: While there is nothing in the proposed technical program which prohibits radicals from developing any fine frenzies which their emotional organisms require, there is nothing which keeps them from hearty co-operation with conservative minded mechanics, farmers and engineers who happen to have a sane desire to continue being fed.

The revolution I foresee—the only sort of revolution which can succeed in an industrial country—may be lacking in blood and color and even in fiery phrase. But it will be a real revolution, and it will remove not only capitalism but all economics from the earth. It will be the organization of life to express, not to possess, to create and not to fight, to do things instead of wearing ourselves out trying to sell things and using up nine-tenths of our human energy in effecting the sales or in protecting the property we are induced to buy.

The Sunday Call.

# Honorably Discharged

We are a pair of old socks,
Worn out in the service of one
Who noticed not our loyalty,
Until in the end—
Mostly the lower—
We failed.

We were good and faithful servants,
Serving our masters well in his days of
good fortune
And at his lowest extremities;
But we were tossed aside in disdain,
And with an arrogant pugging of the nose,
To be ground into the dirt
By passing hoofs.

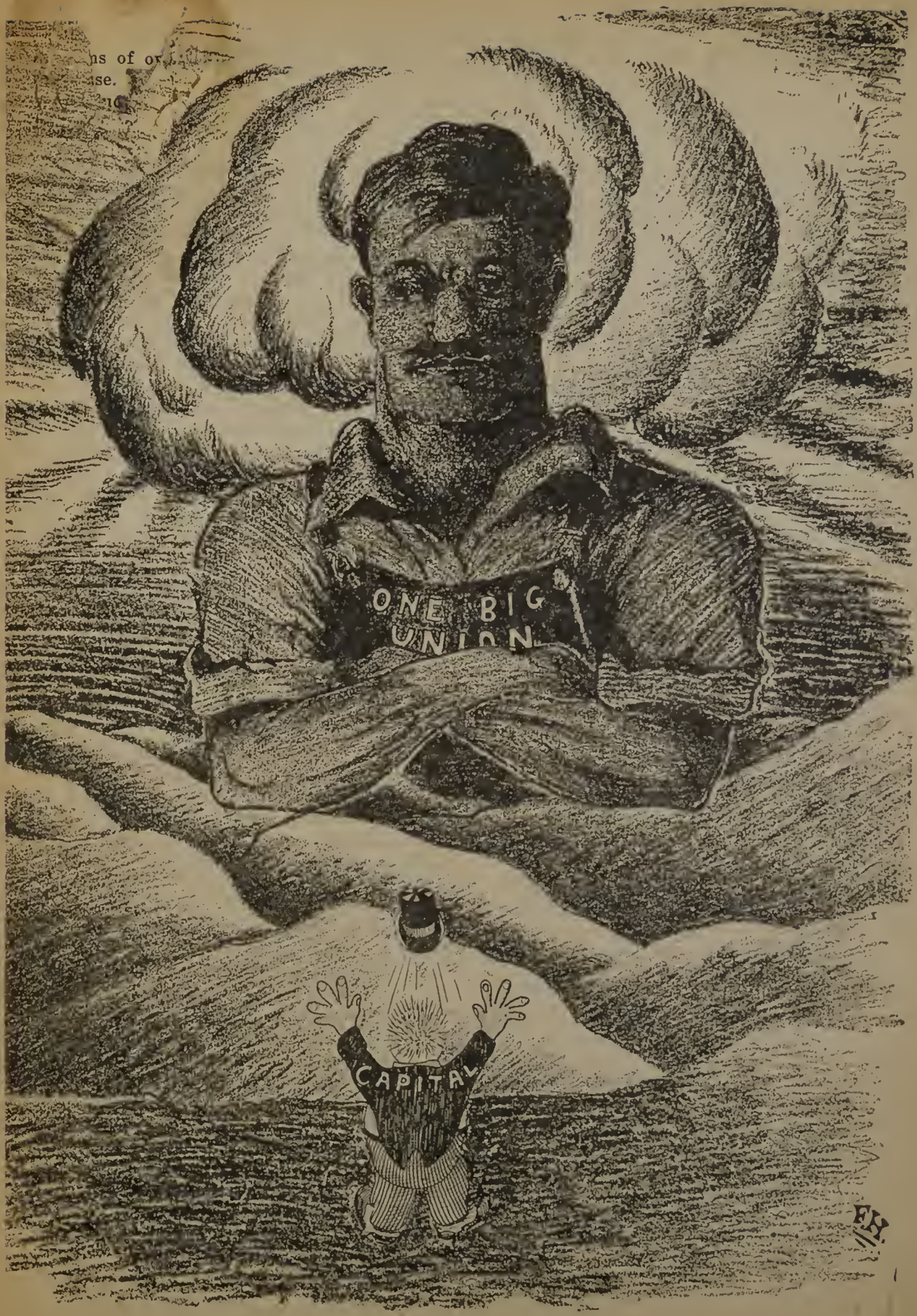
A wandering minstrel
Picked us up tenderly and gingerly
And hung us on a barbed wire fence,
Where the desert sun
Could rot our tissues and purify our holey-
ness
And the desert air
Purge us of the tenacious odor
Of our days of servility.

He trussed us on the fence
In the shape of the cross
Of the predecessor of the Wobbly agitator,
And here,
Abandoned,
Our days of usefulness ended,
Though the winds persistently invite us to
accompany them
To fields of sanctifying activity,
We steadily decline.

The dull-eyed cattle stand and look at us—
And wonder . . .

We were good and faithful servants . . .
And we are well done.

**Jim Seymour.**




CAPITAL'S ONE BIG FEAR!

# Large and Small Scale Agric

**By Wm. Dimmit**

A HOG, a peach, and a bushel of wheat all start life on the farm. In this they may not be different from lots of persons that drape themselves over city desks and work benches.

Also like the farm bred city folks these first mentioned products of the farm no longer spend their last days in the old home. They emigrate to sections which do not produce hogs, peaches, or wheat.

This emigration is the big feature not only in the life of the hog, peach, and wheat but in the life of the farmer who has brought them into the world and looked after them, and to the person who takes them off the farmer's hands and introduces them into the machine process. In fact it has become the big feature to all of us.

This transference was not always so. In many portions of the well known world it is not so yet. But here in the U. S. A. the big and distinguishing feature about agriculture is that it is a commodity producing process. The hogs, peaches, and wheat seldom stay where they start at. When ready or nearly ready to be of some use to the world they are rounded up, picked, or mowed down and put on the market. The farmer sells them for cash and often buys part of them back again for his own consumption.

### Agriculture Is Part of Industry

Agriculture in America is industrialized. There is very little of that small garden size production carried on chiefly for the personal use of the producer. American farmers produce first for commodity exchange and then occasionally for personal consumption.

The industrial nature of production is the outstanding fact which must be taken into consideration by any organization which is laying plans for a social revolution. The fact that farm production itself is industrialized makes it just that much more imperative that industry must be the determining factor in the success of any experiment in socialized or communistic methods of social organization.

Industry is a huge complex machine depending on the efficient or at least partly efficient working of all the parts. If one of the parts don't work the whole blame machine shuts down.

### Dangers of Industrial Breakdown

In America shutting down this machine means simply the starvation of every one. Not only the people of the cities but most of the rural population as well. So it is of prime importance that no attempt at a transfer of social control to themselves should be attempted by the workers of this country until such time as they have enough industrial knowledge organized so as to insure at least enough production to keep most of the people alive.

Full warehouses may give to the onlooker the idea that there is enough food stored up to serve the country for a couple of years and that during this couple of years we can easily enough reorganize the industries. This looks fine. But the distributing machinery is part and parcel of the entire industrial process and with no definite plan laid out as to how to keep the industries at least moving why the stuff would either lie in the warehouses and rot or else be wasted by being distributed in one section while another section was starving. The industries in America must be carefully studied and understood before any revolutionary attempt is made or else with the transference of power to the workers will be transferred the job of burying the majority of the population.

Agriculture is not excepted from this hard and fast rule. Indeed it should be more carefully studied and mapped out than any of the industries. From the farm comes that which keeps us going. With no food revolutionary spirit soon plays out.

### Two Sorts of Farm Methods

On the American continent there are two sorts of farm commodity production. We find first the common individual farm method in use. The farmer and his family together with an occasional hired man or two do all the work of production except during harvesting and shipping periods.

Alongside of this individual farm system there are larger scale methods. Comparatively big estates depending on hired labor and under the supervision of either the manager owner or a hired manager, have for years been a feature of domestic agriculture.

Both of these methods are carried on with greater and greater use of machinery. It is generally supposed that the big estate is putting the small farm out of business but no figures for this assertion are ever submitted. The tendency for concentration of ownership in fewer and fewer hands can easily be backed up by reams of data but paralleling this concentration of ownership there exists the creation of a farm tenantry that is increasing at an alarming rate. Large scale farm operations are not on the increase in this country.

It is doubtful if there are as many big ranches under single management now as there were ten or fifteen years ago. It is strange that there is such a scarcity of figures about the industrial methods of operation. When it comes to figures involving ownership, profits, or cash values a person can find volumes everywhere but figures dealing with industrial methods of management and industrial evolution are very scarce. People think

still in terms of ownership instead of in terms of industrial use.

As a productive factor, considering the number of hours of labor power applied, there is little dispute that the large estates are the most economical of the two systems. Accurate figures on this question have not been compiled either, as nearly all data in a capitalistic world deals with investment and profits. Production per uit of labor power has little meaning to the so-called investigators.

In the present profit system any enterprise that does not produce profits regardless of how economical the production may be is doomed to fail. Failure has marked the road over which a large proportion of the ventures in extensive farming have traveled. So much has this been in evidence that farmers are everywhere cynical of any attempt to start such enterprices. "The agriculturist," they say, "is one who makes his money in town and spends it in the country while the farmer makes his money in the country and spends it in town."

### Distribution of Products

An analysis of the position of large scale agriculture cannot be made without proceeding into the facts of distribution. It is generally recognized among students of economics that the worker is robbed at the point of production. As a class truth this is not to be refuted. Its application, however, to the owner workers of the farms does not hold and is limited to the elements known as the wage working class. Farmers come in the social class known as the middle class or bourgeoisie. In spite of the fact that they belong apparently to the ruling class they are highly exploited and robbed.

This is done indirectly through an elaborate system of control of the distribution of farm products by those business elements that constitute organized capital. In practically every instance where farm products are being marketed they pass first into the hands of some branch of that competitive buying and distributing organization that for inefficiency and lack of co-ordinated effort cannot be beat. These commission houses and produce buyers are the most wasteful feature of the American food industry. They are highly efficient and show great solidarity, in extracting a high percentage of profit from the farm produce, however.

The only exception to this marketing program lies in certain fruit and dairy combines that have eliminated the middle men by means of their position. This phase will be touched on later.

### The Farmers' Returns

It is an easily noticed fact that in every village, town and city which is a center of a farming district there are always agents for commission houses and produce firms. They operate in every way possible to get possession of the largest amount of the farm crops at the lowest possible prices. Hay buyers, potatoe buyers, grain and stock buyers, buyers of everything that the farmer sells flock through each community, working in competition with each other yet strangely co-operating in keeping down the price to the lowest level.

Here is the point where the farmer is exploited. He is not robbed as he tills the fields, milks his cows or tends his stock. All over his cost of maintenance is stolen from him by this marketing end of the food industry. Not so of course with the farm laborer. He is a wage worker whose wages are determined by the same factors that influence his city fellows. The going wages and working conditions are usually the very minimum on which life can be sustained. They can be raised only through organization and battle with the farm employer.

Produce buyers, wholesale houses, bankers and financiers form a combine which have preyed on the farmer unmercifully. The farmer in turn has kept the wages paid to his hired man at as low a figure as he could get by with. Yet low labor wages are of no benefit to the farmers as a class. If the entire class of farmers decided to install a five dollar a day minimum wage with a basic eight hour day for all hired help these farmers would themselves be better off at once.

The percentage of return to the farmer is decided on by the distributing monopoly according to the amount found necessary to keep the farmers as a class in food, clothing and shelter besides reproducing children to take their places as the foundation on which the system rests.

### Domination of Small Farming

It is these facts of the marketing end of farming that have kept the large scale production from

TRACTOR PLOWING ON LARGE FARM.

being installed throughout the industry. The surplus values from the agricultural industry are extracted from the products as they are on their way to market rather than at the point of production. The dominant financial class is the recipient of those surplus values in all cases.

A large estate is placed in the same position as a small farmer so far as the marketing end of the game is concerned unless the estate is operated by some of the big food packing and distributing concerns.

Of such a nature are the big combinations of growers that control the fruit packing and distributing industry of California as well as actually operate many of the ranches there. They exploit wage labor and secure all these profits in addition to the ones normally raked in from the wholesale distributing end of the business. It seems that it is by these methods only that real productive, large scale agriculture can extent its field under capitalism.

On the other hand, ownership of agricultural lands has become more and more centralized in fewer and fewer hands, but the method of exploiting these lands has not been that of centralized management and control.

The tenant system is being largely put into operation. The individualistic farmer whether held down by tenantry, mortgage or marketing factors is a source of greater profit to the parasite as things are at present organized, than is the large-scale farmer with his wage labor. Besides small farmers present no dangerous liability towards organization.

The technique of small scale farms provides no efficient method whereby many of the larger and more efficient machines for cultivation can be used. The tractor is largely a failure in fields smaller than several hundred acres. It is wasteful of land, being clumsy in turning the corners which seem to greet the plowman every few feet while turning the sod, in a small field.

Not only that but in order to get proper use of any of the large mechanical farm devices it is necessary to have some efficient system of mechanical overhauling and repair for them. Small farms (and many big ones also for that matter) have none of these things and cannot have them even though they have the capital to invest in the large machinery.

Small scale farming has one advantage of a productive nature, however. This advantage lies largely in the mental state which is induced by the sense of private ownership and control. The

HORSE PLOWING ON MEDIUM SIZED FARM.

farmer has a highly developed instinct of workmanship. He does things quite often just for the sake of doing them. Working as he does in personal contact with his hired laborers he extracts from them a degree of efficiency and interest that the wage laborers on a large estate seldom show.

Add to this long hours, poor food, lack of recreation and an entire immersion in the problems of farm labor—and we have resulting a cheapness of commoditiy price which is not achieved by the large estate.

The factors of custom would tend, of course, to the conservation of this small-scale farming, even though the larger methods were more profitable, but from the present indications the large farm will never succeed in replacing the small individual method until some form of social ownership and working class control is arrived at.

**Organization Needs**

The problem of organizing powerful industrial unions among the farm workers is one which calls for an extensive survey of those large-scale farms which are already in operation. It calls for an extension of that policy of controlling and organizing those strategic workers who are so necessary to the harvests.

To place such an organization on a solid basis, however, requires permanent stationary organization of those workers who actually plant and tend the growing crops. Tenant farmers are among the most exploited, as well as ignorant, of the agricultural workers. To educate and organize them is a task of tremendous magnitude, yet from the many half-baked attempts which have been made by ill-prepared tenant farmers' organizations and groups, the results are remarkable, considering the effort expended. For the I. W. W. to enter into this field with a determination to achieve real power necessitates a development of highly centralized organs for the securing of special data and the bringing out of timely programs of executive action.

There is no present indication that the small farmer will be removed as a factor in farm production until such time as he takes an active part in removing small-farm production himself. The present method of exploitation by marketing control gives no hope of large-scale agriculture displacing the small tenant or individual farmer. We will always have to deal with farmers who have the psychology of individualists until we can with the active aid of the farming population put across large scale farming ourselves.

Our present end is the solid organization of those actual wage workers employed not only on the large farm but on the small one as well. A definite program of action can be the only means to achieve this. The knowledge of the agricultural industry as a whole is indispensable for drawing up such a plan.

# Will Europe Revert to Barbarism

By H. Van Dorn

MANY years ago Karl Marx made the statement that capitalism contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction.

Had he foreseen the word war and the extent of its ravages, as well as the stupendous disasters, political and economic, which have befallen the European peoples since the conclusion of peace, he might have, with a great deal of justification, expanded that statement to include, as well, the possible destruction of everything that goes to make up our present-day civilization.

While such an eventuality may sound rather startling to some people, it is not by any means historically impossible.

Before the war "the onward sweep of the machine process" had reached a stage where, for industry to continue to operate smoothly in any country, commerce had to be carried on and production co-ordinated on an international scale; boundary lines had lost their meaning, nationalism in business had become an obstacle to trade expansion and the international outlook a necessity for further continued peace and prosperity. Yet the mentality of the people, either of the classes or the masses, had not changed—could not, in the nature of things, have changed—fast enought to keep pace with the requirements of industry. The outcome of a nationalistic mentality coupled to a fast-expanding industrial mechanism, for the successful control of which an international outlook is absolutely essential, could only have been an explosion—the inevitable word war.

Almost three years have passed since the signing of the armistice. Is nationalism now as strong as it was before the war? Has the spirit of international working class solidarity, which alone could have averted the world war, made any appreciable progress? If the inherent contradictions of capitalism led to the world war, what will the continued operation of capitalism, burdened with war's aftermath—staggering national debts, disorganized industry, shattered finance, sapped vitality, heightened national hatreds, sharper class conflicts—lead to?

### The Class Struggle and Co-ordination

The future of the human race will be determined by the outcome of the struggle for supremacy between capital and labor,—ignorance versus enlightenment, patriotism versus universal brotherhood, capitalsm versus communism—in short, bourgeois nationalism versus proletarian internationalism. It is the fight to the bitter end between the forces of destruction and construction, a race for life between economic dissolution and the growth of proletarian internationalism. And the sad part of it is that we cannot by any means be sure that even should internationalism triumph, it will be in time to save Europe from tumbling into the abyss.

What do we see on the side of internationalism and economic reconstruction? Soviet Russia, the other Soviet republics and the Syndicalist and Communist movements of the European countries.

True, as was pointed out by Henry G. Alsberg in the Nation a few weeks ago, there is no communism in Russia now. But there has not been, at any time since November, 1917, pure communism in Russia nor a pure communist government, nor could there have been either. True, Russia has granted free trade to the peasants, concessions to foreign capitalists, has compromised with the foreign bourgeoisie in order to conclude trade agreements with it. But those things do not mean the abandonment of internationalism. On the contrary, they are a recognition, in deeds, of the fact that all nations are so closely bound together by economic chains that even socialist and capitalist countries are compelled to co-operate for their mutual benefit. Failing to do so, both would be headed for the rocks of economic dissolution, as is the case with most of the European countries which have failed to understand the absolute necessity of international co-ordination of effort.

### Italy and Russian Trade

The internationalism of Soviet Russia cannot better be illustrated than by pointing out the over-generous conditions which she always concedes to the other party to a contract, whether in the signing of a peace treaty or a trade agreement. This was especially marked in her pacts with the Baltic states—Finland, Esthonia, Latvia—the Caucasus and Near Eastern states, with China nad with Poland. On May 6th the Russo-German trade agreement was signed, and now the Soviet representative Vorovsky is in Rome, negotiating with the Italians; and, according to authentic information, he has been "exceedingly well received" by the Italian government. Why he has been so well received will readily be seen from this comment in Le Journal de Geneve:

"Now the Black Sea is really for Italy the roadstead down which flows the coal of the Don basin, the wheat of Ukraine, and the oil of Baku. Because Italy is absolutely dependent on the outside for these first necessities, she has suffered much during the war and since the war. What is more, Italy sees in a direct understanding with Russia the only way to escape American or English exactions."

The results, to date, of Russian trade negotiations have been cited by Mr. Krassin as follows: Foreign purchase contracts placed by Russia amount to

5,000,000 pounds in Great Britain, 50,000,000 crowns in Sweden, 3,000,000,000 marks in Germany, $10,000,000 in the United States. He further points out that Russia's gold reserves "have a limit" and that "as our exports still are negligible, we must resort to concessions, of which only one, that of the Svenska Kugellager Fabric, has been signed, but others are pending."

### Brands of Internationalism

It must therefore be admitted that Soviet Russia is today the chief bulwark of internationalism. Of course, the bourgeois countries also have their "internationalism"—of the bird-of-prey variety. The British and French imperialists do not care whether they get their booty in France, England, Silesia, Syria, Egypt or Afganistan,—just so they get it. This is the kind of "internationalism" that is killing Europe by inches. But we will treat of it later.

What distinguishes bourgeois from proletarian internationalism is that the former presupposes the presence of a robber or exploiter class which aims to benefit from whatever activity may be undertaken or agreements entered into jointly by two nations; in the latter that class is absent, and the welfare of the workers of the two countries receives equal consideration. This was admirably illustrated by Georgia before she turned Soviet: Allied imperialists were robbing the country right and left, with utter disregard for the welfare of the native population, which was starving and without work. As soon as a Bolshevist government was set up and trade relations established with Russia, the Georgian working class was given first consideration.

Besides Russia, we can count on the side of proletarian internationalism the other Soviet republics—Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaidjan, Armenia, Persia, Turkestan, and most of Siberia; also, those countries which, while they have not yet adopted the Soviet form of government, have come within the sphere of Russian influence, such as Turkey. It may safely be said that at present Russia exerts equally as much influence in Asia as does Great Britain, with the difference that while Russia's influence is growing that of Great Britain is on the wane.

In the rest of Europe and in America, proletarian internationalism finds its only support in the ranks of the more advanced trade unionists, Syndicalists and Communists. In the United States these elements are at present numerically quite negligible, but not so in Europe. The Syndicalists unions are especially strong in the Latin countries: Spain, about 800,000 members; Italy, 700,000; France, 300,000. Then follow Germany with some 200,000, and Holland and the Scandinavian countries with an aggregate of close to 100,000. In Great Britain the case is different, as there the revolutionary unionists have remained within the old-fashioned trade unions.

The Communists are said to have at present 500,000 members in Germany, about 75,000 in Italy and Great Britain, and quite a respectable number in some other countries, notably France and Bulgaria. But in no other country do they have, as yet, a real firm hold on the laboring masses; neither do they possess, it seems, in any country a concerted, workable plan of action.

### Results of Nationalistic Forces

What are the forces lined up on the side of bourgeois nationalism, leading inevitably to economic dissolution and—"God only knows"? The capitalists, landed proprietors, middle classes and peasants of the various countries, with their respective nationalistic movements, counter-revolutionary organizations and governments.

To fully realize the extent of the danger let us always bear in mind that in every country only one class, the industrial proletariat—and, generally, only a part of it—stands for international cooperation and solidarity, while all the other classes—which in most European countries constitute numerically a majority—stand for class and national aggrandizement at the expense of other classes and nations.

The international status of most of the European countries has been largely determined during the last couple of years by French foreign policy. And it is doubtful whether in the annals of the whole history of mankind anything could be found to equal in selfishness, bigotry, short-sightedness and imbecility the course of action pursued by French bourgeois imperialism.

By the terms of the Treaty of Versailles Germany was obliged to pay over to the Allies an enormous amount of indemnity. But, says Frank A. Vanderlip in "What Happened to Europe" "... with the Entente nations there were fundamental misconceptions in regard to the economic principles involved in the payment of indemnities. Indeed, the statesmen who drew the peace treaty seemed least of all, for a time, to understand how indemnities may be paid by one nation to others." Eighty per cent of the iron ore of Germany was located in Alsace-Lorraine, which the treaty returned to France, and of the three large German coal fields the one in the Saar valley is to remain under control of France for at least fifteen years, while Polish insurgents, backed by French gold, are trying to grab off the Silesian coal fields, which were recently retained by Germany through plebiscite. Having ruined German industry, and having built up, to boot, an embargo wall against German exports, the Allied imperialists say to Germany: Now pay us forty-two billion dollars' worth of indemnities in gold and commodities! Why does not some psychiatrist put these French bankers through the mental age tests and send them back to the kindergarten, where they belong?

### Austro-German Conditions

No wonder that there are over two million unemployed in Germany, and that the real wages of German workmen are about one-third of what they were before the war. The thing to be borne

in mind is that this suicidal policy does not benefit the French working class, since there are almost as many unemployed in France and the real wages are just as small.

The criminality of the Allied imperialists is still more clearly illustrated in their treatment of Austria. The former Austro-Hungarian empire was hacked up with such utter disregard for economic requirements that in what now is known as Austria industry is completely paralyzed. The people are actually dying from starvation by swarms, in Vienna several hudred thousand children are tuberculous and rachitic; the only way out towards economic reconstruction is union with Germany. And yet the Allied imperialists do not permit this union because it will strengthen Germany economically! Better the murder of a nation than an added measure of health and prosperity for the German peaple—there is the wisdom of the French bankers in a nutshell.

The following is taken from the July, 1921, issue of Current History: "Austria has not yet collapsed, but it is certainly tottering. In the early days of June it was left without a government, as Dr. Mayr's cabinet resigned, and the prospect of forming a more authoritative cabinet is remote. The government's fall was precipitated by the action of the annexationists, that is, the Pan-Germans and other influential groups who favor unification with Germany. The people are mainly in sympathy with this plan, at least on one score: They hope that inclusion with Germany would mean a brighter future for Austria. Racial sympathies have played a large part in the development of such sentiment. The provinces of Tyrol and Salzburg have overwhelmingly voted in favor of such alignment, and Dr. Mayr, in view of the attitude of the Allies, especially France, and of the Financial Commission of the League of Nations, could do nothing but point out the conclusions and resign."

The other actions of Allied imperialism are on a par with its treatment of Germany and Austria. What sane person will deny that the economic reconstruction of Russia will benefit the whole of Europe—in fact, the whole world? Yet for three and a half years the Allied bourgeoisie has done everything in its power to prevent Russia from recuperating economically. Supplies and ammunition to the value of many hundreds of millions of dollars have been given to the counter-revolutionary movements of Kolchak, Yudenitch, Denikin, Wrangel and Poland,—and the sad part of it is that these supplies were produced by the Western European and American proletariat.

But enough about the French imperialists! Whom the goods wish to destroy they first make mad.

### The Small Nations

However, we would be mistaken in thinking that only the ruling classes of the big Allied countries are selfish, bigoted and short-sighted. The ruling classes of the smaller countries are just as bad. Writes William Hard in the Chicago Daily News: "The principal business difficulty in central Europe is an unreasonable and excessive governmental interference with the flow of commodities across frontiers. This fact is so manifest that it has led at last to the project of the conference at Porto Rosa, where an effort will be made by representatives of various south central European states, including Italy, to abate the frenzy of export restrictions, import restrictions, vexatious examinations, intolerable delays and numerous other methods of suicidal economic warfare now prevalent along south central European boundary lines."

In discussing the situation in Hungary, says a writer in the July, 1921, number of Current History:

"Several difficulties must be overcome before friendly relations can be established with this neighbor (Roumania). What Hungary aims at is economic treaties, and the consequent lifting of the export ban. Although Hungarian money increased conspicuously in value recently, this rise is handicapped because of the obstacles put in the way of commercial traffic with neighbors. Roumania, especially, is slow to come to an understanding with Hungary in this respect."

Thus does bigoted nationalism reign supreme. Every little country has built a fence around itself. The "foreign policy"—what a degraded use of two perfectly good and innocent words!—of every bourgeois country has but one end in view: to maintain an outward show of authority and to safeguard the material interests of the class in power. What does the landed gentry of Roumania care if the town populations of Hungary, or of Roumania itself, are starving! What does the British imperialist care if the Black and Tans in Ireland leave a trail of arson and murder in their wake! The "integrity" of the empire must be maintained, the "under-dog" must be shown his place.

### Political "Constructiveness."

In Rosta-Wien, edition of June 5th, 1921, appears the following news item:

"Budapest, Hungary, May 12th.—In one of the recent sittings of the National Assembly, deputy Felix Drozdy directed attention to some of the items of the budget. For the maintenance of the Brachial-Gewalt formations (the original of the Black and Tans) there was a sum of 1,123,000,000 crowns; for the maintenance of invalids 14,000,000; for Horthy's court the cost was 34,000,000; for combatting tuberculosis 1,600,000. The wages and other costs of the Brachial commandos were 44,000,000, for the support of war orphans, 8,000,000. For the maintenance of prisons and jails there were 34,000,000, but for adult education not a penny."

Here we have a government, which calls itself Christian and civilized, spending 1,167,000,000 crowns for the murder organization Brachial-Gewalt, which is the instrument for carrying on the White Terror, and not one cent for adult education. Of course, the Brachial commandos have had

a big job on their hands. As far back as May, 1920, the British Joint Labor Delegation sent to investigate the White Terror in Hugary reported that at a conservative estimate there were at that time 12,000 persons detained or imprisoned; and, possibly, twice that many. Then there were all those thousands who had been murdered since Horthy assumed power. One executioner has confessed to having hung over a thousand single-handed. But hanging and torturing people, cutting off women's breasts, tearing off their finger-nails and gouging out their eyes is not going to start a country's industries humming. We should not therefore be surprised to learn that half of Hungary's population is unemployed and starving.

### Social Disintegration

Hungary may be a somewhat extreme example, but, broadly speaking, the same bigoted, nationalistic, cruelly selfish, class spirit motivates the governments of all the European bourgeois countries. Not a sign of an international outlook anywhere. Everywhere unemployment, starvation, degradation, ignorance, crime, disease. In many of the south eastern countries, as well as in parts of Spain, large masses of people have forgotten the meaning of soap, doctors, hospitals, books, schools, good food, clean linen. The life of a man has become cheap,—a hundred times cheaper than that of a yearling calf.

George W. Russell ("A. E.") comments in the N. Y. Evening Post as follows on the disintegrating European civilization:

"The great danger for Europe, the great danger for us in Ireland, is that we may forget what civilization means . . . The man who has drunk whiskey for years finds the purity and coldness of water tasteless and distasteful. The generation growing up in an atmosphere vibrating with sensations and alarms, with rifle and revolver never very long silent, comes to regard these as part of the normal life."

### Anti-Jewish Demonstrations

Of late there has been a great revival of anti-semitism, which can always be considered as a barometer of nationalistic feeling. During the last couple of years pogroms on an immense scale have taken place in Hungary, Roumania, Poland, Ukraine and Siberia. General Graves, former Assistant to Chief of Staff of the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia, writes in the July Current History, in an article entitled "The Truth about Kolchak": "A pogrom against the Jews was carried out (by Kolchak) in Ekaterinburg in the middle of July, 1919, and anti-Semitic reports place the minimum number of killed at 2000." Anti-Semitism has raised its head in countries where heretofore it has been practically unknown. In Great Britain a book has been published, and is being extensively sold, purporting to show that the Jews have entered into a gigantic conspiracy to gain control of the finances and governments of the whole world. Sure, is not Trotsky a Jew, and does he not want to overwhelm the whole world by a Yiddish-Bolsheviki revolution? And even our own Henry Ford has temporarily forgotten efficiency in flivver-making and welfare work for employes, and gone Jew-hunting.

The circumstance that the Jew is of a different race and holds different religious tenets has really very little to do with anti-Semitism. Ask the average Jew-baiter what are the objectionable features of the Jewish religion and the chances are that he won't be able to tell you. The significant thing about anti-Semitism is that it serves as a safety valve for feelings of discontent among the masses. Are times hard, is work scarce, is money short? "Oh, that's easily explained," says Henry, "the Jew is to blame." "You have nothing to eat?" asks the Polish landlord of the peasant, "then kill the Jewish traders and merchants and you will be alright." So the peasants slaughter five or six thousand Jews and are afterwards worse off than ever. Anti-Semitism is a form of throwing sand into the eyes of the ignorant, suffering masses, whether industrial workers or peasants. It is like saying to a man who is starving because the factory in which he worked has been shut down: "Go and kill three dozen flies and your troubles will be ended." American race riots must be put in the same category with anti-Semitism, and the owners of newspapers which incite whites against blacks are as much accomplices to ghastly murder as the Polish landlords and Cossack officers who start pogroms.

The following quotation from an article by Paul Scott Mowrer on "The Assimilation of Israel," which appeared in the July Atlantic Monthly, will further emphasize the gravity of the present wave of anti-Semitism:

"In Eastern Europe, the sentiment of anti-Semitism is not, as in Western Europe, confined chiefly to conservatives and chauvinists, but impregnates even the masses. The Magyar peasants are bitter against the town-dwelling "communist" Jews . . . All Eastern European Jews are suspected of Communism. The Ukrainian nationalist bands have apparently been guilty of serious and repeated pogroms. The Poles are unanimous (?) in their ardent and patriotic hostility to the four or five million Jews included within their frontiers."

### The Terror Organizations

But anti-Semitism is only one aspect, albeit a glaring one, of the wave of national and class hatred which is sweeping over the world. It is but one example of the use that the classes in power make of brutal instincts in order to perpetuate their period of misrule. The British Labor Delegation in Hungary reported that although most of the victims of the White Terror are Jews, a great many are native Hungarians. There is essentially no difference between Jewish pogroms and the shooting of Communists and Syndicalists by the Italian Fascisti, the outrages perpetrated upon the Irish by the Black and Tans, and the wholesale deporta-

tion and assassination of members of the Spanish Confederation of Labor.

Sinee the armistiee, and espeeially sinee the establishment of the Russian Soviet Republic, the world has witnessed a tremendous growth in the military, both legal and extra-legal, organizations for the protection of the bourgeoisie. In Italy there are the Faseisti, several hundred thousand strong, who prior and during the May eleetions murdered over a thousand workers and wounded several times that many. In Bavaria some 300,000 armed men belong to the Orgesh, (the word is eoined from "organization" and "Escherieh," the latter being the name of the leader in the movement.) There are "Noske's Guards" in Germany, the Blaek and Tans and volunteer eorps in Great Britain, the Brachial Gewalt in Hungary, the "free unions" and Samatan in Spain, the Ameriean Legion, 600,000 strong, and the Ku Klux Klan in the United States. No negro, Jew, foreigner or Roman eatholie ean beeome a member of the latter. All of these organizations are bourgeois nationalistic and patriotie, and believe in the use of foree and violenee.

To these organized and undisguised forees of violence must be added the "free" or "Christian" unions which the capitalists are so assiduously eultivating in all eountries in order to break the baekbone of the class-conscious proletariat, as well as the latent violenee of the European peasantry. The outlook for eeonomie reconstruction is espeeially dark in countries like Franee, possessing an overwhelmingly large, selfish and ignorant bourgeois-minded peasant population.

That the European governments are utterly helpless in the faee of these forees whieh are making a shambles of eivilization,—are, in faet, being used as instruments of destruetion—has been admirably pointed out by a writer in the London Nation, June 11, 1921:

"Profound as the eeonomie eonsequenees of the war have been, it may be that the psyehologieal eonsequenees eut even deeper... Five years or more of fighting have rebarbarized a great part of the European population.

"It is remarkable that a few thousand young men ean dash about the streets and roads of Italy in lorries, hurling hand-grenades and burning buildings, it is mueh more remarkable that the millions of Italians suffer them to do it. The eomplieity of the government is the newest and most startling faet of all.

"We suffer not merely from the wild violence of men of the Korfanty or D'Annunzio type; mueh worse is the ealeulating and legalized violenee of governments. They, too, go labor smashing on a titanie seale.

"In our own country, and indeed in Western Europe generally, the eonstruetive side of government has disappeared.

"Only one eonseious purpose seems to illuminate the eoalition, the defense of property, while property itself disappears with our trade."

Then the writer diseusses the possibility of another war, and eoncludes by pointing out the alternative that "there is another possibility, and that is Caesarism."

### The Coming Revolt

In the preceding pages we have briefly summarized the forees, engendered primarily by the eontradictions of capitalism, whieh are making for the destruetion of eivilization. And this brings us to the erux of the argument. What would happen if the European proletariat, driven to desperation by unemployment and starvation caused by the breakdown of industry, would revolt and try to set up proletarian states, being faced as it is by that mighty array of organized bourgeoisie? That revolt the industrial worker must, and will, of that there can hardly be a question. It is not thinkable that he will gently lie down and die from starvation.

Civil war will then break out on an unprecedented seale. Tens of thousands of the most virile, intelligent and aggressive men and women on both sides will be slaughtered. The already vitiated and devitalized European stoek will be still further vitiated. The animal instincts—brutality, bestiality, lyneh law—will reign supreme. As a foretaste of what probably would take plaee let us eonsider this extraet from General Graves' artiele about Kolchak: "In paeifying this district (Krasnoyarsk), which was generally anti-Kolehak in sympathy, General Rozanov's troops, on entering a village, would demand the name and residence of every partisan, the location of hostile bands and a guide to lead them in a surprise attaek. Failing to seeure this information ,every house was burned, and in the event that the demands were not then complied with, every fifth male was shot regardless of age."

It is generally elaimed that the Napoleonic wars redueed the stature of the Freneh people by two inches. The world war has certainly aeeomplished irreparable damage. Ten million men of the very best European stoek were killed outright on the battle field. The growing generation will be a generation of weaklings, broadly speaking. Hundreds of thousands,—nay, millions—of European ehildren are syphilitie, consumptive, richitic,—deformed in body, mind and soul. That Europe can stand a prolonged eivil war on a large seale, or another imperialist war, without her civilization "going under," is highly doubtful.

### The Next War

One only has to read Will Irwin's "The Next War" to beeome eonvinced that another world war would wipe half the Caueasian race off the face of the earth. Says General Tasker H. Bliss in "What Really Happened at Paris": "I maintain that in the eonditions of this modern world a war eannot begin between two of the great powers of Europe without threatening civilization. And if it should come within this generation I doubt if civilization could stand the added strain."

It is remarkable that men representing vastly different viewpoints are in practical agreement on this subject. Says Will Irwin, in effect: peace and reconstruction, or war and—barbarism; Frank A. Vanderlip: economic reconstruction, or—barbarism; Leon Trotsky: communism and economic reconstruction, or—barbarism.

Yet to judge by the actions—and expenditures—of the bourgeois governments of the whole world, another imperialist war is by no means outside the field of possibilities. Figures have been published showing that at the beginning of July of this year France had 800,000 men under arms; Poland, 600,000; Greece, 250,000; Jugo-Slavia, 200,000; Italy, 300,000. In 1920 ninety-three per cent of the total expenditures of the United States government went to pay for wars, past, present and future. $697,000,000 were spent on the navy, although the appropriation first made by Congress was only $440,000,000. As a contrast, in 1916 the navy bill was only $155,000,000.

The following significant dispatch appeared recently in a Chicago newspaper:

"Paris, July 11.—The flying arms of the Japanese army and navy are being developed in France today, and also in Japan under French direction, with astonishing rapidity.

"Orders for airplanes placed with French manufacturers in recent months by the Japanese military authorities total more than 300. The majority of planes being purchased are the latest types of French scout and bombing machines. Another significant fact is that the French airplane factories, probably the most advanced in the world, are now filled with Japanese army engineers, who are studying construction.

"The Japanese army has adopted the French scheme of aerial organization, French instruction methods and French types of planes."

In relation to President Harding's invitation to some of the big powers to send representatives to Washington to discuss disarmament, the following news item will be highly interesting.

"Washinton, D. C., July 11.—Approximately $1,500,000,000 has been appropriated for the extension of the naval program by the five countries which are expected to discuss disarmament, figures today disclosed. The United States leads with $500,000,000, Great Britain is second with $422,000,000, Japan is third with $250,000,000, France is fourth with $175,000,000, and Italy is fifth with $73,000,000.

"Completion of the present building program will show the five countries armed on the oceans as follows: Great Britain, 995 ships; United States, 608; Japan, 221; France, 253; Italy, 245."

It seems unlikely that these vigorous military preparations can go on without leading to war. But another imperialistic war, or a protracted European civil war, by still further disorganizing industry and international commerce and sapping the vitality of the nations, can only lead to a relapse into feudalism, or—barbarism.

In every point the capitalist classes of the world show not only their incompetence to promote and conduct industry but their every move shows them to be hindering, obstructing and actually destroying industrial co-ordination and industrial growth. "Each man kills the thing he loves" sang Wilde in his prison cell and capitalism, once having fostered with loving hands the infant industries, is now seemingly bent on their eventual destruction. With the destruction of the industries goes also that which we have come to term civilization.

The only other alternative seems to be a quick and decisive victory in all the European countries of proletarian internationalism over the forces of bourgeois nationalism.

# The Industrial Future

— — — We will develop and use the human attributes which are inherent in all of us—the attributes which are lofty and noble. Our greatest joy will be when we are doing something for our fellows. This is not Utopian—No! Even then we will get just a glimpse of what ideal perfection would do for humanity.

These are a few of the things which **Industrial Unionism** makes for. We I. W. W. men vision these things—yes, we are dreamers and so were the founders of Christianity, of the American Republic, of capitalism . . . So is it with the I. W. W. men and women who are pioneering the way for the workers' industrial commonwealth wherein all will be happy and safe. *Jas. H. Larsch.*

# The Undoing of Capitalist Industrial Management

By Rosa Knuuti

A commercial war which was the inevitable outcome of a system of production for profits has produced its natural results. "Idealistic" aims, for which the suffering people of the nations fought so zealously, are lost in the stagnation of a "reconstruction" into unemployment, misery and want for the workers.

Undoubtedly the post-war times are giving as much cause for unrest as did the war itself, for scarcely had the last gun been fired when the mad cry of the "high cost of living" and "profiteering" was echoed from shore to shore. Wild efforts to solve these problems were made.

### "More Production"

The "high cost of living" was an exceedingly lively topic for a while with the capitalist press itself, and with blundering stupidity various kinds of action were suggested as a solution of this "perplexing" problem. More production, an increase in the efficiency of the workers was advised. Crowding the markets full of commodities would force the prices to drop, and, lo and behold, the high cost of living was "solved." So the law of Wall Street was duly obeyed; the factories began to hum as they never hummed before; the warehouses already glutted with wartime production, were rapidly being crowded to over-capacity with the good things of life, all this, with the supposition of bringing order out of chaos. And in the meantime international capitalism was discussing markets. The Russian blockade was becoming a problem together with the boycott and annihilation of Germany's production, which was dictated by the Versailles treaty.

### "Under-Consumption"

But this is already of the past. At the present time, with the cry of increased production still ringing in our ears, we find ourselves face to face with another problem to be "solved." More workers than there are jobs, or unemployment with all its vicious consequences, is the situation that demands attention and solution. And again, we find the bourgeois press with the aid of "law and order" solving a social problem for us. Inasmuch as overproduction seems to be the disturbing factor at the present time, it is, no less, an error or a wrong deduction to assert that society is suffering from over-production. There is no use denying the facts: while the granaries and warehouses are full, are overflowing with the necessary things of life, the masses of the people are living under conditions that make it an utter impossibility to buy back or supply themselves with the food and clothes that they have produced. **Under-consumption** is really, what we are suffering from today, as the direct result of a capitalistic industrial administration.

### Nothing to Buy With

And capitalism, ill-at-ease, aviods the music. Vigorous campaigns are being launched to encourage buying. Empty out the markets and warehouses, we are told, and again a social problem will have been "solved." This all sounds well, when one doesn't think about it, but, since the good things of life cannot be had for a song, but through the medium of money exchange, we, the jobless and penniless, conclude that it is an excellent "solution" from the bourgeois standpoint, but it doesn't mean anything to us.

The present system of capitalistic production is essentially a business system. To produce commodities for use is out of the question, since producing commodities for profit is the very foundation, the pulse of the capitalist system. What matters then, whether the producers, the wage earners in society, are able to buy back the things necessary for human living? What matters then the fact that armies of workers from time to time must accept an indefinite "vacation"? The accumulation of profits is the vital point, and toward this end capitalism strives, however inconsistently. The capitalist class is consistent only when it considers its own safety, and its cunning and vicious efforts to keep the workers ignorant and submissive.

The impending economic ruin of an inefficient system of production is becoming more threatening each day. Consequently, "back to normalcy" recipes are many. Efforts to stabilize conditions by stimulating domestic trade, since European markets are either crowded with commodities or unavailable for trade, is the last straw that the business interests of this country are endeavoring to clutch. The "over-production" they have on their hands must be disposed of at all costs, even at a risk of less profits, to avoid further aggravating the masses by prolonged unemployment. But the master class is an exceedingly cunning class and usually strikes when the iron is hot. While it may come down with the prices on commodities, nevertheless, it does not lose the oportune moment for lowering the wages of the workers, afforded by the whip of hunger and unemployment.

### Workers See Capitalist Inefficiency

But the capitalist class has already made its blundering mistake, the mistake that will eventually fling it into oblivion. It has unmistakably

proved to a dangerously large majority of the workers that it has become an inefficient administrator of the business of society, and that the only alternative is to replace it by an administration that can produce and distribute the necessities of life so that each and every member in a society of human beings can survive and progress, work and recreate for the benefit of society as a whole.

Feverishly the whole world over capitalism is striving to recover its equilibrium at the expense of the workers. This is the question of the day, and the question which should be uppermost in our minds. Although we know that the capitalism of yesterday will never be its same old self again, we must all the more help the march of events along so that the bankruptcy of capitalism will become a reality as soon as possible. "Blood and thunder" politics, with the aid of a pop-gun brigade, will not bring this about. Spontaneous, unorganized mass-action will not deliver the goods. The undoing of an organized industrial capitalist class will be realized by a force not only as strong as the organized forces of capitalism, but infinitely stronger, more cunning and more scientific in every sense.

**How to Conquer and Replace Capitalism**

The grievance of the working class in a capitalist society is not serfdom nor chattel-slavery; it is not political disenfranchisement nor abject slavery to the "divine right" of king or czar, but it is the damnable curse of wage slavery upheld by a system of industrial despotism! The curse of living and slaving in a profit-mad world for no other reason than to produce comfort and luxury for a class of parasites! This is the grievance of the producing class in capitalistic America, the sample for the world's industrial slaves, where everything evolves on competition, profits and labor exploitation; and these are the phases that we must consider when we talk of the undoing of capitalism. When we speak of undoing capitalism, we must speak in terms of organized force, a force that is not only competent to challenge the forces of capitalism, but which will furnish to society an alternative to capitalist economic management.

A working class management of affairs is what we are aiming at and, after having learned many a valuable lesson from the working people of Russia, Italy and of other countries in throes of minor social upheavals, we are bound to use this knowledge profitably. We have learned that the social-economic factors in any society are the determining factors of a revolution. This being the case, we must strain our efforts to organize the working class power on a social-economic basis; in other words, consolidate the industrial power of the workers in a manner that will paralyze the industrial forces of capitalism and will give us the organization to carry on production and distribution.

Revolutionary industrial unionism is today the only power that gives a practical and scientific solution for economic slavery. It not only implies the overthrow of capitalism but the reconstruction of a new system of society to replace it. The social revolution is inevitable, and if we take it seriously, we must accept industrial unionism with all its consequences and apply it unreservedly to better our conditions and principally to foster revolution.

# *Capitalists Utopia*

Radicals have long been accused of looking for a utopia on earth. Today the radicals are the ones who proclaim that there can be no utopia either under this system nor the next. Life is a constant flux and change and when our social organization changes into something more fitted to present day needs, life will not cease to struggle forwards to new goals and new achievements.

Today the reactionaries are looking for a dream condition. They want to reach a situation where they won't be annoyed by the facts of the class struggle which they refuse to admit but the signs of which stare them so resolutely in the face.

All labor troubles are to be ended and profits are to be secured through the efforts of the National Civic Federation sub-committee appointed to find the maximum agreement that can be reached between capital and labor. Once that agreement is reached then there will be no more labor troubles and everything will be serene.

That such intellects as Herbert Hoover and President Harding subscribe to the undertaking but shows more clearly the bankruptcy of intelligence that exists among the ruling class. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

# Industrial Democracy

## Its Origin, Growth and Prospects

**By Justus Ebert**

THE ideal of the Industrial Workers of the World is industrial democracy, in which industry, taken in its broadest sense, shall be run by, for and of the workers, industrially organized.

Industrial democracy recognizes the basic importance of industry in modern life. On the development of industry depends the development of society. Russia, for instance, cannot have anything else in fact than a peasant dictatorship, because it is dependent on and dominated by primitive agriculture. This is made plain by the recent change of policy adopted by Soviet Russia.

The reverse is true of this country. Here we witness an industrialism that dominates everything, including advanced agriculture, and the immense numbers of proletarians who support this industrialism and make it possible.

"On the operation of industry depends the creation of wealth which makes finance and war possible." So said Frank Vanderlip, the eminent banker, during the recent world blood-bath.

Peace, no less than war, depends on industry, too. The shutting down of factories causes "hard times," with all of its serious, vital consequences.

Industry controls government and society. Who composes Mr. Hoover's staff of advisers for the redemption of the country from industrial depression? Why, industrial experts and engineers, to be sure! And whom does Mr. Harding call in for a nice little after dinner talk at the White House, for the same purpose? Why, the big bankers, who control the finance of industry, and employ these experts and engineers, to be sure!

Industrialism, in its most inclusive meanings, overshadows everything else in modern diplomacy and life. Why is Russian recognition demanded or opposed? For industrial or economic reasons! Why is the oil of Mexico, Mesopotamia and the Dutch Indies wanted by the capitalists of this country? For industrial or economic reasons! Why do the capitalists and bankers of this country want "the open door" in China? For industrial, economic reasons! Why is war with Mexico, England and Japan threatening? For industrial, or economic, reasons! Why do employers associations boycott Y. W. C. A.'s and church societies with social ideals and programs? For industrial or economic reasons!

In brief, the industrial basis—the economic motive—is seen in all social, governmental and diplomatic acts of modern society. He who controls industry controls society.

It is for this reason that the I. W. W. emphasizes the importance of industry and the necessity for its democratic administration.

Industrial democracy is a growth from within industry itself. It is not an imposition by law from without. It is not state ownership and control. Industrial democracy is the conscious endeavor of the workers to operate industry for the good of themselves and all society. It has its origin in the struggles between capitalists and laborers born of modern capitalism; and is recognized as a necessity to save society from the wars and cataclysms caused by the conflict of interests engendered by the latter.

Industrial democracy embraces only the workers. As in real political democracy there can be no kings, so in real industrial democracy there can be no capitalists. And for the same reasons: kings were brutal, oppressive, grasping and incompetent rulers, a menace to the state and progress; likewise with capitalists, who rule, not for the good of mankind, but their own profit, to the ruin of the race.

Industrial democracy, being founded on industrial possession, is the basis of all democracy, for without the power and control which industrial ownership confers, political and social democracy is a delusion and a snare.

Apparently, industrial democracy is only a dream —an utter impossibility. Yet its beginnings are manifesting themselves in many ways besides the theoretical formulation of the I. W. W.—negatively, in the attempts of corporations to create company unions in order to run the tendency towards industrial democracy into the ground; positively, in the endeavors of the labor unions to give this tendency a more pronounced force and character.

The battle for industrial democracy is on. It is being waged in current literature and in the confines of conservative unionism.

Henry Frank, writing on "Industrial Democracy," in the March, 1921, Century, gives an outline of the origin of this fight and its deep though obscure significance. Says he:

"Before the introduction of machine power, which resulted in grand-scale production, the handicraft workman was master of industry. When the factory came into being the masters of the small shops were driven to the wall. Two classes developed in industry, employers and employees. Not even a sense of partnership survived the wreck of the old handicraft system. It became a matter of master and servant. Control was the big thing that was lost by the masses of the laborers. The workmen of the world have never become reconciled to that loss, and as popular education has done its work, stimulating the self-respect and dignity of the masses, the sense of disinheritance has become keener. So that many of the most acute students of contemporary life contend that

beneath all the elatter of labor disputes there is a profound movement for representative government in industry, exaetly as there has been through the years a movement for representative government in polities. It is diffieult for many employers to believe this. They eome into daily eontact with workmen, and rarely do they find a workman who seems greatly eoncerned with a voiee in business. The workmen they meet seem eoneerned solely with matters of wages and hours. Many employers therefore set down all the faets of a movement for industrial demoeracy as the dream of doetrinaires. But I suspect that a reporter going up and down England a little while before magna charta was wrested from king John would have been impressed with the faet that few of the eommon folk of England would discuss intelligently and in detail the desired politieal reform, though the underlying urge to democracy was there. Most of the profound movements of history have been uneonseious, as far as the masses were eoneerned, until the eritical moment of eonsummation arrived."

The movement for industrial demoeraey is growing in consciousness, as witness the aetivities of the railroad and maehinists' unions at the recent Denver Ameriean Federation of Labor convention. These two groups of unions foreed through a resolution favoring "government ownership and demoeratic eontrol of the transportation systems of the United States," and a half-eontrol of industry by labor. Or as the resolution puts it, to seeure to the men employed in organized industry that equality of employment of all the rights, privileges and immunities now enjoyed by those who eontribute eapital to organized industrial enterprises."

In England we see mueh the same trade union phenomena that we see here, viz., a demand for the nationalization of the mines by the workers, with the idea of advaneing the workers' status, standards and powers, both as produeers and as citizens. It is reeognized, sometimes dimly, sometimes vividly, that only through workers' management and control of some kind and degree ean the workers progress towards improvement and emancipation.

Now, this is not full-fledged industrial demoeraey. It is a eompromise with eapitalism on the part of labor unionism—an attempt to bridge the transition from the old order to the new. Nevertheless, it is a beginning, a groping towards industrial demoeracy of the full-grown kind. It is an outgrowth of experienee with capitalism, whieh, together with more experience of the same kind, will lead directly towards industrial demoeracy of a genuine eharaeter.

The railroad and maehinists' unions, having felt the need for "governmcnt ownership and demoerati: eontrol" in the peeuliar eonditions surrounding the railroads during the war, are likely to find that post-war conditions will foree them into even more advanced positions than those at present assumed—positions involving even greater ruptures with the old order of absolute private ownership and eapitalism. This evolution will be hastened by their own organization weaknesses, which will make them unable to enforee their Denver resolutions.

This tendeney to greater definiteness may be observed in Europe, espeeially among the working elass organizations of England; so that ,on the whole, industrial tendeneies may be seen working for industrial demoeraey the world over, the eapitalist reaetion to the eontrary notwithstanding. In faet, this reaction will be helpful to industrial demoeracy in the long run. History makes this obvious.

Following the Civil War in this eountry, for instance, there eame a stupendous depression, unemployment, and a great eorporation development, leading to the formation of the trusts and modern imperialist eapitalism. The labor unions were badly crippled and their growth temporarily halted. But they survived the crisis and flourished later as never before.

A somewhat similar condition on a more extended scale prevails now. As a result of the world war, an economie erisis holds the nationos of the universe in a paralyzing grip. Millions are unemployed, starving and destitute. Everywhere, in striking eontrast, capitalism is developing on a larger, intensive seale, expanding beyond national boundaries, forming international eombinations, while, at the same time, developing an imperialist nationalism. Labor unions are deeply effeeted; apparently favorably so, as far as growth in numbers go and elarity of purpose is eoneerned. Their future, when viewed in a workaday light, is apparently uneertain. But assured when viewed in the light of history. If the past is any eriterion bigger growth awaits them not many years henee.

Consider the futurc prospects that greater eapitalism offers to the workers and thereby realize what opportunities for industrial organization and industrial demoeracy are embraced therein.

Greater eapitalism is intent on the international development of Mexieo, Asia, Africa and Russia. This will give an impetus to industry, with its usual eyele of prosperity, overproduction and collapse. Or greater eapitalism, aceentuating the need and the greed of its national imperialism, will fall out and go to war, when the results, as seen during the late war, will be the same; that is, there will be a eyele of industrail impetus, prosperity, overproduetion and eollapse again.

In both, or either of these developmnts, the industrial demands for labor and the need for labor partieipation in the programs outlined will give to labor a basis on whieh to further build its organizations and to more fully and eompletely advanee in the direction of industrial demoeraey. Not only will the favorable aspeets of greater eapitalist development—international or national—eontribute to labor's advaneement, but so also will the unfavorable aspeets. War and its horrors arouse labor to organization no less than war and its pros-

perity do. Espcially is this more likely to be th case in the future than in the past. Hostility to war has grown, thanks to the revulsions engendered by the late war.

The international growth of capitalism—its Chinese consortiums, Franco-Teuton ententes, Anglo-Teuton-American "world trusts" to exploit Russia, international chambers of commerce and financial conferences—will tend to make industry international and promote international labor organization more practically rather than theoretically, as has been the case heretofore. Should imperialist nationalism assert itself it is likely to be caught in this international meshwork of capitalism. Or it is likely to tear it down, to its own destruction. The international expansion of capitalism is the greatest necessity of the latter, as events demonstrate; and all that is at odds with this necessity is likely to disappear before it. This means, ultimately the international triumph of industrial democracy.

All this will mean much to labor organization, especially to the I. W. W. and its principles and forms. It is logical to suppose that the upbuilding of a greater capitalism will compel the upbuilding of a greater unionism—a unionism, not of trades, nor of industries only, but of international units, corresponding with international corporation development. This will be the I. W. W. opportunity for growth, for the I. W. W. has anticipated this upbuilding, in a measure by promoting international organization and affiliation; and, hence, will be in a position to profit from this new necessity for a new and better unionism.

There is much, in present day phenomena, to justify the ideals, principles and forms of labor unionism advocated by the I. W. W., espcially is this noticeable in the influence of the I. W. W. on the marine transport workers of the world, who are turning away from the old unionism to it, in search of the new. This phenomenon is likely to be repeated in many other industrial spheres. So let the I. W. W., despite the "hard times," be up and doing!

"Do not weep" over these "hard times," "organize"! On to Industrial Democracy!

# The Labor Movement of Greece

**Compiled from the manuscripts of Geo. Katsiolis and Joe Marko.**

The labor movement of modern Greece is probably less known than that of any other country. It began with the introduction of capitalistic production.

Previous to this introduction the workers of Greece could be divided roughly into two groups. The first group were composed of the agricultural workers or peasants who were unorganized. The second group were the handicraftsmen who were organized into trades unions or guilds.

All tools of this period were adapted for the use of one worker. The agriculturalist used his tools unaided by big machines and implements. The handicraftsman used his tools and his shop in the production of his wares.

The biggest part of the towns people were handicraftsmen or their apprentices. So most of the townfolks were organized in their unions or guilds. Each street or section was occupied by a particular trade or craft and the individual houses and shops on that street were occupied by the individual artisans who used the shops to produce and barter in.

Even those trades that did not do their work in shops yet owned their own tools and were organized. The masons, carpenters, plasterers, sewermen and longshoremen were union men though none of them carried cards. Their unions were local affairs and they knew each other by sight.

Yet they had a treasurer and held limited funds to help the disabled and aged members and to carry on the occasional struggle against the community government. In place of Union Halls they used coffee houses to meet in. It was the habit after the days work was done to go to the coffee house and discuss the gossip of the trade.

When a person needed a carpenter he went to the carpenters coffee house and so with the other trades. These coffee houses exist throughout the Balkans, Asia Minor, Egypt and northern Africa today and some of them function exclusively as meeting places for labor groups yet.

When the social surplus products of western Europe poured into these countries the many trades unions lost their prestige. The machine production of the west pitted against the hand production of the east was the cause of the falling away of each unions membership.

Thousands lost their little shops and became wage workers and others managed to hold their shops by adopting the use of machinery. The machines made competition amongs the former members of the union and this was against the principles of communal mutual aid which they had believed in so long.

The old forms of guilds or trades unions became meaningless and out of date. The old stable condition of things was changed. Wherever

the machines were introduced the field of production became a battle ground.

The wage workers did not understand the principles of the new mode of production and were beaten in their individual fights. In the great hard times thousands after thousands emigrated to western Europe and to America. Yet the army of wage workers increased continuously. Men of every rank denounced the competitive system but denunciation was as far as they could go.

No one could understand how the Bourgeoisie could flood the market with well fashioned commodities and sell them for a trifle of the price that hand labor must receive to exist. The mistake made by these dying unions was in not watching and understanding the evolution of the mode of production. They should have merged from many small local unions into big powerful industrial unions.

They failed to create a means (as an industrial research bureau) to investigate and study the working of the ever active social forces that were causing new methods of production.

By mastering the problems caused by the introduction of machinery they could have turned this knowledge to their own service. Not having this knowledge they could not hold together. Confusion was the order of the day.

Some of the workers who wanted to understand the new system came together at last and formed the Socialist party of Greece in the early nineties. Their idea was to get the old guild men together again with a new vigor and build up new unions on the basis of new scientific knowledge.

A socialist press was started and they put out pamphlets written in language similar to the law books or the holy bible. Their literature was full of ethical and moral ideas together with abstract logic but no scientific facts.

In short the socialists of Greece were far from understanding what it was necessary to get the workers to understand. They failed to put before the workers clearly the new economic structure of society. This knowledge was needed by the workers so that they could carry on a successful battle against the bourgeoisie.

After failing in their mission the socialist party turned their press into a vote catching machine. They became grand patriots and flag wavers and openly allied themselves with the middle classes. They helped them to enlarge the sphere of capitalist exploitation.

The Balkan war came on which resulted in the destruction of hundreds of thousands of workers. The miseries of this war heaped on the shoulders of the toilers created a rebellious sentiment but there was no organized attempt to express this rebel spirit in action.

The workers realized that something was wrong and that a betterment of conditions must be secured but they were more fearful of trouble than desirous of bettering their conditions.

Still the sentiment of unrest has been very helpful in furthering class conscious education in later years. Some workers who had studied the labor movement in foreign countries had returned to Greece and with some of the more advanced elements of the newly conquered territory they built up a nucleus of an organization and carried on consistent propaganda. Since then a better understanding of the labor movement and the class struggle has invaded the minds of the workers of Greece.

Direct action on the basis of the class struggle did not show itself until three or four years ago. Organizations grew rapidly and the trades unions embrace over a hundred thousand members of which more than sixty thousand were affiliated with the Confederation of Labor. Under the organization of the trades unions many battles were bitterly fought and many victories were won.

The hours of work used to be from sunriso to sunset with five and ten miles of foot travel before and after the days work. With proper use of economic action it did not take long to reduce the working hours to eight and to raise the wages from two drachmas a day up close to twenty and even as high as forty a day. However the wage increase was of slight moment for the prices kept even pace but the betternment in conditions will remain as a constant source of working class benefit.

In 1918 a movement was started to break off from the Socialist Party the reformist bourgeois element and was successful to some extent. The party remaining declared for the third international.

Small in numbers yet this communist element were the majority in the party when the split came. Their fighting spirit soon brought down the persecution of the Venizelos machine but the well organized and compact Communist organization was able to give a hard battle. The Confederation of Labor supports the revolutionary program of the Communist Party and is the greatest single labor factor in Greece.

Communists were arrested, imprisoned and ordered exiled. General strikes were declard demanding their liberty and industry after industry was tied up.

Every method possible was tried to break the strike. Strikers were arrested by the dozens, hundreds and finally thousands and thrown into prison. Strikers were drafted into the army and when they refused to obey the military orders to go back to work they were court martialed for breach of discipline.

As a result of the incessant strikes practically all of those arrested were liberated and the exiles allowed to return, but twenty or thirty of the most active rebels are still in prison.

The railroad workers have so far refused to affiliate with the Confederation of Labor and have failed to recognize or play any part in the past class struggles. Constant agitation however is having its effect on these workers and plans are now on foot to get these workers organized into a real industrial union of the railroad workers which, if successful, will place them in a better position to fight the reactionary classes and bring them into line with the Confederation.

The government is more afraid of this move than of any of the others that have taken place. They are using all their power to keep the railroad workers separated into their crafts and away from the Confederation.

All the radical elements of Greece are united in the fight and there is no split in the ranks of the workers. The Communists have the active support of all the advanced groups of organized labor and work hand in glove with the battling Confederation. The official organ of the Communist party is also the official organ of the Confederation. Both groups are trying to get the railroad workers to accept Industrial Unionism and join the revolutionists. Success in this aim is expected in the near future as the railroaders want to join but are held back by government persecution and their craft officialdom.

Perhaps the main reason for the unity of action among the radicals is the fact of the persecution. No one has joined the organizations unless they were out for a fight so all the compromising and cold footed elements were kept out.

The Communist party of Greece is the heart and soul of the industrial movement. Also the political defeat of the Venizelos machine can be attributed partly to the skillful activity of the revolutionists.

The big failure of the Communist party and the revolutionary program in Greece has been among the peasants. Special endeavors have been made to establish posts for propaganda among them but the small number of men really capable of directing such work has held it back. It is to be hoped, however, that these posts will soon be established and the strongest hold of capitalist tyranny will be flooded with revolutionary literature and understanding. The reds are strictly on the job now and are successfully switching the currents of discontent into lines of social revolution.

The present administration has been feeling the weakness of its position and have started persecutions. The arrest of reds was resumed about two months ago and the country was immediately tied up in a general strike. As yet the outcome has not been decided.

There has been good work done in Greece. The struggle has been and will be a tough one. The workers there with the aid of international solidarity will carry the struggle out to a successful conclusion. The workers organized as a class will expropriate the bourgeoisie and establish permanent industrial communism.

★

# THE WINNER

**By John E. Nordquist**

He played the game of chance called life;
Wrought with hardships toil and strife.
From the cradle to the grave
His efforts to the game he gave.

He played the game in honest style,
Knowing fraud not worth the while;
And bade his fellow players share
His fortune when the game ran fair.

He played his hand the best he knew
Tho oft times trumps were mighty few;
And if he lost a trick, well earned,
He kept his stride and never turned.

His cards are put away, the game is o'er;
Old father Time has chalked his score.
He played the game of life quite well;
He won the game, the records tell.

What has he won? perchance you ask:
He won the joy of a well done task;
His was the hand that smoothed the way,
That other men might better play.

He helped to educate the slaves
To free themselves from greedy knaves.
He fought to free humanity—
He played the game for you and me.

# Johnson the Gypo

**By Ralph Winstead**

THIS here Gypo proposition reminds me of the old woman who had a peppy daughter. She used to moan and plead with the girl to change her state of mind and be a good girl. This old woman was faced with a condition of things, not a state of mind and the only way for to deal with conditions is by the use of tactics, not by using a line of appeals to be good.

Now there is one time honored tactic that has been used by old dames on their daughters since and before the human race had thumbs. This line of action was to turn the refractory young female over a bony knee and administer to the well being of her ideas by hand.

That ain't the only tactics to fit this particular problem by a whole lot but at least it has some advantages over appealing to 'em to be good. They got inside urges as to what they want and need and all the appeals in the world don't cut much ice in the face of a human urge. Tactics is what counts.

Now it's the same way with the Gypo proposition. These here bushel maniacs just naturaly got the same sort of nature as John D. Rockefeller and a lot of other humans includin' all of us. They wants to get rich quick and are goin' to listen to that interior urge to gather in the mazuma when the gatherin' is good in spite of any appeals to be good saintly wobs and travel the narrow path.

But mostly we have been playin' the part of the noble mother and been pleadin' with these here almost human Gypo birds to be good, and spurn the pitfalls of their evil ways. What we got to do is use a few tactics on 'em. Maybe spankin' would be justifiable but maybe it wouldn't get the goods as quick as a way that me and a bunch of other wobs tried up at Grinnon one time.

Of course, as I say, tactics is the thing to use and when tactics is decided on in a whole industry it takes a lot of organized action and workin' together that is a lot harder than just goin' around spoutin' about the humpbacked species that has ruined the organization and is now keepin' us on the bum. In order to put any real tactics across we got to have a real plan worked out and have got to put the thing over by co-ordinated action and not by sanctimonius prayers to stay away from the sinful contract and keep pure and undefiled.

One time I blowed into Seattle with a short stake and was prepared to stick around town for a week or two. There was a good bunch in town and we lit out to take a little relaxation. Snowball Smith and me was roomin' together and was takin' on the said relaxation mostly in company. About the first stunt we done was to go out to Alki point and gather an eyeful along the beach. Of course these was before the short skirts made the beaches unnecessary for purposes of sight seein' but even aside from this sight satisfaction we was both longin' for a salt water swim, and got it.

It was the next afternoon after this excursion amongst the darin' dressers that I was walkin' down the slave market when I noticed on old man Moore's board a sign that caught the eye: "Wanted eight men to take contract bucking and falling. Details inside."

There it was, straight Gypo stuff. Chance to make a co-operative fortune right in my hand. Me—well, I looked around real quick to see if there was a hump backed Swede in sight and not seein' any I high balled right up to the room and got hold of Snowball.

Now Snowball is one of these here plugs that is never restin' with his trigger on safety. They ain't no neutral gear in his make-up. Snowball is always ready to go and further more after the goin' is a long ways from the start and gets rough, why, he ain't the bird to crawfish neither. Maybe he ain't exactly what you call an executive genius that can lay out and get others to carry through a big campaign but he don't need to ponder over no proposition for three weeks to see if it'll hold water. Snowball makes up his mind quick and stays with it.

So when I suggests to him that we become the original humpies and go scabbin' on ourselves just for a little fun and tactical experience, why, Snowball don't bat an eye but hustles his lid and we streaks for Moore's. Nobody had beat us to it so we got all the details.

Eight men was wanted to sign a contract to fall and buck a full section of timber up at Grinnon which as you know is a sort of steeple jack outfit up in the Olympics off of Hoods Canal. The ground was level we was told and the timber was good The rate was 60c per thousand and we had a bunk house all to ourselves.

The company furnished the tools but we had to do the saw filing. We was to eat in the company boarding house and they would deduct the board bill at the pay off. We could draw only fifty per cent of what our log scalein' called for till the job was finished. Everything in regular Gypo style.

Snowball did most of the talkin'. He made rapid estimates with greedy eyes at how much we could clean up in the summer. I almost got in earnest on the finance end of it myself. It sure sounded good the way he mentioned the thousands of dollars.

Moore agreed to hold the job till we got six more fellows to go in with us and so we set out to round up six good wobs that was willin' to mar their perfectly good reputations in order to put the Gypo game in bad at Grinnon. We had a hard time. Some of our best known wobs sneered at the idea and told us we was just lookin' for an

excuse. But we kept travellin' in spite of little set backs and raised a crew.

The eight of us signed on and got our John Hancocks on a big contract that was goin' to make or break somebody. Then we separated and rustled our clothes and spent the night listenin' to advice not to go and tryin' to explain why we was goin' to the bunch, but they wouldn't pretend to believe us. Faint hearted wobs never went Gypoin' yet is my claim. The pressure was awful, but we stuck it out. A fellow's friends and fellow workers can always be depended on to state the right and wrong of things. Right and wrong I always claims is matters of gettin' results.

Next mornin' we grabbed the boat for the first lap of the trip and after changin' into busses and back onto boats a few times we made the landin' at Grinnon. We was met by the time keeper with a speeder and made the trip up over the steepest known loggin' track in the country and that is sayin' a heap.

We didn't see where the nice level ground mentioned in the sacred contract was comin' in but we sure enjoyed the scenery which is sure pleasant in this section.

Mountains and valleys with clear tumblin' rivers and misty clouds hangin' half way up can sure wipe out the memory of a lot of squalid misery found in more civilized sections. Somehow they make a fellow feel that life is big and not exactly centered about himself.

And this feelin' is most necessary to get real action these days. Most of us like to stick our chests out about two inches further than is necessary for deep breathin' and seem to forget that there are others in the world that might be just as wise—as the big center of things—me. There is a lot us that has got to learn to think and act according to the biggest benefit to the greatest number instead of in the way that our own ideas points.

We made the camp alright and found a bunk house fixed up for us that was pretty fair. The boss give us the icy eye as if he was only in on this Gypo proposition by compulsion but the manager was all smiles and explained to us over and over that he had only left his office work in town to come up and see that we got a good start.

Of course we was grateful. We even told him so. The grub was good too but the flunkies set it down before us with a bang and the cook looked cross-eyed at the whole bunch of us. Sure a guy must have to suffer a lot from just wantin' to make a few lousy dollars via the Gypo route in some places. I even commenced to be scared somebody that knew me would write it up for the Worker and demand that I turn in my card. Such would have sure ruined me for life but then I been ruined more than once anyhow.

Well, we went out and looked over the ground. It was level, too. A fine bunch of trees in a level valley that just seemed to happened along by accident in the steep canyons. Then we organized ourselves. Snowball was elected to do the filing and the Bull buckin' and the rest of us scattered out in the trees.

, I started in with the fallin' gang not knowin' anything about this end of the loggin' game and we dropped the first tree fine except that the blamed thing hooked up and it took us most of the day to get it down where we could look at it.

Then we done better. The manager came around and found all of us sweatin' and puffin' so he went off to town satisfied that he had solved the problem of bustin' up these here pesky wobs by makin' 'em take an interest in the work. Yeah, we done better. In the afternoon me and my pardner dropped three fine big trees, every one of 'em with high grade timber in 'em—number one flooring stock, but the blame sticks dropped on stumps and was busted all to hell. It was sure tough but I cheerfully took the blame as I didn't know much about the fallin' game anyway.

When I looked over the rest of the crew's work I commenced to think that I had picked the biggest bunch of green horns that could be found in the whole organization. Not one of 'em seemed to know as much about fallin' or buckin' as I used to.

The newly elected bull bucker came around to me and he pulled his face into a sorrowful twist and explained that we wasn't makin' more than three or four dollars a day and was a dullin' a lot of saws.

This of course was awful news as it meant that maybe we wouldn't make that young fortune we was a lookin' for here. I promised to speed up and we did manage by workin' a little overtime to drop another fir, but it was punky.

The funny part of the whole thing was that we didn't seem to improve as the days went by. Some of the gang got lazy and wouldn't drop as many trees as they should and then they would blame Snowball for bein' a bum sawfiler but I couldn't see anything wrong with his filin'.

The boss dropped around and looked over the work we had done and I saw him goin' away with his hat off and him a scratchin' his head. He appeared to be plum puzzled by our progress. In the meantime I got friendly with the blacksmith's helper and he told me that the boss once carried a card in the early days and that there was good bunch of wobs that had been sent down the road to make room for us damn scabs.

You bet I got **real friendly** with that helper. I made it a point to see that he wasn't handlin' any hot irons when I happened around. Well, we stuck to this job for a month. Things went from bad to worse. I commenced to lose faith in the co-operative movement when it comes to gettin' work done. We didn't seem to have the right spirit for work no matter which way we tried to bring it out.

Still I learned a lot about fallin' trees but the fallin' pardner didn't seem to think so. He said that I couldn't hit even the ground more than

once out of three times without him. Well, I thought if he was so wise I would try my hand at buckin'. So we made the switch.

I went on with a big Finn that agreed to show me how to buek. But I soon wished that I hadn't done it. Buckin' is even harder work to my notion than fallin', besides I was no good at it and didn't seem able to learn much. About every time that I got a real good log about half bucked out, why, somethin' was sure to happen to the wedges and the blame log would split. I must of spoiled a lot of 'em that way but I learned how to buek 'em off square at last but the bunch decided to let me buek on the split ones about this time so I didn't get any real practice at that.

In other ways, however, things went fine. For instance the eook finally seemed to get over his grouch and was real friendly. He came out and looked over our job and even got jolly about it. Then we sort of decided to take it easy anyway. About this time, why, we got a good buneh of papers and magazines up and it got so it was harder and harder to tear ourselves away from the literary field. We enjoyed discussions on a lot of highbrow topics and sometimes when the job got irksome we took a hike up on some of the hills and looked around.

Maybe I am a little off on the subject but I sure admire the seenery in the Olympics. The more I saw of it the more I admired it. Finally it got so that it appealed to me more than even the buckin' did though I admit that that was sure fascinatin'. It certainly was wonderful to get way up on the mountain side and look down on the riggin' erew a sweatin' and strainin' like little ants down in the valley while the donkeys would shoot steam like these little peanut roasters on the pop eorn stands in town.

Oh, it was a great life. I could see where there was all sorts of temptation to be a gypo. I eommenced to think that I would like to do this regularly.

The good grub and the pleasant companionship sure didn't make none of us feel bad either. Snowball said that he wore a full ineh off of some of the saws just to keep himself busy about the shack while we was out on the job but I think he was exaggeratin'.—I never did think that he always told the whole truth about some things especially about how hard he worked but I will say that he changed the looks of some of them saws alright.

All good things come to an end at last, however, and one day the scaler eome up to scale up our eut and see where we was at. He come out on the job unexpeeted but as it happened three of us was workin'.

He started to work scalin' the logs and seemed to grow real exeited. He didn't stop, however, to make any remark to us but kept on all day. Well, he stayed with the job and so did we. When he got finished he come over to tell us about it. He was so mad he was almost happy.

"Well, you birds have sure got away with somethin' this time," he tells us in our bunk house the night he finished. "You have been here thirty days and have eat up four hundred dollars' worth of grub. You have knocked down and mutilated a million feet of timber, whether from pure eussedness or beeause you are damned fools, I don't know and no one can prove. But I sure have a bright suspision because none of you look like plum idiots to me."

"The foreman wrote into town advisin' the manager to abrogate the eontraet a eouple of weeks ago but then the manager had an idea he was still opposed to the contraet system. Now I know what he was opposed to, allright."

We all asked him what was wrong. We wanted to know if he was goin' to get us fired from out good job. In fact we made him feel that we sure enjoyed the stay up there but that didn't seem to help him any. He went away madder than ever. I heard later that he had three shares of stock in the company.

The manager came up and told us that our eontraet was not worth a damn and that the quicker we got out of eamp the better he would be pleased. He said that if we wanted to eollect the money for the trees that we had put down we could bring suit and see what we' got.

We pulled out and blew into Seattle but so far none of us has taken up the matter of our legal rights to pay for our work. And on the other hand I saw the boards down at Moore's ehalked up heavy for buckers and fallers workin' by the day at Grinnon right away after we hit town.

Tactics, I claims, will get the goods where dealin' out the sneers and peddlin' the holy solidarity stuff only makes a man feel ashamed and unnatural but don't stop him from wantin' to obey that inner urge. In fact some of the looks I got up in Grinnon made me think that maybe I was a superior bein' and not in the crude and unsophistieated eircle of eommon workin' stiffs.

Providin' that I hadn't already known better I feel sure that that idea would have got stuck in me somehow or other. It's funny that way. Everybody is always ready to believe that he or she (espeeially she) is different from the rest of the people. You know the line of bunk I mean and how if you shoot it out just right, how it always gets results.

Well, Gypos don't want to get no chance to think that they are different from you and me. Just use a few organized tacties and the humps on some of the loggers' backs will look like a camels that has been through a famine worse than a term in the Spokane City jail in a free speech fight.

Suppose we just get together and put across a few tactical manoeuvers on these birds and see that they don't obstruct the progress of the organization any more. That is my idea.

# Women, War and the Class Struggle

**By Mabel Kanka**

A WOMAN delegate to the International Women's Conference delivered an anti-war speech the other day in the heart of Wall Street.

The conference to which she had been a delegate was composed of women from Austria and Germany as well as from their late enemies and neutral powers. They met to lay plans to enforce peace.

This fact alone is remarkable when we consider that women usually follow in the beaten trails and seldom blaze new ones for themselves.

But it matters not what problems the International Womans Congress seeks to solve it is fairly safe to say that it is predestined to failure. It begins by dividing the human race on the basis of sex, and has no concern with economic or social problems.

Is it any wonder then that the majority of women are still blind to the light that is flooding the earth? They have been taught to think in terms of sex when their only hope lies in the obliteration of sex barriers and the recognition of those of class.

They propose to refuse to aid in any manner whatsoever the successful prbsecution of wars by refusing to take the places of men called to the front. They propose, in other words, to take the same stand that the conscientious objector took during the late war.

And have they forgotten with what ruthless brutality the state sought to stamp out every vestige of individual conscience in these objectors? Did these women raise even a feeble protest against these outrages? If it is women who bear the major burden of wars were not these objectors fighting the cause of women as well as of their own individual conscience? And what was his reward? Of course it is true that the majority of people are always saved in spite of themselves. They never accept a new idea until they have burned at the stake a few of the early advocates of this new idea. But the women who framed this resolution must have known as well in 1916 that they bore the burden of war and that it was in their power to stop it as they did in 1920.

The success of this undertaking depends largely on the ability of women to stand together when the next war comes, when the shrieking hysteria of war again engulfs the world, blotting out every vestige of sanity and reason, she is expected to remain calm and unperturbed. Amid the blare of trumpets and waving of flags she will stand like a pillar of stone blocking the path of the marching feet on their way to the battlefields. Can a more brilliant or impossible dream be imagined?

Just at the beginning of the late war one of our prominent suffragists issued a statement in which she said "Patriotism is the supreme virtue." As long as such ideas permeate the very air we breathe we must expect mothers to lead their sons to recruiting stations and cheer them on their way to the battle fields. As long as the germ of patriotism, as represented by nationalism, is taken in with the mothers milk, just so long will there be wars, and as long as wars are fought women will sacrifice their sons whether willingly or unwillingly.

The roots of war lie not only in the mind of a perverted humanity but they extend much farther back and are rooted in the fountain of all social evils—private property. Abolish private property and you will have destroyed the eggs of war. Patriotism is a product of the state which in turn rests on private property.

Any such movement based on the assumption that the interest of one woman is necessarily the interest of all others and that women should stand together as a sex regardless of class lines is a gross deception to the woman of the working class. She has nothing in common with the parasitic woman of the aristocracy. Her interests are bound up with those of the workers, both men and women. And it is on this basis and this basis alone that war can be abolished.

It is high time that the women of the working class awoke and ceased to follow such will-o-the-wisps as equal suffrage and the like and instead of looking at things as a woman, see them as a member of the working class. Then and then only will war and all its accompanying horrors be abolished.

# Tramping the Northwest

By G. R.

ALTHOUGH many of the saw-mills, logging camps and mines of the Northwest have ceased to operate, there are few unemployed hangers-on in this part of the country. When out of work, a man generally takes to the road with the hope that somewhere he will find a kind-hearted master who will let him use a job for a while.

Automatically he becomes a tramp, a bum or a hobo—whichever term seems the most fitting to the average respectable citizen. Normalcy, wherever that may be, surely has been passed a long time ago but to judge by the large numbers of tramps and bums on freight trains and in the jungles we are still on our way.

For the enlightenement of those who always think of the tropics, waving palms, monkeys and cocoanuts when they see the word "jungle" a few words of explanation might be in order. The jungle of the migratory worker and the thousands of city workers who now also are bums and tramps is far from being as romantic as the name suggests. It is mostly always located near the stockyards or refuse dumps of the small towns, this being the only place where the citizens will tolerate the undesirable hobo.

Coming into a small town during harvesting or fruitpicking time one can always tell at a glance if there is a jungle near the town. If the citizens do not allow the bums to "jungle up" the appearance of the men who stand around the streetcorners waiting for a job to turn up is often terrible. They are unkempt and dirty, with dirty and greasy shirts and overalls. Not being able financially to stay at a hotel, they must sleep outside and often there is not even a place where they might wash themselves. Under these circumstances it is impossible to keep clothes and body clean.

Where there is a jungle, the general appearance of the men is entirely different. If one has no razor or soap, needle or thread, there is always some fellow-bum who will gladly help him out so that he can wash and shave and patch his clothes. They can pool what little money they may have and cook up a nourishing meal, and one can often see a lowly bum sharing a loaf of bread bought with his last dime with some tramp who has just dropped off a freight, broke and hungry. Real christianity and good fellowship? Go amongst the hobos in the jungle and you will find it.

The businessmen of many of the towns out here have spent time and money on tourist parks for the accommodation of the traveling members of their own class, and, incidentally, to induce them to linger for a few days and spend some of their hard earned cash, but they do not show any consideration whatever for the bum.

Of course, the bum only comes around to build railroads, and highways, cut and bale hay, harvest and thresh, pick fruit and do hundreds of other things which could not be done without him. It would be unthinkable for the business men to set aside a place for the bum with some shelter against the elements, and with pure drinking water.

Ever so often, though, the tramps and bums must be shown that they exist only by the grace of the Chamber of Commerce. The town marshall is ordered to "clean up the jungles" and with his thirtsy gun he will perforate John D's oil tins in which the tramps had washed their clothes. With both feet he will jump on to the smaller cans which had been used for coffee, stew and drinking cups. He will look at the frying pan, and if he doesn't decide to take it home with him he will do his duty and fire a shot through the bottom of it, also.

The next tramp who comes along will curse awhile and then will patiently look for another jungle outfit. He will string along the torndown piece of haywire again that had served as a clothes line, and again shirts and underwear will flap in the wind and mulligan and coffee will boil on the rearranged fire place.

I am a bum, too, and I am sitting under a railroad water tank waiting for the "manifest," the fast eastbound freight. The lights of the town have long ago died one by one, weariness overcomes me and I doze off only to arouse myself again to listen for the sound of a train.

Suddenly the grinding of brakes brings me to my feet and I hurry down the long string of cars to find a place to ride, passing car after car locked and sealed. Slowly the train begins to move and gather speed. At last I reach a coal car loaded with square timbers which has an open space on one end. A bum looks down at me over the side. "Is there room for one more?" I shout at him. "Always room for one more" he says, and I swing on.

When I try to lower my feet into the car I find that the floor is covered with human forms. Carefully I pick a place to stand amongst the bodies of sleeping men who look like a heap of corpses in the dim starlight. The fellow I spoke to asks me for a cigarette and we stand quietly among the heap of sleeping humanity at our feet while the train pounds through the night.

Daylight at last, and one by one the sleepers arise and work arms and legs to overcome their soreness and cold. There are young bums and old bums, natives and foreigners, and also two colored tramps, There is little conversation; waking up on a freight train penniless and not knowing what the day may bring is rather depressing.

The sun comes up and the spirits rise a little.

Two young fellows, one of whom wears the button of the American Legion, ask about the next stop. The question of course is: "Can a fellow eat there?" An old timer who has been there says that the baker is good for a loaf of bread and that the old Dutchman who runs the butchershop is alright too. "If we can get some bread and bologna, we'll be fixt for our breakfast," in relief exclaims the young fellow with the button of the Legion, "but if the butcher is a Dutchman I'd better take off my button before I bum him."

* * *

All day long the freight has crept through the dry, sunscorched desert. All day we have traveled without food, and we do not know when nor where our next meal will be. Slowly the train crawls onto siding, a whistle sounds in the distance and a passenger train pulls up alongside of us. We gaze through the windows of a dining car and almost within reach we see a white tablecloth, shining silver—and food. A portly gentleman and a plump, middle-aged lady are evidently enjoying their evening meal very much. ("Overfed parasites!" grumbles the fellow who stands beside me). A slim young girl daintily toys with her fork while a waiter hovers nearby, ready to be at their service.

Two blasts of the whistle and they glide out of our view again. A fellow jumps off the freight to pick up a couple of slices of bread thrown out through one of the windows of the passing train and clambers on again. Slowly we pull out onto the main line and we settle down to some more shaking and jolting.

* * *

"Hello, there, Fellow Worker," a cheery voice greets me as I drop into the jungle of an Idaho town. Glad to see someone I know, I walk over to shake hands with a Fellow Worker I had known on the Coast. He is one of those out on bond, with a penitentiary sentence hanging over his head, but to judge by his appearance he has not a care in the world. We sit down to speak of the things wobblies will discuss whenever they meet.

He had been reading when I came and I pick up the book lying in the grass. Ballad of Reading Gaol, by Oscar Wilde. Think of it! A man as good as condemned to years in the pen reading such a book and still not in the least depressed. "Here is a verse that would well apply to Fellow Worker Everest of Centralia," he says and he reads out loud:

"They hanged him as a beast is hanged:
They did not even toll
A requiem that might have brought
Rest to his startled soul,
But hurriedly they took him out
And hid him in a hole."

I speak of his own case, but he only smiles. "You know," he says, "a county jail is rather a noisy place, there is always a bunch of fellows and you don't get much opportunity to read, but I think that in the pen it will be quiet and I will have the chance to read many of the books I have always longed for. I can study undisturbed and I might come out with a better education than I have been able to acquire so far."

I sit up and ponder. Here is a workingman, bright and intelligent, with the soul of a poet, a better man morally, mentally and physically than those who wished him condemned. His only crime has been his desire to help the workers in the logging camps to better their conditions and to preach the gospel of industrial freedom. And yet there are millions of workers who would not even read the outcome of his trial, nor would they give a thought if this man is sentenced to years in prison. His name is known only among his friends for he is only one out of many.

"You can have this book if you wish," he says, interrupting my thoughts. "There is a train coming and I don't like to miss it." Cheerily he bids me goodby and swings his packrack over his shoulder. Out of such stuff wobblies are made.

* * *

Nothing to ride but the tops or the rods, every car is loaded and sealed—and so we take to the tops and sit on the running boards. A brakeman makes his way towards us from the engine. "Tickets, boys," he sings out. "Tickets—only red tickets are recognized on this train." We all have our "tickets" and one fellow gives him copies of the "Solidarity" and the "Worker." He sits down to chat a while and then resumes his walk towards the caboose.

Presently we pass a westbound freight, and a bunch of bums wave at us from the doors of open box cars. "Some go east and some go west," as the famous butcher used to say. No one seems to interfere much with the bums traveling on freight trains and blinds of passengers now-a-days. The powers that be do not seem to like bunches of hungry men to congregate anywhere and they seem glad to see the bums keep traveling. Strange, is it not? Never before were they afraid of tramps, bums and hoboes. What may be the reason?

# On the Top of the World

**By A Rebel Girl**

(An interview between a Business Magnate and an Offiee Mierobe).

B. M. (Ringing a bell on his desk). "It's a pity, I'm sorry for the kid!"

(Enter a uniformed errand boy of about sixteen years, pale and spindly but good-looking, seeming to bubble over with suppressed eagerness).

B. M. "Sit down, John."

O. M. (Looking surprised and rather seared). "Yes sir."

B. M. (Turning over a pile of letters on his desk as though only half attending to the boy). "I am afraid I must inform you that we, er—we must dispense with your services." (He looks up suddenly at the boy with a searching glanee, eatehing the expression of alarm and the paling of the young faee before him. He is evidently sorry. There is a framed pieture of his own baby boy on the desk. He looks at it thoughtfully).

O. M. "May I ask why, sir?"

B. M. "You see, John, I hear from several different sourees that you are ... Well, not exaetly lazy, but that your heart is not in your work.—You do not seem to eare to do more than you are bound to. (Squaring his shoulders pompously). We always make is a point to have young men of ambition with us.—Young men who are not afraid of a little extra work after hours—who have the interest of the firm at heart. (A kindly look takes the plaee of the self-satisfied pomposity). John, you are aware of the faet that I am not usually bothered with these small offiee details. You would under ordinary circumstanees be diseharged by the head elerk and I should hear nothing whatever about it. But I have always taken a personal interest in you. (Suddenly moved by a kindlier impulse than he has felt toward any member of his office force for years). "Tell me why you don't work harder—with more enthusiasm.—Perhaps (Seeing the boy's look of relief)—perhaps we ean keep you on even yet."

(John's cheeks are burning, he speeks slowly, a eurious mixture of relief and wounded pride in his voiee).

O. M. "Thank you, sir. I—er—don't know, sir. I thought I was doing all I was paid to do."

B. M. "That's just the trouble!—You give the minimum amount of effort possible, only enough to keep you on the payroll.—As I said before, we want young men with the interest of this business at their heart."

O. M. (Looks up slowly into his master's faee. His expression is that of a hurt child, but slowly the color deepens, the full lips tighten, the wide blue eyes narrow and grow steely, his hands eleneh at his sides. It is the dawning of manhood, the cruel dawning of manhood and womanhood that comes to many of the boys and girls who go out into business world! Suddenly he flings diseretion, fear, servility, to the winds. He is a man, speaking to another man, and with an uneonseious gesture of defianee he speaks).

"Why should I have the interest of the business at heart? I am here beeause I must eat, beeause my people must eat, not beeause I like it or chose it!

"Why should I be ambitious here?

"Why should I want to rise amidst the dust and grime and stagnation of your wealth? They are all dead here, or dying—dying for want of sun and air and life. Dying in all this ugliness—for what?

"It is hell here! My arms are strong as steel—and I carry bits of paper here and there in the grey canyons! My eyes are keen and far-seeing, and I peer over dead, dead files! My mind is burning with new hopes, new dreams, new desires, and I jump up and down eternally to the tinkle of a bell! There is a great power blazing within me, tingling like fire in my blood. I could eonquer the world, all that, I dream eould be mine—and I earn my living here, lieking stamps!"

(A long silenee follows. Slowly, almost imperceptibly, the boy's squared shoulders droop; the shining glory of triumphant youth dies out of his eyes; his hands uneleneh and lie passive on his knees. He is obviously terrified at what he has done. He is thinking of his mother's sorrow should he lose his job, his sister's feeling of disgraee and shame should they hear of his mad outburst before the great, sueeessful man who is kind enough to patronize him. He speaks at last).

O. M. "I'm very sorry, sir. Please, excuse me. I—I—hope you won't diseharge me, sir. You see, there's my mother and sisters—and—I'll try to do better."

B. M. (A look of almost sorrowful disappointment on his faee). "All right, John, I'll disregard it. You ean stay on a week or so and see how things go. Now take this, er—'bit of paper' in to Mr Larsen." (Hands him a doeument).

(John stands at a little distanee irresolute, not understanding his master's sudden termination of the eonversation or the new note of kindly eontempt in his voice).

O. M. (Wistfully). "Thank you, sir."

B. M. (Already engrossed in the eorrespondenee on the desk). "All right, John!"

(John goes out, closing the door very slowly and softly behind him).

(B. M. looks up at the elosed door, tapping his fingers thoughtfully on the glass desk top. Then he turns to the pieture of his son).

B. M. "Stiek to your guns, son—for God's sake stick like hell! That little ehap was on the top of the world just now—but he'll never get there again!"

# Book Reviews

**Sherwood Anderson's Poor White (B. W. Huebsch).**

"At the corner of Main and McKinley streets and just beyond the place where three old buildings were being torn down to make room for the building of a new hotel, appeared a man who attacked, not the piece work prices at the corn-cutting machine plant, but the whole system that built and maintained factories where the wage scale of workmen could be fixed by the whim or necessity of one man or a group of men. As the man on the box talked, the workmen in the crowd who were of American birth began to shake their heads. They went to one side and gathering in groups discussed the stranger's words. 'I'll tell you what,' said a little old workman, pulling nervously at his graying mustache, 'I'm on strike and I'm for sticking out until Steve Hunter and Tom Butterworth fire Ed Hall, but I don't like this kind of talk. I'll tell you what that man's doing. He's attacking our government, that's what he's doing.' The workmen went off to their homes grumbling. The government was to them a sacred thing, and they did not fancy having their demands for a better wage scale confused by the talk of anarchists and socialists."

This and the consequent strike in which "three men had been killed and ill-feeling engendered in hundreds of silent workers" is what took place in Bidwell, Ohio, where Hugh McVey, the principal figure of Anderson's book—if Anderson with his attention to the small-hearted and the commonplace ever has "principal figures"—came to spend his life and to give to the community his inventions: the corn-cutting and plant-setting machines and the apparatus for unloading coal cars. In its delineation of the progress of a small town and the inception therein of capitalism, this story is the story of America.

McVey, "poor white trash" of Missouri, born of a sluggard father to whom the flow of the Mississippi River suggests only the wash of liquor down his sullen throat, dozes away his childhood in a stupidity from which he is provoked only by the scholastic ministrations of a motherly woman who teaches him to read and write, and toward his twenty-fourth year comes to Bidwell, Ohio, a town of twenty-five hundred population and rich soil, and leisurely if not altogether kindly lives.

Here the prophetic figure of Judge Hanby sounds a clarion call of the industrialistic era imminent, and the need for the coming generation to develop the instincts of the fox and ant. Oil, gas and iron are discovered, railroads are "pushed out across the plains . . . At Cleveland, Ohio, a precise, definite-minded man named Rockefeller bought and sold oil . . ." Then arose the Morgans, Carnegies, etc., who were "merchants glorified and dealt in giant things, in the lives of men and in mines, forests, oil and gas fields, factories and railroads . . . From all sides the voice of the new age that was to do definite things shouted at them."

It is in this atmosphere that Hugh McVey who, to rouse his mind from what seems to him a fatal nebulousness which he dimly resents as an inheritance from his "poor white" ancestors, takes to the handling of concrete things, mathematically; investigates mechanical problems. Love, family domesticity—are parts of life in which, he thinks, he is not about to figure, and his awakened, active mind first concentrates on a device which will save people from the slavery of creeping over fields; creeping over fields and manually setting plants—creeping year in and year out until their heads sink in their shoulders and they give way to their children who are able to crawl with intelligence just sufficient to drop a potential cabbage into the soil.

This device is perfected—though afterwards it proves a failure—and McVey's mind—a product seemingly of the age rather than of hereditary traits—proceeds to nurture germs of other mechanisms. And all these inventions are promoted and marketed by the first and second generation of capitalists in that microcosm of America which is Bidwell, Ohio.

There is no "story" in this book. Indeed, as a story of even an incomplete development of an individual (Hugh McVey) "Poor White" is somewhat hazy. This is characteristic of Anderson—it is indicative of his viewpoint which is but temporarily concerned with one person and with the character and spiritual "aura" of that person, and which then goes on to the mass. If he is always in perceptible sympathy with the individual, he is essentially and closely in sympathy with the mass. One by one, impartially, he takes up a harness-maker who is crazed by the advent of machine-made harness; Ezra the cabbage-farmer who resents the invention of the plant-setting machine which will do away with his slave-driving of his family over the fields all day and night; Steve Hunter, a nervously incipient young capitalist; Jim Priest, an uncomplaining farm work-beast who drinks and laughs away his leisure; Tom Butterworth, the father of future generations of hard-headed promoters; for female figures: young Clara Butterworth, roaming about unable to digest the newly acquired intellectualism of three years at a provincial college; Kate Chanceller, an upshoot of the sporadic "independent" woman of that generation . . . All these figures are at once soft and arresting, soft because of Anderson's semi-obscure, inclusive pity.

This is only a fictional description of the development of capitalism in America—of the growth of village to town, town to city, the machine displacing the craftsman and the involution of lives lost, harmed and ruined, through the mental and the machine cog. Better artistic work Anderson has done in his "Winesburg, Ohio," and to art "Poor White" has only the relation that is in all narrative of suffering, poor-spirited humanity, and in the simple transmission of the dank aroma clinging to people who, all their life, lie close to the soil.

But here, as in his "Marching Men" Sherwood Anderson is the prophet—and not only the prophet that he is, in clear-eyed Judge Hanby, but one who believes, with a sober gladness, that "... in extending the invisible roofs of the towns and cities to cover the world, men cut and crushed their way through the bodies of men in making way for the newer, broader brotherhood into which men are some day to emerge."

*Jean Cutner*

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**Engineers and the Price System**; Thorstein Veblen. B. W. Huebsch Co. $1.50.

The winds of post-war radicalism have blown many strange doctrines through the revolutionary camps of the world, but perhaps the weirdest is the theory that the same revolutionary methods that succeeded in a primitive, loose-knit agricultural country can turn the trick in a modern, close-knit industrial community, and that a political party can put together what a mass uprising has ground to pieces. It is the rose colored dream of the old Persian:

"Ah Love, couldn'st Thou and I with Him conspire
To grasp this sorry scheme of things entire,
Would not we shatter it to bits, and then
Remold it nearer to the heart's desire?"

"Russia did it!" has been an inspiring slogan, but the hard fact confronts us that the industrial countries have not done it; that every attempt at revolution in the industrial countries has failed, up to date, from the Hungarian coup to the Spartacide revolt. Magnificent idealism and courage have come down to defeat because revolutionary strategy was not adapted to the material facts.

How will the revolution occur in an industrial country? To be more definite what are the requirements for a successful revolution in the United States of America, the most highly industrialized country in the world?

The answer is given very convincingly in the latest book by Professor Veblen, his "Engineers and the Price System," just off the Huebsch presses in New York. In this compact little volume of 168 pages he lays down the necessary course of action for a successful revolution.

**What Is Revolution?**

We hope that no timid reader will be excited by this word "Revolution." Professor Veblen uses it—oh, so gently and dispassionately. He is just talking quietly, as a social scientist pursuing a line of impersonal inquiry, and he gives a very mild and colorless characterization of revolution which will not thrill the person who is looking for thrills. Revolutions are merely, according to Veblen, the doing away with absentee ownership of industry. Which only means the elimination of the business man and all his works from control of the means of life, and the substitution therefor of industrial administration by producers. That is all. There is nothing about the proposition which should ruffle anyone, except perhaps the "kept classes" as Professor Veblen calls them.

This happy change will be made any time the producers draw together and so decide, **providing** they carefully work out a plan for the systematic and continuous operation of the industrial system without any temporary breakdowns. And here is where the technicians and the trained workingmen are more important than all the spell binders and martyrs. For on the continuous operation of this complicated industrial system depends the life of the population and therefore the life or death of the revolution. Few persons realise by what a slender cord hangs the life of a highly industrialized country from day to day. Unlike Soviet Russia this country is so interdependent industrially that the whole system will stop like a clock if a few essential parts cease to function.

**Why the Engineers Are Necessary?**

Without a clear cut plan for the operation of the industrial system as one well balanced whole there will be no revolution, but only revolt, breakdown and return to reaction. Therefore the revolution becomes essentially an industrial affair, in fact a problem in industrial engineering. This still holds true even though the partizans of the old order offer military resistance, for in the words of Professor Veblen, "warlike operations today are also substantially a matter of technology, both in the immediate conduct of hostilities and in the still more urgent work of material support and supply." Since all this is the case it follows that the technical engineers are absolutely essential to the carrying through of the revolutionary program for they are the only men who grasp the technical problems involved. They are the general staff of the industrial system.

This was not so in the old days of handicraft and small gauge production, and therefore the revolutions of the fervid times of old were as different from those which will come in the future as an old mill wheel is from a modern turbine. In those ancient times of a hundred and fifty years ago the technical expert was in his infancy, but times have changed, and since the dawn of the last generation industry has become so specialized and interwoven, that only the trained industrial scientist can understand in detail how to keep its parts working in harmony.

The American industrial system today consists of hundreds of thousands of industrial units,—mines, mills, factories and farms, all feeding material into each other for further fabrication, and bound together by a complicated network of rail and waterways. So interdependent is industry with industry that the whole system in effect is one industry, which, like a clock, continues running only as long as all its parts are functioning. If anything serious goes wrong with several essential parts the whole thing comes to a standstill. Without the unremitting supervision of the industrial experts, the system will not run, and will, as a matter of fact, foot up to just so much junk.

### Technicians Hold Balance of Power

This startling statement will cause no surprise to any clear headed industrial unionist who is accustomed to look industry in the face, but it is in sharp contradiction to the views of a certain class of impulsive persons who call themselves revolutionists, and who say that the technicians can safely be left to the future, and later on corralled and assigned to work—after the revolution. Veblen shows that there would be no time to wait, that if the technicians are not on the job from the start the revolution will be a fizzle, for there will be no production of the means of life, which will mean death for the population and failure for the revolution.

The technicians hold the balance of power. Without them the new system cannot be put through nor the old one continued, and any time they so desire they can start the revolutionary ball a-rolling. To quote the writer:

"A general strike of the technological specialists in industry need involve no more than a minute fraction of one per cent of the population; yet it would swiftly bring a collapse of the old order and sweep the time-worn fabric of finance and absentee sabotage into the discard for good and all."

And further he adds:

"The industrial dictatorship of the captains of finance is now held on sufferance of the engineers and is liable at any time to be discontinued at their discretion, as a matter of convenience."

Of course the author does not fall into the error of leaving it all to the technicians. He says that the aggressive support of the railroad workers and the trained workmen in the great basic industries is absolutely necessary to the revolutionary program. The technician is emphasized only in proportion to the part he plays in industry.

### Point of View of Technicians Changing

'All this sounds very fine,' the reader may say, 'but is it not hopeless to expect any revolutionary action from the technicians?' Professor Veblen deals carefully with this much mooted point and says very frankly that the majority of the technicians are still quite docile in their attitude towards the Vested Interests, and that nothing may be expected on a large scale "just yet." But he shows that a change is progressively taking place in the attitude of these men; they are more and more being weaned away from their old time allegiance and many are now beginning to think of themselves as something alien to the business interests whose servants they are.

More and more the technicians and the business men are being divorced from each other. The evolution of both industry and finance are responsible for this. On the one hand the specialization of industrial science makes it impossible for an outsider, such as the commercial man, to understand it, and on the other the specialization of commerce so absorbs the business man's attention that he is unable to comprehend problems of a non-commercial nature.

Consequently while the business man is dependent on the technician for the operation of the industry from which he derives his profits he is unable to understand him or his work, as he could in old times when the problems were less complicated. And the technician sees the business man more and more as someone who contributes no useful knowledge or labor to the carrying on of the industry, and who, in fact, figures in industry only as a holder-back of production. The technician sees the industry under his direction as something capable always of producing far more than the business man allows him to produce, for reasons of market. Furthermore, the ultimate decisions in all important industrial questions are up to the business man, and not to the engineer, and the technician sees these decisions foolishly guided by the light of the business man's own ignorance.

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is the first, called "Sabotage," in which the author tells how the conduct of business today is essentially a question of skillful sabotage, of holding back production in order to bring higher prices or to cause disadvantages to competitors, regardless of the disturbances that this interference makes in the operation of the industrial system. All this the technician sees, and it is alien to his instinct of workmanship.

More and more some of them are beginning to see that "commercial expediency has nothing better to contribute to the engineer's work than so much lag, leak and friction. The four years' experience of the war has also been highly instructive on that head," he says. And they are beginning to see that the "material fortunes of the civilized people lie loose in their hands."

### Revolutionary Preparation

It will not be necessary for all the technicians to take part in the preliminary work that must be done in preparing for the big move. It will only be necessary for a few thousand technical men to draw together to work out the industrial plan. First of all there must be careful industrial surveys, tabulating industrial resources, such as all the in-

dustrial plants in the country and the available personnel. Since the scrapping of the business system will require a realignment of industry and allocation of labor it will be necessary to plan how this industrial equipment which has been surveyed will be utilized. Then will follow studies of the main lines of waste under the present system so that steps can be taken to prevent them. This will be necessary, for the new industrial regime must be superior to the old or the rank and file of the people will not put up with it, the writer logically asserts. With the information that will be obtained a skillful publicity drive can be made to win the understanding cooperation of the trained manual workers who are equally necessary to the putting through of the program.

All this was written by Veblen and published in magazine form two years ago, though it has not been issued in bound volume till this year. Since then the prospects for an aggressive movement by these twin forces of productive industry are still brighter than they were when he wrote. Radical papers are giving more and more space to articles by industrial engineers criticising business management of industry. Two of the most brilliant of these, from the pen of a well known industrial engineer, appeared in the One Big Union Monthly last fall. But what is still more significant than mere educational propaganda, a distinct movement has started for an actual joining hands of the engineers and the rest of the working class. A start was made at the Unemployment Conference of Greater New York last spring and as a later development several independent unions in that city have decided upon an industrial research program with the collaboration of a certain group of engineers. And the Industrial Workers of the World have more definitely declared themselves for a thorough-going industrial program of this character.

The long expected crisis of the capitalist system of production is at hand and the time has arrived for the bungling and sabotaging management of business to go. Professor Veblen's book is doing valuable service in focusing attention on the concrete problems involved and as such should be pushed to the limit among all intelligent producers, especially among the technical men who are now more ready than ever for persuasion to a program of action because the job tie that binds the servant so tightly to his master is being snapped in the present industrial depression.

**Art Shields.**

# CIVILIZATION

**Julia C. Coons.**

When man first rose erect, and looked upon
His kind; and sought to give command,
What grief and misery we all had missed
Had there but been a noble, guiding hand!
Not one divine; one that could keenly feel
The biting sting of human taunts and blows,
And knowing, lead that infant race
In ways of pleasantness and paths of peace.

When man first gained that noble title **Man,**
How vastly changed would be our history's page,
Had there but been one noble, guiding mind
The terrors of race travail to assuage.
A mind to teach the purity of love
And set a type of parenthood uncursed
To raise the standard of World Brotherhood.—
A kinship, barring lust and sordid greed—
That feels the wound deep in another's breast—
That, seeing joy, rejoices with the glad.

And yet it could not be. Nature's stern law
Decreed that man should cut his tangled swath
From savagery up—a weary tedious path—
To gain, in years yet in the distance dim
The jeweled crown, washed by all nations' tears,
And purchased by the blood of countless slain,
And written there, in hand-wrought tracery
Is Unity, Peace, Prosperity.

# WOBBLES

At a conservative estimate about ten thousand wobs have made the can in the last five years.

Now comes Thos. Mott Osborne, most noted of authorities on prisons and prison life and tells us: "Generally speaking prisoners are on a higher plane than the general run of the public."

Scientific! Cause and effect!

* * *

Speaking of that higher plane brings to mind the remarks of an old cell mate up for white slavery. "Jedge," he said, "you shua ah wrong givin' me six months on this reedickless chahge of whaite slavery. Why Jedge jest look at the gal! She's blacker'n the ace a' spades!"

* * *

Men headed south for the winter will be glad to know that the Dixie highway is completed. Better walking. Incidentally: how many of you spent thirty days helping build it?

* * *

A major has invented a mob-subduing gas and is going to try it out on 200 Philadelphia policemen. He claims it puts the victims to sleep and they wake up in half an hour just as always.

Why try it on policemen? There is no difference in their mental processes awake or asleep.

* * *

The Ku Klux Klan closed five swell hotels in Texarkana, Tex., because they employed negroes in the kitchens and dining rooms.

We bet the owners of these hotels are highly indignant over interference with their constitutional rights to exploit whoever they please.

* * *

American Legion heads visit France.
Strange! Not many of the boys want to go back.

Gary, Ind., is much incensed at the idea of starting a Ku Klux Klan there.

"The idea," they say, "here we are with eighty per cent of the population composed of foreigners and negroes. Ku Klux Klans are only good where American sizzorbills predominate by at least fifty-one per cent. Use same sense!"

* * *

Fellow Worker King George seems to be having a hard time of it. His annual deficit this last year was $225,000 which had to be paid up out of the old fellow's savings.

Another argument for thrift. If he hadn't saved a bit against hard times where would he be?

* * *

Soviet Russia is about to fall, says Gregory Alexinsky, member of the latest Constantinople anti-bolshevik quorum. In quantity of falls to date, Soviet Russia is far ahead of Niagara.

* * *

"Al" Gruman, boxer, says he loses his fighting pep when he does manual labor. If that's the general rule the unemployed should be quite peppy.

* * *

The Industrial Revival in Europe is in full swing. At Milan, for instance, a printing firm has just put out and exported 90,000,000 forged bank notes.

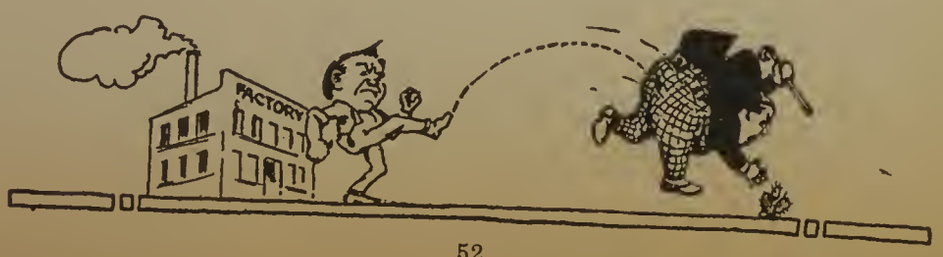
* * *

"There is no question," said Attorney Frank Comerford, "that the I. W. W. is the nucleus of the Red Army in America. I have absolute information that it has arsenals at central points throughout the state (Illinois),"

Now if we only knew where they were—

* * *

"1921 will reward fighters" is a business slogan. Ach, mein Gott, what if the workers should take to acting on that principle.



# The Workers of the Near East

**By Joe Marko**

In a circular of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the chairman, G. Zinoviev, gives out ten distinct points. One of these points was on the Eastern question, and he declares: "The Communist International made its first success in its work among the people of the East. The Baku Congress of the peoples of the East was undoubtedly of a great historical importance. The coming congress of the people of the Far East will also play its part. The Third Congress will have to discuss the Eastern question not only theoretically as it did at the Second Congress, but also practically. The victory of the World Proletarian Revolution cannot be achieved without a revolution in Asia. Each proletarian communist should know this" and so forth . . .

### The Eastern Peoples

Who are the "Eastern Peoples"? Here Zinoviev uses a Roman mode of expression. In those Roman times the countries situated east of Rome were called Eastern or Oriental People. They comprised all the borderland of the Black Sea and Caspian Sea, all the borderland of the eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea; they are included in the Balkan peninsula, Southern Russia, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Caucasia, Persia, Central Asia and as far as the Himalaya Mountains, including Hindustan; they were called the Orient, and the land beyond the Himalaya Mountains was known as the Far East.

The Near East always pointing towards the Farther East, was a place of much strategical importance. The power that controlled this highway could dominate over all the East. The peoples of northern Africa, that is of Berberia, Tunesia, Algeria and Morocco, and those of Central Africa, though not situated in the East, have modes of production and ideas much the same as those of the Orient.

These people are also regarded, at present, as part of the peoples of the East. The Eastern People constitute the major part of the population of the earth (1,000,000,000). They inhabit the vast track of land from the Atlantic Ocean in Africa to the Pacific in Japan and from the Arctic to the Indian Ocean.

### East and West

The workers of the West, or Occident, differ from the workers of the East. Their difference is the mode of production. Now Zinoviev informs us that "the victory of the World Revolution cannot be achieved without a revolution in Asia." This is valuable information, a scientific declaration. It reminds us that the revolution already exists full-fledged in the west, but we, the working class of the Occident cannot get the benefits of the revolution as long as we are unable to properly understand it, unable to size up our present position in industry, and are unconscious of the class struggle and indifferent to its world-wide application of revolutionized modern industry.

So long as we refuse to adopt new forms of organization to meet this ever-changing industrial system of production; so long as we support and cling to aged, obsolete, reactionary craft unions; so long as we forget the economic struggle, and instead keep ourselves busy by movies, baseball, churches and the bourgeois patriotic institutions, there is no possibility for the working class to realize the fruit of the Revolution. Our dominating idea should be abolition of the wage system, and to this point alone we should direct all our activity.

Now, what kind of a revolution do the Eastern peoples want to have? What kind of a revolution is it that Zinoviev and Co. over there and all the I. W. W.'s over here are continuously talking about? This revolution is an Industrial Revolution and it starts with the **Machine.**

### The Machine Age

And what is the machine? Everybody in this country knows what the machine is. And this well-known machine is a starting point of revolution in industry and it makes useless the workman who is handling a single hand tool.

All fully developed machinery consists of three essentially different parts (writes Karl Marx): the motor mechanism, the transmitting mechanism and the tool or working machine. The working machine is part of machinery with which the machine-factory, Industrial Revolution, started. And to this day it serves as a center of revolt wherever a handicraft process is turned into an industry carried on by machinery.

On closer examination of the machine tool we find many altered tools used by craftsmen, with mechanical differences from the individual workman's implement. The increase in the size of the machine and in the number of its working tools calls for a more massive mechanism to drive it; and this mechanism requires a mightier motive power than that of man power.

Anyway, man primarily acted as motive power. Later he thought to use a horse in his place. But horse-power was not satisfactory because he had a head of his own and was costly, so the man sought to use other means. Wind power was inconstant and uncontrollable. Water wheel power was independable on account of the change of seasons and was insufficient for the increased size of gearing; and it was essentially local.

Not until the invention of Watt's second and so-called double-acting steam engine was the prime motive power found that begot its own power by consumption of coal and water, the power of which was entirely under man's control, which was a mo-

bile means of locomotion, and which was an agent universally applicable in mechanical industry.

As we have seen, the working machine did not exterminate the tools of many workingmen but organized and incorporated them into groups, a working-machine, which necessitated the transmitting mechanism and that in turn necessitated the motor mechanism.

This radical change in the mode of production in one sphere of industry involved a similar change in other spheres as in agriculture and mining. The means of communication and transportation had to be suited to the modes of production of mechanical industry, this being accomplished by a system of river and ocean steamers and railways, etc. But the huge mass of iron that had now to be forged, welded, cut and bored demanded, for its part, titanic machines. They had to construct machines to make machines. The most essential condition for the production of machines by machines was a prime-motive power capable of exerting any amount of force and yet under perfect control. Such a condition was already supplied by the steam engine. This enabled collective machinery to be introduced and an organized system of groups of single machines became more and more perfect.

### The Revolution in Industry

An organized system of collective machines to which motion is communicated by the transmitting mechanism from a central automaton is the most developed form of production by machinery. Here we have, in place of isolated machines, a mechanical monster whose body fills whole factories and whose Herculean power, at first veiled under the slow and measured motions of his giant limbs, at length breaks out into the fast and furious whirl of his countless working organs.

This is the Revolution of Industrial Production. It is called revolutionary because it has changed completely the economic structure of society. This is a new mode of production entirely different from that of the old. Several thousand horsepower centralized in one automaton moves at once many detailed machines in which are incorporated various kinds of countless tools which work collectively and which are run with but few attendants.

This gigantic operation is in need of immense raw material and so the implements of production, in agriculture and in mines, are revolutionized. This huge production was in need of transportation facilities, so the means of transportation were revolutionized. Did the output of the factories need to be sold at distant lands: railroads and steamers were constructed. Everything was changed to harmonize with this new centralized, revolutionary process of production.

This machinery, the most powerful means in increasing the productiveness of labor became, in the hands of capital, the most powerful means for exploiting the workers.

### Workers Change

But the psychology of the workers is also in the process of a complete change. The individual hand product is no longer the regulating principle of social production. No longer is there vital need for the use of human motive force. The use of natural forces is replacing it. The conscious application of science is the order of the day. Gradually all skill has passed on to the machine. The workman now is only an appendage.

Industry operates by means of associated workers, or workers in common, hence it is of a co-operative character. The working process is, of technical necessity, dictated by the instrument of work itself. The regulating factors of social production are now diverted into the hands of groups of workers the members of which are scientists, industrial technicians, managers and laborers.

### Class Division

Now society is divided into two classes—the employing class and the working class, and they have nothing in common. The employing class owns all the means of production and finance. The position of the workers is different. They produce everything and have nothing. They had not even a real, practical labor union, to meet the ever-deteriorating and degrading conditions.

For many years there had been a dire necessity to launch a labor union. This new union had to be patterned not from the old hand tools and the old detail system. It had to be patterned from the machine, from the revolutionary industrial system, from the new mode of production.

### New Unionism

The industries being international, this new union had to be international, and the position of the working class being entirely different from that of the employing class, this new union had to found itself upon the rock of class-consciousness. This new union should now have an industrial general staff (Industrial Research Bureau) formed of scientists, chemists, mechanics, electricians, technicians, and industrial managers in order to watch the increasing revolutionization of industry and the workings of the social forces, and to give shape to the tactics of the Union accordingly.

With such a labor union proletarians could meet their opponents. It is my opinion that this was the directing factor for the foundation of the Industrial Workers of the World. The Industrial Workers carried on a splendid and far-reaching educational work among the much-oppressed, over-reviled and long-persecuted foreign workers, as well as among Americans. They organized successfully the unskilled or common laborers of the factories. The I. W. W. organized a number of successful strikes at McKees Rocks, Paterson, Lawrence, Ispwich, etc. In this way the message of industrial unionism was given to large numbers of the eastern workers of Europe and Asia. They were the greater part of the strikers. These fellow workers certainly under-

stood solidarity, and under the banner of the I. W. W. they fought bravely and with great patience carried the strikes to a successful end. When these eastern workers strike, they surely shake the whole economic structure to its foundation.

### The I. W. W. and the East

They were mostly Italians, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Jews, Bulgarians, Egyptians, Assyrians, Hindoos, Persians, Turks and Caucasians. Through these experiences the Industrial Workers soon found out that though the mammoth machinery is an essential agency of big-scale production, the main strategy lies with basic raw material and market highways for the finished goods. It turned its activity towards organizing the agricultural workers, lumber workers, miners, railroad and marine transport workers, and did quite a bit of organization in all of these fields, not only in North America but in Central and South America as well.

The capitalist class has large fields from which they obtain raw materials and in which they market the finished product. Two of these fields are Asia and Africa. The Industrial Workers tried hard to penetrate into Asia by every possible way. At last a way is created to get in through Soviet Russia. The Red Trade and Industrial Union International has created a connecting link with the Oriental Workers.

### Revolutionary Success in East

The workers of the East did much for the World Revolution. They did their part by helping the Red Army to defeat the army of Denikin, Kolchak and Wrangel. They made the shores of the Black Sea darkest black for the enemy. Not only did they annihilate the enemies without, but they also overpowered and crushed the bourgeoisie within their own boundaries.

While their brother proletarians in Finland, in Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Hungary were compelled to be separated from Soviet Russia and subjected to untold torture and persecutions the workers of the East established Soviet after Soviet and became an integral part of the glorious workers' republic. Look at the map. Tartaria, Bashkiria, Caucasia, Kirghizia, Turkestan, Bokhara, Khiva, Afghanistan, Persia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia—all of these vast and productive countries are now Soviet governed by the workers of the East.

Some time ago they held a Trade Union Congress at Baku. 1800 delegates represented them, proclaiming officially their loyalty and solidarity to the working class of all the world. Only a few months ago there was convened another congress of 1200 delegates of the women of the East. They also declared their revolutionary loyalty and solidarity. Thus they became real strength for Soviet Russia.

### Geography of the Near East

Asiatic Turkey is a peninsula washed by five seas. It comprises Asia Minor, Syria, Palestina, Arabia and Mesopotamia in an area of about 650,000 square miles. Its distinctive features are: a series of high plateaus in the interior, sloping from 2000 feet at the western edge to over 4000 feet towards the eastern border; several mountain ranges traverse the region longitudinally rising in the north to over 8000 feet and in the south to over 10,000 feet. There is a deeply indented western coast line with a fringe of protecting islands and with deep gulfs affording plenty of harbors.

In contrast, the bleak north coast on the Black Sea has few harbors and no islands, while the southern coast is marked by a broad bay and a deep gulf and a number of landlocked harbors. The rivers, though numerous, are of no great importance, and only a few are navigable for a short distance from their mouths. Along the course of the rivers vegetation it rich, aided by alluvial deposits to the soil, brought down by the streams as they pass through mountain gorges.

### Lack of Modern Machines

Asiatic Turkey has no transportation facilities. The highways are in bad condition. Only the west has limited railways and the mileage of all existing railroads is not much over 2000 miles. Lack of transportation facilities leaves the country in a primitive agricultural state.

With the introduction of proper methods of cultivation and modern farming implements, the land is capable of producing many times more than that which is now raised. For example, take the Moosh plains. While these plains are wonderfully productive and rich in soil and climate for raising crops of all kinds and every acre is fit for cultivation, yet no more than one-third is cultivated. The method for breaking up the new ground is slow.

A wooden plow on wheels is used to which often eight or ten yoke of oxen or buffalo are hitched, with a man sitting on the yoke of each team and a man behind to guide the plow. Each furrow turns so slowly that the amount plowed each week would not equal a few hours' work with an up-to-date plow and a strong team of horses. Then, the furrows are never very deep.

### Resources

This plain which is located in the Kharput and Moosh provinces is a place of much industrial importance because of great mineral and agricultural resources. The river of Iris (Yeshilimak) and its branches flow through this region and water the picturesque vineyards and gardens which fill up this plain. It is a most fertile plain, densely inhabited, which yields very rich crops of grain and cotton. Besides, it produces barley, rice, tobacco, opium, silk, linseed, fruit, butter, wool and mohair.

Its mineral resources are great. The famous copper mines of Afghan Maaden and the silver mines of Kaban Maaden are in this district. Next is the Cilician plain. This plain is watered by three rivers: Saihun, Jihan and Berdanjaj which spring from the Taurus, Anti-Taurus and Amanus mountains.

It has been estimated that there are in the lower plains of Cilicia 800 square miles of cultivable land, all stoneless, alluvial soil. Between the lower plain and the mountains lies another tract of country composed of shallow valleys and low, rolling hills containing 600 square miles. There is no richer soil in all the world than that of the lower plain, and besides this 1400 square miles there are great tracts of country in the foothills of the mountains at present neglected or covered by forest.

There is a great production of cotton, a large proportion of it, ginned, spun and woven right on the spot, and part in raw products exported to Europe. Besides cotton, Cilicia produces wheat, sugar cane, barley, oats, Indian corn and sesame.

Fruit of infinite variety and fine quality is grown in great quantities. There can be noticed a considerable quantity of modern machinery, such as ginning machines, spindles and weaving looms. Several flour mills and a good many steam and gas engines, also, pumps and a few thousand reaping machines, steam ploughs and threshing machines are to be seen.

### Invasion of Machines Begins

Twenty years ago it was customary for 70,000 agricultural workers to visit Cilicia annually for the purpose of assisting with the harvest. They came from all parts of the northern mountains within a range of 200 miles of Aduna and returned to their homes after three or four months of work with sufficient money to keep them in home necessities for the rest of the year. This annual migration has ceased within the last few years, because the resident population, aided by steam ploughs, steam threshers, and reaping machines are now able to undertake the labor themselves. One horse drawn reaping machine, which can be purchased for 75 dollars is said to do the work of forty men.

Next comes the vast tract of land of Konia, in size about 10,000 square miles, which is irrigated by a canal cut from the Lake of Bayshekir to Shumla near Konia. This land yields huge quantities of wheat, cotton and flax. 40 miles north of the city exists a large salt lake (Tuz-gol) which supplies the necessary salt and on the eastern shore of the same lake in the ridge of Khodja-day coal and iron ore of excellent quality crop up at a dozen points in totally neglected abundance.

### The Cradle of Civilization

Next is Mesopotamia. This land lies between two rivers—the Euphrates and the Tigris. Sir William Willcocks estimates the land which can be irrigated as 6,000,000 acres which will yield annually 2,000,000 tons of wheat and 1,000,000 hundred-weight of cotton and a fabulous quantity of other products. His proposed scheme of construction divides the works into six divisions.

One of the divisions, the Hindu branch of the Euphrates was completed in 1913 and was in successful operation. From Bagdad through Bussora down to the Persian Gulf, the land is very rich—all alluvial. The chief product of this district is dates. It is the general opinion that this product alone is as high as 100,000 tons a year. Other products are wheat, barley, rice, fowls, drugs, wool, dressed lamb skins, hides, gum, bitumen, coal, carpets, ebony combs and saltpetre.

The western and northern part of the peninsula is very fruitful, producing an immence quantity of figs, raisins and tobacco. The province of Trebizond exports nuts, beans and tobacco. Amusia is famous for its apples, Castamoni for its prunes, Tocat for its pears and grapes, Sivas for its honey and Diarbeku for its large melons which attain to so large a size that as a rule two melons form a mule load. Silk cultivation is extensive in the provinces of Brusa, Smyrna, Amasiz, Kharput and Sivas. The province of Brussa also exports opium, gum and grain, but its great staple is the long, silky fleece—first class tiftik or mohair, the produce of a famous breed of goats that feeds the mills of Bradford and Norwich in England.

### The Wool and Mohair

What is known as the Angora clip includes the produce of Beybazar, Argash, Geredeh, Boli, Castamoni, Eski-Shehir, Sivri-Hissar and other neighboring districts. The best hair comes from Bey-Bazar, the second quality from Argash, and only the third from Angora itself. The finest quality is obtained from the first clip of the kid in its second year, the next best from the wether, and the worst of all from the male. Goats fed in woody and mountainous districts lose the best fleece, but the clip of those pastured in the plains, while shorter and less silky, is all gathered at the clipping.

### Fruits and Timber

The western coast contains also olive orchards and vineyards that produce much olive oil and wine. They ship to Europe many goat hides and sheep skins, and as for fur—there are mink, fox, rabbit, wolf and bear skins. The number of date trees at Bussorah and in the immediate neighborhood is said to be no fewer than 8,000,000, all lining the river to a depth of three miles beyond which on either hand the country is desert.

One-tenth of Asia Minor is covered with forests. In the neighborhood of many of the villages of Castamoni, Trebizon and Van districts is found a considerable quantity of Circassian walnut timber, some of the trunks being of enormous size upon which are knotty growths that make them of great value. Cedar trees grow there which are remarkable for the durability and fragrance of their wood. Oak, hickory and similar hard woods are found in large numbers. The lumber workers use the water wheels only in sawing the logs into boards. No steam power is used. Planing, ripping, squaring, joining—all these are done by hand tools with the application of man power.

### Mining

Asia Minor is very rich in minerals, coal, anthracite, copper, silver, chrome, antimony, zinc, sulphur, emery stone, marble, porphyry, amianthus, iron, lignite, manganese, lead, salt, salpetre and meerchaum. Absence of railroads and lack of modern processes of production hinders and in many localities makes the working of the mines impossible, and yet some mines are so rich that they have been working them for thousands of years.

For instance, take the Kaban-Maaden of Kharput—a silver mine which has been worked for a long time and produces 30 pounds of silver daily. Or take the Arghana-Maaden at Taurus mountain—a copper mine which has been worked in a rude way for thousands of years and is known to be one of the most valuable in the world. It produces 750,000 dollars in ore per month. The ore is smelted at Tocat in Iris (Yeshilimak).

The industry of this town is the production of copper utensils wrought out of the metal mined in the Arghana Maaden. Merchaum mines of Eskishir are the largest producers in the whole world. Half way between Diarbekie and Kharput extensive copper deposits are in existence that are being worked in three places to some extent. Other copper deposits are known to exist but they are not developed or have ceased working. For instance, half way between Castamoni and Ineboli is a place called Kuri containing a copper mine which was supplying the workmen at Castamoni for a long time with metal. The workers fashioned copper utensils and shipped them all over the land. In later years, finding the American-made copper cheaper than the local product, they commenced to buy American copper, consequently the miners closed down the mines.

That shows in itself that metal mine workers of America with the modern process of production can produce many times more than their fellow miners in backward localities.

Now let us take in the iron region. It commences in the middle of the Black Sea coast range and extends beyond the lake Van. In some places iron ore of such richness and purity has been struck that the blacksmiths of the villages have been using it for years in their work without having it smelted. In those mountains, there is no end of lead, zinc, and other minerals. It is said that during the insurrection, the revolutionists secured all their bullets from some wonderfully rich lead deposits in the neighborhood of Van.

In the neighborhood of Bitlis is a sulphur mine and two days out of Bitlis is an immense marble deposit jutting out of the mountain—not only white, but dark red, green and black.

### Coal, Salt and Oil

Then take the coal deposits: They are of unlimited extent and can be found everywhere and the quality of the coal is said to be as fine as that of Cardiff. In the province of Castamoni is a coal mine which is called Zongauldak, 30 miles inland. It gives a considerable amount of coal and is easily worked.

In the same province is a place of much importance by its salt mountains, the name of the place being Kiangre. When they are idle, the transport workers of the land (caravans) hit this mountain and load up their freight animals with the salt and distribute it throughout the country.

As for oil—there is a very large oil territory in the neighborhood of Mosul, in the valley of the Tigris, which has been known for centuries. As long ago as the reign of Alexander the Great the people used the seepage for lubricating purposes, for liniments and for fuel. Petroleum is, for the present, the most important of the raw materials. Reconnoissance of the oil fields has been conducted by the agents of the Standard Oil Co., and by British officials. The results have not been made public, but enough is known to lead to the belief that extensive deposits may yet be revealed by deep drilling. The oil fields on the extreme southeast, in or near Persia, have been largely developed by the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. In fact, it may be said that the control of these valuable deposits was one of the many causes of the late European war.

### Eastern Spirit

It is only a matter of time for the people of this rich land to become Industrial Workers. They are the ones who will complete the Revolution. The eastern workers know the blessings of industrial machine production, but, unlike the western workers, they do not tolerate the capitalist. They hate to see the parasitic class rolling in luxury while they, the producers, are at the point of starvation.

This is a thing they cannnot bear. The solidarity of the people of the East does not easily permit them to suffer their fellow man to starve. The guiding spirit is: An injury to one is an injury to all. In case of calamity, or of famine, they starve all, without exception. They possess great patience and long endurance.

### Industrializing the Revolution

One thing they need to learn from the West, and that is how to produce on a big scale, collectively, with the use of modern machinery. This knowledge they do not possess but can gain through Soviet Russia. When these people undertake that, then the abolition of the wage system will be an accomplished fact. The feasibility of this plan depends on the possibility of constructing machine factories owned and controlled by the Workers' Republic. Then the raw material can be switched into workers' factories and supply these people with the finished goods.

It is my opinion that this will be one of the keys which will unlock the gates of the western penitentiaries and liberate our fellow workers from where they have been incarcerated so long.

### Need Skilled Workers

This extension of the machine production cannot be fulfilled by the parasites, nor by the politicians—this is a task for the Industrial Workers of the World. Every rebel scientist, chemist, electrician, engineer, mechanic, and industrial technician—the workers who know something of the management of industries should volunteer and go to the land of Soviets and register his actual service in the construction of the proletarian civilization. For where your work is, there will your heart be also.

Hear what Tom Barker says: "And I tell you that you can fight the American boss from Russia, by building a proletarian civilization that will demonstrate to the workers of the whole world how stupid they are to tolerate the wage system in capitalist countries. Industrial Unionism is coming into its own in Soviet Russia.

"In this country every ton of iron ore and every extra truck of coal is a nail in the coffin of capitalism."

Fellow workers! Let us set aside our selfishness and let us fight for solidarity and welcome every sacrifice for the Union. Let us give comfort to each other and mitigate the severe persecution. Is there any other thing, sweeter, nobler and more honored than service which is rendered for the welfare of the working class? Let us enforce whole-heartedly the edicts and dictates of the proletarian class. Let us have a universal, unified society which will be the result of a standardized system of production all over the world.

### The Modern View

The biggest men of all the East—Socrates, Aristotle, Aristonicus, Eunus, Spartacus, Jesus—were all praying and fighting for the abolition of division lines and were delivering beautiful speeches during their love-feasts, and at their common tables, for the unification of thought and the ennoblement and enlightenment of all mankind. The biggest men of the whole West—Marx, Engels, Lenin, Haywood, Debs, Thompson, McKinnan, Doran and others delivered lengthy speeches and wrote scientific books, above all they fostered and participated in working class action.

Working class action is now the order of the day. Getting the facts of industry and laying out plans for that action is the absorbing task of the moment. That the workers of the east will take up the task of industrial organization is assured. They are already on the job.

Long live the working class of the West! Long live the workers of the East! Long live the Red Trade and Industrial Union International! One world, one mode of production. One great Union of all the workers. Long live the Industrial Workers of the World!

# A Volunteer on the Siberian Front

**By John Korpi**

WE WERE on board the "Rose City" whose destination was Portland, Oregon. We had just pierced the thick wall of smoke, mist and dust from the city of San Francisco and were passing through the Golden Gate. The weather was ideal, such as can exist only in California.

The brownish mountains rising to either side of the ship loomed threateningly like mountain lions watching the unknown dangers of the glowing West. With the exception of one passenger, everyone on the boat was admiring these powerful-looking masses of earth. This one's gaze was fixed on some other distant object.

He attracted my attention for the reason that he appeared very downcast, staring into space, with his hands shoved into the pockets of a dyed United States army overcoat. Then he leaned against the railing. Slowly he raised his arm and pointed toward the brownish-red West. I could plainly see the tears chase each other down his youthful cheeks. Seeking for an opportunity to speak to him, I soon received one.

At once I noticed that he was very reticent, and was slow to speak of himself. It took some time before I gained his confidence. He told me he had been fighting in Siberia.

I inquired how it was that he, being so young, was taken into the army and sent to Siberia. "Like all the other Americans I was the victim of mad patriotism," he answered. "If you had been in Portland during 1917 or thereafter, all that you could have heard would have been cheering for war and patriotism. This spirit prevailed in the churches, newspapers, schools, theaters, on the streets, in the work shops and everywhere."

"I was nineteen when the bolshevik revolution in Russia took place. At that time a systematic campaign was carried on in America in opposition to Soviet Russia. In the winter of 1918 the cry, "The Bolsheviki are the allies of the Kaiser," echoed everywhere and in addition to this there was the general belief that these bolsheviki are brutes and destroyers of all civilization, the corruptors of the family, the annihilators of property . . .

"My blood began to boil against these outlaws, having heard and read this kind of news. I wished that I was older that I might fight.

"It turned out that during that winter volunteers

were called for to go into Siberia. I made application and was accepted."

I asked him to relate what he saw there and what he knew of the bolsheviki.

"Oh, my God, if I could make you and the rest of the workers understand what I saw, suffered and endured on the Siberian front during the twenty months that I was there, it would be sufficient to cause the working classes of the whole world to rise and fight for bolshevism."

Suddenly he stopped speaking, took me by the arm and said, "Come with me to my wife and little son. There I shall tell you more."

Their stateroom was the cheapest they could get. In it sat a girlish Russian mother, nursing the little tot. My friend introduced himself and his wife saying, "I am W. J. Turnbow and this is my wife." I received a hearty handshake and at the same time she put an eager question to me: "Do you speak Russian?" But before I could answer, she continued, "That doesn't make any difference. I have learned to speak English."

"Oh, now I see," I remarked, "You have found a little wife for yourself on the Siberian front. Is she a bolshevik as well as a Russian?"

"Yes, she is the daughter of a peasant in the province of Omsk. It is they whom we should thank for the fact that we remained alive, for they furnished us food and shelter. They became our best friends. Oh yes, my wife is a bolshevik like all the rest of the workers and peasants in Omsk, and I must confess that in spite of the deficient school system of Siberia, my wife possesses more knowledge than I have although I am the product of the American, ultra-patriotic public school."

We talked of schools and the eagerness for learning that is found among the Russian workers. When we got round to the story of Siberian campaigns Turnbow said, "I am sorry that I cannot remember everything in sufficient detail. I think that it was in April 1918 that we were transported to Vladivostok. Upon arriving there we were placed in miserable barracks which had been constructed for temporary use only. The officers reported to us that any moment we might expect an uprising instigated by the bolsheviki. Every imaginable scheme was used to retain and build up in us a counter-revolutionary spirit.

"The Russian workers treated us very kindly. From them we received food and shelter and whatever we needed. They became our good friends who tried to do their all to get us to understand that they had nothing against us and America. This is what they always told us: 'Let us settle our own difficulties in Russia. We do not wish to disrupt the peace of other countries . . . All we want is bread, land and freedom . . . He who does not work should not eat.' They would say, 'You are the sons of American workers, don't raise your guns against your fellow workers . . . Don't shoot us.'

We got hold of leaflets explaining the Russian Soviets. They were printed in many languages. In these leaflets the Russian workers most sympathetically appealed ot the proletariat of the whole world to cease this war against the working class of Russia.

"In June 1918 a detachment of American, Canadian, French and English soldiers arrived in Vladivostok. It appears that there was a common agreement among these different nations that each send 8000 troops, except Canada who sent 3000 men. At this time there were something like 70,000 Japanese soldiers in Siberia.

"The capitalists of the whole world allied themselves to overthrow Russia, and at the same time the revolutionary workers of the world began an open as well as a secret defense in behalf of Soviet Russia. This sentiment spread rapidly and universally. It penetrated even among those soldiers who were taken to murder the defenders of Soviet Russia. Those of us American soldiers who were on the Siberian front became the warmest friends of the bolsheviki, instead of becoming their enemies.

"The first bloody act which we saw was in Vladivostok, during the last days of June 1918. The "white" troops of Semenoff and the "death batallion" of the Japanese horribly murdered people in great numbers. The object of this slaughtering was the disposing of every active supporter of Soviet Russia that was in Vladivostok at that time.

"How well I remember the horrors of that night! I saw how the Japanese soldiers rushed into the homes of the peaceful Russians, tortured and slaughtered them by the hundreds; all were killed whom they suspected of being delegates to the Soviet. The funeral processions of those Russian workers will long be remembered by the surviving Russian workers as the "red funeral."

"This funeral took place on July 4th, 1918. In spite of all the opposition by the military officials, early that morning the peasants and workers were crowding the streets of Vladivostok. Seventeen thousand workers marched in the funeral procession, singing their revolutionary funeral songs.

The Russian soldiers whose duty it was to disband the funeral processions, upon arriving at the cemetery and seeing the large number of workers and peasants there, refused to interfere with the funeral and announced their unity with the revolutionaries. At once a large number of them with their arms and ammunition joined the red army. A new workers' and peasants' soviet was formed at the graves of their fellows.

"This act jarred the prejudiced patriotism of us "American Volunteers." We saw the innocent workers murdered . . . Was it to commit like violence upon those innocent workers that we were taken into Siberia? . . . We talked and sought an answer to this question.

"Kolchak's government was declared the "All-Russian" government in October 1918. Kalmikoff, Rosanoff and Semenoff acted as agents of Kolchak. We Americans were taken there to guard the rail-

roads under the control of the Japanese and Kolchak—therefore indirectly to conduct war against Soviet Russia.

"We were transferred frequently and so, in the winter of 1919, the division that I was in was transferred to Omsk. There we met unexpected suffering and horror. There were no houses for the soldiers and the peasants sternly refused to take any into their homes. Frequently snowdrifts were the beds of the Kolchak soldiers. The American troops were in a favored position. We had good, warm clothes, and the peasants knew that the United States had not declared war against Soviet Russia. (They did not know of the secret scheming), and so these peasants, wherever it was possible, made room for us. I and several other American boys lived at the home of a peasant; here we received whatever he had; but the peasants did their best to inform us what they knew of bolshevism . . .

"Frequently we got into a conversation with prisoners of the World War that were brought to the Siberian front. They were in a pitiable condition. For years they had fought either on the eastern or the western fronts, or on the Italian front, where they had already sufficiently suffered.

"Having been taken war prisoners they had to further experience the horrors of the prison camp ... After all this they were dragged to the Siberian front, where there was little left of them. They were covered with rags held together by bloody, dirty bandages . . . With all our strength we tried to help them. Many of these poor devils were shot by the French because they would not fight the Russian workers.

Turnbow paused, then went on with the recital of his own tale:

"We heard that war prisoners of the various nations that were taken to the Siberian front numbered about as follows: 5000 Germans, 100,000 from the Austrian Empire, 90,000 Hungarians, 15,000 Turks and 2000 Bulgarians. This makes a total of 212,000 prisoners who were distributed to the various parts of Siberia to fight the Soviet Red Army.

The desire for battle, in this kind of an army, was entirely exhausted by misery and despondency, and very frequently there was suicide among their numbers. Many wounded themselves so that they would not be able to fight the red army. In large numbers they surrendered to the red army, as well as deserted their own companies and went over to the reds.

"In the winter of 1919, while I was in Omsk, Kolchak's government began to conscript all the men from 18 years up. At the same time it also conscripted all the cattle, grain and means of transportation. This was the death blow to the bloody government of Kolchak, for it caused all the peasants throughout Siberia to plot for the overthrowing of the Kolchak government.

"Instead of the young men and the workers surrendering themselves to the Kolchak government, they formed red guard divisions throughout the whole of Siberia, and began secretly to plan with the Soviets for the overthrow of Kolchak.

"The Omsk government was overthrown in the fall of 1919. The armies of Kolchak, the allies, and Japan retreated to Irkutsk. My wife and I were moved with them. There we saw the red

A Group of Siberian Students Under Protection of American Troops

army display unparalleled bravery. Much inferior in arms and numbers to the Japanese forces, the red army attacked the Japanese and drove them out of Irkutsk and took possession of the whole territory.

"The American soldiers were taken prisoners by the reds, but we were set free because we did not take part, nor did we desire to take part in the slaughtering of the workers. The officers of the red army gave us their protection.

"Because of the advance made by the red army, we were forced into Habarovsk where, on the 31st of January, 1920, took place that famous Tripitsin attack upon the Japanese. Tripitsin was a young, learned and powerful Russian revolutionist who was among the last of the exiles of the Czar's government.

"He became probably the best known and most able leader of the Siberian red army. He chose for his staff five young revolutionists, none of them over 23 years of age, who, like himself, had been banished from Russia because of their revolutionary ideas. One of them was a young writer who later became one of the commissars in the province of Chita, Nina Lebedeva. I have a picture of her in which she appears to be still a young girl.

"The red troops carried on surprising guerilla warfare in which individual bravery and strength were manifested which created fear and horror in the Japanese ranks. A large number of Japanese troops fell here. In this manner they seized a bit at a time until they had cleaned out the Kolchak army and the Japanese for 500 miles north and west of Amur, and until they finished their work by capturing Vladivostok.

"Upon our arrival at Vladivostok, the reds had captured the city and were in power there. The workers sent their committees to the American army officials to learn their attitude toward the workers' socialist republic.

"These officials were unable to give a definite answer, for were not the plans of the Morgan trust for the exploitation of Russia defeated? Siberia was now in the hands of the peasants' red army; and besides, the red army had become a favorite of the American soldiers.

"The representatives of the workers told us: 'We are not hostile toward America, nor toward the American workers; nor do we wish to disturb the American soldiers. We want peace and we want to settle our own affairs here in Siberia. We know that the Japanese army is preparing for an attack upon Vladivostok. Do not join them.' Our officers promised neutrality as before.

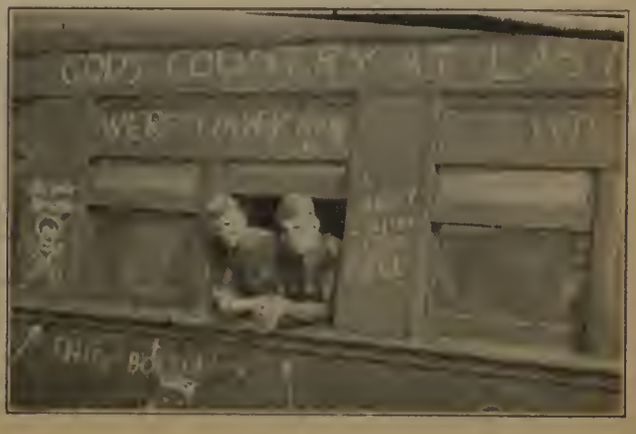
"It was in the first days of February 1920 that the Japanese again captured the city. They had about eight or nine thousand men which greatly outnumbered the red army. The red army was literally mowed down. In the harbor were the battleships of the Allies and the Japanese, and opposite to these, on a distant hill, were the cannon of the Japanese. The reds fought on the streets to prevent the Japanese from entering the city. During this struggle there was a minor demonstration put on by the American soldiers. Some fled with their arms to the red army, to fight the Japs.

"Be that as it was, the Japs took the city. Over a thousand red soldiers fell in this battle. The Americans received permission to return to their camp. None of them were punished for this military crime which they had committed. This was due, possibly, to the fact that there could be found no one to pass or execute a sentence. The American "volunteers" had become "reds," and were ready to prevent this sentence . . . But not one newspaper mentioned one word about this.

"At the same time that the American invasion of Siberia ended, also ended the activity of the expeditionary forces in Murmansk and Archangel. On Fegruary 15th we were taken aboard ships and were informed that we were on our way home. We surely were in our glory, and shouted for happiness. We did not care to see any more of the miseries of Siberia. There were 1200 of us, of whom 80 were negroes. Many besides myself had made the acquaintanee of Russian women. We had along with us over a hundred women who were the wives of soldiers.

At this time of the year the harbor of Vladivostok is frozen over with thick ice, therefore it was necessary for an icebreaker to make a passage for us, and we made slow progress. The heating system of the ship was in bad order, so the women were forced into closed holds without any bedding to sleep on, without heat and with very little food, thereby suffering from cold and hunger. Bitterly we discovered that the hatred for bolshevism still existed in the officers, even on our supposed homeward journey. We were not permitted to see or care for our wives. We were told: 'What do you care for these d— prostitutes. Let them rot in their vomiting and dirt in the hold of the ship. Then the bolsheviks will make a good feast for the fish.'

"But we had suffered enough to take steps to protect ourselves and our wives. Quickly an allianee was formed, many of the negroes joined. We took the following notice to our officials: 'If the wives



**Homeward Bound**

of the soldiers are not given better care, more food and heat before 10 A. M., we shall be prepared to take control of the ship ourselves.' We got what we asked for, and the officials did not dare to start any kind of investigation regarding this demand.

"The soldiers and their wives had to be satisfied with thin broth, beans and bones, and poor bread, while the officers ate chicken, fruit and wheat bread. We made another demand and were successful in this also. We got better food, but now we were near the landing place.

"But instead of being taken to the United States, we had been taken to the Philippines. When we were taken on land at Manila, we were separated into small groups and each group was under a guard, and these groups were returned to the United States one at a time. The group to which I belong was placed on board for San Francisco in August 1920.

"It happened that during the whole trip from Manila to Frisco, I was permitted to stay with my wife. Upon landing at Frisco, I asked for transportation to Portland, Ore., where I enlisted, but I was denied this. From my back pay $1.50 per day was charged for the board of me and my wife, during the journey from Vladivostok to Manila—for the thin broth and bones. The officials ate chicken and dessert—it is probably for this reason that they were charged only $1.25 per day.

"After this service of two years as a volunteer in the army of the United States, I stepped into the streets of San Francisco with my wife—penniless, ragged, without money and without work. Three weeks later, my wife gave birth to a child. Now and then I had work for a day—then further hunger and despair.

"If ever I shall get another fever for war, it will be only when I can "volunteer" into the red army of the workers."

# Gary, the Home of Steel and Efficiency

**By Steel Workers' Press Committee**

GARY, Ind., presents to the highest degree a picture of what modern industry really is. In Gary from the time the big iron ore carriers pull alongside the docks till the finished product, steel is ready for the rolls and factory work of different machine shops, there is coordinated industrial effort.

The steady stream of material from Clamshell to Bunker through the bull dog crusher to the belt elevator and on to the charge bunkers and into the roaring greedy blast furnaces is one interdependent operation.

Each man and each department is dependent on proper functioning, on the efficient work, of all the rest. This is modern industry with its basic principle.

No one process can get along without all the other processes working in harmony. The workers in the industries have developed this vast industrial machine. The expert workmen with the aid of the unskilled have built up this wonderfully productive thing which the capitalists own and control.

### Exploitation Means Misery

The reason for the misery and unemployment among the workers of Gary as well as elsewhere is because they do not control and operate the industry they have built on the same lines that they built it on. They constructed the machine from plans for the purpose of increasing efficiency and coordination in production. Today the steel trust does not allow efficiency and coordination in production because it does not bring them profits to do so.

The workers of Gary are not concerned with the profits of the steel trust. They are only concerned with getting the big working apparatus to moving so that they may work and gain the returns from honest work.

How can this be done? The Industrial Workers of the World have a plan for the operation of industry so that each industry will do its part by fitting in and working in harmony with all the rest for just one purpose—efficient production.

This plan can only be carried out by doing away with the unnecessary capitalists that only keep back production. This plan demands as a first step the formation of industrial unions.

### Craft Unions

Why are craft unions useless as fighting machines against the boss in Gary? Every worker who was through the big steel strike in Gary knows why the strike failed. Craft unionism depends for its success on being recognized by the owners of industry. It depends on the power of the craft unions to make the boss recognize the union.

The steel trust is stronger than any craft unions can ever be, even when they go out on strike together. The failure of the steel workers' fight was because of insufficient support by the rest of the unions. There was no coordination of effort on the part of the A. F. of L. to help the striking steel workers.

### The I. W. W. Way

In union methods as well as in industrial processes we must have each part coordinating its action with all the other parts in order to get re-

sults. Craft unions do not do this. There is no true centralization.

Gary must organize itself along the same lines that the industry functions on. All the workers in the steel mills must be organized in one union. The technical men, the chemists that test the ore and determine what amount of each sort of material should go into the charge, all of the useful workers in the plant, whether salaried or paid by the hour, should be worked on to join the union.

Gary alone cannot beat the steel trust. The workers in the whole industry must be organized on the same industrial lines as Gary before anything can be done that spells success. We do not have to fight for recognition from the boss. We don't want the recognition of the boss. We are concerned with getting enough power on the job so that we can get along without recognizing the boss ourselves. We organize the men on the job whether the boss likes it or not.

If a strike fails to get results we go back to work and carry the strike right on to the job with us. A fifty per cent organization in any industry by the I. W. W. gives us control of that industry so far as the boss is concerned.

Controlling one industry is not sufficient. We must control and centralize all the industries into one big union of the workers. Then when steel workers strike there will be behind their efforts enough power not only to win concessions from the boss but to put him out of business altogether.

### Gary Today

Today the workers of Gary are working two and three days a week. This is the record of the men who have jobs. The ones without work have not even this much occupation. Capitalists won't allow the industries to function. They won't open up the plant because they cannot make profits from the work you want to put in. They will cheerfully let you starve rather than run the plant without profits.

Checks issued August tenth showed that the average wage for two weeks for those employed was from fifteen to twenty dollars. The prices of commodities necessary for life are maintained at a high level. Rents are exorbitant. Food bought by parasites from toiling farmers as cheaply as possible is sold at high rates. Gary is in the strangling grip of capitalism.

There is but one way out of the misery that is bearing down on every steel worker. That way is to organize the steel workers whether they are employed or not and when the organization is strong enough lock out the bosses in the biggest and last steel strike in the history of the world.

### Dangers in Disorganization

To attempt this before the organization of the workers is complete would be the greatest folly. We must have enough of the working class organized and enough industries under our control so that there need be no break down in the industrial life of the country. The great danger to the working class in this industrial country is in being unprepared. You know that when the giant cranes are broken down the process of the making of steel is interrupted.

So if in the whole industrial process of the country one of the parts of the productive machine breaks down and the workers are not prepared to fix it the entire machine is liable to go to ruin.

### Industrial Unionism

An industrial union, however, is the best method for fighting the daily battles with the boss. It is the best method of making unemployment less bitter for the workers. It is in the final struggle the only weapon that can be used in industry to insure the carrying on of the work of the country so that men can live.

Let us organize the steel mills of Gary worker by worker so that, when the hour of battle comes again, we will know our strength and the masters can be set out in the cold.

Let us make Gary a stronghold of steel and industrial union efficiency.

**Gompers' Reward**

# MUST IT BE EVER THUS?

THE people of this world are generally accredited with growing a forelock of wool for the special use of spell binders, who continuously pull it over their eyes. As the world has progressed along its devious route to its present glorious wage slavery this little shock of wool has been of exceptional value, first to tom-tom beating medicine men, then to numerous successive clans of mystic salvation makers, from the barterers of celestial bliss to the peddlers of protective tariffs, full dinner pails and a "workers' friend" policeman.

Among the more recent apostles of the bleached wool blinder are those sanctioning gentlemen who kept us out of war, sugar and work, but not for an instant out of jail. And the workers have fallen for it. The working class has again and again proved to be the most susceptible of all animals to the gentlemanly art of the spell hinder. It voted for one Woodrow Wilson, because he kept us out of war, and sang psalms of praise for him six months later at the delight of prospects of being plunged into the slaughterfest, to battle for the lords of creation: the money lenders.

During the war the workers adopted the war cry, "All power to the politicians," on the theory that giving the politicians power to run everything their own way without criticism would make it easier to "win the war." (?) Any form of criticism was denied as an attempt to commit treason. Even the charge that the millionaires were fattening at the public expense was greeted with crys of "pro-Germanism." Now, when these same charges of graft have been proved, the grafters weep on the shoulders of the press and get absolution, in true medieval style, for the price of a campaign contribution. But the workers, they have not been absolved. The charges which the workers put forth, against the war, against the profiteers, who mulcted the workers and soldiers, have been proved, but the workers who dared make the charges have not been set at liberty.

The workers, arrested for "obstructing the war" by telling the truth about that gigantic revel of murderous imperialism, are still in jail: not all of them, but many. Arrested and held for months, incommunicado, at the behest of spies and perjurers, they were finally tried and convicted, on specious charges, by unfair judges and jurors who boasted of their prejudice, they still lie in jail.

Fifty-five men were arrested in an unwarranted raid on the I. W. W. hall in Sacramento. Forty-four were convicted on charges which were so empty and contemptible that the workers could find no better defense against them than a contemptuous silence. They are still in jail, though there is none today who would care to try to prove their guilt.

Seventy of the victims of the Chicago trial are still in jail, on charges of obstructing the war, charges, which were hardly considered in their trial. The trial was decided on the question of the right of the workers to organize into a union whose ultimate aim was the establishment of a new form of social intercourse. Their arrest and conviction was based on the belief (so we are told) that they were dangerous to the prosecutors of the war.

Six of the workers, arrested over four years ago in the Kansas oil and harvest fields, on technical charges, are still held in Leavenworth.

There are many hundreds arrested in this same era of war hysteria who still lay rotting in the jails of this "free country!" The profiteers who have been proven guilty of plundering the government, of hindering the progress of the war for their pockets' sake, have never been threatened with jail. The spies and dynamiters, proven agents of the enemy of the government in the war have been turned loose. Only the industrial prisoners remain. It is time some effort was made to get them out. A general drive for amnesty must be made, and made so effectively that it will take effect.

The smug, capitalistic politicians who have hoodwinked the workers with promises, must be made to realize that their promises have some binding value. The republicans promised a restoration of civil liberties. Let them restore these men to the outdoor air, let them restore the right of the people to free speech and freedom of opinion. If they do not, let us make them realize that there are some people in the world who believe in those rights. Let us make them see that we can take those rights, those rights that have been fought for before now.

The capitalist politicians are liars, spell binders, hypocritically seeking power to do the will of capitalism, and the only way to secure the restoration of those fundamental rights for which our forefathers fought, is to bring pressure, effective pressure to bear, till the workers are released and the rights of the workers are restored.

September 4th is amnesty day. Organize to make demonstrations on that day which the bosses will remember. On that day manifest the strength of the movement for amnesty, and let the masters see that we want our people out of jail, and want no more put there. It is high time the hypocrites were called, and some definite assurance obtained that the workers have the right to live, and carry on their plans for the future in this country, and in all countries.

**All together, fellow workers! Make September 4th the day for amnesty to all who suffer for us in prison!**

**General Defense Committee, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.**

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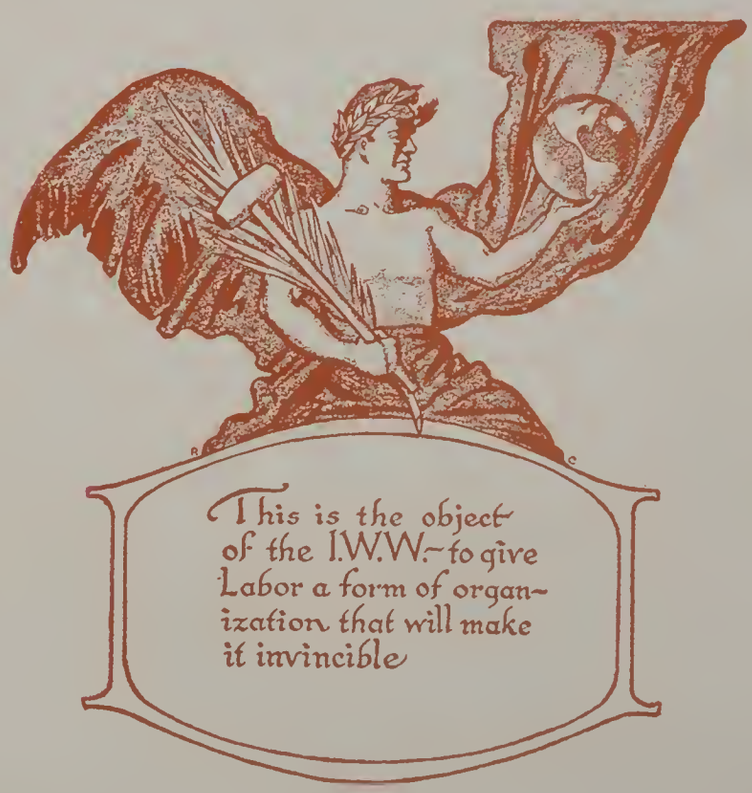


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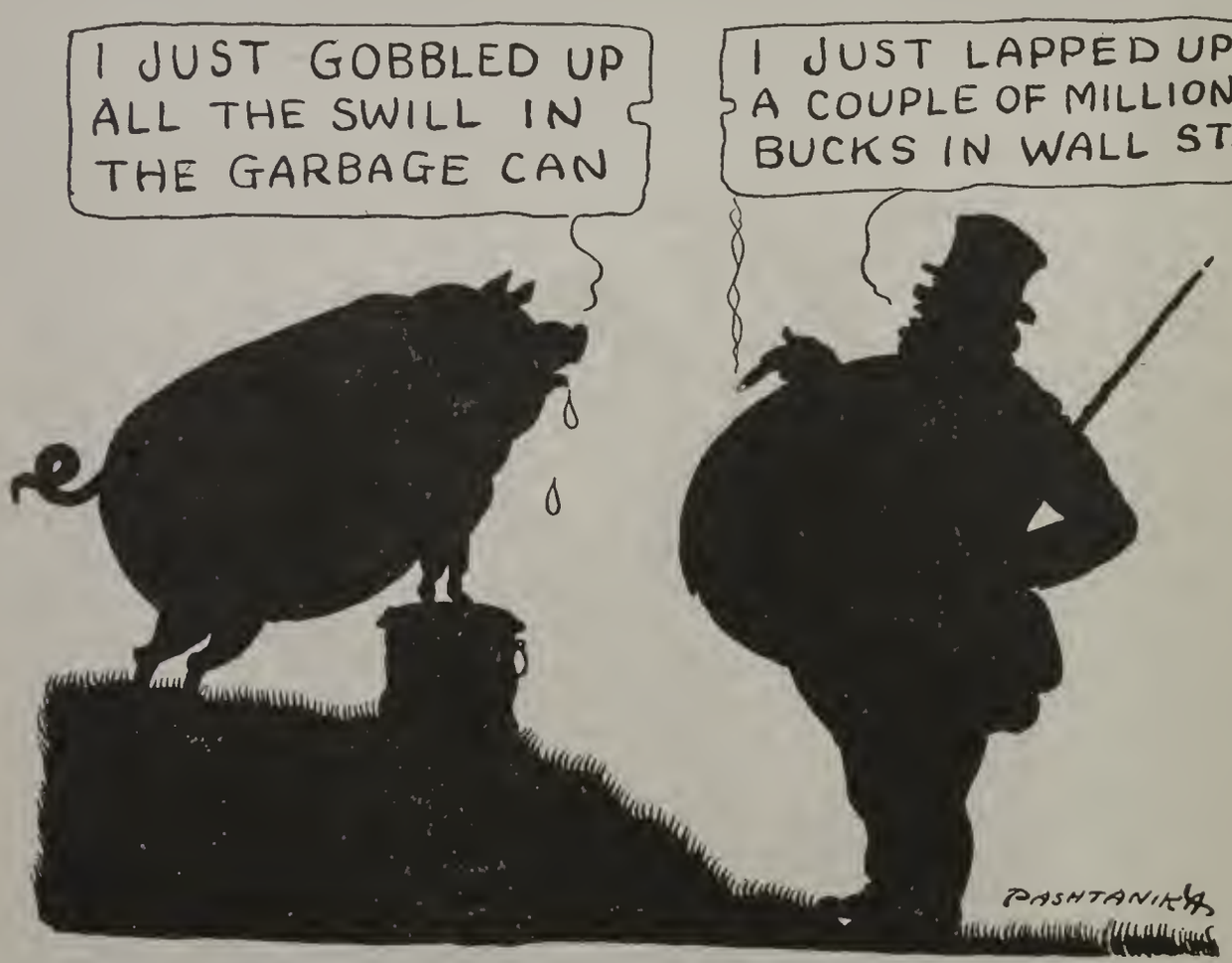
# A STUDY IN RELATIVITY




"WHO'S WHO AND WHY"

**ACQUISITIVENESS—THE CHIEF INCENTIVE UNDER CAPITALISM.**

The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. 1, No. 6 NOVEMBER, 1921 Serial No. 6

# The Railway Situation

By F. McKinley

AS ONE of the most important questions before the workers today is the impending railway strike let us review the situation and see to just what extent it will affect us as railroad workers.

In 1916 we saw the same comedy acted with which we are being entertained today. We all remember how a strike vote was taken, the Rails voting almost unanimously to walk out if their demands were not granted. The most important of their demands at that time was the eight hour day. Congress hurriedly passed a law known as the "Adamson Eight Hour Law." Most of the rails threw their hats in the air and shouted in celibration of the victory and have been working from ten to sixteen hours ever since.

Then again early in the summer of 1918 the brotherhood leaders began collecting figures on "Average Wage" and "Cost of Living" to present to the Railway Administration in support of their argument for an increase in wages for railroad men. The men got tired of living on "coffee and" and promises, and a few weeks later the shopmen went on strike in different parts of the country. Of course they were "outlaws", so in order to be respectable union men they obeyed the orders of their "leaders" and returned to work.

In the meantime Pres. Wilson promised to appoint a Labor Board to listen to the pleadings (not demands) of the "labor leaders." A few more months of promises (but no Labor Board) and the switchmen tried to force the issue by walking off the job. The labor market was pretty well crowded at that time so it was an easy matter to find scabs to take the places of the "outlaws."

As a railroad worker myself I have had a good opportunity to see the effect of all this disorganization and have thought a great deal as to the cause. When we take into consideration the fact that there are sixteen different craft unions concerned in the present controversy we can readily see the cause. Although 98 per cent of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen have just voted in favor of a strike, "King Lee" has washed his hands of the affair and has put it squarely up to the general chairmen of each railroad to call the strike. In other words, if the general chairman of one system calls a strike he is liable to find himself alone as the chairmen of other roads are under no obligation to follow suit. Then again the shopmen are waiting for and are suspicious of the roadmen and vice versa. When we stop to realize that an engine in a railway shop is worked on by nine or ten different men representing the same number of craft unions and that a train and engine crew of five men are divided into four different organizations, we have some more light as to the cause of the disorganization of the railway workers. How much different it would be with all of us in One Big Union standing side by side all fighting the common enemy.

If the average railroad man fully realized the importance of the industry in which he works and would organize accordingly it would eliminate the prospects of so many lost battles with the railway managers. By controlling a few of the most important railway centers it practically means control of the entire industry and also the allied industries.

For example, control of the Pittsburg, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, and Twin Cities terminals would mean control of the industrial life of the nation. Most of the anthracite coal is mined in the vicinity of Pittsburg. Also a large per cent of manufactured steel is handled at this terminal. Most of the country's exports and imports passes through the hands of railroad men of New York terminals. Chicago is to the nation what the heart is to the human body. A continual stream of live stock, grain, and raw material is being shipped in and meat, flour, and manufactured products going to all parts of the country are being shipped out. St. Louis, Kansas City, and Omaha are important live stock and packing cen-

ters. As most of the grain raised in the U. S. and Southern Canada is made into flour in the Twin Cities the railroad men of those terminals virtually control the bread of the nation.

From the fact that the steel industry needs the raw material and coal to operate, the packing industry needs live stock in order to turn out fresh meat, and the millers must have the grain before they can manufacture flour we can readily see what the railway industry means to the industrial life of this country.

Now, as the workers are part of an industry, if the industries are interdependent the workers must be also. It is useless for the coal miners to strike if the railroad men continue to haul scabs to take the place of the strikers, and company gunmen as well as arms, and ammunition with which to intimidate them. That has been demonstrated in West Virginia in the last few weeks where the railway workers (in order to protect their sacred contract) have done more to break the miners' strike than any other factor. Then again in the steel strike of 1919 there was more or less discussion among railroad men as to whether or not it would be a violation of "Labor Union Etiquette" to haul scab steel. There were a great many arguments among the rank and file and occasionally the remark "Contract" and "Not a railroad strike" was heard. But the grand lodge officers didn't leave them in doubt very long. An official circular letter was sent to all subordinate lodges calling their attention to the fact that their contracts must be protected and that if a railroad man wanted to refuse to help break the steel strike he must look to the steel strikers' committee for protection.

In other words, in order to be a good craft unionist you have got to be a scab. That has been the history of all craft union strikes. The only non-scab organization is the I. W. W. An organization where all the workers in a particular industry are in an industrial union regardless of their occupation. When the Railroad men are organized along industrial lines with the power in the hands of the rank and file then and only then will these strike votes cease to be a joke.

# Stumping the Stump Ranches

**By C. E. Payne**

THE stump industry in the heavily timbered sections of the northwest is a very lucrative one, but the stump ranchers who make it successful have never yet been organized. Whether the Industrial Workers of the World can take it up with any degree of success will depend largely on future developments.

The stump industry flourishes when properly conducted. The first requisite is natural preparation of the soil for several thousand years, then a heavy growth of marketable timber on that soil. These, of course, must be attented to before ownership is attempted. For owners to prepare the soil, then plant the timber and protect it until marketable, would make serious inroads on the profits of the industry—a crime not to be contemplated.

The second step is to obtain ownership of the land and timber in large bodies. The methods of doing this are not subjects for public discussion. Scores of men have been, and are now in penitentiaries in many states for even making reference to some of the methods. An even larger number have been incarcerated (that means penned up, or jailed) for suggesting that corrections should be made after ownership had been obtained.

In many parts of the Northwest ownership of the land is not attempted, as that would also have made inroads on the profits. Where large bodies of timber are located, forest reserves have been established. In those places the land itself is not owned, in the sense that ownership is commonly understood. The timber, however, goes to owners by various devious methods.

But it should not be thought for a moment that ownership of the timber is the object of the stump industry. That is merely preparatory for the great philanthropic purpose of the owners. The ownership is only for the purpose of removing the timber and getting it out of the way of the stumps. Nature has not been sufficiently considerate of the wishes of owners in this respect. There was never yet a stump that had not had a tree growing atop of it. The purpose of ownership is to remove the tree so the stump will be accessible.

Of course there is, even in the charitable act of owning, some small returns for such arduous toil. Ten years ago the cost of cutting the trees and taking them to a mill was less than six dollars per thousand board feet. The cost of running the logs through the sawmill, the yard, the dry shed and the planer was less than another six dollars per thousand. As the lumber was selling for only a paltry twenty dollars on an average, F. O. B. the mill, it can easily be seen that ownership of the timber was not the ultimate purpose of the owners. Not so!

Promotion of the stump industry was the purpose. But no one should run away with the idea

that the profits on the capital stock was two-thirds. That rate of profit was kept down to five per cent or less. Profits on expenditures is never talked of except in the most select circles.

Having removed the trees from the stumps, the next thing is to promote the basic industry—the stump industry. There are numerous promoters and each promoter has his own particular method, but all lead to the one end: **Get some stump ranchers.** The qualifications for stump ranchers are very high. They are much higher than for being a Mason, a Baptist or a United States Senator. There are innumerable neophytes—but few ever attain the superlative degree of entering the simon pure and unalloyed, stump owning class.

The first requirement for a stump rancher is great strength, excellent health and a firm belief in the divinity of ownership. He should have a little money—not much—to trade in on an agreement for some stumps. The less money he has the more firmly will he be convinced that the owners will provide him with a job in mill or woods till he has made ultimate payment for the stumps.

The second requirement is that the stump rancher shall have a wife who is tougher than a brindle steer. She must be able to live alone all week and comfort her worn-out husband on Saturday night when he comes home for a twenty hour stay. She must be able to do her house work, clear some land, raise a garden each year and a baby each two years, yet never be sick or require more than $17 worth of clothes in any one year. Keeping a flock of chickens and a cow are merely side lines to keep her from flirting with other lumber jacks than her husband. Of course she does not pull the stumps. She does the clearing and gardening between them. The stump rancher himself will pull the stumps—"sometime, when I get around to it." The owners are furnishing him with work and he must 'tend to his job.

The price the stump rancher agrees to pay for the stumps he lets his wife live among, varies greatly, according to the number of stumps per acre and the location. Like food, cotton and other things which have been destroyed by wholesale to keep the price up, so with stump land. The fewer stumps per acre the higher the price the stump rancher agrees to pay.

The owners of the stump industry (often miscalled lumber companies) frequently let the stump ranchers remain at home for several weeks during a year. Some stump ranchers devote the time to pulling stumps and have been known to have vast tracts of five or six acres cleared of them at the end of ten years. This, however, is done only in exceptional cases. When the stump rancher comes home he is generally so tired that he can do nothing but hunt, fish, rest and tell his wife how to run a farm. But in ninety per cent of the cases both courses lead to the same result—a different stump ranch in less than ten years.

It is necessary that the stump ranchers eliminate some stumps. Firewood cannot be obtained otherwise than from timber, and this necessitates some clearing. Also, the stumps will rot in time—tamarack and cedar in about one hundred years' time—if the brush is kept cut down between them. Add to this the fact that most stump ranchers or their wives have some ambition when they start in and are buoyed up by hope (Hope, not Dope) and you arrive at the fact that some clearing and plowing will be done between the stumps.

If some stumps are pulled before a rancher leaves a place, he may be sure he has been of some value in the world. The place will then be bargained to the next stump rancher for a higher price than to the one who first tackled it, making the possibility of final payment on the stumps just that much more remote. The bargaining and first payments are thus made endless, with ownership still in the hands of the masters of the Stump Industry.

Some eight or ten years ago the announcement was made by the Forest Reserve officials of the government that as fast as the timber matured from the Kaniksu Forest in Northern Idaho and Northeast Washington the land would be offered for homesteading. But someone with more authority than any government official at once put a quietus to that notion. It would never do to have it suggested that the homesteader should have the timber to get a start in the stump ranching industry so that he could have some assurance of winning title to the land.

It should be noted in passing that the stump ranching industry is not the same as the stump industry. The stump industry presupposes ownership. The stump ranching industry means hard work, with ownership at the food of a rainbow.

When soldiers were started on the return journey from France early in 1919 there were some suggestions that the soldiers of Washington and Idaho should be given each a cut-over tract of land in the Kaniksu Forest. But even the soldiers who fought to make the world safe for democracy knew an impossible proposition when they saw it and the proposition died a-bornin'.

There have been a few stump ranchers lined up while they worked in the woods and mills. But men who work in the woods and mills are not much inclined to line up while chained to a bunch of stumps. Like horses in a blizzard, they are too badly bewildered by conditions to seek a way out. They drift with the storm and unless they can be turned from their course they will go over a cliff to destruction. The blizzard of conditions is growing worse; can the stump ranchers be turned toward safety?

# Tieing the Shot on the Corpse

**By Upton Hold**

THE bosses with benign stupidity were the ones to put the poison in the icewater for the International Seamen's Union. With the Imperial Ukase, issued from the United States Chamber of Commerce, to the effect that the open shop shall be the uniform American plan, went the chance of the International and the other craft unions of the sea trades maintaining an existence.

The poison worked well, almost as well as some of the salt horse mulligan that is given to the marine workers at times instead of real food. The marine craft unions were forced on strike and because of their lack of organization went down to a heroic defeat that was ignominous only because of the lick spittle tactics of the officialdom.

There then remained for these officials but one job to do and they have done it very well. They have black bottled the remnants of the organization that was left to them by antagonizing the only fighting groups of workers in the organization. Then wrapping the shroud of reactionary patriotism around the corpse they tied on the shot by issuing a most astounding piece of literature as the official organ of the International Seamens Union. This insult to the intelligence of the worker of the sea contains not one word of constructive advice. It gives no hint of the social catastrophe that is facing mankind. It has no encouraging note to the workers of the organization. Instead it is a direct tirade against all class conscious members that are yet to be found in the ranks of the union and reports silly lies as to the I. W. W. being **a paid tool of the Steel Trust.**

The pitiful terror of the pie cards who are responsible for all the articles that appear in this orgasm of hate betrays nothing so much as their fear that they may have to get out and work on the job with their much scorned rank and file. We recommend a copy of this periodical which is known as "The Seamen" for the members or past members of the Union it is supposed to represent. Consider well the lack of a program of action put forward to fight the boss. Consider even the lack of a real program laid down to fight the I. W. W. which it is evident to the reader must be the purpose of the officials of this one time organization.

Without a word of cool consideration of the situation either as regards the attitude of the boss or the necessity of industrial unionism that the rank and file now so plainly see, this tirade only exhorts the sailors to pay their dues and obey the official mandates.

This would not be so bad provided that the official mandates were issued to deal with the concrete situation of unemployment and hostility on the part of the employers. Instead however the only command is that the sailors shall hate a member of the I. W. W. like rat poison and distrust any fellow worker that uses his head for anything except a hat rack.

There is no denying the fact that the situation of the marine transport industry is as badly off or perhaps even worse off than the rest of the broken down industries of capitalism. Thousands of unemployed workers of the sea crowd every port. A berth is as hard to secure as a gad fly in mid ocean. The employers are fixing to make it harder. All California yards that are under control of the Steel Trust have been or are being converted to the production of the Diesel type of motorships. These vessels operate with crews cut from two-thirds to a half of the original size.

The turbine-electric drive equipment for bigger tonnage lops off from ten to seventeen per cent of the fuel expenses and with cargo space economies also cuts down the amount of labor time needed to transport a given amount of material.

There can be but one answer to the situation that is facing the marine worker today. He must so improve his own conditions of work and hours as to be able to make room for those that are unemployed at present. In order to do this the workers of the entire industry must be organized in one industrial union. This union must be a fighting union and not a dues collecting agency only. It must accept the fact that the employers on land and sea are united in their determination to crush out every form of unionism and reduce the workers of the world to the position of industrial serfs.

Therefore there must be a close affiliation with the rest of the militant workers in One Big Union. The I. W. W. has always stood for such a union. It still is the nucleus of such a union and the rapidity with which the workers of the sea are lining up in the Marine Transport Workers' Union of the Industrial Workers of the World indicates that the realization of the mission of the I. W. W. will soon be achieved.

★

# Panama and Marine Transport Workers

**By Tom Barker**

JOHN Benjamin King, the greatest I. W. W. exponent that ever popularized the industrial unionist ideas in Australasia, used to say that the two greatest things in the modern world in compelling the workers to organize internationally and industrially were the Panama Canal and the Diesel motor. Time is proving that, even though J. B. has served seven years in an Australian jail for having two I. W. W. stickers in his possession, since making use of the above statement, he has been a true prophet.

In the marine transport industry these effects are already noticeable, as these two outstanding features are transforming every phase of shipping, and also revolutionizing the ideas and the lives of the men who work on ships and in ports. In my book "The Story of the Sea" I deal particularly with both matters, and point out all the labor that they will displace. In regard to Panama I say: "The recent opening of the Panama Canal was another great event in the shipping world and also had its effect upon the men who man ships. It shortened the sea distance between San Francisco and New York by more than one half. Instead of the long trip around the South American continent, it is now possible to travel through the locks in Central America. This gigantic enterprise cost millions of dollars,and hundreds of lives —working class lives. It also shortened the distance between Europe and Chile, Australia and New Zealand, and thus abolished the risks incurred by sailing in the low latitudes off Cape Horn. It has made a large difference in the sea distance between the Northern Pacific coast ports and those of the River Plate, and also between the Atlantic Coast ports and the nitrate ports of Chile. It strengthened enormously the position of the United States economically and politically. It has transferred the carrying of cargo from the U. S. railroads to the ships, for it is now cheaper to send a ton of cargo from Seattle to Philadelphia via Panama than to send it by freight train. Panama has strengthened the octopus of shipping, the autocracy of merchant shipping."

At the end of the fiscal year for 1920 the Panama canal authorities have issued their report. In their report they have proven that this immense canal is going to displace thousands of our class in the marine transport industry. During the past fiscal year 11,599,214 tons of cargo passed through the Panama, without mentioning a minor item of 453,769 tons of government cargo that did not pay dues. This represents an increase of 23½% over the previous year. Of this, United States ships carried 45%, British ships 32% and Japanese ships 7%. During the year 2,892 ships passed through the canal, including 1,212 U. S. ships, 970 British, 140 Norwegian and 136 Japanese. The total income was $11,276,890, an increase over the income of the previous year of 32½%.

At a conservative estimate deep-water, long distance freights are costing about $2.50 to $3.50 per 1,000 miles. Calculating at $3.00 per 1,000 miles we find that the income at Panama is equivalent to the saving of over 3,500,000,000 cargo miles, or 1,000,000 miles for a ship with 3,500 ton cargo capacity. Reckoned at the most reasonable figure, Panama is equivalent to 300 voyages. But in considering that an average amount of $1.00 per ton cargo represents compared with pre-canal days a saving to the ship-owner of anything from $1.00 up to $10.00 a ton, it will be easily seen that Panama must dispense with the need for thousands of ships, particularly when the readjustment of war disorganization is completed. We cannot compute with any degree of exactness the number of ships that will be permanently put out of business, nor the number of our fellow workers who will be scrapped. But the fact is as J. B. King prophesied that nothing can meet the needs of the marine transport industry today, except the immediate creation of ONE union on the sea, capable of developing the power to take charge of the industry, and running it for the working class. Again, we must remember that the ships that are scrapped are the more costly, old fashioned ships, which usually carried big crews, particularly in the engineers' department. The oil-burning ships with their small crews will carry the greatest part of the cargo in the future. Panama, like Suez, is saving millions of ship miles, as its annual report proves, and what is more important it is displacing thousands of mates, skippers, firemen, sailors, cooks, stewards, oilers, galley boys, etc. It has almost as great effect in Great Britain as in the United States.

Now we come to the crux of the question, you sons of the ocean. What can Andy Furuseth and his yellow outfit do under these circumstances? What did the International (?) Seamen's Union ever do, except leave its chiefs hanging around Washington, pushing along by intrigue and soft-soap, that old Seamen's Act that doesn't mean anything to anybody? Did all the lobbying stop the cutting of Panama, or will it alter one of the effects of Panama? It is a question whether Andy and his crowd have yet heard that Panama has been opened. It is up to someone to tell them that Queen Anne is dead, and send them to Baffin Land to chloroform the walruses with nice talk.

If you think you can get the best of the U. S. Shipping Board, the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, Panama Canal and Diesel motor with sentiment, sweet reasonableness, the Seamen's Act, and an obsolete agreement signed in war time, you have another think coming.

The M. T. W. is the only way to get out of things as they are. Every class-conscious man on a ship if he is sick of capitalism, poverty, prison-cells, loggings, hard work and nothing to show for it, must join up with the I. W. W. in the ranks of the Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union No. 510. Unionism of the right kind, with every-one from the bridge to the firehole in the ONE union regardless of the workers' nationality or the flag of the ship, or the port in which you happen to be. Andy Furuseth and dear old senile Havelock Wilson have got to go. They are wooden ship men, with iron heads. They learn nothing, know nothing, and the world has gone past them. Mustard plasters are no good for our modern complaints. Panama is good. It drives us to organize, and to organize right. We must have class organization, and develop sense enough to run ships for ourselves. Say, fellow worker, they are getting wise overseas. In Australia they are doing this thing. Why? Well, just because the I. W. W. showed them the need some years ago. In all the ports of South America they are coming into line, and in Germany, England and Scandinavia. Join the M. T. W., read the literature and fit yourself for running the industry. Do it now!

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3


## BREAKERS AHEAD

TO THE craft unions there never appeared such a time of trouble as the near future promises. Unemployment has made paupers of the membership and defeats have broken their morale. Now on top of this comes the consistent and orderly campaign of the employers for the open shop.

The steel workers, the seamen, and the packing house workers have been broken up by the lock-out by the owners and the craft tactics of the unions made defeat sure. Now next on the list according to the well laid plans of the Wall Street Strategists come the railroad workers.

The big unions having economic power are to go. The United States Chamber of Commerce balloted on the subject and it was so ordered. The cringing, whining tactics of the brotherhood chiefs will not avail them now. The bullying and bluffing will gain them no concessions or better terms. The issue will be one of fighting ability. The railroad workers can depend but little on their leadership in such a case.

Fight or die! That is the ultimatum before the crafts. They have refused to organize so as to fight. Will they now also refuse to fight and go down into that inglorious death which they are directly headed for? The future will tell.

## UNITY

THE greatest factor in a working class or other social undertaking is to have united effort behind one. Today we have the greatest opportunity in the history of labor unionism to build up the fighting machinery of the workers.

The General Executive Board has decided to exert the full pressure of the organization machinery on two of the most important of the basic industries. In order to carry out the program of organization it will be necessary to secure the unified action of the entire rank and file. The two industries that present the greatest possibilities of organization at this time are the marine transport industry and the oil industry.

The big harvest drive has been carried through. The carrying on of the agricultural organization work throughout the final harvests will take but a few weeks more. Then the splendid machinery of delegates with all their enthusiasm and pep from months of hard work victoriously done will be over. It is the desire of the G. E. B. to urge these active and class conscious workers to concentrate when practicable on the two industries mentioned above.

All the footloose workers everywhere are urged to get in touch with the M. T. W. and the general office and get ready for the big campaign that will organize the marine workers into the I. W. W. for all time. Those who have no knowledge of dock or marine work and are capable of oil work are asked to get down into the oil fields of the mid continent territory and start the organization drive in this industry again.

The other industries important as they are will not be neglected. The industrial unions that are carrying on the work in these industries will continue with redoubled vigor spurred on by the knowledge of the success in the other fields.

Get into these two industries and carry the agitation to the jobs. Write in articles and give us facts and news items so that our entire press can be turned to featuring the news of the big new drives. Unity will win. All together now and the One Big Union will retrieve the ground lost by craft unionism's failure, for the fighting working class.

# Dual Unionism and the Closed Shop in Italy

**By Angelo Boni**

THERE is no open shop fight in Italy. The squabble over jurisdiction and dual unionism is undreamed of. The reason for this fact lies not in the submergence of all minority unions in the larger Confederation of Labor but in the inherent nature of the labor movement.

In Italy there need be few arguments made to convince the average worker that he is better off organized than he is in paddling his own canoe. From the days of the Guild battles against the nobility and the church the solidarity of labor and the class struggle have been living facts accepted by the rank and file of the organized workers.

No idea of a community of interest between the workers and the owners of the means of life has ever perverted the minds of unionists and made them scheme for agreements with the master class so that their union could close the doors of any shop against other members of the working class with the aid of the boss.

All the real labor unions in Italy are fighting unions who have in no instance made closed shop agreements with the owners. Even the Catholic Workers' Union which numbers close to 150,000 members and is composed of peasants and farm laborers are actuated by ideas of class interests and have waged battles against the farm conditions. During strike periods they cooperate with their more revolutionary fellow workers wherever points of contact exist.

There has never been such a thing in Italy as the closed shop in the sense which the A. F. of L. applies the term. So far as securing the job from the employer the only advantage that the union man has over his non-union fellow, or the worker that is organized in another union, lies in the fact that the union members give notice to their unemployed fellow workers of openings and opportunities. Mutual aid is not a vapid theory but a living practice.

There is no attempt made by the unions say of the big Socialist Confederation of Labor with its 2,000,000 members to keep off members of the Italian Syndicalist Union with its membership of 600,000 from a job where Federation members dominate. But let a traitor to the working class come on the job and, while they do not apply pressure on the boss to get rid of this man, the traitor finds himself in such a miserable situation that he feels lucky in escaping with his life.

All jobs are closed in the Italian industries for the real and conscious members of the working class not because of agreement with the boss but because of militant class conscious action on the part of the workers both on and off the job.

Jurisdictional fights and closed shop advantages are the very backbone of American craft unionism. In order to maintain the bosses permission to force dues from every worker on the job concessions are made by the officials of the union to the owner.

During strikes and labor battles with the owners of industry the craft union officials nearly always line up with the owners so that they can continue to force dues from the workers, and can have the aid of the boss in the process.

In Italy such a process is of course unthought of. Labor treason in that country is in the hands of the politicians. Labor battles are handled and under full control of the striking workers themselves who use the efficient method of strike committees. Funds are rapidly mobilized to the sections where need is greatest by appeals to the different chambers and divisions.

American militants may sigh for the Italian spirit among the workers of this country but the Italians fighting ability does not come from anything inherent in his race but from the advantage that revolutionists have taken of the economic and social situation.

From the first to the last the Italian labor movement has been frankly based on the real class struggle. None of the methods of class cooperation have been intruded on the economic field that have emasculated the political socialists. The ideals of class revolution have been the foundation from which it was possible to build unions that made no quibble about duality and the closed shop.

The glorious spirit of the Italian workers is a thing created and maintained by tremendous effort on the part of the different organizations. In every city and town and country village the workers hold incessant meetings. Dramatic clubs, study classes, singing societies, athletic associations, open forums, and above all the press, consume the energy and time of thousands.

The result is the winning of the workers from the control of the middle class institutions. The workers never read the capitalist sheets unless it is to point out the lies and rottenness of such organs. They have their own theatres and their own sorts of recreation and the necessity of these things is shown in the resultant spirit of class solidarity.

With this spirit of class consciousness the capitalistic minded worker is surrounded on all sides. His social life directs him into the battling unions. When he goes on to a job at once the organized pressure of the workers' union is brought to bear on him so that he joins the union as the easiest way out of the difficulty.

That does not complete the process of organization. This member forced to join the union by his associates' persuation and action is also forced to

read and think of the social problems. It is a slow hard process but in the end it spells success in the labor battle.

The Italian movement was once wiped completely out of existence and again after a new start was made, was so weakened by the repression of the reactionary ruling class as to be able only to survive in fragmentary groups. But the process has been carried on. The emphasis on the class nature of the struggle has prevented any such atavism as Gompers or Lewis from dominating the movement. It has prevented any attempt at class cooperation which makes possible the craft union closed shop, and the idea of dual unionism has been smothered in the demonstrations of class solidarity. This same class spirit has made possible the reorganization of craft and local unions into industrial units fitted into the industries. The continued process of change will some day make of all the Italian Unions real industrial unions capable and trained to run the industries for the benefit of the workers themselves. Their spirit of direct action will overcome the resistance of the bourgeoisie and usher in the workers rule.

**PROPPING THE SICK MAN.**

# The Red International of Labor Unions

By George Hardy

AT LAST we are able to speak authentically of the resolutions and decisions of the congress of the Red Labor Unions held at Moscow in July. The congress itself, from the angle of unions and minority delegations surpassed all expectations. With 17,000,000 organized workers represented, can there be anything but enthusiasm for the future of this virile new Economic International?

At the birth of all new movements there has always been some slight difference of opinion until things get "ironed out" a little. Possibly there will be some varying ideas on this movement, but it is safe to say, judging by the thesis at hand, that the I. W. W. members will be gratified to know the outstanding features of the program are their ideas and tactics. For sixteen years we have been advocating factory or shop committees to care for, not only the ultimate but the immediate demands of the industrially organized workers. These committees and their functions are to be brought into being and internationally recognized by the International Bureau of Red Labor Unions, as the decisions show these were decided upon by the Congress.

### I. W. W. TACTICS.

Recognizing the above, it naturally follows that the congress had to be in favor of industrial unionism as opposed to craft divisions as they exist in the A. F. of L., therefore, revolutionary tactics had to be endorsed. The **Intermittent Strike.** (or irritation strike) is one method the workers are urged to adopt. The membership of the I. W. W. has had this as their tactic from the very inception of the organization. The Lumber Barons of the Northwest learned in 1917 how quickly our members struck and got back on the job, when the eight-hour day was denied, only to find another boss who also refused to give the shorter work-day. **More irritation by another strike!**

International Solidarity is to be an actual fact instead of a mere phrase The Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions (this is the official name) has decided—with the authority of the Congress—to create an **International Strike Fund,,** to give aid to any part of the working class who may be engaged in a life and death struggle with the capitalist class. They also decided on the General Strike in place of local or district, but the congress recognized the lack of international solidarity, at present, hence the above fund to give immediate aid as soon as possible.

The Blockade of Russia has given us a real idea of the practical weapon—the **Boycott.** The blockade is only another form of strike. The capitalist class had an international strike on against Soviet Russia for three years, they refused to give goods or trade with the revolutionary working class who had shaken themselves clear of wage slavery. The Red International of Labor Unions now says the **Boycott** is one of our weapons. We will not support a capitalist country that refuses to settle a wage dispute. We witnessed the American ships arriving with coal in British ports during the recent coal miners' strike. These incidents must and will, stop with the growing strength of the new Economic International.

### CLASS SOLIDARITY NECESSARY.

There is no question of the necessity of coming together in a **strong, class-conscious** International. We have before us an example of master-class solidarity. As soon as the railroad workers voted to strike, the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, which is only a part of the national organization—the One Big Union of the master-class—sent out a letter to all members to "**use their influence and enlist the aid of their employes in sustaining the position of the railway executives.**"

The railway executives combined, make up the executive council of the industrial union of the railway bosses—another part of the O. B. U. of Employers. The same solidarity the masters show nationally in U. S. A. will come by adherence to the tactics of the Red International of Lobor Unions.

### RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE OF DELEGATES.

There is one resolution which calls for departure from the policy of the I. W. W. We are asked to support a resolution carried to have an exchange of delegates on the 3rd Communist International executives. There are to be three on each bureau with a decisive vote. This resolution caused more debate than any other one at the congress. Many were afraid that too much domination might be attempted by the political international. On the other hand, it was pointed out that the Executive of the Red International of Labor Unions had an equal number on the Communist Executive, and that owing to the three delegates being hopelessly in the minority, it was impossible for "domination" to exist on either side.

Supporters of the exchange of delegates also claim as their cardinal paint: that an exchange will ensure an unanimous opinion during a revolutionary crisis. They point out international documents drawn up satisfactory to each executive will avoid at all times contradictory statements, being issued from the two internationals, thus avoiding friction and unnecessary discussion, which would avert action at a time when decisive, quick action wins. Against this resolution is the traditional policy of neutrality towards all political parties. This is not surprising, because the yellow reformistic socialists have given good grounds for this attitude.

## POLITICS AND ECONOMICS INTERLOCKED

Notwithstanding everything that has happened in the past, most of the delegates knew we are about to make our own political institutions and that every strike of any importance today takes on a political phase even when it is only a question of resisting the downward tendency of wages the masters are so anxious to give impetus to. President Sproule of the Southern Pacific Railway brings politics into the rail-strike by stating:

"I cannot conceive that the employees of the Southern Pacific will strike when the matter of fixing wages and hours of labor is in the hands of the United States government. If the men do strike, they will be practically striking against the government. The United States Labor Board and not the railroad have the power to fix the wages of railroad employees."

The above, we know, is not true. The railway executives are the controllers, with their political institution existing in the form of the United States Railway Labor Board. The government of all countries reflect the interests of the ruling class. Who owns America? Rockefeller Morgan and the Vanderbilts, etc., own America. The Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway is created out of the profits of the Standard Oil Co. —out of the hide and carcass of the workers. This system covers 10,000 miles, so "J. D." together with the Steel Trust and meat packers, who also own railways, have their political machine to look after their interests and to fool the workers into the belief that it is a public board, hence the supposed impartiality.

As the workers become more and more class-conscious, strikes will become determined attempts at upsetting the capitalist system. This will bring them into conflict—whether they like it or not—with the established institutions. Witness the recent miners' strike in England—mobilization of the army and navy to deal death to the workers had they challenged the right of the coal owners to control the mines. Look at the speedy array of the state against the American miners. So the International of Red Labor Unions believes that there is a political or civil side to the labor movement. This side will show itself as we become more determined and assertively organized. We will meet the masters by throwing our economic pressure up against them, but as soon as we feel their pressure which is not economic we have to manoeuvre our forces so as to bring our own social pressure into action.

Strictly speaking, the two phases cannot be separated. Politics does not commence inside of parliaments, but outside and about the social system. Any act that upsets the social arrangements comes within the category of politics, because it is a communal affair. Of course, the I. W. W. has never denied this, we believed that we could take care of this phase by creating communal councils. However, no serious attempt has been made to do so. The internationals now say the communist parties throughout the world should be the communal councils.

### An International Policy

What should always be remembered is: that the policy of the Red International of Labor Unions is a world's policy, and the decisions are based on the revolution and working class control of industry which might come sooner than we realize. They will, according to the congress decisions—maintain control by the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was recognized as essential during the transitional period from capitalism to a workers' communistic republic.

An almost super-abundance of the world's workers being organized into the old unions, especially in Germany and England, where approximately eight millions are in the central and trade unions respectively, compelled the delegates at the congress to vote in favor of recommending revolutionists to stay in the old unions where they are indisputably in control of an industry. This means the I. W. W. will be asked to concentrate its efforts on industries where we are in control and on the unorganized fields. This will build up revolutionary unionism in spite of the fact that some would have us liquidate ourselves completely. The congress recognized that independent unionism outside of the craft unions was a problem and calls on us to do exactly what we voted for in our own general convention last May—unite all independent unions.

### Unity the Clarion Call

If we can carry out this unity movement by calling a conference as soon as possible, we will be doing a real service for revolutionary class-unionism. I feel conscious of the fact that we are at the turning point in the history of the labor movement of America. We want the message of direct action put into every place where labor congregates. This is the super-slogan of the Red International of Labor Unions. The American workers will be as susceptible to real unionism as are any other part of the world's workers, because they will be forced into action, owing to the inability of capitalism to maintain itself and provide jobs.

If we believe what we have taught: "That capitalism carries within itself the germ of its own destruction," let us be up and doing, lest we miss an opportunity of proving our assertion that we are capable of rising to meet all changed conditions and tactics from time to time.

The new unified movement in America will be one of the greatest driving forces and inspiring features to the old craft unions. It will lend impetus to the revolutionary minorities inside the A. F. of L., and will create a new appeal to the unorganized.

### Moves Towards Industrial Control

The Italian workers had possession of the factories, and **will always think in terms of control of industry and how to hold that control.** Every day that passes brings out more determined action on the part of the syndicalist unions of Italy. They remonstrated before the American embassy on behalf of Sacco-Vanzetti. The Communists and revolutionary syndicalists have curtailed the activities of the Fascisti to a great extent by retaliative measures resulting in death to many of the illegal nationalist elements, who did similar deeds to those committed at Centralia, Butte, and Tulsa, etc.

The German situation is somewhat similar to Italy, with two millions represented by the minority groups at the first congress of the R. I. L. U. The Free Arbeiter Union which is led by anarchistic elements was represented at the Moscow congress. All know some day unity must come in Germany. The upper Silesia question has produced an unprecedented drop in the currency, causing the cost of living to rise to a hopeless level in comparison with wages. Thus we see strikes and demonstrations and a demand for the control of industry which is bound to come.

The English minorities and workers' committee movement is well known to the I. W. W. members. Tom Mann, this indefatigable warrior, has been elected on the executive of R. I. L. U. We see in him and his kind a policy which will put to flight the yellow Amsterdam International as qickly as the death blow given the Second International put it into oblivion. The French left wing—the Revolutionary Committee of Syndicalists—put forward a resolution at the recent congress of the C. G. T. for affiliation to the R. I. L. U. which came within a couple of hundred votes of carrying. They are out to oust Lonquet, Jouhaux and the Thomases from control and reactionary power.

The slogans of the new movement have been formulated—unity, discipline, centralization, revolutionary action instead of words, death to Amsterdam International, general strikes to prevent future wars, to protect the Russian Revolution, and to forward the working class generally.

It looks like with these militant tactics the I. W. W. might well adopt the slogan of "All power to the Red International of Labor Unions and on with the workers' society."

# WORDS OR WEAPONS

**By John Hammer**

THE struggle for life is about to be staged between the new, virile, well organized and disciplined ranks of the bosses' One Big Union and the only industrial union in the A. F. of L.; the coal miners, of the United Mine Workers of America.

### The Employers' New Weapon

The employing classes of America have been quietly and efficiently forging their weapon, which appears today in the form of the United States Chamber of Commerce. This body, dominated by and subservient to the financial oligarchy, yet goes through the motions of democracy amongst its capitalistic members.

The Steel Trust and the Oil Trust with their machinery of finance and banking are the absolute dictators of the financial power of the country and are well in the saddle in the Big Chamber of Commerce that has taken to itself all the duties of the old Merchants and Manufacturers' Associations and other partially organized anti-labor groups.

This body exerts systematically all the economic power of the country through their control of industry and finance, they exert all the political power of the country because having the economic power, they own and operate the political machinery of the state. They are in a position to control opinion and ideas by means of the control of the avenues of information, the press, the schools, the libraries, the churches and the host of public and private lecturers and speakers that they can and do route.

### The Open Shop Program

Five years ago there was no efficient machinery to dictate and direct this social power. Today the United Chamber of Commerce with its sub-committees, looks into and formulates active plans for the successful control of every phase of our social life.

It was about the time of the completion of this organization that the policy was laid down to carry out the open shop idea in the entire list of industries in the country. The only hope of the workers of America then lay in so organizing themselves immediately that they would be invincible in the storm of repression and battle that was to sweep over them.

### The Blind Staggers

In convention after convention the different craft unions met and threw into the discard, plans for amalgamation, plans for federation, plans for fighting agreements, and alliances. Every progressive move was scorned and flung out by the compromise loving officialdom that wanted nothing but to continue feasting at the tables of the masters.

There is the crux of the whole position. The

working class representatives have become hypnotised with the machinery of arbitration and class compromise and agreement that they have been dabbling in so long. The class war is a dream to them. They refuse to know that it exists and so they have gone down because they would not cast off their old outworn weapons and rearm with sharp and decisive fighting tools of industrial and social unionism. The only way to fight the bosses' powerful One Big Union is with one more powerful.

### The New Workers' Weapons

The weapons to use in such a case lie directly to our hand. They are the tools that we work with each day. Our jobs give us the power that we need to battle the boss with. We need but to organize that power to be able to replace the bosses' control of finance with workers' control of the industries. His political power can be superceded by our civil power which we can generate by intelligent holding up and distribution of the products which we create. His ability to control opinion can be taken over by us by developing the press for the workers, developing working class plays, working class speakers and letting the workers' study hall supersede the palaces of ignorance and superstition that abound.

### The Coal Miners' Position

How are the coal miners fixed to go into the big battle that they cannot avoid and which is already in some districts being forced on them? Why is it that the first skirmishes where the open shop has been declared in the midst of a 100 per cent organization in Washington state have not aroused the entire organization to aid and lend fighting spirit? Why is it that the battles of the miners in Kansas under the leadership of Howatt who can neither be bullied nor beaten into submission have brought down the anger of the Lewis machine which controls the general office? Why is it that the Illinois miners' strike to enforce some terms from the employers, and which was so successful as to speed up the arbitration awards from an eternity to a few months were opposed and denounced by the last convention? The answer to all of them is the same—they desire to conciliate the employers.

These questions and their answer do not point to success in the coming battle with the employers' well organized machine unless there is a different system used by the miners to counteract the false ideas that prevail.

### Miners' Fighting Qualities

On the other hand we all know of the heroic and self-sacrificing spirit of the rank and file of the mine workers. We know the long list of splendid battles that they have fought and fought well, but in the coming battle we do not hesitate to say that unless they start in now to arrange for different action than any which has distinguished their organization in the last few years they will be up against some bitter defeats.

### Neglect of Education

The greatest and most criminal neglect that can be traced to the doors of the compromising officialdom is the lack of attempted class education. The sickening bunk filling the pages of the United Mine Workers' Journal has brought tears to our eyes

(*Continued on page* 18)

**HOME FROM THE GRAVE YARD SHIFT.**

# Our Heritage

THE gray clouds of November again sweep across the cheerless skies. The aging year in callous wantonness tears savagely at the lingering blossoms of its earlier promises. The stacked up grain, the filled warehouses mock sneeringly at a propertyless and toil weary working class. It is a time of reaction, of disillusionment, and of despair amongst the weak ones. It is a time that brings to mind those brave souls who have in the past unflinchingly paid the supreme penalty to the greed of tyrannical oppressors.

Chill November winds whistled about the barred windows of the Cook County jail as one by one the victims of the Haymarket riots were placed on the gallows and with words of defiance to their masters and of good cheer to their struggling fellow workers gave up their lives in the strangling grip of the noose.

The eight hour day was the object of their fight. The working class movement was the cause they served. They were forced out of this life by the greedy brutality of capitalism but the eight hour day has swept on and on till now it has been won by most of the organized workers in America.

The cruel torture and death of Fisher, Spies, Lingg, Parsons and Engels stopped no forward tramp of progress. The cause of labor marched on. The martyred ones were kept in memory, an inspiration and a sign that brave souls were yet ready to carry on the age old battle and to suffer the age old crucifixion.

* * *

November drabs and browns colored the earth and sky when Joe Hill with understanding eyes faced the firing squad that sent the bullets into his singing heart. His great message sent to his fellow toilers rings now with louder, clearer call than when first he uttered them. "Don't mourn. Organize," he cried, and today the cry is echoed from every quarter. Utah state added one more name to the long list of the immortals.

The tossing evergreens of the Northwest dripping with the drizzle of November rains were given a day of sunshine and of respite from the gray pall of Autumn. A rain of bullets from a cowardly mob of human fiends swept down on the massed ranks of visiting workers crowded on the decks of the little steamer Verona.

The gunmen of Everett snuffed out the lives of Felix Baran, Hugo Gerlot, Gustav Johnson, John Looney, and Abraham Rabinovitz in their fusilade. Others unknown and unnumbered were done to death in the chill waters of the inhospitable bay. The traditions of November were upheld. Violence and reaction spread their fearful message of despair and death.

The loggers of the lumber barony were organized. They fought the battle of the working class against the slavery of degrading conditions and hours of work. They forced the master class to compromise but those November victims took but a silent part in the great fight. The five rest under the sod of mother earth. The unknown are under the waters of Puget Sound.

* * *

Then came an after taste of the great slaughter of young manhood that has glutted the maw of the modern Molochs. Hirelings of the Lumber Trust seized on a day which was to be used to commemorate the Peace that was no Peace and with cynical abandon stormed the workers' union hall in Centralia, Washington.

The intended victims of a tar and feather party defended themselves. The majestic law at once intervened. But when the brave upholders of the cause of labor were thrown into the prison unarmed and helpless, the law forgot its majesty and gave aid to the nefarious purpose of the crazy mob.

Under cover of the unlighted November night Wesley Everest was dragged from the floor of his blood smeared cell, bound in ropes by his inhuman captors and dragged behind automobiles until the foul fiends tired of the sport. Then they enjoyed themselves in true heroic style by unsexing the mangled but still defiant, half dead body.

Hung from the girders of a trestle the sport of seeking spot lights, that gloated on the swaying calmness of his gory body Wesley Everest gave his life. He was the most recent of the great list of American November victims.

November has come to us again. A November full of tense possibilities, a November of sodden days and intense repression and we, the Industrial Workers of the World, are reminded of our heroic dead. It is not for us to mourn their loss. They would scorn to be the objects of sentimental maunderings, of griefs and useless cryings.

They died fighting and with no regrets. Their scorn of the restraints and instruments of torture flamed forth to the very last. They told us then and their deeds tell us now to organize so that labor may be invincible.

## WORDS OR WEAPONS

(*Continued from page* 15)

because of the tragedy of the circulation of four hundred thousand copies of harmful and misleading piffle. The only redeeming feature to the whole magazine was that no one ever was known to read it seriously in my history as a coal miner, at least.

### To Arms!—Reorganize

Today before the battle breaks, the coal miners must, if they intend to win, go at the business of rearmament, of reorganizing. It is too late now to expect to gain an official agreement from the railroad workers not to haul scab coal. But it is not too late to propagandize the rank and file of the railroad workers urging them to give active aid in time of need.

The sight is quite usual to see railroad men buying union shoes and overalls because of threatened fines and then going to work on their union job hauling scab coal, setting in cars on scab sidings and giving aid and comfort in every way to the employing class in their battle on the workers. There has been no determined effort on the part of the coal miners to carry on agitation for a change in this policy.

Then they must prepare working class literature and education for themselves. The damnable rot put out in the Journal is no mental food for the creation of a fighting spirit. And it is that spirit that must be created and maintained.

### Prepare Our Committee System

We all remember the betrayal of our strike by the officialdom refusing to function because of fear for their cowardly bodies in 1919. They have that same fear today. The miners now as then must arrange for carrying on their own fight. They must be prepared to get strike committees into action on a moment's notice. They must prepare to exercize discipline amongst the wavering groups of weaklings that are in every local.

These are the instruments of battle that the miners must adopt at once if they intend to give fight to the giant octopus who has determined to crush out the manhood and courage from the working class of America. They, the bosses, have thrown down the challenge. They have done away with the policy of class cooperation. There remains nothing for the miners and the rest of the working-class organizations to do but to fight or die. Courageous battle means victory and intelligent victory by the miners will mean the bringing out of that dark abyss of cringing, fauning boot lickery the American labor movement as exemplified by the policy of the A. F. of L.

On to victory!

THE MINERS' SHELTER.

# METAL

WHEN we see metals fashioned and assembled into the purring motor or the panting engine we seldom take into consideration all the stages they have passed through, nor do we lay much stress on their importance or the necessary function performed by the workers whose labor is involved. Did you ever consider for a moment that modern life is almost entirely dependent upon steel or other metal and that it would be impossible without it?

The metal industry is a unit made up of thousands of parts and each part in turn has its many departments. Sections of the metal industry are institutions in themselves. The automobile industry is a good example for illustration. Here is but a part of the metal industry. In a few places whole cities are dependent and are responsible almost entirely for their million population mark upon the automobile plants. Detroit is a city of this nature. Its growth, its workers and its millionaires and shops covering hundreds of acres are all dependent on the automobile industry. This giant, producing millions in profits yearly is only a part of the metal industry.

Also there are the electric manufacturing plants such as the Western Electric located in Chicago, the Westinghouse in Pittsburg, the General Electric in Schenectady and all their branches which are all great metal working establishments. Each of these employ thousands of workers.

Another section of the metal industry includes the plants manufacturing farm machinery, such as the International Harvester, etc., manufacturing binders, reapers, mowers, tractors, etc.

Then there are the locomotive shops such as the American, Baldwin and Lima, as well as the firms manufacturing electric locomotives. In these great locomotive shops the jobs are done on a contract basis for the different railroads. Besides these, there are the firms building rolling stock, such as steel passenger coaches, coal cars, oil tanks, etc. This is another part of the metal industry which is a kingdom in itself.

Then there are the arsenals at Rock Island, Washington and other cities along with the mints located in Denver, Philadelphia and Washington. All of these are parts of the metal industry. It must be remembered that each part of the industry, such as the automobile, electric, farm machinery, locomotive, etc., carry along with them, in normal times, thousands of small shops who produce special parts, tools, dies, etc. In Detroit there are at least five hundred shops of this nature employing from five workmen up to five thousand. Small manufacturing and repair shops come under this classification.

When added together the workers in these shops and plants outnumber the workers in the remainder of the industry. Every city of 5000 population, north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi has at least one shop or foundry of this nature and many small cities have ten and twenty.

Then there are the plants producing machine tools, milling machines of different descriptions, lathes, planers, drilling machines, lumber mill and mining equipment, saws, knives, etc.

Most important of all are the great steel mills. Here the steel is produced to be used in all of the manufacturing and assembling end of the industry.

When you think of metal, you have also to think of steel, of mills and stacks, of smoke and strong men. They are a part of it and cannot be separated.

In the small hours of the night when you and I and the average onlooker are resting comfortably in our beds the steel worker is putting in the 14 and 16 hour shift in front of the hot furnaces, or tending and watching the great machines. The machines are great, are big, are strong. The men seem but pygmies, small and weak in comparison. They are but the tenders and watchers of the machines.

The steel mills of the United States are located largely in an area from Pittsburg, Pa., west to Gary, Indiana. A few other mills are located at such points as Pueblo, Birmingham, Duluth, etc., but are not equipped as well for modern production as are the mills in the steel district proper, in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

In the mills of this district are employed a quarter of a million workers in normal times. They speak as many tongues as the nations of the world have produced. They have as many religions as the superstitions of men have created. Their customs are the customs of the world. They are the most important part of the greatest of industries.

When the steel mills are busy, the rest of industry flourishes. When the mills are slack, industry closes, workers are thrown into the army of the unemployed.

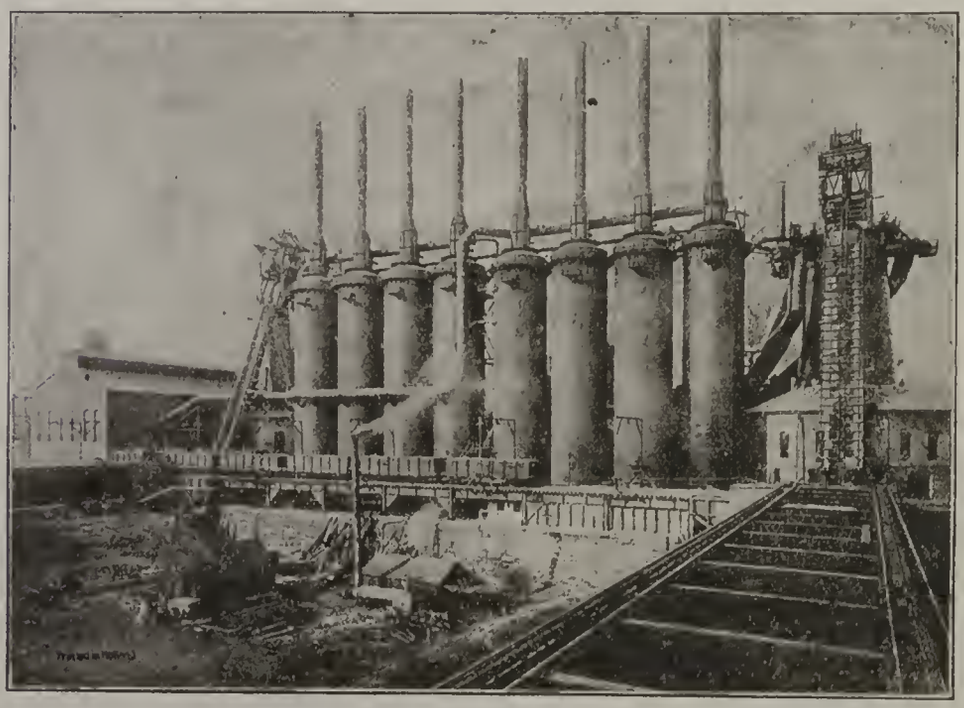
Just why is Steel king of modern industry? Without steel and other metals all industry as we know it would be impossible. Industrial progress was made as man down through the ages learned to use metal. Look about you and every article which meets your eye has been contributed to by metal. Metal has cut, planed, sawed, spun or transported it. We of the Industrial Workers of the World are industrialists and that which contributes to industry holds an interest for us. Without metal we would be pulling our food from the branches and from the earth by hand, instead of using our modern tilling, planting and harvesting machines. We would still be propelling ourselves on the crude raft pushed about by wooden poles. Our oceans and rivers would still be uncharted, and our steam-

ships would be unknown and undreamed of. We would still travel by food or astride the burro, instead of crossing the country transported by the aid of the steam engine. We would be naked savages, having a scanty existence on but little of the fundamentals of human life—food, clothing and shelter.

This is the machine age and machines are dependent on iron, copper and steel. That is the reason that Metal is King. It makes all possible. That is the reason that the United States Steel Corporation is the most powerful of trusts or combines. It stretches out like the arms of an octopus into all industry. It is the governing lever on all society. Metal will remain the master of modern industry and those who control metal will have power to act. For the present it is controlled by the few at the expense of the many. It is the purpose of the working class to gain control of all industries including steel and use and develop them for social benefit.

Metal like every other commodity, useful to American society, requires the labor of man. It takes the effort and energy of miners on the Mesaba to remove it from the earth. It takes the labor of the workers on the Great Lakes to transport the ore from the mouth of the mines to mills at Pittsburg, South Chicago or Gary. You workers on the railroads help to haul the ore into Youngstown and help haul the finished steel sheets, bars and rods to the manufacturing plants to be made into metal products. And it is you, the workers in the mill, who give it birth in your furnaces. Out of your white hot hells come many kinds of metal, copper, lead, zinc, brass, silver, gold and aluminum. Without your labor all this could not be. It is you who have forged our present civilization. It is you who have brought it into shape.

**You are not even assured a living wage. You are allowed just enough pay to purchase the cheap food to fool your guts.** Just as long as you have strength to drag yourself back to the next shift and produce more steel and profits, the boss considers that he is using you justly. Sundays have been taken from you. **Your hours have been long and irregular, and you have left the bed and family at all hours of the night to answer the call of the mill. You and your wife have gone without proper clothing. You have worked such long hours that your children did not know you as a father but saw you as one of the boarders who slept and ate at the house. The masters of steel have driven you such a pace in their great frenzy for profits and riches that the brain in you has not had time to look about and see all the wonders you were creating.**



PART OF THE MILL.

It was during the rush period that the steel industry boomed. Now it is different. You have plenty of time on your hands because the boss has decided to close down the mill. During the war you were speeded up and you produced enough by overtime to do for quite a while. You were called patriots and 100 per cent Americans then. You were the sons of Democracy working to make the world a fit place for the bosses to live in, and by the looks of things a pretty good job was made of it. The wages were made and exchanged for pieces of paper called liberty bonds and war saving stamps. But the market price for paper has decreased since the armistice.

It was only a short time ago that you decided to take a lay off and go on strike. Then you were called dirty foreigners and the gunmen of the steel trust came and shot you down. Nothing was too low for these leeches in human form to stoop to, to defeat you in that strike. The owners calling themselves 100 percenters and waving the flag called upon the citizens in general to stand behind law and order and then sent their policemen to drag you from your beds to the jails of Gary, Youngstown and Pittsburg. Congressmen made speeches and the senate sent an investigation committee, talked about Americanism and sent General Wood and the soldiers to break up your meetings. They threw your sincere fellow workers into the stockade at Gary.

Now the mill owners have decided to go on strike and close down the mill until the price and demand for steel rises. You make the living of your family in the mill but that does not make any difference to the owners, the fat congressman, the gunmen or the soldiers. They are well fed.

The boss or his friends are not worrying whether you freeze or starve this coming winter. All will not starve at once and the workers who do not starve will breed more to take your place. Labor is cheap now, like steel. Of course the boss thought about your welfare during the war, but labor was scarce then.

Unorganized, the majority of you are helpless at present. The A. F. of L. and its fat leaders have gone to where the terrors of jail are not so great and you are left to meet the coming winter and unemployment. You have been fooled and tricked by the steel owners and the A. F. of L. leaders until after all the mess you are worse off than before. It has been proven beyond a doubt organizing in 24 different unions is no way to prepare for battle. It was foolish to go up against the united forces of the Steel Trust with your forces divided. But you won something out of the strike at least, and that was a world of experience. Now will you benefit by that hard-earned experience?

While you were on the picket line, the union men who belonged to the Railroad Unions were hauling in scabs by night and hauling out steel by day. On the lakes, the A. F. of L. men were hauling ore into the mills for the scabs. Just as the steel strike was lost, so was the railroad and the miners' strike lost, a short while later. American labor had yet to learn its lesson of solidarity.

Those among you who are working have had your wages cut in half and they will be cut again and then again. Whether you will be working, or without a job, you will all be crushed down at the command of the steel owners. Pittsburg, Rankin, Youngstown, Gary, South Chicago, Duluth or Pueblo; everywhere the unemployed are starving in the streets and the workers on the job are feeling their savings slip to make the low wages meet the high prices.

Now is the time to act. Alone we are helpless. We can do nothing so long as we remain unorganized. The private ownership of the steel mills must go, giving way to something better. The mills must reopen at the command of the workers, for production for use instead of private gain. The Industrial Workers of the World is an organization composed of wage workers, organized by the workers in the interests of the workers. We bid you join with us and help put an end to this damnable system which dragged us into the slaughter of the last war and now drags us on to low wages, unemployment and starvation as a reward.

The masters have controlled long enough. Too long have we bowed at their frown. They have exploited us as blacks and whites, religious and non-religious, Americans and foreign-born, and have kept us divided on these lines. It is time now that we begin to organize as workingmen and workingwomen. It is time that we organize as a class to battle our masters who are already organized to protect their interests. Let all the workers who work in the automobile factories, the foundries, the steel mills, etc., organize together into the Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W., and the tables will be turned.

Let all the other workers on the railroads, in the mines, in the woods, everywhere, build up their industrials unions and help crush out the parasites. Together we are a mighty tide. Divided we are broken waves. Let us build our strength by organizing industrially and bringing all our industrial unions together under the banner of the I. W. W., the One Big Union of the Workers. If we all do our part, no one will have to do it all. The initiation fee which is $2.00 is within the reach of all, and the dues are $1.00 a month. Many workers throughout the steel mill district have already made the start. Branches are being organized in many of the cities. Literature is being printed and distributed among the workers. Carry on the message of industrial freedom. Will you join? Yesterday is gone forever. Now is the time to act.

Fred Bowerman,
Sec'y-Treas. of I. U. No. 440.

# As to Lubrication

**By Nick Wells**

SOME distance south of the exact center of California there is a barren desert stretch of land that to the casual observer bears promise of being a haven for hermits and rattlesnakes. Dame nature with her overgrown sense of humor saw fit to endow this section of the Devil's table top with a wealth of the most important of all the materials that are included in the list of essentials for modern industry. Crude oil underlies the barren wastes.

### Trust Control

Far underground are the oil bearing sands and towards these sands the hands of the octopus have been driving wells. The hands were hired ones. The octopus himself would never, of course, think to soil his garments of broadcloth nor ruin the rotundity of his figure with the commonplaces of labor.

Rather has the oil trust studied the finesse of social manipulation and to great advantage it seems for the privileged characters that make up the number of beneficiaries of the more than questionable operations. These oil lands of California are mostly under government reserve. No one can exploit the resources except by the consent of the mighty powers at Washington. This relieves the Trust from worry over the big field being overdeveloped and the price of oil being forced to drop. Whenever the company gets through with one lease they are supplied with another and so the game goes on. It is a steady system giving permanence to the work and transforming to some slight extent the boomer oil worker into a home guard that confines his wanderings to fifty and hundred mile jumps instead of thousands. It is called oil conservation. It conserves all the oil and all the profits—to the octopus.

### The Workers

These oil workers that drill the wells, lay the pipe lines, construct the tanks and tend to the refineries are a queer group, different from other workers and with characteristics of their own. So much so that in this respect they are exactly like other groups of workers who put in their time in one industry to the exclusion of others.

The workers in the section of California that we have just mentioned are even more different than usual. They have even completely astounded the boss by their difference. They have had the audacity to organize and go on strike to enforce the government award in the matter of hours, wages and conditions.

### The Identity of Interests

They have been on strike since September the first, and great is the anger of the tools of the octopus thereat. The chief prostitute of a publication known as The Oil Age excremates editorially in the September issue as follows:

"If it were not for the fact that tar and feathers are quite plentiful commodities in some of the Mid Continent and Gulf fields, there is a possibility that there might be a union and some well paid leaders among the oil workers of those districts. Apparently California is one of the few if not the only oil state in the union where there was a shortage of tar and feathers at the time the I. W. W. element and the so-called labor union leaders were carrying things with a high hand while the war was at its height."

Thus is the dignity of law and order appealed to by the Oil Trust.

### The Strike

The hour and minute of the strike was set by the organization which is known as the International Oil & Gas Well and Refinery Workers' Union. When the clock struck the minute on the first of September all tools were dropped in the Sunset, Midway, McKittrick, Lost Hills, Beldridge, Coalinga and Kern River fields. Drills were left in the wells sometimes as deep as 1800 feet, surface tools were dropped, refineries were deserted, and labor folded its arms as far as producing oil was concerned.

The Shell Co. met the terms of the strikers before the strike was pulled. The Pan American signed up immediately after the walkout. The loss of production is estimated at 100,000 barrels a day by the operators, who are chiefly worrying about the casings which in most of the leases will "freeze in" and make the wells partly completed, impossible of further driving. Water infiltration on pumping wells also presents a danger that the bosses can think about but can do little else than that, until they kick through with the government award.

### Outrageing the Trust

The striking oil workers further outraged the idealistic proprietary notions of the financial heavyweights by the way that they behaved towards the constabulary. Some hundreds of strikers were sworn in immediately that the strike broke out as constables and were issued arms and ammunition along with the regulation shiner.

Swearing in deputies in time of a strike is a time honored procedure with the oil companies but never before have the strikers been the ones to go on special duty. Guards of constables were at once thrown out around the property of the absent masters. The sworn declaration was extracted from each new constable that they would see to the protection of private property. This oath has been so far rigorously lived up to. Too much so, it seems. For when some of the companies sought to send in gunmen and scabs to operate the refineries and drilling rigs and to cause trouble, the constables, realizing that the scabs would but damage the ma-

chinery that they knew nothing about and that the gunmen would only create riots and loss of life, excluded them from the strike zone.

### Protecting Property

Near Maricopa the constables took possession of a train bearing 250 scabs and gunmen and sent it back out of the county. Because of these tactics there has been no loss of life nor damage to property. In fact the peacefulness is even irksome, especially around the store fronts of certain cockroach business men in the towns of Maricopa, Taft, Fellows, McKittrick and Coalinga. The spider can well spin his widely known web across the doors of some of these establishments without fear of injury to his happy home. All of this of course lends enchantment to the scene and the sabbatical calm appears to spread even to the minds of those 100 per centers that persisted in scabbing on their class to the feeble extent of wandering aimlessly about the deserted towers and pump houses.

### Using Tactics

For this strike has been well planned in certain ways that should bring joy to the heart of the wobbly, as he can see that his teachings in the past sixteen years of strife have not been entirely overlooked. The strike agitation was so well centralized in the outfit that supplies the Southern Pacific with fuel that out of 1000 supposed to be loyal slaves there remained but 65 on the payroll when the clock said strike. Most of these were supers and younger sons that only came in contact with oil when pulling up to a filling station.

The electric power plant at Coalinga was also concentrated on and was closed on October 3, the electricians walking off the job and picketing the plant. The power to operate most of the rigs in the fields is thereby cut off and the owners would be powerless even if they could get a few scabs into the refineries or onto the towers.

### Industrial Consciousness

The Union though only organized locally in California with any strength is purely on industrial lines. The organization extends even among the clerks, warehousemen, checkers, stenographers and telephone girls. The bosses are so dumfounded over this fact that they can hardly control themselves through the columns of their journals.

We will probably see some of these telephone girls neatly gowned in winter coats of tar and feathers if the ravings of some of the law and order squad are carried into effect.

No doubt the Union has committed some errors as to tactics. It could hardly be expected that an organization that had applied for a charter from the A. F. of L. would pull off a strike without doing so. Yet in the peculiar situation in which they find themselves they seem to have acted with remarkable precision and clear headedness so far. It must be remembered that California is the only section of the entire country where the government award was ever put into effect for the simple reason that they were the only oil workers who were organized. As our honorable editor of the Oil Age has said there is no foolish talk of unionism in the Mid Continent fields. Tar, feathers and hemp rope has gotten the best of the oil workers' organization started by the I. W. W. in this section.

### The Rest of the Industry

Everywheres except in California the twelve hour tower is in effect on the wells and the ten hour shift is supposed to be the rule on the pipe line gangs. In California where the union has hold the eight hour shift is universal. So it can be seen that with only one section of the industry organized local battles must be well managed or they are liable to redound to the detriment of the organization that attempts to fight. The oil workers that belong to the union in the southern and coast fields have not been called out.

This on the face of it appears to be a breach of I. W. W. tactics. Yet there may be some excuse for the strikers' attitude in this matter. This remains to be seen, however. The strikers maintain that they cannot enforce the discipline in the southern and coast fields that they can where the strike is on. The strikers are, however, drawing heavily for support on those members who are at work in these fields and as the operators have not attempted to violate the terms of the government award here it is claimed that it is better to fight it out locally where the award has been violated.

### Strikers Recognize Themselves

On one point particularly have they to be commended by the I. W. W. They have told the bosses that they do not want recognition nor the closed shop. They have demonstrated their ability to close the shop to scabs without any aid from the boss. The threat of blacklist has not alarmed them and it need not as long as they can retain the discipline and spirit that has been shown so far.

### The Background and the Future

Looking into the background upon which this union has been formed we can easily trace the effect of I. W. W. education and organization work. Today the entire industry is ready for organization into one big industrial union. If the I. W. W. so makes up its mind to tackle the oil situation as it has just finished tackling the big harvest drive the organized oil workers of California need not worry long over having no support from the Mid Continent field. With one big union organized in the whole industry the I. W. W. would be in position to weild more economic power than any other organization in America barring none.

The oil workers can never be organized from halls or soap boxes. The job is the place to organize these workers from. Lets get on the job and get started. Let's lubricate the bosses' skids.

# PAUL FREEMAN

A Russian inventor had perfeeted an engine and car that running on an ordinary railroad traek could make speed up to a hundred and fifty or seventy-five miles an hour.

Many trips and experiments with the type of air propelled motor had eonvineed the authorities of it's practicability. On July 24th in Moseow a number of delegates to the Congress of the Third International (Communist) embarked with the inventor to Kursk for a trip, to inspeet the eoal fields.

The machine left the rails before the eoal mines were reached and of the passengers six were killed. Among those killed was Fellow Worker Paul Freeman of whom Tom Barker, his old friend in the battles of Australian labor, writes below. (Editor.)

I HAVE known Paul Freeman since August, 1916. I had just come out of prison and was on a propaganda trip to the famous desert mining eamp of Broken Hill. Paul was, like myself, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, the most universal industrial organization in the world. I have a lively recolleetion of a wild ride on the baek of Paul's motoreyele from the Broken Hill prison—where we were visiting an I. W. W. prisoner—to the eemetery to attend the funeral of another member who had died from injuries reeeived in a mining aecident. I little thought as I stood side by side with Paul by the graveside in a howling desert blizzard, that we should meet again in a far eountry where an old eorrupt autoeracy was about to erash, and where Paul himself would rest among, and as a worthy assoeiate of, mighty heroes of a revolutionary epoch, and beneath the walls of a wonderful, ancient eity. But so it is!

I do not know where Paul was born or when. In the I. W. W. we did not worry about these details. Only the Australian government did that. In the eyclonie eareer of the Australian I. W. W. Paul played his part. After the savage sentenees upon Glynn, Larkin, Reeve and their other nine fellow workers, came the outlawing of the organization. Paul was then mining on his own claim in Queensland but he was arrested in eompany with about seventy others.

Most of these men, ineluding myself, after nearly a year in prison were deported to all the eorners of the earth. Paul was a problem to the government as there was doubt about his nationality. They deported him to the United States but the administration of President Wilson returned him with thanks. Onee again he was sent aeross the Pacific and onee again he was returned. His mine was sequestered in the meantime.

The Australian government was neither satisfied nor particular. They then deeided that he was a German, although he did not speak a word of the language, and plaeed him aboard a prisoner transport and sent him to Germany as a war prisoner. On his arrival he spent some time there and made many friends. He eame on to Russia and attented the sessions of the seeond congress of the Third International. Here he modified his industrialist views and joined the Communist Party. Afterwards, he returned illegally to Australia—a very long and dangerous journey over many eountries—where he worked underground in the establishment of the Australian Communist Party. He then returned via Japan, Vladivostok and Siberia to the third congress.

I met him in Moseow after five long years and he was the same ardent spirit that I had known in Broken Hill. He eonfided to me in the sessions at the Duma Soyozov that he intended to stay for the future in Russia. We never thought of the dreadful catastrophe that was about to happen at Kursk, which was to put an end to the usefulness of a brave, unselfish and generous proletarian.

Paul Freeman was one of that great army of the tireless, world-tramping, universal I. W. W. He passed from land to land and eontinent to eontinent with as little eare as some men eross the street. Down in the eoal-bunkers of ships, passing frontiers seeretly in the dead of night with the World Revolution ever foremost in his mind, ever guiding his footsteps. His death will be deplored in the deep levels of the mines of Broken Hill, and thousands of workers in the great Australian eities will stand in silence to honor his name. Out under the light of the eonstellation of the Southern Cross, far out on the Western Plains, the lonely shepherd and the migratory worker will visualize the Kremlin Wall, the world-striding Freeman who sleeps beneath its shadow.

Paul Freeman was one of an army who were ejeeted from one continent to bestride other continents and leave behind them a fiery trail of work for their class. He will rest well in goodly company, as true a man as ever stood in shoeleather, one of the old guard of the hated, outlawed, deported I. W. W.'s of the Southern Hemisphere. Men with greater names, of world eelebrity may sleep beside him under the Kremlin Wall, but they will never honor it one iota more than all that is mortal of Paul Freeman.

# A THOUGHT

**By Nuf Ced**

DOWN through the ages men and women have struggled, with the problem of how to free themselves from oppression.

During all the periods of strife they realized, that there were but two methods, by which they could solve the problems of slavery, that confronted them.

Organized force, that recognized Violence, and destruction.

Organized force, that recognized Education, as the constructive, and enduring weapon.

The struggle of labor in the past has concerned itself more with securing an increased amount of the product.

The struggle of labor today is to secure more and more of the product, a shorter workday, and to banish the thought from the minds of the people of the world, that it be just, for the few to live from the effort of the many.

It is almost inconceivable, that an enlightened people can and do ask the assistance of a Divine Providence, to enable them to live in ease, idleness, luxury, and riotous living, at the expense of the blood, and lives of the mothers, and little children of the working classes in society.

The late European war has demonstrated that private property rights are more sacred than human rights; the latter to be considered only as a means to preserve, and extend the former.

These conditions must of necessity continue, until labor, the sleeping giant, is awakened to the need of combined action and with its super intellect, and physical forces—if need be—take possession of the ... machinery of production, distribution and transportation, socializing, and democratically administering the same for the common good of all.

Then will human rights be held more sacred than private property rights, and not until then.

Poverty, the world's almoner, is stalking through a land of plenty, some alone with the dogs are living on bones, others on hope, kindling each morning, dying slowly each night.

However, philosophy brings home its stores to the lone man. Money is not in his hand, but knowledge is in his brain, and from that brain he draws faster, as he draws more slowly from his pocket. He remembers and on remembrance he can live for days and weeks.

He crowns himself with glorious memories, of labors directing units; if he nights it under the star lit heavens, he dreams heaven sent dreams of the prisoned, and martyred heroes of labor; men, women and children who gave their lives, so that mankind should progress to the goal sought, Emancipation, and economic freedom.

He muses with his soul of reason, and laughs at the world; for the world, thank heaven has left him alone.

Keep your money, old profiteers, your industrial and political control for the present, for upon the horizon, in crimson letters, are the words emblazoned: **Abolition of wage slavery.—Victory is near!**

THE STAR BOARDER GETS HIS.

# Planned Action in the Industries

By Jas. H. Larsh

THE working class is now face to face with a pressing problem—one which cannot be sidestepped indefinitely. This problem is the present unemployment situation and the misery and poverty that is increasing amongst the workers from day to day.

Regardless of the fact that we are not ready either technically or with well developed industrial unions, the workers are going to be forced to help themselves. Their first actions in the direction of helping themselves can be directed by members of the working class that understand the class struggle. The action taken must be simple yet positive.

When conditions warrant, the workers should be appealed to by industries. Mass meetings of the workers and unemployed from each industry should be called and other means used where ever possible so as to reach the entire working class and get them to act in coordination.

For example the railroad industry's workers and unemployed together should meet and be reached by definite propaganda. They in connection with the workers of other industries should formulate plans of action which can put the workers into the industries with industrial control of society.

The food industry and the transportation industry are of prime importance. It is highly important that the new workers regime should be started out on filled stomachs.

The great requisite is the coordination of plans and action. Things must be so arranged that the hour and minute of the taking over of the factories, mines and other industries should be understood and agreed upon. With the start of well filled warehouses and by means of keeping the wheels of industry turning we would soon be able to perfect a system of management by the institution of the well known and ancient institution of industrial councils.

These councils will include of course the best of technical and practical workers or the new system will fail, but there is no good reason why the greatest epoch in human history cannot come swiftly, efficiently, wholeheartedly.

The working class of this country are today getting keyed up for just such a program, simple yet revolutionary, direct and far-reaching. We have nearly all of us felt that we were not prepared for the next great change in our lives. Somehow the changes have a way of coming in spite of our timidity. Surely we can manage industry right frim the start in a way so as to receive a greater return than capitalism ever gave us. We have always known hardships under its mismanagement. With time and opportunity we will perfect the workers' control so that every form of human life will be better off than at present.

From the hour and minute that the workers' program of taking over the idle and half empty factories and shops goes into effect the **bosses** paychecks shall play no important part in our lives. The boss may remain on the jobs with us, and welcome, as a Fellow Worker, but from the time we change our methods of production our products belong to us, to be used according to the needs of the working class, as proper co-ordination of the industries and as the workers' industrial councils direct and determine.

When we control the means of subsistence we will control everything. Bourgeois political institutions will automatically lose power. We will hold out the hand of fellowship to any and all who WORK with us. To the parasites that refuse to produce we will give treatment accordingly.

Capitalistic power (the power of finance) will have to show inherent powers of self-sacrifice and voluntary effort to cope with this sort of situation. When we have generated our own power we need not fear them. Time would solidify the workers' industrial and social victory.

Fellow workers, this is not an elaborate plan but is simple and direct as action itself. It may be the germ of other plans that are more complete and may be more easily put into practice.

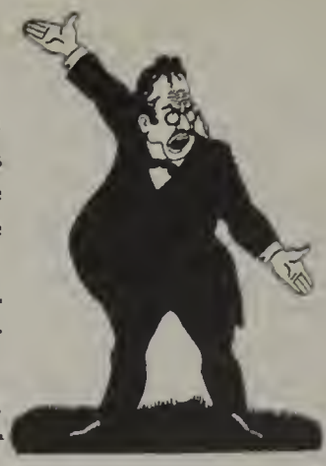
The taking over the industries should be our near aim. Let us consider the facts and go ahead with our actions accordingly. Let us get ready to start the ball rolling, the game will be good, the players enthusiastic and the goal certain.

# The Great Kataklysm

**AN HISTORICAL REVIEW of Latter Day Capitalism Covering the Wondrous Era Extending From Smith's Discovery of Radium in the Human Eye to the Devitalization of the Supermen by Radiosity in the Hands of Revolutionists.**

**Being a series of lectures delivered by Snow Allbrayne at the University of Timbuctoo in the Year of Our Lord 9799.**

**Edited and published by Stanislaus McGee in the year 9800.**



## Lecture II.

I am surprised that there is a tendency, grown more common since I myself published the "Life of Dr. John Smith," to critisize this great man for appropriating to his own use the eyes of those who died within the precincts of his asylum and the remains of whom he had gone to great trouble to preserve.

It has gone so far now that some self-acclaimed authorities declare that Smith, under the laws and the morals that prevailed at that time, had neither a legal nor a moral right to such appropriation.

It is to be pointed out that this view arises from a wholly superficial knowledge of conditions which prevailed in that epoch, and accentuates the truth of that ancient remark to the effect that a little learning is a dangerous thing.

Smith was engaged, to be sure, as State physician, but he also was occupied with far nobler pursuits, and was wont to indulge in commercial speculations which were followed by all who were finest and best among the noble spirits of that age.

The idea of profiteering, the huger the better, was one that filled every mind worth while; and I rejoice to think that Dr. Smith, a man for whom I have more than usual veneration, was not behind hand in this pursuit. It added zest to life. It whetted the intellect as well as the appetite and rewarded those who followed it with handsome prizes, not the least of which was an increased margin of leisure and a very satisfactory security against the uncertainties of life and the vicissitudes of time.

You know, too, that men laid claim to and held the land and machinery whereby things necessary to human life were produced. These they then called "their own" and their right to hold these things exclusively from the rest of mankind was known as the right of "ownership," the most precious, the most respected and the most venerated of all rights.

It was a very beautiful conception; and to it we owe some of the most glorious pages in all human history. In those days of old, when wars were fought and whole nations were overwhelmed in an august butchery of men by men, I must positively aver with admiration, this property or ownership idea was the main incentive to all such heroic and noble and valiant conduct.

Naturally, as the human race insisted upon increasing, it increased beyond the capacity of available property and this right each year grew to be an exclusive right possed by the more favored in brains or physical capacity.

It is one of the most reassuring facts in all history that those who owned the resources, the land, the machinery and wealth of the world did not allow their less favored brethren to die. On the contrary, true types of Good Samaritans as they were then recognized to be, they permitted them in gracious fashion to labor in the fields, the factories, the mines, the ships and the shops, so that from the labor of the propertyless, those who owned the

property might increase the wealth of the world and certainly the poor could eke out a sufficiency from the remuneration which was most generously allowed them.

From the products of this labor the Supermen were able to enjoy the great and good things of life and to cultivate a superior wisdom that was most remarkable in that era.

They also with charity lavish and really beautiful, built huge libraries, hospitals and churches. They established Foundations to which I have already referred, and by the ramifications of their extensive charities and fine philanthrophy they controlled newspapers, schools, courts and government in a most efficient and masterful manner.

Now I want to point out (as a justification for the course of Dr. Smith in appropriating the eyes, and the radium from the eyes, of the deceased within his asylum) that the rich invariably annexed this labor of the poor under the scheme of things that in those days so happily prevailed. They annexed the labor of the poor, and if an employer had an ethical right to do that, which strictly speaking meant the annexation of the flesh and blood—for flesh and blood were necessary to the functioning of labor, so also had they a right to annex the eyes of the pauper dead.

Before I have concluded these lectures, I hope to be able to quote from a decision by the great Abinadab Fudge, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, which fully justifies my position on this interesting question. My point of view in this is upheld throughout.

But to resume: For a long time Smith seems, for some occult reason, to have kept quiet concerning his great and interesting and epochal discovery. I observe that the public did not become acquainted with this momentous fact until he published his monumental treatise: "On the Classification of the Pauper Insane." It is really a notable work.

Dr. von Balderdash, the noted German pathologist, took occasion, in the Berliner Scientist, to ridicule the methods and conclusions of Smith. In the stress of the international controversy that followed between these two eminent men, Smith was goaded to mention the secret that radium existed in commercial quantities in the human eye. Balderdasch impetuously and very rashly replied to this assertion with open ridicule and most unacademically characterized the distinguished physician of Kalamazoo as both a mountebank and a liar.

I was really amazed at a man of the attainments of von Balderdasch indulging in such vulgar expressions.

Smith's reply, perhaps naturally enough, was equally emphatic and startling, commenting freely on the ancestry, and the future destination of the soul, of Balderdasch, hinting that had he (Smith) time to go over to Berlin, or had Balderdasch time to come to Kalamazoo, the American would have extreme satisfaction in mending the manners of his opponent and in teaching him how to conduct a controversy like a genteleman and a scholar.

I shall not dwell upon the very unpleasant acerbity that followed this discussion execpt to say that the National Futurity League cited it before a Senate Committee to show that the navy program should be enlarged and that universal military training was essential to the safety of the nation. . .

Professor Shawtbeek asserts that animated controversies of this kind were not unusual at this period and declares his belief that the method was deliberately pursued for the sake of attracting attention.

This assertion is very unjust and as inaccurate as it is unfair. Even when disputes of this kind did arise, as they often did, the parties thereto were usually careful to speak of one another in the highst terms of respect. In academic circles, in politics, in newspaper controversies, clerical polemics, the most graceful methods were pursued and moderation was so common that a breach of decorum was a nine days' wonder. I have examined thousands of political speeches and controversies and in not a single one have I been able to discover the use of what was then called the short and ugly word.

# THE POETS CORNER

## My Country

**By Robert Whitaker**

My country is the world! I count
  No son of man my foe.
Whether the warm life currents mount
  And mantles brows like snow,
Or whether yellow, brown or black,
The face that into mine looks back.

My native land is Mother Earth,
  And all men are my kin,
Whether of rude or gentle birth,
  However steeped in sin,
Or rich or poor, or great or small,
I count them brothers, one and all.

My flag is the star-spangled sky,
  Woven without a seem,
Where dawn and sunset colors lie
  Fair as an angel's dream.
The flag that still, unstained, untorn,
Floats over all of mortal born.

My party is all humankind,
  My platform brotherhood.
I count all men of honest mind
  Who for common good,
And for the hope that gleams afar
My comrades in this holy war.

My country is the world! I scorn
  No lesser love than mine,
But calmly wait that happy morn
  When all shall own this sign.
And love of country as of clan
Shall yield to world-wide love of man.

## To the Unemployed

(With apologies to Walt Whitman)
On "Captain! My Captain!"

O Workers! All workers!
Rise up and hear the bells;
For you six million vagabonds,
For you six million trampers,
For you six million unemployed,
For you the bugle trills,
For you the crimson flag is flying,
For you we call all in a mass
Our eager faces turning,
Our hearts so keenly yearning.

Ex-soldiers! All Workers!
Rise up and hear the bells;
Rise up and see the Torch,
This torch that leads ahead!
It is no dream that for this Cause
So many have fallen dead.

Our ship has weathered many a storm,
But our fearful trip's not done,
We must not anchor! On, we warn!
Until the prize we sought is won.

Burn, O torch, and ring, O bells!
While the workers onward tread,
To join the hands of those
That have pioneered ahead.

Violet Kaminsky.

### SPECIAL NOTICE

All the readers of this magazine that have received tickets for the I. W. W. picnic held at Floral Park, West Hoboken, N. J., Sept. the 4th, 1921, are kindly requested to return either tickets or money as soon as possible for we have to close the books and give account to the organization and to the public in general.

Return tickets or cash to the Picnic Committee, 23 Carroll St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

# *For the First Time*

THIS appeal is a maiden attempt for the Industrial Pioneer in the field of donation soliciting. Realizing full well that we are filling a decidedly essential position in the revolutionary movement, we have at this time of need, no hesitancy in explaining to our readers our exact position and issuing this call for aid.

Never was there a time when the idea of revolutionary industrial unionism was so acceptable to the working class of this country. In the marine transport industry thousands are ready and anxious to line up in an industrial union with fighting organs. The ranks of the A. F. of L. are being smashed section by section by the planned onslaughts of the open shop movement. Now is the time when such a magazine as the Industrial Pioneer with its constructive policy and wide range of material is absolutely necessary to crystallize and get into action the fundamental ideas that the Industrial Workers of the World have fought and even died for these last sixteen years.

In the attempt to meet all the sudden drains on the organization because of the demand for speakers, organizers, and free literature the general office has had to retrench.

For this reason we have been forced to come out with this issue of thirty-two pages. The price of the magazine has been cut as you have already found out.

The Industrial Pioneer has been getting on its feet for the last three months. The subscriptions from our agents in the field have been coming in, in a larger and larger stream. Our usefulness is now being established firmly as the workers are commencing to recognize in the Industrial Pioneer a constant and constructive force well worth supporting.

A big deficit was carried over to the Pioneer from the old One Big Union Monthly. The early struggle to introduce the magazine piled up the deficit to large heights. Just now are we commencing to get down to a bed rock basis. The August issue showed a deficit of $194.23. The October issue showed a deficit of $77.49.

These figures show that we are pulling through and will eventually come on top if we are not crippled and have to suspend because of the inability of the general office to continue to carry us for a few months longer. The total deficit amounts to $4,201.24. This amount has to be liquidated as soon as possible. As soon as we can show substantial progress in paying off our debt to general headquarters we will increase the size of the magazine again.

Fellow workers, the future of the magazine depends directly on you. Fifty cents from each reader of the Pioneer would pay off our deficit and permit us to at once enlarge and make more readable the entire magazine besides permitting the engraving of better cartoons and photographs direct from the scenes of action. We realize that there are many readers of the magazine that cannot respond. Others will not take this appeal to heart and will pass on the burden to you, fellow worker.

So we are asking you to dig down deep and send us as much as you really think the magazine is worth. We realize full well the time of unemployment that has swept across the country and invaded the very stomachs of the readers with emptiness. Yet this hunger has set thousands to questioning and we must not fail to keep all our propaganda organs alive with special articles and with pictures of the latest developments of working class action.

Unless our readers come to the aid of the magazine financially at this time we will be compelled to continue in our restricted form. The field of industrial action is so large that nothing short of a sixty four page magazine gotten out with the cooperation of a competent staff of writers will suffice to cover the terrific events that are to come.

There is at present no other magazine in the country that attempts to cover the field

# THE PREAMBLE

OF THE

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can he no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can he changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must he organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown... By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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of the Industrial Pioneer. Hundreds of testimonials from every walk of life show that our readers appreciate our value. Now that we are appealing to you direct to show your appreciation by concrete action we feel certain that you will give us aid to the limit of your ability.

Tear out the coupon attached. Mark down the sum of money that you can donate to the Pioneer. Write your name and address plainly and send it at once to the

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**1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.**

Industrial Pioneer: Enclosed find $..... which is as much as I can afford to donate to the extension fund.

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| Everett Massacre—Smith | .15 | 12.00 |
| Evolution of Industrial Democracy | .10 | 5.00 |
| Fair Trial—Walkin | .05 | 2.50 |
| I. W. W. History, Structure and Methods | .10 | 5.00 |
| I. W. W. Song Books | .10 | 5.00 |
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These hooks deal with working class economics and the Industrial History of the Unlted States and are of great educational value to all students of Social Science. Every I. W. W. Hall should have these hooks and pamphlets in the Library. Let us learn how the present owners of industry stole the resources of the country and the reasons for continued exploitation of the working class.

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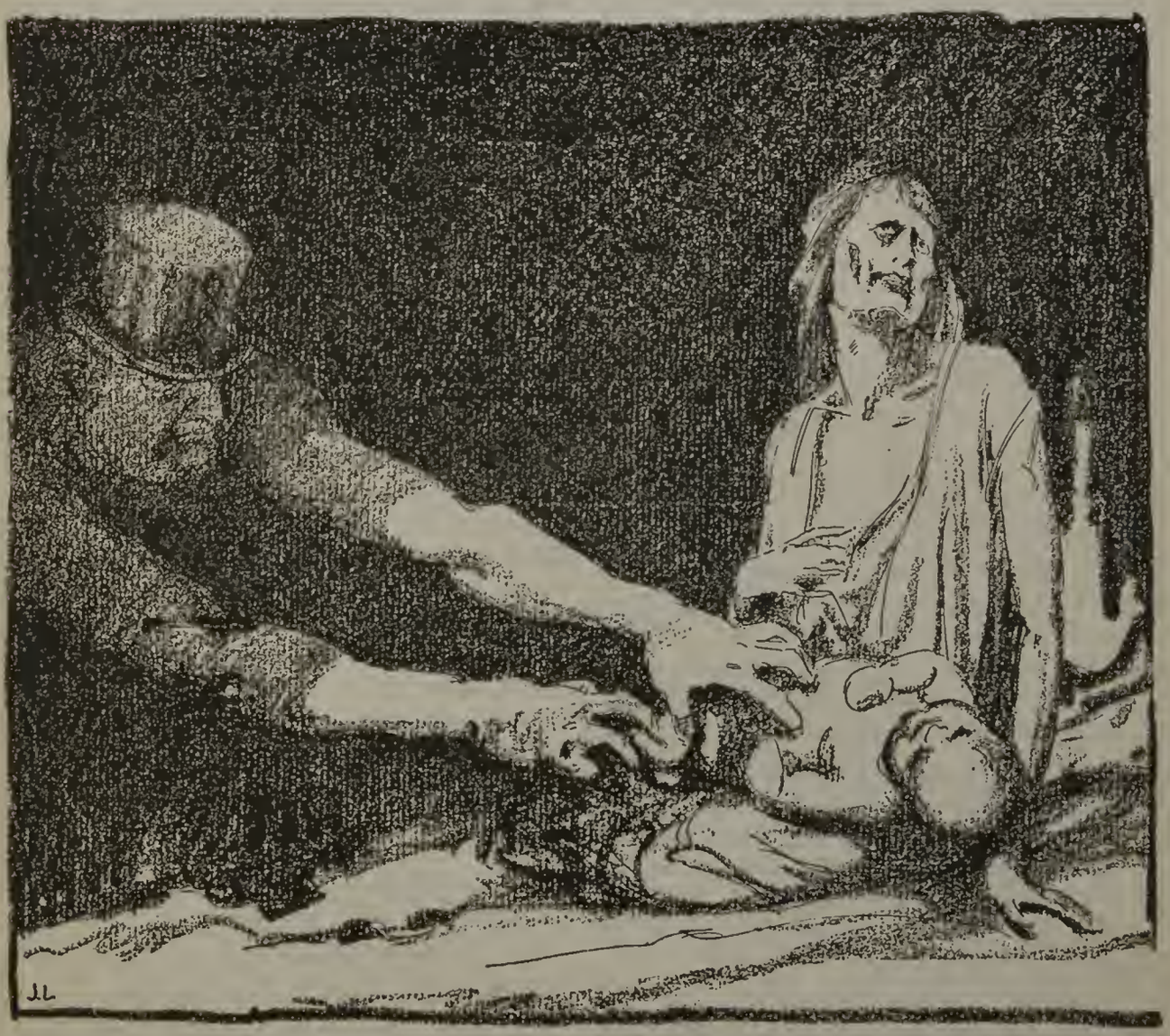
DECEMBER 1921




UNEMPLOYMENT

PRICE 15 CENTS

# Fuel for the Revolution

The response to the appeal for aid for the Industrial Pioneer which appeared in the November issue is most gratifying. With the splendid support that the workers in the field are showing, and the efficiency that the business office is maintaining in sailing close to the wind on printing expenses, we will be able to pay off our debt to headquarters gradually and increase the size of the magazine within a month or two.

The business office reports that the sixty-four page edition of October brought in a net gain of $314.18 for us. This decreases the debt to $3,835.17.

The November books of course are not yet closed. But our appeal has met with gratifying response. Already the following workers have dug down into their scant supply of cash to help us out of our difficulties:

| | |
|---|---|
| J. Gillis | $10.00 |
| Card No. 822337 | 1.00 |
| Workers' Club of Hancock | 15.00 |
| M. Raddock | 1.00 |
| J. Kennedy | 9.00 |
| A. Reader | 1.00 |
| Total | $37.00 |

In addition to these direct contributions Bishop Brown, author and publisher of the book, Communism and Christianism, which is reviewed in the book review columns elsewhere in the magazine, donated to our sustaining fund 1000 copies of his new enlarged sixth edition just off the press.

These copies were delivered to us free of charge and are to be sold at the regular rates from this office, retail price 25c and wholesale 12c per copy. The full proceeds go to the Pioneer sustaining fund. We will be glad to take your order for as many copies as you can use.

Then the Chicago Branch of I. U. No. 330 has arranged for a Surprise Party and Dance for the benefit of the Pioneer and Solidarity. This event is to take place on Dec. 3rd at Verdandi's Hall, 5015 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.

The share of the proceeds for the Industrial Pioneer should still further aid us in attaining our object of a bigger, better magazine free from the burden of debt.

Fellow workers! It is gratifying to know that the value of the Industrial Pioneer is realized by its readers. In order to make our liquidation campaign a success we need still greater efforts from all concerned. Here is your chance to help. If you have a few dollars to spare or even a few cents send them in as a donation. Take up a couple of subscriptions from your acquaintances, sell a bundle order or influence some one else to do so if you are already doing your bit.

If you have not read Bishop Brown's Communism and Christianism, write in for a copy from us. Get your branch to lay in a supply for the literature table. If possible bring up the proposition before the branch of holding an entertainment for our benefit, as the Chicago branch of No. 330 has done.

As another educational feature the Pioneer is making arrangements to supply a long felt want in the ranks of the workers of this country. We are going to pick out a long list of revolutionary books for children so that their minds may not be poisoned by the damnable rot put out by the bunk peddlers for the little ones to read. Our book department will run reviews of these books as fast as they can be handled and orders for them will be filled from this office. We will have books for all ages from six to sixteen.

Fathers, mothers and friends cannot do better when selecting a present for the children than in getting a good book interesting as well as educational.

The Pioneer intends to branch out into other helpful fields. We are going ahead. Get behind us and push and the Industrial Pioneer together with the Industrial Workers of the world will be a factor of tremendous value in the coming revolution.

Editor—The Industrial Pioneer.

The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. 1, No. 11 DECEMBER, 1921 Serial No. 11

# Unemployment

THE national conference on unemployment has met and adjourned and great are the effects thereof. The idea that the pitifully ignorant business men have of economics makes their brother parasites, the crumbs and bedbugs, blush with shame for their trade. The bugs at least know that a dry bone gives no juice.

Christian science is to be practiced on the unemployed. All over the country the papers are making display head lines to the effect that times are getting better. One paper shattered the truth and the King's English at the same time with the enormity: "UNEMPLOYED FEWER BY TWO MILLION."

### As a Man Thinketh

Therein lies the program of the brains of this country. The only thing necessary is to get everybody hypnotized to the extent of believing that business is good and that unemployment is decreasing and these wicked bolshevik slaves who have simply gone on strike against buying things will start in to buy again.

Having by means of newspaper headlines and coordinated exhortations succeeded in making people think they were fighting for democracy and were taking part in the "war to end war," it is not to be wondered at that the idea presents itself that the same tactics can make the hungry worker think he has a job and is well fed. One lie is not a bit bigger than another, they say.

They have a real system, however, in trying to put across the hypnotic stuff. An article, for instance, in the Marine Review, dealing with the deadest industry of all the lot, starts out in this encouraging fashion, "Just at a time when American ship-building is beginning to show some signs of increased activity," etc., etc.

### Philantrophy

G. E. Emmons of the General Electric Co. of Schenectady, N. Y., seeks free advertising of his generosity by the following wise counsel to his slaves: "The Navy Department has authorized the resumption of work on electrical equipment for one battle cruiser, with the understanding, however, that shipments will not be required until next summer and no payments for materials and labor are to be made until the next government fiscal year, which begins July 1, 1922.

"This necessitates the company locking up capital for material and labor until next July, but it gladly does it in order to provide employment to those who would otherwise be out of work during the coming winter." Not to mention the profits from said locked up capital taken from the workers in the first place.

When this job is completed then the innocent gullibles, bless their hearts, can read about the terrible Japanese atrocities and rise in democratic wrath to eliminate forever such a formidable competitor of the American plutocracy from the world markets. They can go out and plow the seas in the electric equipment.

Even our esteemed British contemporaries ladle out the Mrs. Eddy compound at times. Cuthbert Maugham, who is shipping editor for the London Times, glides jazzily by the facts as follows: "When we recall the magnitude of the upheaval caused by the war no surprise need be felt that the settling down process has been prolonged."

What is really worrying these gentlemen is how long the settling up process can be delayed.

### The Real Issue

The cause for unemployment is just one. It is the same cause that creates wars, child labor, prostitution, ignorance and poverty. That cause is the system of private ownership and control of the means of production, for the purpose of making profit.

The unemployment conference cries to the communities of the continent to open up public works so that they can employ the workers. This is the purest bunk. They know full well that the communities are all alike and that they will not "open up" unless there is a profit in it.

Every social constructive effort started by "high minded" statesmen, students, philanthropists and what nots, runs up against the same snag. The owners of industry are out for the swag and if there is no swag they are organized to see that you don't play with the machinery on which their profits and our lives depend.

### The Source of Power

Crack brained editors throughout the land sigh wildly for a plan that will work to start the wheels of industry turning. That constructive plan has been advanced on paper for fifteen years by the

Industrial Workers of the World. Today this same organization is starting out to put the plan into effect in real earnest. Two big new drives are going to start the organization of a section of the working class into industrial unions, that can develop industrial power.

Organization gives the emperors of finance their power to close down the factories, and create unemployment. They have control of the industries. It is true that the working class really runs the industries and in actual fact controls them. Every operation is dependent on the workers. In the final analyzes the working class has now and has always had the industrial power.

But we have never organized that power. We let the boss do it. Now is the time to REORGANIZE. Now is the time to build our industrial unions into the structure of industry in such a manner that we, and not the boss, will have the economic power. Then, and then only, will the curse of private property operated for profit be lifted.

### The Big Drives

The Industrial Workers of the World are starting two big organization drives. One of them in the oil industry has been mapped out and is under way. The other, in the marine transport industry, will be swinging along according to plans in the near future.

Are you unemployed? Do you want to remove the causes of unemployment? If so get into action and add the force of your presence in these two basic industrial organization campaigns that will build up an industrial force invincible if carried out NOW.

### No Hope from the Boss

The bosses' petty employment schemes cannot help either the workers or the bosses. The inexorable laws of economics provide that unless the workers receive the full product of their toil they cannot buy back on the market the things that they produce.

Ten thousand conferences between Sam Gompers, Charley Schwab and the whole crew cannot change this fact. The organization of economic and social power can change it, by giving to the worker the equivalent to the full product of his toil on the job.

Germany has found a scheme whereby the dope is being administered to the business corpse of that country. There are only 400,000 unemployed there. Of course, the workers are toiling on the same old basis or worse. Their wages now only buy enough to keep their own bellies supplied with soup. The reproduction of children to take their places is not figured on. But the American worker can't get even this much unless he gets a job. For the German capitalists are committing suicide. They are existing by means of manufacturing tons of paper money.

This paper money acts like cocaine on the life of the nation. It creates a false glow of health. In the end it means the elimination of the little business man. It means the destruction of the German capitalism. For instance, a little stock holder owns 100,000 marks of stock in a company. The printing press turns out so many paper marks that it takes, at the present rate, over a hundred and thirty to make a dollar. That means that a mark is worth less than a third of a cent apiece. The cockroach that formerly lived well on his income of 8,000 marks a year, now only gets the equivalent of about 25 dollars a year in interest. He is being wiped out as a parasitic factor.

### Organize the Job

Unemployment in Germany is decreasing but the price that the workers are paying for work is more terrible than can be described. The only extenuating circumstance is the wiping out of the petty bourgeoisie. The necessity for job organization exists in Germany as elsewhere, because the industrial control will in the final analyses determine whether the working class or the industrial over lords will win.

There is no country that has solved the unemployment question. Russia alone is taking steps to do so. She is starting to build up state capitalism so that industry may be developed to a high degree of productivity. Her problems are not our problems now.

We have the machinery perfected. We are an industrial country. Today the solution for the unemployment of the working class can only come from the working class themselves. We must organize industrially in every industrial country and in every industry and prepare to take over and operate the production of the means of life for use and not for profit.

## *The Workers Funeral Hymn*

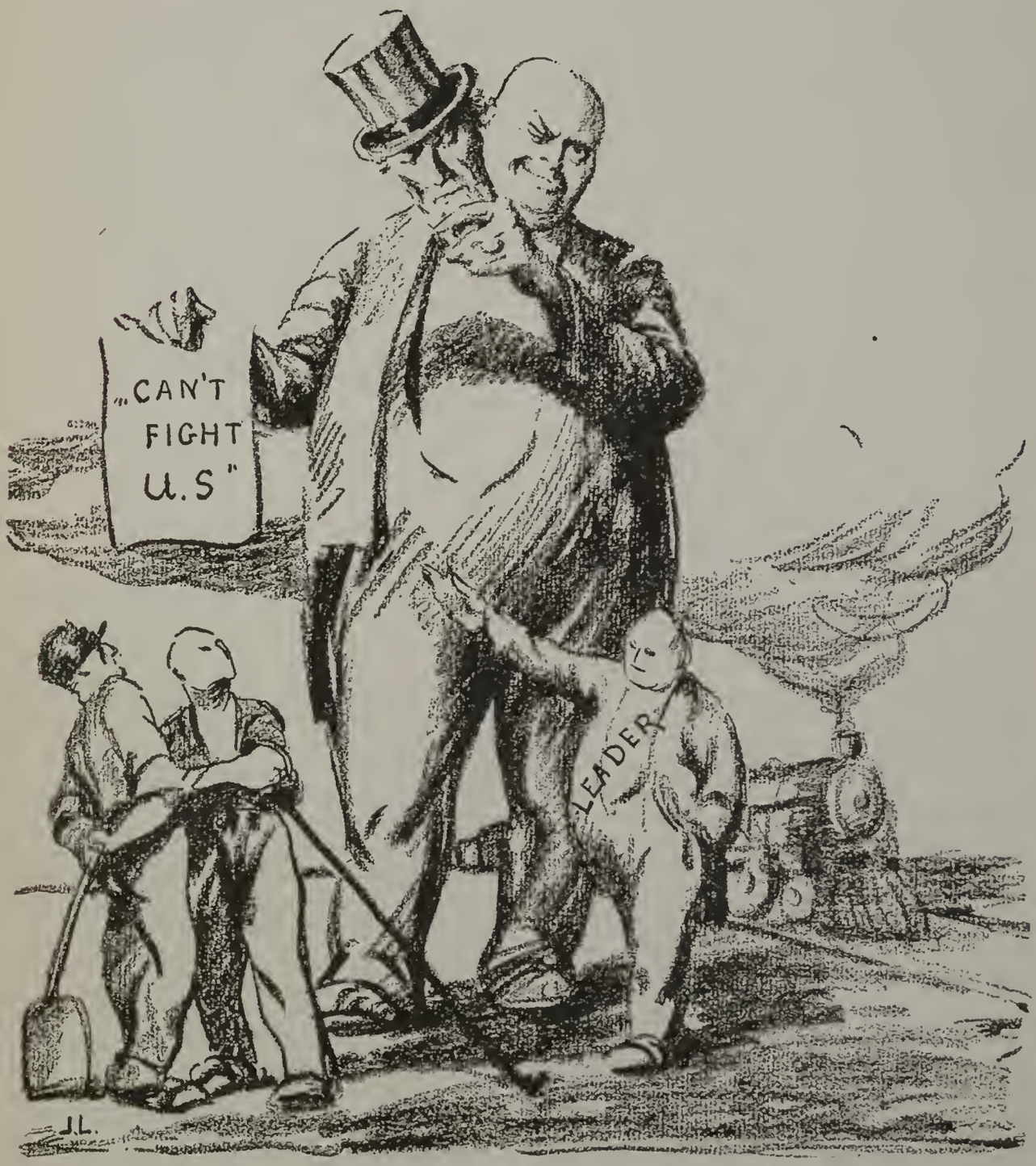
(Air: Abide With Me.)

Heart that was brave in Freedom's holy train,
Striving to break the master's cruel chain!
Here by your grave, we pledge ourselves anew
Never to rest until your dreams come true!

Sleep, Worker, sleep, strong hearts the watch will keep,
Till through the darkness Earth's new dawn shall creep.
Flowers we lay in silence where you dream,
Soft as the snow that feeds the mountain stream!

Under the red carnation and the rose,
Sleep sweetly on, the sleep no waking knows;
Soldier of toil, a tribute here we bring,—
Love's last farewell in broken song we sing!

J. E. SINCLAIR.




THAT SETTLED IT

# Moving the Dirt Movers

**By the Waterboy**

PAT McGOOGAN was an old time dirt-mover, knew all of the old time skinners and contractors, and was known to be competent and efficient in his line, for he had played all parts of it. For years Pat blew in and blew out, and put up with the conditions which he often wondered about changing.

Not so many years ago Pat was among those present when the bunch were sitting around in the old rag-house on a construction job up in the state of Washington. The camp conditions were rotten, the bossman was pretty "hard-boiled" and you had to pound the stock on the tail from morning till night, or your pork chops were cut off.

It had been a case of being meek and get in a few days for Pat. He was laying down in a top bunk, paying very little attention to the conversation of his fellow slaves, although there was a new hand in camp, and he was bawling about something. Finally the new skinner started a story which brought Pat back to his present environment. He had been thinking of how he could frame on the Bossman when he came to town, but this story offered a new idea.

The new arrival was telling about a big "hard-boiled" Swede Bossman in a camp down the line. "It was this way," he said. "I came into camp as the boys was coming out from 'chuck" and seen the Walker. As he was short-handed, had no trouble setting in. Well, I went into one of the bunk-houses and the bunch all seemed to be hostile about the way they were used by the 'Big Swede.' So, after explaining the benefits of a little job organization in cases of this kind, the bunch agreed to try it the next morning.

"Well, on the works with the old Fresno the next day it wasn't long before the Big Swede was giving me the crooked arm and yelling, 'Come with 'em, Shorty.' I went all the slower and the rest of the skinners fell in with the slow gait.

"This got the boss wild-eyed, and he came over and yelled, 'Get out of that runway! Stand 'em out! Go and get it!

"I told him to go and get himself a stick. and sit up on the bank and whittle, be a good Bossman and keep his clam shut or we'd run him down the line.

"This was an awful shock for him, something he had never heard of before, but the boys stayed with me and we told the contractor we would move his dirt, but we were not going to pay no mind to that big ape bossing. We also made the contractor understand it he didn't want it this way, why, him and the Swede could have the outfit to themselves and the rest of us would go to town. It broke the Big Swede's heart when he heard the contractor say, 'All right, boys, go right ahead with your work and pay no attention to Gus.'

"The Big Swede went to the bunk-house and was sick with the shakes for three days over the effects of loosing his dignity."

The new hand set in, and Pat looked forward to the evening, when the interesting conversations regarding working and better camp conditions took place. It seemed funny that not all of the rest of the hands could see this thing as Pat did.

Was it not a fact that the contractors were organized? Wouldn't it be much better for the dirt-movers if they were organized? Could the workers have any power to combat the contractors, unless they organized in one union? Well. Pat saw the need of organization, so when he went to town he looked up the delegate and lined up.

From that day Pat took an active part in the good work that was carried on. While organizing the dirt-jobs through the Northwest, many a cook was put on the tramp without notice, for putting out bum chuck in camps where Pat was active. Many a contractor was told to give the mulligan mixer whatever he ordered in the line of supplies. A good cook was always sure of plenty of support, and the boys were there to see to it that he got whatever he wanted from the commissary when job organization existed.

Many a "hard-boiled Bossman" was told to take it steady, and was shown what job organization meant to a bunch of dirt-movers. There was none of this old "Come on with 'em, boys," or "Hurry up, John" on the works, no "Stand 'em out, and go and get your time"; for experience had taught many a Bossman that when one Wobbly left by request as a general rule it means paying off the entire outfit. Pat never forgot to explain that their motto was, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Many a contractor knew what it was to have the Wobbly preamble thrown at him, and his outfit tied up, unless he conceded to the demands of the workers. Many a time Pat was on the committee that presented these demands. Whenever the contractor didn't see fit to come through, it would have done you good to have seen how quick a bunch of skinners could hook it. In fact, it was nothing to see the outfit tied up and the stock standing out on the works. It often took the contractor until the wee hours of the night to gather up his plugs after he had had "the flag hoisted on him."

It could never be said that Pat McGoogan was one of those to "grape-up" around an outfit, but it is nevertheless a fact that Pat had a certain amount of influence over an element who followed this work. The funny part of it is that several

of the eontraetors in that part of the eountry were more aware of this faet than Pat himself. On a big new job Pat took on the bossing.

Talk about your "faney skinner's" and effieient dirt-distributors. Pat MeGoogan had the finest aggregation in the eountry. There was no ehanee of setting in, unless you had a "Hy-ster" and a rep like "Race Horse Shorty" or "Dan Pateh."

Well, this wasn't sueh a tough looking spread that Pat was running, but to say the least, it eould stand some improvement in the ehuek-line. As a rule, one thing that Pat was strong on was the best of ehuek; he sure believed in padding the "old bread basket," but being as he was bossing, he kind of overlooked this little matter.

Instead of finding a high place to stand and holler: "Come on with 'em, boys," Pat used different tacties to get effieiency. He would remark: "The contractor knows that I'm a Wobbly, and he knows that I am working a solid Wobbly crew on this job. We will show this eontraetor what a bunch of real dirt movers can do. We'll show him that we are not a buneh of Hoosier's that seatter muck all over the eountry. They call us I. W. W.'s 'I Won't Works,' We'll show him that we can move dirt and not only that, but put it between the stakes where it belongs."

Well, to show how the slave is guided by influence, Pat, with his old bull made a regular raee traek out of the wheeler run. Yes, and the eonversation around eamp was used to keep things moving too.

Pat would eome right into the bunk-house with the hands after supper. The first remark would be, "Not sueh a bad supper, men," then he would tell about the "Vineyard" (where the Bossman eat at one table and the hands at another) in the eamp below. Pretty wise old Pat! He told them anything to keep their minds off the bum conditions that existed in "his" outfit. Then the old timers would tell about the tough layouts in some of the dirt outfits of a few years back. Pat sure could talk this stuff. It was duck soup for him.

He often made mention of outfits being run in that locality, that were not in the same class as "our outfit", and if some of the agitators wanted to make better eonditions, he advised them to take on one of the "bum outfits, as 'we' already had conditions suitable to all" (exeept a few disrupters) as Pat ealled them.

The nature of this big job was somewhat similar to all dirt work. It was building a railroad grade, whieh was to open up some rieh timber land. This timber was owned by a million dollar outfit, but by the interest that Pat and some of the lead hands took in the work you would of thought that they were doing the job for themselves.

In one case, one of the hands was taking it kind of steady, and Pat remarked: "Say you! What kind of a Wob are you anyway? Are you laying down on a fellow worker? (refering to himself). The answer was: "Why, no, this is a million dollar outfit that is doing this work, and the working elass and the employing elass have nothing in eommon, so why should I hurry?" This was belittling Pat's prestige to put the eoncern ahead of the fellow worker Bossman (himself), so the skinner that was using the slow down taeties was paid in full, right up to date.

There was a "big ehump" earrying water, who was sure juggy and found it no trouble "slowing down on the job" even when working at the essential oceupation of "paeking water." The water-boy had been resting in one of John Farmer's hay shoeks, whieh was elose by the grade.

After about an hour at this, he pieks up the bucket and makes the rounds. The hook-skinner, when offered a drink, remarked, "That dam water is hot, I don't want that."

"Fine and dandy," says the water-boy, "the less you drink, the less I have to paek."

This was more than MeGoogan eould stand, so he says to the water-boy. "You are a hell of a Wob. Go get the fellow workers some good eold water."

The answer was, "Say, Pat, if these apes don't kick about the bum ehuek they are getting, they have no kiek coming about the water. If they get better ehuek they will get good eool water to wash it down."

Pat eomes baek with, "You got it in for that fellow worker that is eooking."

The answer was, "I don't know whether it is the eook or the eompany. But if we tied the outfit up for a eouple of days, we might be able to find out."

This ended the argument.

Not long after this a strike was deelared on the whole line. Onee the strike started, Pat got into the game with his old pep. This is where he got next to himself and saw that he was still a member of the working elass. The outfit was tied up solid and "his" camp came out to a man.

Pat went through the sehool of experience. He learned that is was impossible to emaneipate himself with a boss man job. As long as there is a elass struggle, there will always be strife between the working elass and the employing elass. This sentiment may seem dead at times, but it is always bound to flare up, even on a job with a fellow worker like Pat MeGoogan bossing.

It makes little differenee to him now whether it's a big seissor, or a fellow worker doing the gaffering. Pat's eard is paid up to date, and he now uses it as a weapon to combat the employer, instead of as a means of holding down a job bossing, for, of you remember right, he took out this eard to get back at some of these bossmen.

More power to Pat!

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## MONOPOLISTIC IMPERIALISM

The world has entered a new era. Even real scholars in the field of economics often fail to understand and allow for the workings of this new period. The means of production have become monopolised. The few dozen big financiers of the world have, through financial and banking machinery, obtained practical control of the world's industries.

Labor tactics to meet this new situation must be revised. Onto the scrap heap at once go the old already decrepit craft bargaining methods. Peaceful wage bargaining is an idle dream when trying to bargain with a monopolist such as Gary or Rockefeller. Craft unionism, outworn and useless from a class point of view for the last quarter of a century, will be impossible from now on.

The I. W. W. need concern itself little with arguments against craft unionism. It need concern itself little with polemics against class compromise. We MUST concern ourselves greatly with industrial tactics and maneuvers at once, if we are to win success over the consolidated might of the completed monopoly.

The drive, the campaign, the practical alignment of organization forces, these are the most important subjects for consideration by the I. W. W. and revolutionists everywhere. We have the greatest industrial program theoretically of all of them. Through practical organization workmanship we can realize that program. On to the job! Plan and organize!

## GETTING BORED

A strange fact in revolutionary circles is the aptitude which persons with an apparently realistic outlook on life have for adherence to principles and formulas. For more than a year now the I. W. W. has been a target for the advice of groups of rebels who have repeated over and over the dictum that radicals should bore within the reactionary trade unions.

After listening to repetitions of this advice for many months it seems to us that the matter has become a fixed idea. Boring from within has become a manifestation of dementia praecox with some purveyors of revolutionary ideas.

The I. W. W. is not opposed to the PRINCIPLE of boring from within. It is opposed to the TACTIC of boring from within in specific instances. How ridiculous is the idea that the I. W. W. membership should join and bore from within the Timberworkers' Union a still born, officials' paper union, that never had any power, purpose or prestige. The thing is absurd.

On the other hand the I. W. W. realizes that among the organized miners in the coal fields of America the way to reach the membership with the ideas and teachings of revolutionary industrial unionism is not by staying away from these workers but by getting on the job and working with them.

The I. W. W. attempts to tackle the situation that exists in each industry and branch of industry according to the special facts which bear on the situation there, and not according to general made to order theorems for public consumption.

The sincere advocates of boring from within have drawn up no definite constructive plan for action in any of the industries. They do not seem interested in the industries anyway. No specific industrial problem has been taken up and worked out according to the special facts that obtain in the industry under consideration. The sum total of the activity of the active borers seems to be in the giving of general advice. It is rather boresome.

# Splitting the Big Drive

**By Wm. Dimmit**

THE annual convention of Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 is over. According to all precedents that means that the drive is completed and that all will be dormant till the next harvest of wheat calls for men and more men.

This year has not been a customary year, however. The drive in all its earliest stages assumed new forms, and greater strength and economic power was developed than ever before. This year the convention has not ended the drive. **On with the organization drive,** was the slogan there and everywhere.

### New Tactics

It is going on and is carrying into new fields all the energy and spirit that were generated in that great two thousand mile sweep that astonished many of our own members as much as it did the boss. The I. W. W. has learned that successful organization requires not only the perfected theoretical program of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism, but also detailed plans for action based on the facts of the industry that is under consideration.

The big harvest drive was not altogether a spontaneous result of social conditions. The organization strength and solidarity displayed there were generated by skillful maneuvering on the part of the active members and delegates who worked in accord with the big central plan. The same tactics applied to other industries will bring the same results and to prove this theory the active membership is directing the biggest drive that the organization has ever known into fields never before covered.

### Splitting up for Fresh Starts

In northwestern Dakota the many thousands of members of the I. W. W. were finishing up the last work of the Central American harvest. On into Manitoba the work was spreading and in the prairie centres of Canada the plans were being laid to co-ordinate the Canadian organization work. Hundreds of members and delegates crossed the line into the "King's" territory and are even now tossing the last bundles while the early snows are coming down. To the east of the Dakota centre lies the short log country of Superior district. Hundreds of active workers and delegates have gone into the woods there, and transferring into the lumber workers' union are carrying and pushing the work of organization individually.

To the West turned the greater part of the vast body of Red Card members. Into the beet harvest of Montana they poured and on through Butte, branching down into the beets of the Idaho Falls irrigated lands and so into Utah.

### Westward Bound

Billings, Montana, became wobbly congested. Delegation after delegation arrived from Dakota and then after the local harvest of beets was finished, they split two ways. To the west towards Butte and Idaho Falls went one section to sweep on into

**A. WENATCHEE ORCHARD**

the battle scarred territory of Spokane, where the Palouse harvest was in its last stages. Then on into the fruit harvest of Wenatchee and into the beets, hay and fruit of Yakima.

Let us follow this westward split from Billings, remembering that we are only dealing with a branch of the great drive. From Wenatchee and Yakima on over the Caseades onto the coast the harvest workers poured and into the Marine Transport Workers many active men have transferred. Into the woods also have spread the seasoned harvest stiffs and the spirit of the great drive goes with them.

Down the coast from Seattle sweeps the wave of red card agitators and under the noses of the surprised native sons they unite with their compatriots from Billings, who have played the Idaho Falls and Utah country. In California the rice harvest is on. New life and pep is being injected into the workers of this section who have struggled so long and with such hardships against the frame up gang and their rule of iron.

The California drive on the rice fields and then on the orange and citrus orchards is being laid out in detail. The plans are carefully worked out in regular 110 fashion and this winter will see the big summer drive repeated on a big scale in sunny California.

### The Southern Split

The other split from Billings, Montana, went south into the oil fields of Wyoming and down into the beets of western Nebraska and eastern Colorado. The fruit of Colorado was not neglected and the Wobbly is on the job throughout all sections.

From the beets near Scott's Bluff, Nebraska, hundreds came back to Omaha, which territory had been covered by the northern sweep of the summer harvesters. Here was held the convention by the elected No. 110 delegates and here was laid the plans for the big oil industry drive that is now just gaining momentum.

A special conference of oil workers who took in the No. 110 drive met and laid preliminary plans for the big organization campaign that is now sweeping the mid-continent oil field. This unofficial conference submitted their plans to the No. 110

THOUSAND MILE LINE DISCOVERED

convention, which went on record to back up their new oil drive in every way and which donated $2,000 to start the big clean up.

On November first an official oil workers' conference was called to complete the plans for field work. Dozens of the active delegates, who are oil workers, participated in this conference and were assigned sections to cover in the oil industry.

### The Oil Fields

The time for the oil drive is well chosen. The lack of activity shown by the Blue Card union has disgusted its membership with it. Not only has this union done nothing to improve conditions in the mid-continent field, but seems unable to lend active support to the members of the California fields who struck to maintain conditions already won by them.

The twelve-hour tower and the ten-hour shift will have to go declare the militant drillers and pipe liners and the I. W. W. shows the way to win. The new tactics of throwing groups of active workers and delegates into section after section and backing them up until the entire industry has been covered, will succeed in developing the organized economic power.

### The Marine Industry

The two industries into which the harvest workers are now concentrating are Marine Transport and Oil. No. 110 is anxious to boost the M. T. W., but no plans have as yet been laid out to sweep this industry with a drive carried out in accord with the new methods.

That the M. T. W. presents a most important opportunity for organization by the I. W. W. none recognize as well as the marine workers themselves. Thousands are joining the organization and in the near future it is hoped that the final phase of organizing these workers according to plan will be entered into.

Many No. 110 members have transferred to the M. T. W., especially on the Pacific coast, and with the unity that now has been restored to the ranks of this union, the organization opportunities look better than ever before.

Oil and Marine Transport drives are the need of the hour and the harvest workers are doing their best to fill the need. Also in lumber and railroad organization they are being felt as an organizing force.

The eastern fruit drive did not materialize. The failure of the crops throughout the East made it impossible to go through with the plan for organizing the workers in this section. Next year will see the apple knockers in this big country worked over by the wobbly delegates.

No, the harvest drive is not over. From coast to coast rings the slogan today—ON WITH ORGANIZATION.

# Book Review

**The New Policies of Soviet Russia.** By Lenin, Bukharin, Rutgers. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. $1.00.

This book is a compilation of three essays. The first, by Lenin, in his customary clearcut, analytical style, discusses the new policies of Soviet Russia and proves by quotation and logic that the policies are not new, at least so far as he is concerned. With a notable absence of metaphysic he forces home point after point.

We learn that social ownership and control of industry is not to be had in the same way that mushrooms are gathered after an unexpected storm.

Even with the social power in the hands of the Russian workers it is emphasized that industrial communism comes into being by the **evolutionary** substitution of communistic methods to replace the patriarchal, small commodity, or private capitalistic forms which exist in Russia side by side.

The road to socialism lies through a period of national accounting and control—which means a form of state capitalism for Russia. The victorious struggle by the revolutionary workers for power does not alter the necessity for this evolutionary development. The dictatorship of the proletariat may make possible the hurrying of some of the stages of small scale production and private ownership, but it cannot jump them.

"Military communism," Lenin says, is not communism at all. Although necessary, under the circumstances of civil war. "It did not and could not meet the problems of proletarian policy."

The new policies of Soviet Russia are formed to give aid to the development of general production and state capitalism. Communism can only be built on the completed structure of large scale industry. It is the policy of the Soviets to build up that large industry in the only way it can be built up—through capitalism. But the capitalism that they propose is not the capitalism of Stinnes, Morgan or Gary , but state capitalism by a proletarian state.

Is it possible to combine and have side by side a Soviet state, the dictatorship of the proletariat and state capitalism? Consideration of these questions are guiding the Soviets in the formulation of their new policy.

The short essay by Bukharin deals but little with the new policy except as a sounding board against which to throw his ideas as to the relative impossibility of conducting a revolution without a paralysis of industry. Ignoring completely the chances of forming revolutionary industrial organizations to function in industry for both industrial production and class struggle during revolutionary periods, he hastens to the analogy that one cannot make omelets without breaking eggs.

He quotes the fact that in the old bourgeois revolutions the middle classes had already built the structure of the new bourgeois society in the shell of the old feudal one and so prevented a paralytic breakdown of production. He refuses to glance at this historic fact in the light that the industrialist would at once see it. He refuses to grasp the ready idea that he himself unearths, and that is that in order to prevent a complete demoralization of industry during a proletarian revolution, it is necessary that the workers build the structure of the new society in the shell of the old capitalist one.

Bukharin through absorbtion in political subjects, which perhaps are vital to Russia, overlooks the vast industrial field which is the most vital and potent factor in the coming revolution in all capitalist countires. Because of this fact he not only fails to give information of value to those of us who are anxious to get points on American problems, but he sheds little light on the problems of Russia, which today are largely economic.

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Rutger deals with the attitude of the intellectuals in the Russian revolution. He has little to add to the ideas that have long been current among the I. W. W. He brings forward much proof that bourgeois intellectuals will not readily conform to the workers rule and will not be liable to develop any dynamic constructive qualities while in the service of the workers.

He comes forward with no program for the production of trained workers now, for future use. The essay, while valuable in that it upholds much that has for some time been accepted as fact by all real class-conscious workers, brings little of a constructive nature to the solution of the problems which are restated.

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**Communism and Christianism.** Sixth edition, revised and enlarged. By Bishop Wm. M. Brown.

Two hundred and twenty-five pages are filled to overflowing with a gentle, reminiscent, conversational grouping of ideas for the militant purpose, as is openly declared on the cover of this book, of banishing gods from the skies and capitalists from the earth.

Quotations are injected constantly from every sort of authority on questions of life and better living. Jesus, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Thomas Paine, Omar, Karl Marx, Lenin and hundreds of others lend their wisdom to the project of the bishop.

The revisions include a most complete list of Marxian definitions going into the differences in theory between all the various groupings of revolutionists and reformers.

The easy rambling style of the whole book reflects the peaceful philosophy of the writer. As a compendium of revolutionary and social knowledge it is invaluable to the active revolutionist or propagandist. To the person still enveloped with the haze of superstition and reverent belief the book is an eye opener. This latest edition will go much faster, we believe, than the five which preceeded it.

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**The Workers in American History,** by James O'Neal, revised and enlarged. Rand School of Social Science, New York.

Delight must certainly creep into the heart of the one hundred per cent American over the subject matter of this book. Here no foreign agitator creeps in with insidious propaganda. A straightforward account of the sacred beginnings of our great American institutions leaves one breathless. No statement is advanced without the documentary evidence noted to back it up.

Economic and political history marches hand in hand through the early days of slavery and indenture, wage payment and political trickery to the ripe results of Industrial Feudalism and Gompersonian craft unionism of today. It is a book filled with data that reveal without argument, to the most prejudiced, the facts of American capitalism and the exercise of our political and economic "rights."

As a text book of historical facts in the labor movement this little volume can hardly be surpassed, yet in many ways it leaves much to be desired. The industrial vision is lacking. The social thinking is in terms of politics rather than of industry. The linking up of militant labor organization to the structure of the industrial processes is a factor but negligently dealt with.

*R. W.*

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**Stories of the Cave People.** By Mary E. Marcy. Chas. H. Kerr & Co. $1.00.

Whether dealing with economics or sociology, Mary E. Marcy has the knack of "putting it over" with such directness and simplicity that a child can understand.

Written in story form, this book contains twelve chapters dealing with the development of primitive man through Savagery—based on Morgan's "Ancient Society." How to kindle a fire, the uses of fire, the wearing of skins and ornaments, the invention of pottery, how to plant seeds, the use of the bow and arrow, the belief in gods, and the sheer necessity which brought these developments about, is convincingly and clearly brought out.

The nature of man—his greed, his inarticulateness, strength, speed and agility—these attributes

# Grabbing them Young

From time to time there has been considerable discussion in the columns of the radical and industrial union press about the need for childrens books, which would treat of the life of people and society in a realistic manner. Such an article appeared in the Industrial Worker of Seattle in the issue of November the Fifth and brings plainly to the attention of the readers of the I. W. W. press that we have fallen down on the job of supplying childrens propaganda books to the little ones.

We know that the capitalists have not failed to poison even the innocent minds of children with their slave ideas and no one but will readily agree with Fellow Worker Welinder that each branch of the organization should have in stock a few good readable and interesting childrens books written from the working class view point.

The Industrial Pioneer has been making investigations of the books put out by other publishers which come in the class of real wholesome works for children. We find that there are many of them and that we should push their sales seems logical and indeed imperative if we intend to compete with the institutions of enslavement that exist on every hand.

Some there are that deal with simple stories with deep underlying literary and social values. Such is a story by Mark Twain that in power and literary merit surpasses any thing else that he has written. It was published after his death. The name of this book is 'The Mysterious Stranger'. It has been suppressed after the first edition and is almost impossible to obtain. Yet other books are openly on the market and are little noticed by either radical publications or organizations.

Some of these deal with stories of the prehistoric days. The lives of the cave and tree people form subjects for fancies based on the solid facts of the evolution of man. The economic basis of man's devolpement is shown over and over in many series of these tales.

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are woven in cleverly with his environment—the thick forest, the many wild beasts, the varying food supply—so that we perceive them not as unusual, remarkable phenomena, but as the natural, the only possible qualities for the cave men of that period.

A list of questions pertaining to each chapter supplements the volume and makes it ideal as a study book. Both youngster and grownup will find it instructive and amusing.

As a substitute for the insipid fairy tales of the Sunday school type this book cannot be recommended too highly.

*R. A. W.*

The Pioneer intends to run one or two book reviews each month of the various books which it considers ought to be read by the working class children everywhere. We have not completed the arrangements neeessary yet for handling all these books throughout our book department but will be able to quote all prices direct to our readers in the January issue.

Elsewhere is a review of a book written by the well known author of works widely read by members of the I. W. W., Mary Marcy. This volume should be distributed to every little wobbly boy or girl and given to the children of other families where a gift of that sort would be appreciated.

As a special inducement to our readers we will supply a copy of "Stories of the Cave People" which sells for one dollar and a yearly subscription to the Industrial Pioneer priced at a dollar and a half, both for the sum of two dollars. We can supply all orders for the book alone at the straight price of one dollar.

Editor—Industrial Pioneer

The Industrial Pioneer book department recommends the following children's books which it can supply to the readers through our office at the regular prices which are quoted below. You will note that the ages of the children for which these books are suitable are attached so that you can pick out appropriate reading matter that will not convey the capitalistic taint to the young minds.

Stories of the Cave People by Mary E. Marey, for ages 9 to 15 years. Price $1.00.

Early Sea People by Katherine Dopp, for ages 9 to 12 years. Price $1.00.

Early Cave People by Katherine Dopp, ages 7 to 9. Price 90c.

Later Cave People by Katherine Dopp, ages 7 to 9. Price 90c.

Tree Dwellers by Katherine Dopp, ages 7 to 9. Price 90c.

Before Adam by Jack London, ages 14 up. Price 60c.

These books will make splendid Christmas presents for the children. Get the idea of evolution to them young. Help the Pioneer to enlarge its book department and educational work. Other books will be on hand for the next issue.

We wish to correct the statement that appeared on Page 30 of the November Pioneer. Instead of the October issue showing a defieit of $77.49 it was the September issue.

# The Cut Glass Industry

**By Richard James**

SYSTEMATIC abrasions on glass ware technically known as cut glass, first gained prominence in the city of Prague through a German designer and cutter named Lehman. He taught the art to others, the most skilled of whom found favor with the Austrian Court.

Power was supplied by water-mills; the tools were crude, and the patterns only a vague promise of the aesthetic destiny of the trade. Europe is now behind this country in production of cut glass of merit. We shall speak of the trade here.

Glass factories make the shapes. Some of these plants have cutting shops, but most cut glass is produced by independent firms. Three lines of ware are cut, heavy and light table ware and shades for lighting purposes. Table ware includes such articles as jugs, tumblers, goblets, bowls, nappies, vases. etc.

Not much capital is necessary to start a cutting shop, hence the great number of small one-, two- and three-men shops. Glass manufacturers frequently threaten to boycott these shops but for both economic and artistic reasons they have thus far largely supplied the cutting shops outside. There are probably five thousand cutters in this country. It is understood we are not including those who bevel plate glass and mirrors, or who trim stained mosaics. The cutters were once on the road to organization in the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, attaining 2,000 members. This has dwindled to about half. War industries offering greater remuneration took many from the trade.

When one spoke of cut glass twenty-five years ago heavy table ware was meant—"deep cut," polished to brilliancy. Heavy ware has weight, fine material and beautiful finish. Formerly the "blanks" came to a cutting shop perfectly plain. Now the majority are pressed in process of moulding at the factories. In the case of the plain blank the design is marked on mainly with red lead. It is then "roughed." Roughing is an abrasive operation accomplished by pressing the glass against a steel mill revolving perpendicularly and fed with a constant stream of watered sand, alundum or carborandum. The latter is best, and most used. The mills are fastened to a spindle, and this is held between wooden blocks. The entire working stand is called a "frame." The mill-surface is shaped flat, cupped, convex or to a "mitre" by means of a file. The point of a sharp mill is its mitre.

When the rougher completes, say, a dozen bowls they are given to a smoother. This mechanic works on a frame, too, but uses stones instead of mills. The stones are very smooth and true, with water constantly running on their points and a sponge pressed against them to clear the residium. The stones are of two general natures, those quarried, and those manufactured. They are "turned" or "dressed" with solid carborandum bricks. When the smoother follows a rougher he removes the sand, alundum or carborandum by placing the glass against his stone, in the "groove." The cut then becomes "white" and smooth. Smoothers also add finer details of design without other marks. When they smooth "figured" or pressed blanks the process is identical but mold instead of "sand" is cut out. Good smoothers detest working on pressed ware.

The smoothing finished, a polisher next takes the work. He uses a "wood" fed with wet pumice. The glass pressed against this wood and gritty pumice is made "soft," free from surface imperfections impossible of removal through smoothing process.

The glass is then washed, dried, and inspected. It is then "waxed"—painted with hot wax on the inside. An acid-polisher now immerses it into a mixture of powerful acids. All parts exposed, not covered by wax, are affected. The result is a brilliancy that reflects in highlights all colors of the spectrum. Acid-polishers wear rubber gloves, but are sometimes badly burned from splashes.

In the wash-room another immersion in hot water removes the wax almost intact. The glass is washed again, dried and given to a buffer, who works on a wheel of hard felt dressed with rotten stone, pumice and putty powder, all wet. This operation removes "acid-marks." The glass is then washed for the third time and wrapped for shipment.

Light ware—articles of utilitarian and ornamental values in table ware—has been decorated in various ways, chief of which are etching, cutting and engraving. Some is also painted. The thinness of the glass necessitates more shallow cuttings. This makes for greater speed of output. Roughers and polishers are largely unnecessary. Very little of the cuts are polished. During the past few years this class of work has been gaining great popularity. While most of the designs little deserve to be called cut glass due to lack of beauty and skilled workmanship, it is also true that some manufacturers have seriously attempted to produce meritorius work. Some have succeeded with designs favorably reflecting the true aesthetic possibilities of cutting on light blanks. Patterns known as "grapes" and "stars" are an abomination. No one who really understands beauty in art would defend them, to say nothing of exhibiting such cheap stuff as worthy cut glass specimens.

But there is a line of junk in the cut glass trade

that is even worse than grapes and stars. It is called "semi-cut." This grade of work consists of heavier blanks of the pressed order and a "fire-polishing" method is used in the glass factories producing the stuff. This method is an imitation of acid-polishing. Cutters decorate the semi-cut ware just here and there putting onwhat is called "grey work," cuts of floral designs, usually, that are left "grey" or "dull."

Shades and domes are cut by stones just as the other branches. But the cutter of a shade follows certain main marks scratched or drawn on the outside surface, which is coated with wax. This leaves the cut shade ready for acid-polishing. Acids used for polishing cut glass are resisted by both wax, lead and rubber. The shade or dome itself, before waxing and cutting, has been sand-blasted, converted from a transparent into a translucent state. This class of merchandise has been steadily losing ground on the market.

Engraved work is accomplished best on stones. Copper wheels wet with oil are also used. The wheels whether of stone or copper, are quite small, and are threaded on small spindles and run in small lathes. Good engravings constitute the purest artistic expression of the whole technique. They are as limitless as the dreams of an Angelo; as beauteous as the creations of Rodin. Flora and fauna are represented, and I have seen engraved human forms of exquisite perfection. The product is necessarily very expensive and relatively little engraving is done, but the tendency now is for better examples of the whole art.

In union shops a four-year apprenticeship is required. Many shops have declined to train their own mechanics, preferring to recruit their industrial complement from the general journeyman mass. Other firms have made full use of the union rule permitting one boy to four journeymen, and even try to gain a larger proportion. Wages of apprentices are controlled exclusively by the employer, but hours must correspond to those governing the journeymen. When the latter are laid off a similar number of apprentices must be laid off. This rule was designed to frustrate attempts of employers to displace journeyman labor by intensive use of their apprentices.

Except during industrial conflicts these boys are not permitted attendance at union meetings, but at such times they are given seats, no votes and four dollars weekly for relief. The men receive seven when striking. Apprentice glass cutters are usually loyal to their class during strikes. Their employers super-exploit them by a general scheme of deductions ranging from ten to fifty per cent less than journeymen piece-work prices. It should be understood that most of the work throughout all the various branches is done on a piece-work basis.

In 1914 cutters received about $18.00 weekly for 55 hours. The schedule was then changed to fifty hours, and during the war wages rose to about a dollar an hour average. Cutters do not work after 12 on Saturday. At their recent conference with their masters they accepted a wage reduction approximating 20 per cent. They are conservative and quite individualistic. The nature of their work, where each one expresses his own creative ability in a pronounced manner, brings this about.

They have in one respect shown wisdow in the past, with regard to a well practiced ca canny. For a time limitation of production was abandoned by them, but the recent conference demonstrated conclusively their error, and I feel that they will revert to the one intelligent and militant practice that previously distinguished them from utter seissorbills.

The proposition is this: If glass cutters receive, say, a dozen bowls to cut for $12, and the job should pay fifteen in order to permit the mechanic to work as a human being should, it is obvious that the cutter must take fifteen hours, assuming that one dollar an hour is the prevalent rate. He must then contest the price himself or through his

**Smoother Cutting Comport on Manufactured Stone**

# Three Big Drives in One

WE ARE going to raise a Christmas Fund, to express remembrance for our fellow workers who are in prison.

There is great need for a Relief Fund, to help take care of the wives and children of fellow workers who are now compelled to waste their lives behind prison walls.

We **must** have a Deportation Fund, to assist and help on their way the members who will be deported upon completion of their prison sentences for the "crime" of attempting to organize the working class; and also those others who will be sent out of the country for their activity in this great cause.

So there must be **three** funds—and each one is as important as the others.

The General Defense Committee has been ordered to arrange for the collection of these three funds, because by having the drive carried on from a central point it can be handled with less expense and with better results for our prisoner fellow workers and their needy families.

We shall have **two** ways of collecting these funds:

One way will be by giving entertainments and applying the receipts to the three funds, and by holding meetings to bring forth collections for this purpose.

The only other resource will be voluntary donations from members and from the well-wishers of our organization.

The drive is on! And it will continue until January 1, 1922.

All delegates should write immediately to the General Defense for a receipt book, and get busy "on the job."

These receipt books will be handled in this manner:

The original receipt will be given to the donor; the first duplicate will be sent in with the remittance; and the second duplicate will be kept by the collector, for reference.

In this way clear reports can be made weekly to the General Defense Secretary, and remittances can be sent in promptly as the collections are made. Thus a systematic account can be kept all the time, and we shall always know just where the drive needs "speeding up."

We are going to get this money for our fellow workers—and we shall need all the help that can be given us. No member who is true to our slogan of "Solidarity" will fail to do his part in making this Big Three Drive a great success.

"They are inside for us; we are outside for them!"

Address all communications, and send remittances to:

**Harry Feinberg, General Defense Secretary, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.**

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shop committee to get the three dollars needed. "Fast" men are always used to set prices on new jobs. Our friends of 120 would call them high grade Gypos. To prevent a sort of elimination contest among these speed-maniacs, who boast their high-power proclivities, the production limit is absolutely necessary under this system.

Since 1912 girls have rapidly been introduced into the trade. They are now admitted to Flint membership under the same rules as their brother slaves. The trade requires no great strength, but it is a tedium, uses up the eyes, and sometimes destroys the "grip" of the hands requisite to perform the work. There are all sorts and sizes of shops, and some few have good lighting and sanitation. Most of them, however, are not well ventilated, are cold in winter. Cutters frequently have been forced to work under really frigid conditions, and this obtains so long as they stand for it. When they march out in a body in defiance of contractual relations which do not cover such essentials as warmth, ventilation, etc., they get as far as the door when the dear boss promises heat, fresh air, and toilets fit for humans.

At this time slackness of work has them all discontented. When glass workers of the Flint Glass trade in hot metal departments organize industrially, the cutters will follow suit. Cutters have ever been under-dogs in the industry. The union has eight salaried officials; one is a cutter. He ostensibly strives to organize cutters. Actually he works to keep them separated.

The Flint treasury has about $500,000. There are 11,000 members, with headquarters at Ohio Building, Toledo, O. It publishes a reactionary monthly magazine. Even pink socialists are not tolerated.

# WOBBLES

"How I envy you sailors," said the sweet young thing. "It must be wonderful to smell the clean, salt air all the time."

"Yes," said the fireman, "it must."

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Conundrum—If the A. F. of L. has 5,000,000 members and it loses a million evey year, how long will it take the Communist Party to revolutionize it?

Note—To the first one sending in the correct answer to the above question we are prepared to mail, free of charge, a handsome picture of some of our colored fellow workers unloading a car of coal on a dark night. Be the first to enter this contest.

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Kenesaw Mountain Landis, the well known baseball umpire, after being chosen as arbitrator in Minneapolis in a dispute between a Soo Line conductor and a brakeman, decided in favor of the brakeman. Who said Landis was unfair to Labor?

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The remedies offered by the daily press for solving the unemployment problem are like soup eaten by some people we have overheard.

They sound good.

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The American Legion is going to rid the state of North Dakota of the I. W. W.

That job is about as easy as selling Ford cars in Jerusalem.

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Industrial Solidarity refers to Linn A. E. Gale as "Judas." Some one on that paper must be sore at Judas.

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The trouncing that Sheriff Don Chafin and his army of misfits gave the West Virginia miners, reminds one of the deaths of the I. W. W. and the falls of Soviet Russia.

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The recent million dollar robbery of Uncle Sam's mail truck is enough to make any self-respecting business man turn green with envy.

Every nation has its favorite musical instrument. Italy has its accordion, Ireland the harp, Spain the guitar, and the United States adores the National Cash Register.

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The American Legion is greatly put out over the Industrial Worker regaining its second class mailing privileges and the five hundred smacks from the Postal Department.

The least that these heroes should do is to take the Postmaster General out and lynch him.

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Now that the railroad strike is again called off, it seems up to the English workers to "threaten" a general strike for a while. These threats remind us of Burleson's bombs. They never go off.

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Ain't it darn funny how they always discover a bomb plot just in time to save the life of somebody that no one wants to kill?

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The other day Marshal Foch was so busy, he forgot a dinner engagement which he had with King George.

Which goes to show how much kings amount to these days anyway.

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The time is now ripe for another news dispatch "from a reliable source" informing us that Lenin and Trotsky have again put each other in the can.

Alas, even our newspapers are suffering from the decay of capitalism.

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Fred H. Moore, attorney for Sacco and Vanzetti, deplores the action taken by the French workers on behalf of his clients.

Wonder what Sacco and Vanzetti deplore? The "action" of the American worker?

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Deporting King Carl out of his country makes him as important a personage as the average Wobbly. Move over there, fellow workers! Make room!

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The electrification of Soviet Russia is probably just another scheme to extract power out of the many falls she has had. **C. G.**

# The Janitors

**By John H. Fleming**

THE two last conventions of the A. F. of L. have given special attention to the condition of the janitors, or— to use the more pretentious phraseology of the Gompersonian clan— "the men and women engaged in the maintenance of buildings."

So far, those efforts have met with no appreciable results. No new international has been formed to swell the already too large number of crafts through which the efforts of American labor are frittered away. The field organizers report a well defined dislike or a decided indifference in the matter of organization.

To a large extent, this is due to the incapacity and ignorance of the professionals of the A. F. of L. machine and their lack of familiarity with the status of this class of workers. Also, the distrust of the A. F. of L. by those whom it contemptuously dubs as semi-skilled or unskilled has rendered its appeal ineffective.

### The Facts of the Job.

To organize a class of workers one must have a clear conception of the reason of their existence and the economic conditions that created them. The man who starts out from the old and outworn notion of handicraft is unable to understand the why and the how of a category of workers which owes its existence to the very thing that has destroyed the importance of craft in production: the machine process.

The janitor is the direct result of the machinization of the production of one of the three main requirements of human life: food, shelter and clothing. The application of the machine process to the providing of shelter made the individual home inefficient in all instances and frequently a luxury. The machinization of the human dwelling brought into being the various types of collective and communal dwellings known as flats, appartment houses, multiple lodgings, resident hotels, rooming houses, etc.

Under the handicraft method of production, men provided their own shelter. Under the more complex conditions of machine production, they buy or rent shelter. The providing of shelter thus ceases to be a function of the home to become a new branch of industry organized for profit: the shelter industry. The janitor is a wage-worker of this new branch of industry.

In a general and indefinite sense, all persons connected with the upkeep and maintenance of buildings are jantiors. In a more precise way, a janitor is the man responsible to the owner for the upkeep of the building with its heating, power and lighting plants, if any. In large buildings division of labor leads to specialization and the janitor is associated in his work with such specialists as engineers, electricians, vacuum men, scrubbers, elevator operators, room cleaners, housemen, porters, etc.

### The Development of Shelter.

During the early stages of the "shelter" industry, the owner is frequently the manager and the janitor lives in close association with his employer. As the accumulated fortunes and mass production causes the buildings to grow larger, the owner ceases to be a useful factor and abandons the building entirely to hired men, satisfied with appropriating the profits on the strength of his property title.

Since the industry is a recent one, we find today side by side with the larger office buildings and apartment houses intermediate types of technical and economic shelter developments, efficient in the same measure as they are less obsolete. In all those various types of buildings and business enterprises an increasing number of workers is employed under special conditions. Frequently they reside on the job and the character of their work as labor of attendance makes it exceedingly hard to confine them strictly to a basic working day.

### Janitors' Conditions.

The nature of the work does not lend itself to regulated hours. The janitor frequently has a twenty-four hour a day job, being called upon in cases of emergency at any hour of the day or night. The wages are small because there is a presumption on the part of the owners that special services to the tenants call for tips and because the refuse of modern life is a commodity with a saleable value which gives the janitor a chance to eke out his scanty pay through the sale of waste paper, bottles, rags, old clothing, etc.

As far as the nature of his work is concerned, the janitor is neither an engineer, nor a fireman, nor a plumber, nor an electrician, nor a steamfitter, nor a painter in the craft sense of the term, although in fact he is all of these with a few more qualifications thrown in for good measure.

The janitor is a composite of many trades and his status improves with the technical development and equipment of the building. The janitor of the Pacific Coast, whose heating plant is equipped for oil buring, gets higher wages than his Chicago fellow worker, who only shovels coal into a furnace.

As the janitor becomes more efficient in his work, he comes into conflict with the various craftsmen of the organized trades. Painted walls in a large traffic building cannot be kept clean by being washed. They are maintained in good condition by being "touched up," which is only another way of saying that the building is being constantly

repainted on the installment plan. Thus the necessity for periodical general repainting, the uncontested domain of the craftsman painter, disappears.

**The Janitor and the Craft Union.**

The same could be said about several other sides of the janitor's work, which lead to a direct conflict with the organized crafts. The main purpose of the A. F. of L. in its attempt to organize the janitors was not to improve the condition of the latter. The labor aristocarcy of the A. F. of L. does not care a rap for the unskilled janitor. The purpose of the craft unionists is to protect their own vested rights and craft monopoly and to get the consent of the janitors themselves to reduce them to the level of a watchman sweeping a few stairs, cleaning some halls and rendering a few small personal services to the tenants.

Through the nature of his work, the janitor—like all those whose occupation is a direct result of the machine process in industry—is not amenable to craft organization. It is a well known fact that in all the newer occupations derived from the machine process and therefore not susceptible of organizatiion along craft lines, the artificial fostering of such a form of organization will, at its best, only create petty grafters and social parasites who, as a rule, become an easy mark for the capitalist, whenever he deems it advisable to suppress them.

**The Janitor and Industrial Unionism.**

The collective dwelling has created the janitor, and he is going to develop with it regardless of the attitude of various crafts bent on maintaining a selfish and unjustified monopoly.

Industrial organiziation centered around the job, a practical application of the one big union idea, is what the men and women engaged in building maintenance want and what the A. F. of L. cannot give them.

In no other phase of present day life is there such a basic necessity for solidarity. The buildng tends more and more to become an autonomous unit, a kind of enlarged but self-contained home. Its only weak spot is its supplies, its heat, light, fuel, ice and food. From that point of view, the largest and most up-to-date building is leading a hand to mouth existence.

Here is an urgent demand for solidarity in quick-acting practical form. Shut off the supply and the building becomes worthless as a revenue producer.

The janitors want an organization that transcends the narrow confines of organized craft selfishness. Only the I. W. W. can give it to them.

# I Might Suggest

By T-B-S.

I

If drinking makes the poor man poor—
  And makes the rich one rich;
One cannot designate for sure—
  Just, which of these . . . is which.

II

And . . . if my premise isn't right
  That drinking brings the plunder—
Or that it operates to blight,
  And drive the poor one under—

III

'Tis then, I find that what they do
  Leaves matters in a murk.
(I may as well presume it through)
  They're poor . . . because they work.

IV

Lies somewhere in this land of gloom
  The gentle art of seizure.
Yet, I would just as soon assume—
  They're rich because of leisure.

V

And . . . though I hold—the drunken rich
  Exploit the sober poor . . .
I am not keyed up to the pitch
  —To cast a slur on lure . . .

VI

Were I, so much as to assert,
  They're rich because they idle;
The plutes would roll me in the dirt—
  Or sue me for a libel.

VII

Intoxicated—of the best
  Or drunk on Fusel Oil—
The men of wealth are those who rest—
  The poor—are those who toil—

# A Personal Squint at Steel

**By Robert Maddux**

OF COURSE you know, that the steel worker is not working now. If he did get a job his wages would be thirty cents an hour. As a matter of fact, the only ones that ever got real living wages in these places were the rollers and heaters and the lads that poured the steel. About three men on each turn got big wages and I don't think they will get anything to brag about if they ever go to work again.

I guess the chief slave driver had pretty good pay. He was the big flunkie known as the shift or turn foreman. He got a real salary instead of wages and no one knew just how much it was. Under the chief were fifteen or twenty straw bosses and if the grind stopped a minute this guy threw fits and spasms.

In lots of cases the day men who got the small wages, had to work just as hard as the tonnage or piece workers in order to keep from blocking production and so spoiling the pay envelopes of the speed maniacs. Once in a while these day men tired of continuous speed and put a damper on the rush. Occasionally they were not quick enough on the fly and ditched an engine off the track, which put the kibosh on the works.

The moulds would be absent from the pouring floor and all the day men would get a chance for a breath, and could mop up the sweat. The chief slave driver imagined that was sabotage. They always accuse the I. W. W. of that sort of stuff, but the fellows on the job there were of the rank scizzorbill type. They were homeguards who had never been away from town until they made the trip to France against their wishes.

Most of them have nothing under their hats except football or baseball per centages and scores. They are sure at home there. All the different departments have ball teams. The only thing that I can see in it is to keep the workers from thinking about the class struggle and pulling a strike.

In 1919 the baseball boys were A. F. of L. exponents in the steel strike. I did not join this great union during the strike. I was holding a card in another scab union at this time. It was a Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen card. I have dropped it and intend to stay out of it. The stunt in 1920 was enough to turn anybody with enough brains to think a single thought.

One night in September 1919, just before the steel strike was pulled off, I came out of the gate on my way home when I was approached by an A. F. of L. organizer who was going to force me into "his" union whether I liked it or not.

I says to him, "Why, Buddie, I belong to a union."

He wanted to see, so I pulled out the Fink Trainmen card and showed it to him. Right away he told me that it was no good.

I shook hands with him on that and told him that I was sure of it myself. He went on to tell me that the Brotherhoods hauled scab coal out of West Virginia when the Ohio miners were on strike in 1914. Which I admitted wasn't half.

"Now," said he, "join one of the twenty-four crafts of the A. F. of L. and you will be doing something."

I wanted to know which one to join and after telling him that I was a conductor he said, "You will have to join the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers."

"My God," thinks I, "what a long name."

I wanted him to explain the idea of having twenty-four different unions. "Oh," he said, "they all come under one head." But he didn't know whose head, so I never found out whether it was Sam Gompers' or Z. Foster's.

I mentioned the I. W. W. and Industrial Unionism and he explained to me that the wobblies were a bunch of anarchists and didn't believe in either the God or the Devil. I didn't either, so I didn't get shocked.

At any rate, the steel worker struck and today is worse off than before, for he has neither union nor job nor soles on his shoes.

I suppose you have heard of Blowing Out. They draw all the steel out of the furnaces and turn water into them and put on the wind. Then you see the white smoke fly, which means that you are going to be thrown onto the street to hunt another master or starve. The furnaces of the steel trust are blown out.

Some of Gary's slaves are blown out, too. These slaves have lots of callers around Bellaire. The grocer, the landlord, the butcher, the insurance plug all want to know when they can get something on the little old back bill. If the thirty cent men could get work he couldn't keep going anyway, but he thinks that he would like to try in most cases.

That if is a big word. There are a lot of doubts about there even being thirty cents offered by the boss when the gates do open. That is unless the slaves wake up and get wise to themselves. They still have the old habit, when speaking of the job that the boss once let them use, of saying "My job." They still boast of ownership, and as a matter of fact lots of them really do think the job is theirs.

The steel worker can be organized if the industry is tackled as a unit. But to lay out such a campaign plan and then bust things wide open again by the separation tactics of the A. F. of L. is sure enough to give any one the willies. When the I. W. W. goes at the job with planned action, then the slaves around here can feel justified in getting ready to say "My job." Because the Wobbly way is the only way to job ownership for the worker.

★

# SACCO and VANZETTI

**By Jim Seymour**

What's all this fuss the're makin' about them guys?
Darned if some people ain't kickin' because they got
What was comin' to 'em;
Sayin', be Jesus,
It's 'cause they're reds.
That's bad enough,
But that ain't all—
Not by a dam sight.
Why, man alive,
They're only a couple o' God damn dagoes!
I don't see how anybody can expect white people
To do anything for the likes o' them.
What are they good for anyway?
What's their whole damn tribe good for?
There don't any of 'em know anything
Till they get over here.
When they get over here they hear some good music—
Band pieces an' grand op'ra an' jazz.
Why, they can put a nickel in the piano
An' hear the very latest!
An' as fer arky—arky—
Fine building—
Why, you'd think they never even looked
At our office buildings.
An' how about that statue of McKinley in the park!
Solid cast iron, be Jesus!

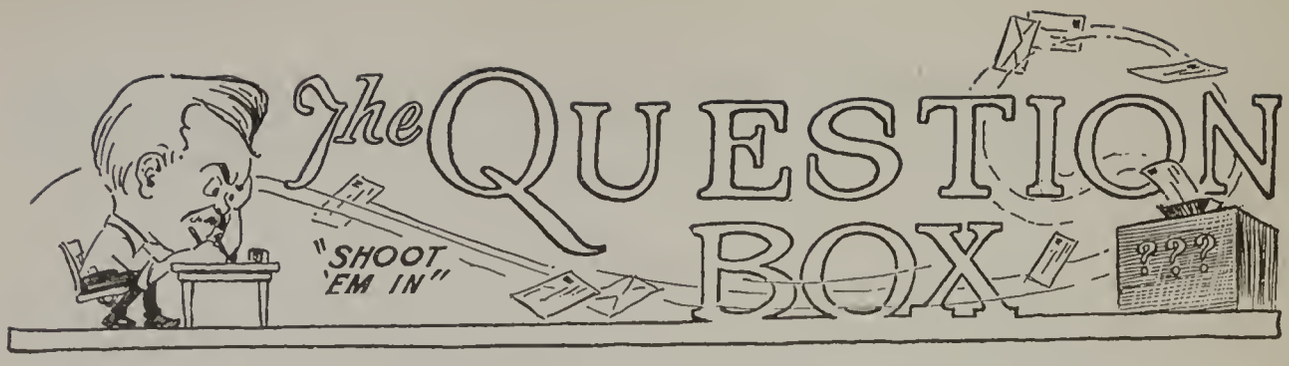
An' books—oh, boy!
Didn't they ever hear about Elinor Glyn?
Or Diamond Dick?
Or Marie Corelli? . . .
Or the free pote-ry?
Why the hell don't they read
An' learn something?
Then maybe they'd ketch up with the people
Tha't got wireless telegraphs.

But the hell of it is, they ain't got no—
Wotta ya call it?—
Oh yes, no historic past.
If they ever get one o' them they'll be all right.
Then they can talk about 1776
Instead of yellin' their fool heads off
About Garrybaldeye an' Spartycuss.

But they're nothin' but God damn dagoes.
Now **me**: I'm an American, I am.
We're the real people, **we** are.
**We** ain't dagoes—not on yer tintype.
We got railroads, 'n' telephones 'n'—
**Automobiles** 'n'—
Office buildings 'n'—
Them places where ya look at the stars.
An' we got some of the biggest deserts in the world.
An' we keep 'em unirrigated in spite o' hell 'n' high water.
These ain't nobody gointa make **our** land so dang cheap
That ev'rbody can own a piece of it
An' put the price o' truck
Down t' nothin' . . .
Not us. . .
**We** ain't dagoes.

No s'r, I ain't sheddin' no tears
Over them two guys.
It serves 'em right.
It ain't so much because they're reds—
That's bad enough, God knows,
But bein' a damn ignorant foreigner is the limit.
They not only don't know nothin' about books 'n' music,
'N' inventin' 'n' science,
'N' makin' purty pictures 'n' such things,
But they don't even know howta talk
The American language right.

Send 'em up, say I,
Show 'em that **our** courts is American.
We don't get our law from Italy.
We don't care whether they done it or not.
To hell with 'em!
They're dagoes.




# The QUESTION BOX

**Does the I. W. W. by advocating and fighting for better conditions act in contradiction to its revolutionary aims? J. B.** Any organization working to a definite end must work with the materials it has on hand. The I. W. W. working to the end of a social revolution must use the working class materials that it finds. It cannot choose to bring about the revolt by organizing and educating any other group than those who are in the social class that will bring about the revolution and sieze and wield the power once the revolution is a fact. We must win the actual workers to our side.

The biggest single factor in developing a militant revolt is the creation of a new way of looking at things. This new ideology can only substitute the present dominant one by slow growth and development. The capitalistic ideas of money grabbing, of individualism, patriotism and religion are the basis of the present thinking of the worker. The capitalists themselves have by their science broken the back of religious thought. While the desire for individual gain is a handle that we must grab hold of often enough if we want to attract the attention of the slaves.

The I. W. W. then, in order to gain the attention of the workers, appeals to their individual desire for gain, for financial and social betterment. We have often made mistakes because of our failure to use the most efficient methods of educating the workers into class consciousness, solidarity and militant ideas after we had gained their attention.

The worker does not change his ideas and his whole viewpont over night. Becoming an I. W. W. is a process that takes months and years. It is because we have often used inefficient methods of propagandizing our new members and our audiences that we have made our failures, but the I. W. W. does not act in violation to its revolutionary aims because it takes advantage of the opportunities that arise in the battle for better working conditions.

Rather would the I. W. W. act in **practical** violation to its revolutionary principles if it failed to take advantage of its opportunities to gain the attention of workers engaged in **direct struggle** with the capitalist class even though the struggle was only for such reforms as better hours and wages.

With the development of greater efficiency in educational matters the I. W. W. would be in a position to take more active part than ever before in the battles of the entire working class for shorter hours and more wages. It would be able with more efficient propaganda methods to swing more rapidly the ideas of the workers away from the ideology of capitalism to the methods of thinking of the militant workers. It is not less participation in the battles of the working class that we need, but more participation and better and better propaganda methods.

**What is the difference between the I. W. W. and the Syndicalists? J. W.**

The Industrial Workers of the World take as their basic philosophy the three theories of Karl Marx. These theories are briefly: The Class Struggle, Economic Determinism (sometimes called the materialistic conception of history), and the Theory of Surplus Value.

The I. W. W. from these theoretical foundations has evolved a labor union composed only of wage workers, formed into the structure of the industries, and subscribing to a form of administration that allows for unified, co-ordinated action. This centralizing of administration is the outstanding feature in the theory of the I. W. W.

The Syndicalists on the other hand take as their basic philosophy the theories of the great anarchists Bakunin, J. Guillaume and Cafiero among others. These theories, briefly stated, are in opposition to the ones of Marx on two points. They have first an individualistic conception of society instead of a class conception, and secondly, they modify the theory of Economic Determinism. All students of economics accept the theory of surplus values.

From these early theoretical beginnings the Syndicalists have evolved a federated organization, decentralized, practicing local autonomy, and placing greater emphasis on the development of individuals. This is their theoretical stand.

In practice, however, both organizations have modified their theories. Much autonomous action has occurred in the ranks of the I. W. W. Many groupings of members have been formed whose alignment in definitive industries is only on paper, as they meet and act largely as language groups rather than as industrial units. Among the syndicalists the tendency has been toward unified and

# An Open Letter from a Closed Shop

SUPPOSE a few men grabbed all the air and all the water on earth, sealed and bottled it up, and put other men with rifles and guns to guard it. Suppose also, that you wanted to use some of these things and they told you it was theirs, and you would have to pay for it or you could not use it. No doubt you would call those men "hogs."

You would reason like this: that the said air and water was put on earth for all the people and not for a few. I think that you would rise up in all your might, the might of right, and sieze and hold that which by right belonged to the whole people.

I don't think that you would allow your religion or your patriotism to interfere with your desire. Why would you do this? Because self-preservation is the first law of nature.

But you have already allowed a few men to grab something which is just as necessary to the whole people as air and water, and that is the industries on which we depend for our food, clothing and shelter.

These plutocrats that have been so quick on the grab are well organized. They have so arranged things that they not only keep what they have secured but by their manipulations they are increasing their hold on everything vital to life and are extending their institutions of control. They act in the interest of their own position.

The millionaire, for instance, is never troubled with a little thing (to him) like unemployment, as he just packs up—or rather he has servants do it for him—and goes on a vacation. And so it is no wonder that he wants to keep up forever this system of society, commonly called the capitalist system, that brings in such golden returns to him. It is to his interest to do so.

**The Owners Power.**

The strange part about it all is the ease with which the looters of our common wealth get men to protect the stolen industries and machine processes. The men who guard the industries are the army, navy, militia, national guards, American Legion, police, etc. Some day, when the thieving goes too far, the age-old instinct of self-preservation will again assert itself, and all of us for our own salvation will sieze the industries.

When a few men own and control everything that the whole people must have in order to live, and will not let the whole people use them unless they can make a profit, thus having control over the very lives of the people, would you not call the few masters and the many slaves? **Slaves!**

When I think of the word slave, it brings to my mind a picture of chains. We, the workers, have chains, although some of you workers cannot see them. Our chains are the chains of starvation, poverty, unemployment and ignorance.

Before the Civil War, colored men, women and children were bought and sold on the auction block. Today, in the big cities, especially Boston, white workers are being bought and sold on the auction block. The Civil War was supposed to make the colored workers free. The World War was also supposed to be a war for "democracy."

The colored slaves used to work for food, clothing and shelter. The white and colored workers now work for wages, with which they buy food, clothing and shelter. What, I may ask you, is the difference between the colored workers of 1850 and the colored and white workers of 1920—between chattel slavery and wage slavery? Just this. In the old days the master owned the slave's body. Today, he **controls** it.

The Civil War slave ate, whether he worked or not. Today we eat only when we have a master. If we do not find a matser, we postpone our meals; unless we beg or steal or otherwise break the capitalist laws made to keep us in the mire of wage-slavery.

This is the machine age, and as a worker cannot compete with a machine which can do the work much faster than the strongest and most skilled can do it, he is forced to go to the owner of the machine for the job. You have noticed that it is a rule of the boss in business to get a certain amount of interest when a loan is made. So the capitalist loans us the job and the interest we pay is the surplus value of the products of our labor power—the profit that the owner of the machine makes out of the worker after "paying" labor power costs.

He lets us use the job until we, the workers, have filled up his warehouses with all kinds of good things to eat, wear and use. He then calls it "over-production" and takes our job away from us, deflates, that is, closes up the business. That

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concerted, action and a general development that is proceeding in both organizations promises to produce in the future, forms of organization and activity that are more alike.

Both organizations maintain propaganda groups inside trade or craft unions. The I. W. W. has its members spreading education in every craft union in the country that is of any economic or social significance. That the I. W. W. has not been a pure and simple boring from within propaganda group is probably because of the fact that in the United States the craft unions had organized but a tiny fraction of the workers. The syndicalists have used the same tactics in the European countries where the same situation exists.

business will not start up again until those surplus goods are sold. It never seems to occur to the workers that the faster they work, the sooner they will be out of a job.

You know what happens then. We, who produced everything in those warehouses, go hungry because the wage we received was not enough to buy back the things we made—the main reason for your unemployment. If we got all we produced—if we got five-fifths instead of one-fifth, we could buy back those things we produced and so keep the wheels of industry turning.

We, the workers, have bought and paid for this great group of machines, the industries, many times over, with our sweat—yes, and blood—and therefore we should own them. We should own our jobs instead of renting them. They belong to us.

Probably some of you think that we need the capitalists to run the industries. Oh, no! He hires technical experts and engineers, the highest of skilled workers, for that purpose. We need these workers just as they need us.

A capitalist is a parasite—one who receives something of value without giving an equal value in return. When a ship is out to sea, the shipowner is not on board, and when John D. Rockefeller is out on the golf course the oil, railroad and coal industries he owns do not stop running.

The Industrial Workers of the World say that this crazy system, where the workers who do everything get nothing, but a slave existence, while the loafers who do nothing useful get everything, is falling to pieces because of its own rottenness and the greed, corruption and ignorance of the master class.

So when it does break down, we, the workers, must be ready to take over the industries and run them for the benefit of the whole people. But industry is like a finely adjusted watch—each part dependent on the other. Therefore, we need your help and co-operation, Mr. Worker. You must take one side or the other, as there is no middle course. Will you take the side of the militant demanding workers, or will you be patriotic to the millionaire? Will you stand by your class, the working class, or will you be on the side of the ones who keep you in slavery?

We, the Industrial Workers of the World, commonly called the I. W. W., hereby extend to you the hand of fellowship and invite you to join us in this great struggle of the workers for freedom from wage-slavery.

And, then, out of the travail of labor will come real democracy—the Brotherhood of the Workers of the World.

**Bob Hatton.**

**LOTS OF WATER BUT A POOR PLACE TO SWIM**

# The Spanish-Moroccan War and the Revolution

**By Theodor Plievier**

THE kingdom of Spain has been at war with Morocco for many years. The Spanish troops are fighting beneath the banner of imperialism;they are sacrificing blood and energy to conquer a land, which was given to Spain by the powers of Europe long, long ago.

For decades Spanish soldiers, torn away from their families by force, and shipped across the Mediterranean, wandered through the mountains, deserts and steppes of Africa; they suffered hunger, want and fever; slew Cabyles (Moroccan tribesmen) and were slain by them: one day ten, another day twenty. So it has gone on for years.

### The August Uprising.

In August 1921, when Spain least expected it, the situation reached a crisis. Abd-el-Krim, the chief of the Moroccan tribes, sympathizing with Spain, reported to Fernandey Silvestre, the military commander of Morocco, concerning the discontent, which had spread amongst a number of tribes. He asked for money, with which the rebels would be contented. Fernandey Silvestre not only refused to give the money, but he insulted the Arab chief and had him beaten. When leaving the house, Abd-el-Krim swore vengeance and drew with his bloody hands a sign at the commander's door.

Shortly after a superior force of Riff-Cabyles attacked the garrison in the dead of night, killed thousands of Spanish soldiers, captured 10,000 rifles and all ammunition. The head of Fernandey Silvestre was cut off and carried through the country on the top of a spear.

This was the signal for the uprising of all Moroccan tribes.

The authorities in the Spanish kingdom declared Spain in a state of war. They have mobilized the army, censured the press, murdered, deported and imprisoned militant workers.

### The Spanish Workers' Position.

The Spanish workers are anti-militaristic; factions even of the middle classes detest the war, and they express not only in words but in deeds their aversion. Indignant, silent and sombre, the soldiers allow themselves to be shipped to Morocco, but there are no patriotic addresses, no general enthusiasm on the side of the Spanish bourgeoisie, as would be the case in any other country. And the Moros, the Arab national rebellious tribes, are advancing and are already standing before the doors of Melilla.

The standing army of Spain does not suffice to crush the uprising of the Moros, but the government hesitates to call the reservists to arms.

The reason for this hesitation has its roots in the general uprisings of 1909.

### The Workers Revolt of 1909.

In that year the Spanish met defeat at Baroncodel-Lobo in Morocco, after which they called in the reservists. This was the signal for an anti-militaristic revolutionary movement of the people. Huge protest meetings were held. The cities and villages of Cataluna demonstrated against the war. Not only the workers but also some of the middle classes were united in demanding "Abajo la guerra!" (Down with the war).

When the workers of Cataluna proclaimed the general strike, the street car employees at Barcelona were the only section trying to go on working. When the strikers fired shots at them and the police troops entered the scene the signal was given for the revolutionary struggle, the aim of which was not only the abolition of war-service but the destruction of government, state and capitalism.

Street cars were capsized and barricades grew up before the working class districts. Labor-quarters were transformed into camps.

And when the army was sent to attack the barricades no shot was fired but cheers from thousands of voices greeted the assaulting soldiers, "Viva el ejercito!" (Long live the army), and out of the ranks of the soldiers arose a cry, which carried far into the streets of the workers, "Viva los trabajadores!" (Long live the workers).

This was the fraternization of 1909. It took the greatest effort of the bourgeois imperialists to crush and defeat the revolt. The authorities of today recall all these events to mind and therefore they hesitate to call the reservists to arms.

In the year 1909 they could defeat the revolutionary movement because Cataluna was struggling alone. At that time the government could spread the propaganda that the uprising in Cataluna was a movement of separation.

### The Workers Today.

And at that time the revolution of the people was drowned in lies, blood and repression. But the year of 1921 has brought the government face to face with the very same situation and problem. Already the Moros are knocking at the doors of Melilla in Morocco. The imperialistic Spanish government will be forced to call in the reservists and so once more will give the Spanish workers the signal for the struggle against imperialism.

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Soon after the declaration of war this summer the workers of the metallurgical industry of Bilbao declared a 24-hour general strike. It was sup-

pressed with the greatest atrocities. All papers were suspended. Hundreds were jailed, transported and murdered.

The trials of many of these workers are just finished at Granada and the cruelities revealed during the course of the trial are unbelievable. Papers have been suppressed for printing extracts from the court record. Few workers' papers are left in circulation. The socialist periodicals are about the only ones not entirely done away with.

There have been great riots in all parts of the country. Especially in Castilla and Galicia, the riots have been numerous, as the peasants have refused to pay taxes. Whole municipalities have failed to make any tax rteurn whatever. The Imperialists, however, still vote immense war credits for the Moroccan adventure, although the nation is bankrupt.

Many of the most intelligent imprisoned workers connected with the revolutionary unions have been killed in the most cowardly way. They have been taken out by troops of white guards and shot in the back under the pretense that they were escaping. Since these tactics became known the jails have been under guard of women pickets day and night, who watch to see that any further murders will have to take place inside the prisons, so that the authorities will be held responsible. Many of the women pickets have been arrested. But the picket line remains intact.

Such is the condition in Spain today. Chaos and uncertainty are the present order.—Editor.

# TACTICS IN OIL

**By Nick Wells**

THE California oil strike is settled. On November first the District Council of the International decided that it was best to call the strike off and so recommended to the seven locals. There is little social significance to the event either of the pulling of the strike or in the return to the job. It proves one thing, however, and that is that oil workers can be organized and organized with strength to tie up any section of the industry tight.

There are hundreds of thousands of oil workers in the United States and they are nearly all unorganized. Some few belong to craft unions, some to the blue card union and some to the I. W. W. The fact that this district strike in California was pulled emphasizes the possibilities of action in the oil fields.

As a study in tactics the Blue Card eruption is intensely interesting. These workers developed a new picketing system more flexible and complete than any before worked out in an area of equal size.

The I. W. W. has introduced many new and startling methods of picketing and striking from the mass picket lines in Patterson, New Jersey and Lawrence, Massachusetts, to the thousand mile picket line in the harvest fields and the picket camps of the logging woods. But the oil workers of this A. F. of L. union sprung something new. They militarized the picket line.

Not that there was any of the superior officer stuff or any of the other autocratic measures adopted, but the picket men did guard duty, and centralized their patrol system. Each patrol or picket crew carried one so-called law and order man, one auto driver and three other strikers. Each patrol had a definite post to occupy and definite territory to guard and keep free of scabs.

There were wireless stations at several central points and each station kept in touch with the pickets by means of a blinker signal system from the lights of the autos at night and by heliograph by day. The district headquarters kept in touch with all the wireless stations and was able to rush re-enforcements to any part of the field needed.

Regardless of any other features of the strike this organization of the picket lines makes interesting study.

With such a system worked out to cover the entire industry in America a strike could be successfully pulled by the I. W. W. that would make the previous strike efforts not only of the decrepit A. F. of L. but even of the I. W. W. itself seem dwarfed in comparison.

The carrying out of such a program would of course demand an extension of the policy, of industrial study of the facts, that has marked the harvest drives and is now marking the planned action in the big I. W. W. oil drive that is going forward.

Gathering the facts of the industry and laying plans based on those facts must become a more and more important phase of labor organization work in this country. The oil workers International seems to have studied the ground well in the strike region regardless of whether they failed in the use of other tactics or not. They have established some new facts in regard to picketing.

# WORK

**By Charles Gray**

SINCE time immemorial, as the novelists say, man has concentrated his mental faculties on devising ways and means to either successfully dodge work or permanently acquire and hold onto a chunk of something to work at.

Judging from their past actions the working class view the subject of work with feelings as mixed and varied as the contents of a Hamburger steak.

The master class holds the worlds record distaste for work, although at times, the workers have run them a close second, judging from they way they have invented machinery to do away with their jobs.

At other periods the slaves have shown a fanatical passion for hard labor, else why should they exhibit such a murderous longing for the ten, twelve or sixteen hour day?

In 1914 there were five millions of us clamoring for a job. In 1917 we lost all desire for work and the respected Government had to issue the ultimatum: "Work or fight." Five million able bodied young men went to fight.

Towards the end of 1918 it was necessary to call the war off, because the workers of Germany were beginning to develope a new and unheard of attitude toward their jobs. Some even went so far as to claim that the jobs belonged to the workers that used them, which was something disregarded by any other people excepting the Russians, who are not civilized anyway.

The conclusion of the war saw the development of such a craving for doughnuts in the United States, for which the Salvation Army is no doubt responsible, that it overcame the preceeding aversion for work, and now we see seven or eight million clamoring for work, **work**, WORK.

It begins to look like this work proposition is an emotional disease, which can only be psycho-analyzed by such labor experts as Frank Harris and Linn A. E. Gale. The situation is so bad that senators, congressmen, bankers, labor leaders and other respectable persons have gotten together in an unemployed conference, after giving out oil on th troubled waters to the effect that they don't intend to employ anybody anyhow.

In the meantime some wise birds hold the opinion that work is not so bad if everybody takes on a little of it and just works for the whole bunch, and ditches all unnecessary overhead wastes such as financiers, politicians and so on.

The I. W. W. is the only organization in America with a practical program to permanently abolish unemployment for all classes.

Put this program across and work will be a problem no longer.

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THEY WENT TO FIGHT

# THE SIGN

Awaken ye! The light is on the hills.
The dawn bursts with sky-embracing gold:
Rise, the time has come!

Down-trodden generation of a world forlorn,
Awaken!
Souls of wild delirium and mad despair,
Unbosom your secret to the rising sun!
Drink of the morning air!

Blinded are they! by the flood of heavenly light:
Dazed by its gleaming-glory.

The light is but a sign . . .
And out of the valley the task begins.

I. INGIANNI.

# The Great Kataklysm

**N HISTORICAL REVIEW of Latter Day Capitalism Covering the Wondrous Era Extending From Smith's Discovery of Radium in the Human Eye to the Devitalization of the Supermen by Radiosity in the Hands of Revolutionists.**

**Being a series of lectures delivered by Snow Allbrayne at the University of Timbuctoo in the Year of Our Lord 9799.**

**Edited and published by Stanislaus McGee in the year 9800.**

## Lecture III.

Smith's discovery of radium in the human eye was shown, after painstaking experiments by French and English chemists, to be quite correct, and von Balderdasch retired from the controversy covered with the opprobrium and ridicule he had accumulated for his antagonist Smith.

Smith now became famous and his residence in Kalamazoo the Mecca towards which biologists, chemists and physicians of the world guided their footsteps. He was given a position under the Rockabilt Foundation and so greatly was he esteemed he was nominated by the Taxpayers' League for the position of mayor. This honor he, however, declined.

Before proceeding to recount the facts as to the further development of the radium industry for your instruction, I desire to dwell a moment upon the more important historical materials which are still preserved us from that long-distant era.

Of course, I am well aware that I could take up several lectures on this topic alone, so my remarks must be brief and of a very general character.

It is well to say that my familiarity with the subject enables me to do this, for I myself am responsible for not a few of these materials being brought to light.

First of all, we have the records of the various American and European legislatures, peculiar bodies which were created by people of the better class through the exercise of their economic power in political fields, and divided in the most extraordinary manner into geographical groups such as precincts, counties, towns, states and so forth. Then there are the records of the courts, scientific societies, municipalities, police records and the like.

Considering the vast changes that have taken place since these distant days, I find the majority of these documents very well preserved. We have, too, a wonderful number of direct histories of specific periods and upon all sorts of specialized aspects of the life of that day which may be read with interest.

Histories, for the most part, must be examined with care as they are often remarkable for concealing, rather than revealing, the true aspect of affairs. This was due to the fact that histories were written with the very praiseworthy intention of having those who read them think particularly well of their own people and their own policies, and particularly ill of the rival countries with which their own had been, at any time, at issue.

It was considered highly proper and patriotic to have the Supermen especially well thought of, so care was taken that nothing likely to excite a criticism adverse to established things might result from the perusal of these remarkably correct volumes. Events, as they did happen, then, were molded by the historian to the needs of the social thought rather than a knowledge of the correct events which might result in an undesirable trend in public thinking.

The various records of the churches have come down to us, together with a number of edifying lives of, and instructive sermons by, the great men who flourished in those ages. I need not tell you how spiritually uplifting it is to read of the acts of these men and their ability to secure money from the people and the Supermen. Indeed, the number of men who made a good living specializing on teaching the benighted how to live well found in the lives of these teachers an instructive lesson, for as far as I can glean, they enjoyed every luxury and were a visible witness to the truth that the laborer was worthy of his hire when he worked in the Vineyard.

I attach particular importance to the Court Records. I will say that of all these the decisions of the American Court, especially those handed down by Abinadab Fudge, are of inestimable value and are to me a constant source of pleasure.

For authentic facts I can recommend the Congressional Record and I am really at a loss to understand how such an epitome of eloquence, lofty purpose, fine philosophy and historical fact can be

considered for one instant dry and tedious reading. There's not a dull line in this vast record and I am very much surprised that Dr. Wyse should have proclaimed such a misleading assertion to his history classes. Not even the more voluminous British Hansard compares with this important work.

To emphasize the love of exact truth that filled the minds and hearts of the great numbers of Congress, I find that when preparing their remarks for the Record, the speech they delivered was not reported, but another which they amended by revision was inserted instead, and in order that good intention might not lose out by lack of opportunity, even the things they had intended to say but did not, were admitted to insertion by an interesting rule called the "right to extend remarks." I think this privilege was quite a guarantee of sincerity of effort upon the part of the worthy members which should have satisfied the most demanding consituency.

Mr. Bobolink, the well known novelist, has called the attention of students of history to the records of the Rockabilt and the Barneby Foundations. Doubtless, on account of his devotion to fiction and especially to historical fiction which his particular talents so adorn, he is inclined to place a higher value upon these records than I do.

I can never quite overlook the fact that it is impossible to find at any time that the writers of these records, the salaried officials of these institutions, could completely disassociate themselves from complete and blinding reverence for the great and worthy founders. So it is that they are prone to indulge in hyperbole and exaggeration and at times are inclined to deify the Supermen—a length to which we would hesitate to follow them.

One writer confidently asserts that Rockabilt wrote those dramas which were the work of a man called Shakespeare, and yet another that he was the original author of the Four Gospels. To show what slight authority there was for these statements so credibly alleged by the Foundation officials, I just mention that on one occasion Mr. Rockabilt bought one of the original volumes of Shakespeare's plays, and on another he taught a lesson from the Gospel in a Sunday school, founding his teaching upon a well worn but generally regarded as spurious, text: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God." In this connection I may state that it was authoritatively taught, and very probably was correct, that this text had no application to rich men in democratic and twentieth century nations.

Remembering, then, the inclination which was quite general, to regard the founders of these institutions as a God, you can examine them more as matters of some curiosity than as sources of historical fact.

Finally I come to the Press of that age. Newspapers have been collected and properly catalogued by me in infinite variety and in a very perfect state of preservation.

Now I yield to no man in my admiration for the style, the methods and the high ideals which animated the ancient journalists but, except as scientific exponents of current natural history in the Sunday Supplements of the great daily organs, for reasons which I shall later point out to you, they cannot be accepted as impartial repositories of facts.

None the less, there are certain phases of domestic life which they portray, which are fairly accurate and truthful.

Thus, when a great and bloody atrocity was committed, such as a demented man slaying his mistress, the particulars are given with an exactness of detail truly admirable and always reliable. Crimes of conspicuous brutality had an undying charm for the readers of these papers, and when a particularly salacious scandal was to be told, it lacked nothing in the telling. Of course, sometimes these scandals unfortunately affected the Supermen, whereupon a prudent respect for the stability of society prevented any mention of them in these papers.

Before passing from this subject, I may venture to take your attention and your time to pay my respects to those colored supplements which Art-loving America insisted should be issued every Sunday morning with its paper.

Today these antique paintings are the wonder and admiration of all real contemporary genius and I confess, that for technic, coloring, delineation and tout ensemble they easily defy any comparison with modern art.

I am sorry to note that a later day critic has taken upon himself the right to decry these charming prints. He alleges in a weak attempt at facetiousness that they were meant to be funny, and that from week to week their popularity and circulation depended materially upon some recondite element of humor he affects to discover in them.

This itself is poor humor. It would be as lame and preposterous were I to assert that the Pyramids of Egypt were funny and that the Bridge of Sighs was erected to excite laughter.

They were published, it is obvious, for the lofty purpose of cultivating the artistic instinct of the people, and I have no doubt that Mr. Morganheim was sincere in his confession when he admits that when he first began to make his famous collection of art, he received his first true conception of real art from this relatively humble source.

I will say further that I have often thought that if our art-teachers of the present time would devote more attention to a study of these ancient works of art, they would come far closer to inculcating

true conceptions of artistic beauty than by perpetually following the more decadent modern standards.

I am rejoiced, indeed, that so eminent a critic and artist as my friend Swabstick, is entirely in accord with me in this opinion, and I may also confess that I invariably turn to his works on art and culture when seeking either instruction or information on this head, not, I hope, without result.

I want, fiinally, to impress upon you the great value that is to be attached to my recent discovery of ancient cinema records which were dug up in the buried cities of New York, Chicago and London.

These are truly in endless variety and afford a field for instructive recearch which, I entertain the hope, will be plowed by many of you younger men.

How sublime was the lofty art conception of the Ancients may be gleaned from the fact that only such films as passed their acute judgment upon art and culture were allowed exhibiton and hence so many bear the script "Passed by the Board of Censors."

Any picture which was not of super excellence was denied the right of display by these cultured judges!

## THE PREAMBLE

OF THE

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, tbe trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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JUNE 1923

Vol. I. No. 2

# The Industrial Pioneer

Edited by HENRY VAN DORN

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The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. I. JUNE, 1923 No. 2

# Smashing the Chains of Slavery

By VERN SMITH

NO, the revolution is not here—not yet. The great strike—the General Strike in all industries—is still in the future. When that comes, there will be no need to discuss whether we shall go back and strike on the job. The job will be ours, the capitalists will be in flight to Java, Honduras, or the North Pole, anywhere out of the vicinity of their former wage slaves

But the General Strike of the Industrial Workers of the World, the May Day Strike of 1923, will be remembered in that future day of revolution as one gigantic step forward—the second step, for the first was taken in 1917.

The theory of the General Strike is this: Concentrated Capital breaks the ordinary single unit, single shop, or single industry strike. "Scab-herding" is a profession now, and there are many flying squadrons of strike-breakers, some openly and avowedly in the business of scabbing, like Black Jack Jerome's personal industrial army, some masquerading as private detective agencies, like the Pinkertons and the Baldwin-Felts, some pretending to be labor unions, like the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen. These mobile, highly paid expeditionary forces of slavery can be concentrated in sufficient number in the rebellious neighborhood, the district where a small strike takes place, to crush that movement, then they can be shipped to another district, and crush some local strike there, and then to another, and another.

The theory of the General Strike is that there are only a limited number of these scabs, and that if everything stops at once, the scab armies could not begin to fill the orders, they would be needed everywhere at once, and could not possibly be everywhere at once.

### Job Trust An Obstacle

It is all very well to have a theory, it is another thing to put it into practice. The I. W. W. has always understood the tactic of the General Strike, and has always lacked the weight in numbers to bring it about.

It was necessary to wait for favorable times, when the unorganized, and the misorganized could be led into the fight, and it was necessary to depend on but a part of the industries, since the laborers in those where the job trust holds sway, such as for example, railroading and coal mining, could not be enthused sufficiently. Years of dependence on leaders, years of fear of expulsion, years of bartering and bickering over contracts and jurisdiction, had deadened the old timers to the point where an audacious slashing charge, a flaming revolt against intolerable tyranny, a generous wrath, had become impossible for them.

The strike could not be completely general, therefore. It was by circumstances narrowed to the field that lies between the petty, suspicious job trust unions and the masses of unorganized workers, who had not been sufficiently touched by radical propaganda to understand what it was about.

In plain words, this means that at the time the strike was declared, it could affect the timber workers, the construction workers, and the marine transport workers. Strong minorities in each of these industries

are organized in the I. W. W., and enough propaganda has been put out to give the unorganized in those industries a pretty fair notion of the situation. Later, it is expected the harvest workers will join, but until there is a harvest, there can not be a harvest strike.

Considering all these things, it is evident that this general strike is in the nature of grand maneuvers, of experimenting with the theory, rather than of a life-and-death fight. It is a partial general strike, and is to serve as training for greater, more serious conflicts to come.

### The I. W. W. General Strike

This general strike is a thing to learn from. Let us then proceed to learn. First, what actually happened?

A building boom was on. Transportation, and logging and sawing of lumber were known to members of the I. W. W. to be speeding up. The time was ripe for action. Furthermore, extensive amnesty campaigns had failed to release the class-war prisoners, but had supplied the moral justification for more serious measures . (No real Wobbly would need any such excuse to test his strength against that of the master—but there are the unorganized.)

In conformity with I. W. W. tactics, the exact date of the strike was not set very far in advance. There is no sense in handing over a vital secret of this nature to the boss. Many employers did not believe there would be any strike. Some of the lumber barons seem to have made an extremely serious blunder. They believed their own lies. They had so often stated that the I. W. W. was dead, that they thought they were seeing ghosts when the thousands of men poured out of the camps, swamping the stage lines, thronging the streets of Seattle, Portland, Klamath Falls, Tacoma, Everett, and the California redwood cities.

### Strike April 25

The "zero hour" was April 25. This was another little surprise for the bourgeoisie, for most of those that feared a strike were expecting it on May First.

There was great difficulty in getting the news into the camps. Liberals and patriots have a feeling that the U. S. mail is something holy, sacred, and inviolate. In my youthful days I used to read in "Youth's Companion," and "The American Boy" stirring tales of heroes who defended the sanctity of the mail against, oh, well, everything,—Wobblies by this time, probably—but this is just one of those beautiful ideals that you can't get a camp superintendent to understand. He has no respect for the mail. If the strike committee had a dollar for every letter they sent to announce the strike that did not get delivered, they could issue strike benefits. The entire Hoods Canal territory in Washington did not receive a single strike notice by mail. Two delegates from the strike committee made a flying trip through that district and carried the declaration of war from camp to camp, covering twenty-two camps in all. In each of these, one man applied for a job, while the other slipped around to the shacks the "timber beast" is allowed to sleep in, and spread the news. All the camps came out. Not one of them would have ever heard of the strike otherwise.

### Gunman Murders McKay

It required caution in some of these camps. The company "gun-men" were right on the job. That they are not merely for ornament, nor an idle threat, is proved by an event on the seventh day of the strike. A picket line was organizd to stand in the public road in front of the Bay City Lumber Mill. They acted as pickets usually do, they called to the men going in to work, and told them there was a strike. They tried to explain the situation, and while engaged in this undertaking, a picket, William McKay, attracted the attention of a guard, a man old and cruel and proud of his servitude to the master, one Green, a former sea captain. Green fired at him as he was walking away, the bullets crashed through his brain, and—a coroner's jury of Aberdeen business men exonerated Green.

The story the killer told was so incredible. that one Seattle newspaper, (not a la-

bor paper) wrote up the incident like this: "Green states that he drew his gun and fired two shots up into the air, to frighten the crowd away. Both bullets struck McKay in the head."

Further acts of violence have not been wanting. Two delegates who left Aberdeen to call out the workers in Stimpson's Camp have not been heard from since, or had not been up to the time of this writing. The engineer on a railroad near Feather River Mill, a struck concern in California, looked up as he rounded a curve, and saw an I. W. W. picket, a new man in the organization, lying wounded between the rails. The man was just able to raise one leg feebly, before the engine struck him. His body was shredded; the whole eighteen cars passed over him before the train could be stopped. These are just some of the ways the capitalist fights, all the time howling that it is the I. W. W. who are violent. There were the usual number of assaults by police officers, in various cities, Stockton, Calif., Portland, Ore., Seattle, Wash.

### Newspaper Acrobatics

The acrobatics of the newspapers were wonderful things to see. The suddenness of the strike evidently caught them unaware. The policy was divided. Judging from past experience; the capitalist press treats a strike in one of two ways. Either it conceals and ignores, or it exaggerates, for the purpose of proving violence, and getting out the troops. In the case of this general strike, the papers of the West tried to do both. The city of Seattle has three evening papers and one morning paper. One evening paper, the A. F. of L. "Union Record," was very cautious in the beginning about printing anything. Long ago, last summer, the city editor of this journal had expressed himself to various persons as being of the opinion that talk about a General Strike was nonsense. After the strike got under way, the editor found it difficult to believe that there were so many men out. When the strike committee counted 30,000, the Union Record reported 10,000. However, after the first two days, the paper gave the strike hearty support, front-page publicity, and an editorial which tried to combine an appreciation of the activity of the Wobblies, with a boost for the Farmer Labor Party.

The Star and the morning paper, the Post Intelligencer, featured the "Revolution," and

Workers in Aberdeen, Wash., Parade in Memory of Murdered I. W. W. Picket

the Times said not one word until the fifth day, when it announced that the strikers would probably go back to work, soon. The Times, by the way, is the only paper allowed into the Discovery Bay Logging Co. Camps, near Seattle, and gun men turned back all the first class mail, even.

Down in Portland, the paper of widest circulation had a regular battle, with itself. The adjutant General of state militia told them he was establishing machine gun nests all over the woods, and the poor credulous editors ran the story.

The funniest thing was in Los Angeles. The Los Angeles Times hates union labor. It is so poisoned on its spleen, it looks on organization with such a jaundiced eye, that even the spiritual sons of Gompers cannot get a smile from it. It dos not even like Lewis of the U. M. W. of A., and that's saying a great deal. This Los Angeles Times saved many a Wobbly from facing criminal syndicalism. When the first man went out to distribute the first hand-bill announcing the strike, the reporter of the Los Angeles Times was right on his trail, and the Times put out an extra, with a magnified facsimile of the hand-bill on the front page, boxcar headlines, and ten point type in the article. The strike has been unusually good in Southern California.

### Strike A Success

The strike has been from the very start unusually good everywhere. Old timers of the 1917 days were surprised. The strike committee was surprised. Wherever the news reached the camps, the men came out. The Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen was but a straw in the gale. As for strike-breakers, there were none.

The first news of the strike reached Seattle from two sources almost simultaneously. About noon on April 25, Wednesday, came a wire that the lumber camp at Clear Lake, with 130 men, had quit clean. Even the head loaders and hook-tenders (these are bosses—straw bosses) had left their jobs. Also the gyppoes (contract laborers) had quit.

This feature of the strike is fairly universal. The foreman and the contract laborers have just as much reason to protest against executive tyranny and the imprisonment of class-war prisoners, just as much reason to hate dirty camps, long hours and low wages, as any one else, but usually they don't. They lack the feeling of class. They think of themselves as being on the master's side, not on the laborer's. This strike has proved that when you gather momentum enough, when the strike fever is catching, the gyppo and the strawboss are not immune. They are human, and this is one case where mob psychology is on the side of the worker.

The other surprise was the action of the International Longshoremen's Association, Everett Local. They struck right along with the Marine Transport Workers' of the I. W. W. A hurry up call for speakers was sent to Seattle, and so great was the agitation in Everett, so unexpected the action, that when the meeting came off, there were three I. W. W. speakers present, each expecting to do all the talking.

All day Wednesday, Wednesday night, Thursday and Friday the logging camps came out. In Tacoma, in Aberdeen, in Olympia, there was very little change left in the banks, when the loggers had finished cashing their checks. The Peninsula, Hood's Canal, Grays Harbor, and Puget Sound districts (look them up on the map), are the important areas of the so-called "long logging" of Washington state. "East of the Hump" (across, over the Cascades) lies the Spokane, Eastern Washington, Montana, Idaho, "short log" district. This is the home of the "gyppo" and was not the scene of such open propaganda and organization work as the Western district. But how it did strike! The workers of the Brooks Scanlon Company of Eureka, Mont., had just finished a successful walkout, about two weeks before the General Strike. Their demands were all granted; no matter, they struck again, for release of class-war prisoners. One of these same class-war prisoners, Archie Sinclair, a man the government is trying to find a country for, so they can deport him, came through Montana and

Idaho during the first days of the "Revolution." Everywhere he found striking Wobblies, silent camps, discouraged bosses. It was splendid.

### Oregon and California

In the Klamath Falls district, and around Marshfield, Oregon, the strike was scheduled for April 28, through some misunderstanding. Nevertheless, the boys walked off the jobs. The mills were not much affected, but the logging camps were shut down tight, and even the slave killing southern company the Long Bell, failed to meet the test.

In California, the criminal syndicalist law prescribes one to fourteen years for anybody who joins the I. W. W. Of course, the law is not enforced. They only pick off an active member now and then. But the mere existence of such a barbarous state of affairs shows that organization is relatively weak yet. Nevertheless, the Feather River district struck and many other camps and logging operations were closed down. Last summer, the I. W. W. had great strikes in the Hetch Hetchy Construction camps, (the City of San Francisco water project) and in the camps of the Southern California Edison Co. (The Electric Power Trust). The strikes were only partially successful last summer. Just the same, these men who could not win all their demands for themselves, did not hesitate to "have at 'er" again, for their fellow workers in the prisons.

This is the season of the first crop of alfalfa in the San Joaquin Valley. Dairying is the great industry there. The heavy work, the hay pitching, is done by hired help. And one thousand of the hired help quit. There was a mighty wail from the farmer. The San Joaquin Valley farmer has been a great supporter of the criminal syndicalism law, but hay will spoil unless it is cut at the right time. It is not so certain now that the California farmer likes the criminal syndicalism law.

In San Pedro the docks were tied up as tight as if the harbor had frozen. The reports were, first, that 46 ships could not be worked (have cargo unloaded, or loaded), then that it was 62, and at last as this is being written, that 87 ships lie idle in the stream, and that one mate is amusing himself by running the winch on one of the ships, swinging the same sling-load of cargo into the hold and out again, and back again —putting up a bluff.

### Oil Workers Come Out

There was also the strike of the oil fields. Southern California has a great petroleum production industry, and in a new field recently opened at Signal Hill, the I. W. W., especially the men indicted for criminal syndicalism in Los Angeles, have been organizing lately. Sixteen of them were indicted a couple of months ago, charged with trying to burn up the field. The only fires they carried, were the flames of discontent, though these did more damage to Doheny and Rockefeller than dynamite could have done, for the oil field workers struck, first 500, then, as this is written, a report is received that thousands are on strike.

Tear Bomb Thrown Into a Mass-Meeting of Striking I. W. W. Lumber Workers

In such wise the workers left their jobs, for the class-war prisoners' sake. By the fourth day, 120,000 were out. After that, more quit.

No sooner was the strike fairly launched, than another big business got an awful jolt. I refer to the bootlegging industry. The sale of very high-priced, very poisonous moonshine and the presence of many "tin-horn" gamblers has been relied on for decades to break strikes, by making the strikers "broke". It has always been known that the man who wakes up on the second day of the strike with no money, and no courage, sick, disgusted and despondent, is a potential scab.

In this strike the officers of the law made no attempt to shut off the supply of "smilo," "grappo," hard cider, etc. The gambling games in all the Pacific Coast towns are wide open all the time, anyway. The vultures were gathered together on the morning of the strike to feed up, a little.

### Hits Bootleggers

But on the morning of the strike a drama was being enacted in the office of a certain high official in the city government of Seattle. There was a small room, and on one side were a group of red-faced loggers, very firm and determined. They were the "de-horn committee". On the other side was a great leader of the people, and a man of power, representing several hundred policemen's clubs. He was a city official and he was "on his high horse.". He said, "Are you trying to run this city?"

"No," said the chairman of the 'de horn committee,' "we want to run industry, but meanwhile, we will see to it that you run the city."

A compromise was effected, and the police department consented to co-operate. A troop of loggers with a sergeant of police went into Our House—the infamous Our House. There was a table of gamblers, a black-jack game.

The sergeant said not a word. He might have hated to do it, but it was too public not to do his duty. He put his knee under the edge of the table and kicked it into a corner. They went to the next gambling joint and did the same thing. Similar events took place in other cities. Stocks of synthetic whisky were unearthed, broken, and poured into the gutters. It was the first real clean-up that ever took place in a country of puritans, raids, and crusades.

In Portland the police would not co-operate. The I. W. W. picketed one hotel where a blind pig was operated. The police arrested the pickets. The situation was too much for the populace; after a couple of days they took part in the fight. The I. W. W.—always called lawbreakers—was enforcing the law against bootlegging, and the Mayor of Portland and the police,—sworn to defend the law—were defending the bootleggers! This is, from the capitalist's point of view, one of the most uncanny features of the whole unnatural affair. Hundreds of petty political squabbles are raging in as many different cities and towns of the Pacific Northwest over this indecent exposure of the Guardians of the Peace, the angels of good government.

The next and most disconcerting event is the strike on the job. Monday, May 7, the loggers of the Northwest went back to work, but the strike is STILL ON!

The strike committee of the Northwest branches of the I. W. W. has issued the following bulletin:

Seattle District, May 7, 1923

**Take the Strike Back to the Job**

Fellow Workers: The I. W. W. does not believe in long drawn-out strikes off the job. These exhaust the workers and eventually end by the workers losing all they have gained. The strike for the release of all class-war prisoners has been transferred to the job by the vote of the membership. This change of tactics will be carrying the fight into the bosses' territory and the boss will be forced to pay the expenses of the strike.

Monday, May 7, 1923, is the date set for the strike to be transferred on to the job.

(Signed) **I. W. W. Strike Committee.**

WOBBLY LUMBERJACKS IN A "MULLIGAN CAR"

A good many companies are granting demands.

Conditions were improving very rapidly before the strike, because the lumber camp superintendent fondly imagined that he could bribe the loggers not to strike. This improvement was reflected into the construction jobs. Now many of the companies are openly bidding for the return of their former men, and almost all are promising almost any improvement demanded, though fulfillment of the promise is not so ready. Still, it will come.

In the camps where least has been granted, in hundreds of lumber camps, in dozens of construction projects, bosses are rushing about, tearing their hair, and discharging a man here and another there, and hiring some one by guess, from a list of ready willing men, too ready, and suspiciously willing to draw pay, if not to work. Efficiency experts are having nightmares, and engineers are furiously recasting their figures. The output per man is "all shot to hell," and there are lawsuits threatening the contractors on construction jobs. And the end is not yet. The end will not come until all the demands are granted, including the first—**the release of all class-war prisoners.**

# The Ballad of Sandy McCole

By ARCHIE SINCLAIR

THIS is a tale of the logging trail,
A story crude and plain,
That was told to me by Danny McPhee
One night in the Coeur d'Alene.
Outside it was cold, the Storm King bold
Was holding high revelry,
The north wind screamed until it seemed
The devil was laughing in glee.
The flames leaped higher in the pitch-pine fire
And they boomed like a deep toned bell,
And the pattern they wove on the red hot stove
Looked like a map of Hell.

Dan looked around till his pipe he found,
And he filled the blackened bowl,
Then he turned to me, and, "Scotty," said he,
"Did you ever know Sandy McCole?
He worked around the Puget Sound,
In the short-log country, too,
Wherever he went he was a malcontent,
An Ishmael, a Wandering Jew.
He talked of a time when out of the slime
The slaves of the earth would rise.
Now some maintain that McCole was insane,
While others maintain he was wise.

"He seemed possessed of a great unrest,
His voice with passion would ring:
Such things don't go in the land of snow
That is ruled by the Lumber King.
He may have been crazed or fuddled or mazed,
But his heart was true as steel,—
It seemed his fate to agitate
In spite of the Iron Heel.
We were sitting one night in the dim fire-light
Of a camp on Pigeon Lake,
The camp was run by a son-of-a-gun
The 'jacks called 'hard-boiled' Drake.

"He was a burly guy about six feet high,
And he weighed two hundred and ten.
He could whip any two of his logging crew
And gloried in driving his men.
Well, McCole blew in with Barney Quinn
And they sat on the deacon seat,
And after a while Quinn said with a smile,
'Let's go get something to eat.'

They started to go to the shack below,
But Drake was lurking near,
And he said to Mc Cole, 'God damn your soul,
What the hell do you want around here?

"Get out of the camp, you dirty tramp,
I'm sick of your lousy breed.
You think you can strike any time you like,
But you're glad to come bumming a feed!'
McCole never spoke, but I thought he'd choke,
His face turned red, then white,
He started to shake as he looked at Drake,
Then he calmly said, 'We'll fight.'
Now McCole could scrap, he was the sort of a chap
That would die before he'd give in,
Each man in the crew but one or two
Wanted to see him win.

"For an hour or more they fought by the door
Of that shack on Pigeon Lake,
Then McCole stepped in with a hook to the chin
That humbled the bully Drake.
'T was an awful clout and it knocked him out—
He couldn't get to his feet;
The man of steel was made to feel
The bitter sting of defeat.
Now after they fought each one of us thought
We'd seen the end of the fuss,
But little we knew of the horrible brew
That Fate was mixing for us.

"Drake got to his feet as if to retreat,
McCole went into the shack,
The boss withdrew a pace or two
Then turned and started back;
There was a muffled roar by the bunk-house door,
The floor was splashed with red,
And Sandy McCole (God rest his soul)
In a pool of blood lay dead.
Yes, Sandy's gone to the Great Unknown,
And some of us mourn his loss,
His murderer Drake for his loyalty's sake
Was raised to walking boss."

— — — — — — — — — — —

This is a tale of the logging trail,
A story crude and plain,
That was told to me by Danny McPhee
One night in the Coeur d'Alene.

# What Is Industrial Unionism?

By JACOB SILBERT

A LOT of people talk about industrial unionism and the Industrial Workers of the World without really knowing what either of these actually mean. There are others who imagine that by merely amalgamating a few craft unions into one union, they thereby create an industrial union. The whole question is, in the minds of a vast number of workers, sadly muddled, to say the least.

The outstanding feature about capitalism is the development of the machine process and the gradual disappearance of skill. The more machinery is perfected and installed the less are the requirements for skilled labor and the greater the technical subdivision of labor and the disappearance of skill. The result of this process is that the few remaining craftsmen who are still needed in some of the industries have become absolutely helpless unless they bind themselves with the great bulk of the industrial workers who are either semi-skilled or wholly unskilled. The day of the mechanic or craftsman is over, and the day of the semi-skilled machine-tender and unskilled industrial worker has arrived.

The craft union is an organization which embraces in its membership the workers who are experts at some particular trade or craft. That form of an organization had a useful service to perform in the early and later stages of capitalist development; it is safe to say, however, that during the last ten years the importance of the craftsman has steadily diminished and that in the not far distant future he will become pretty much of a negligible factor in the scheme of industries. His place is being taken by the unskilled and semi-skilled industrial worker.

### Concentration of Power

Hand in hand with the machine process has gone the concentration of the control and ownership of industry into fewer and ever fewer hands. Only the other day Armour & Company absorbed the big Morris & Company packing concern. The deal involved a transfer of fifty million dollars. The United States Steel Corporation thru its subsidiaries and interlocking directorates, controls the entire steel industry in the United States. The same might be said about the Standard Oil Company in regard to the production and refining of petroleum. Control of the various railroad systems is fast converging into a very few hands. The same applies to most of the other industries; even to the retail merchandising enterprises. Witness the tremendous growth of the chain store, restaurant and grocery businesses. Witness the displacement of small grocers by the Piggly Wiggly Corporation.

All of this is but the reverse side of the same phenomenon—the logical working out of the machine process of capitalist development. It means more efficiency in the management and control of industry by capitalists, and more intensive exploitation of labor. It means firmer intenchment in power of the capitalist industrial oligarchy, by virtue of the stranglehold that they have on industry.

Such being the case, it ought to become apparent to everybody that the only way for labor to fight these powerful combines of capitalism is by organizing on as large a scale as the capitalists themselves are organized upon. The workers have to form unions which embrace every class of worker in each industry. Only by having an organization of this kind will they have the least chance of being able to combat the exploitation of the capitalists.

### The Gospel of the I. W. W.

This is just what the Industrial Workers of the World preach—and practice. Let us take, for instance, the steel industry, which is in itself but a part of the metal and machinery industry. A few years ago the American Federation of Labor made an attempt to organize the steel workers into twenty-four international craft unions. It

failed. The reason why it failed ought to be as obvious to any man possessing sound sense as the nose on his face. It is a logical and practical impossibility for workers who work side by side in the same industry, after they have been divided into twenty-four different and often mutually antagonistic unions, to fight the highly efficient and centralized organization of the steel barons, and win. There are rumors abroad that a similar attempt is to be made again. We would advise these A. F. of L. organizers to take this money that they intend to spend in this organization campaign and donate it to the Salvation Army; it would probably do more good there.

The name "Industrial Workers of the World," or as it is commonly abbreviated, "I. W. W.," means just exactly what it says. It means organization of the industrial workers of the world. In effect, therefore, it stands for the industrial international of the future.

If instead of dividing the steel workers into twenty-four different craft unions, we would organize all of them into one union, then we would have a genuine industrial union. This means that not only the manual laborers in the steel mills would belong in the union, but everybody who is in any way, shape, manner, or form employed in the steel industry. For instance, all of the mechanics or craftsmen who work around the steel mills, such as electricians, plumbers, carpenters, engineers, bricklayers, steamfitters, would belong to the one industrial union instead of belonging in their respective craft organizations. Further, this applies to the office personnel as well—to the clerks, bookkeepers, accountants, stenographers, purchasing agents, salesmen, and everybody else in any way connected with the office end of the steel industry; all these would be members of the same union. This, and only this, will constitute a genuine union of the steel workers. The steel workers will in their turn be part and parcel of the greater industrial union which comprises all those employed in the metal and machinery industry.

### Marine Transport

As another example, let us consider the marine transport industry. The workers in this industry have been split up into various small unions, each of them having separate contracts with the shipowners and working at cross purposes with each other. There have been separate unions for the longshoremen, sailors, oilers, firemen, engineers, masters, pilots, and captains, to say nothing of the divisions that obtain owing to geographical reasons. For instance, the sailors on the Pacific and Atlantic oceans and on the Great Lakes have been organized in separate unions. Such being the case, is it any wonder that up till now the marine transport workers might as well not have had any unions for all the good that they have done them? The workers have been almost entirely at the mercy of the shipowners.

Now, the I. W. W. scheme in regard to the marine transport workers is to organize all of them into one union, the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510, of the Industrial Workers of the World. This union embraces sailors, firemen, cooks, stewards, longshoremen, mates, pilots, engineers, and everybody else employed in the marine transport industry on sea or on land. The phenomenal success that the I. W. W. Marine Transport Workers have obtained through their recent strike, whereby they won an increase in wages of from 15 to 20 per cent and obtained practically all of their demands, excepting the liberation of class-war prisoners, goes to point out the effectiveness of this form of organization.

There is only one thing which the master class actually fears, and that is the organization of the workers into genuine industrial unions. The possibilities of such an organization are tremendous. They are so great and far reaching that most workers even today do not appreciate them. If even a comparatively small number of all workers would be lined up and effectively mobilized into genuine industrial unions, they would be in position to take away the

industries from the capitalists and to abolish thereby the present system of wage slavery.

### The Railroad Workers

By way of an ilustration, let us say that all of the railroad workers were organized into an industrial union, so that whenever they had any grievance against their employers all of them would go out on strike at the same time. Just stop a moment and consider what this would mean! Don't you see that their power would be so great that they would not even have to go on strike? They could paralyze the life and the industry of the entire country inside of a few days. They could obtain every one of their demands by merely threatening to go on strike.

Yes, they could go farther and declare the railroads the property of the nation and nothing could be done about it. The way it is now, the workers on the roads being split up in some sixteen craft organizations, when one goes on strike the others break the strike by remaining on the job.

It has been said that the craft unions have been organized for fighting the master class. There is a grain of truth in this if we consider as such their attempts to safeguard to some extent the narrow craft interests of their members. However, when looked upon from the broader point of view of the entire working class, we are forced to admit that they are doing nothing of the kind. In most industries the craft unions function to the end of keeping the workers divided, and thereby they do exactly the opposite of what they are proclaimed to do. They play into the hands of the master class. Little by little the workers are beginning to see into this, which is one of the reasons for the diminishing membership of the craft unions. As has been pointed out elsewhere in this magazine, during the last year the American Federation of Labor lost over eight hundred thousand members.

The Industrial Workers of the World consist of twenty-nine industrial unions, which comprise the entire industrial scheme of the country. No matter what occupation one might have, he will find a place for himself in one or the other of these unions. We thus see that the I. W. W. offers the most comprehensive system of organization to be found anywhere in the world.

### Organize the Unorganized!

There is less organization among the workers in the United States, in proportion to the total number of industrial workers, than in any other capitalist country. Only one out of every six or seven workers belongs in any kind of union whatsoever. We thus see that the field is practically open for organization. The natural, logical, and sensible thing to do, therefore, is to make an attempt to line up these unorganized workers into genuine industrial unions. Of late a campaign has been started by the advocates of amalgamation to organize the unorganized into the A. F. of L. unions. Beware of this move. It ought to be apparent to everybody that it is the height of folly to line men up into craft unions which later will either have to be destroyed or else consolidated into industrial unions—provided this is possible of accomplishment. The proper thing to do is to organize these unorganized into real industrial unions to start out with.

The big job that confronts us today is to keep in line those who, owing to stress of economic conditions, were organized during strikes, and to reach the now disorganized and uneducated workers. Let the I. W. W. slogan, which found expression in the columns of this magazine last month, reverberate from one end of the land to the other: **"Organize the Unorganized!"**

# GENERAL STRIKE

## Strike One Strike All

## Strike Strike Strike

**Final at Last !**

The voice of the meu in prison has been heard, they who have suffered for the cause of labor. Their families have had enough of this sufferiug.

COME ONE! COME ALL!

Pnll your labor off the joh for a short time and wake up this monster of Capitalism. Show him that you are still Free Men!

STRIKE ONE! STRIKE ALL!

And open the prisou doors, whatever your material demands may be, put them at him at the same time. This is the strike call issued by the strike committee of the Industrial Workers of the World.

### General Strike Demands
### of the Marine Transport Workers

Release of all working men and women who are in prison for organized labor and working class aetivities.

To do away with the Shipowners Association employment office, better known as the Fink hall.

A minimum wage for seamen of $100.00 per month.

Three watches to prevail for all seamen except coal burning firemen who shall have four watches.

A minimum scale of $1.00 an hour for longshoremen.

A 44-hour week for harbor workers.

All overtime at double rates.

That we the strikers, pledge ourselves to continue the strike until all class war prisoners are released from prison and jails and also pledge ourselves to be orderly throughout the strike, and refrain from indulgence of intoxicating liquors.

STRIKE COMMITTEE
Marine Transport Workers I. U. No. 510
SAN PEDRO, CALIFORNIA

# The San Pedro Strike

By ART SHIELDS

I HAVE just come from the city of San Pedro, the port of Los Angeles, where one of the most remarkable strikes in the history of American labor is now going on. I am frankly amazed at what I saw there and so is everyone else coming into the town, and so are the people of San Pedro themselves.

What, San Pedro, the busiest port on the Pacific tied up tight, and by the wobblies? Impossible! The report was so extraordinary that I came down from San Francisco on a voluntary investigation tour to see for myself. I had passed through San Pedro earlier in the year on an intercoastal freighter and had seen no signs of a labor sunrise. At that time the town was in the hollow of the shipowners' hand. Mr. Nichols' "scab hall," as the shipowners' employment office is colloquially called, was handling the labor problem with thorough satisfaction to the employers, and there was no organized protest from the workers.

Longshoremen who denied union membership were allowed to work from eight in the morning till eleven at night, when ships were in. They were driven at insane speed and accidents were frequent. I have never seen winch drivers swing cargo with such desperate hurry as at San Pedro, or stevedores plunge about so frantically. Nor was this all. Longshoremen told me that the worker who fell under the frown of Mr. Nichols as a union suspect, or for any other reason, went on the scrap heap. Women used to go down and weep to him to give their husbands a share of the work so they could eat, but to no use; Mr. Nichols got a kick out of being hard.

As for the wobblies, yes, there were a few, but most of them were in jail. The sovereign state of California makes it a crime, punishable by one to fourteen years imprisonment, to belong to the industrial union movement. Today the law is a farce in San Pedro. Two thousand folk of the town are openly carrying I. W. W. cards and seem very proud of it. This criminal syndicalism law is now getting a dose of the same wholesome irreverence that I saw the liberty-loving miners of Kansas pay Governor Allen's Industrial Court. But three months ago how different it was in San Pedro. In those days the wobblies were a small minority and Swelled Out Authority jumped on them as hard as bullies can.

### I. W. W. Educational Campaign

What I did not know then was that these hundred or so I. W. W's. were carrying on a quiet but effective educational campaign that has perhaps never been equalled in such a short space of time. In three months, from January to April, every house in San Pedro received three pamphlets and other literature setting forth in clear and simple language the benefits of organization! How to do away with the tyranny of the "scab hall"; how to raise wages to a living standard and to equalize working hours so that every one would have his share of labor instead of one getting sixteen hours a day and the other none. All these problems were dealt with and the literature also took up the ultimate program of the I. W. W., its plan for the final emancipation of labor from the idlers who live on its back. And, more particularly, the free literature exposed the infamous criminal syndicalism law of California, which sends workingmen to penitentiaries for fighting for better living conditions.

No brass banding marked this work that paved the way for the big strike. The longshoremen and sailors who were distributing this literature and giving street talks in between jailings, knew how to get results. They knew their people. They knew that their fellow workers, the other sailors and longshoremen who make up the bulk of the population of this marine city, would listen to the facts presented in a reasonable way.

The result was that membership in the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union began to grow quietly, but by hundreds. The union had no hall, only a "floating headquarters," but its strength began to bulge up on all sides. And when the big strike call for the release of the labor prisoners, the elimination of the "scab hall" and the improvement of job conditions went out April 25, San Pedro went over the top. As the strike progressed swarms of sympathizers joined the union, and the Marine Transport Federation, a smaller and unaffiliated organization, fell in line. And then came the merchants.

### One Hundred Ships Tied Up

In a week the strike was ninety-five per cent effective. As I write, one hundred ships are tied up in the harbor. Lumber schooners loaded weeks ago in Puget Sound, Coos Bay, Oregon, or Eureka, Cal., lie idle at their wharves. Cargo vessels of all nationalities are anchored in the outer harbor or crowding the almost deserted docking spaces. A half dozen lines have already declared an embargo on freight to San Pedro and railroad com-

panies are cutting off car service from the shipping companies because of insufficiency of business.

This big strike has grown to such proportions that it can no longer be called a mere I. W. W. strike. Nor even a mere waterfront strike. It passed through both those phases. Today it is a community affair. The people of San Pedro as a whole are back of it and the red label doesn't bother them. The sentiment is astonishing. At last night's meeting I heard the wife of a local business man make a strike speech and hand a check for twenty-five dollars to the committee. A few nights before, the names of sixty business men, mostly small merchants, were read off as strike fund contributors, the sums ranging from one dollar to one hundred. And the Japanese fishermen of East San Pedro were among the contributors. The fact that every member of the strike finance committee which handles this relief money is a member in good standing of the I.W.W. and carries a red card in his pocket in spite of the syndicalism law does not bother the donors a bit. They know the boys. They are their customers and friends and they want them to win so there will be more prosperity for all.

### Down with Hootch!

I was about to add here that the Industrial Workers of the World have twice the influence of any force in San Pedro, but I will not do so. It would sound like propaganda and my trade is that of a newspaperman, not a propagandist. Instead I make a significant statement that speaks for itself. **The I. W. W. has closed up the bootleggers for the duration of the strike.** It did this by its own authority and in its own way, and without the fuss and flurry, the sly tasting and sensational raidings of the official closers. The ukase against bootlegging was read out at the first mass meeting and it was enforced. And now the bootleggers are on strike too, as one of the clan put it sadly and meekly.

In a week's time I saw only two men under the influence of liquor, and they but slightly. Both came from Los Angeles. San Pedro is as dry as Charles W. Wood found Emporia, Kansas, as related in a recent issue of Colliers' Weekly.

The wobbly dry action made me decidedly curious. I had always known the industrial unionists as a group that dealt with job reform to the exclusion of the so-called political issues, and this action led me to ask questions of the strike committee.

"Nothing strange," they said. "We're out to win this strike and no bootlegger is going to stop us."

"Boozing might ruin the strike," they explained. "If one of our boys got drunk he would be apple pie for some agent provocateur to incite to some act that would hurt the organization. And another thing: We don't want anyone throwing away eight dollars a quart for "jackass" when there are women and babies to be fed."

It sounded logical so far, but there was something else I couldn't understand.

"Why is it," I asked, "that the zealous police force of San Pedro and the federal agents haven't taken the initiative in this?"

"They are too busy," smilingly answered a wobbly; "too busy arresting workingmen." He was one of the defendants in the Los Angeles criminal syndicalism trial, now out on bail and assisting in the strike.

Another thing I was about to say was that this is a young man's strike, but the memory of a grey-haired, sinewy veteran, Fellow Worker Gelpke, stops me. Gelpke says he is a real Industrial Worker of the World because he has worked in industry in each of the five continents of the world. He took a sixty-day jolt as a wobbly last winter without minding it a bit, and is one of the most effective speakers in San Pedro. And is he enjoying himself? Say, you should have heard his greeting, "Ain't she a moose?" when I stopped him on the street and asked him about the strike.

### Free Speech Fights

Somewhere in this magazine you will see a picture of Leo Stark handcuffed to a telegraph pole. It was his way of winning a free speech fight. He guaranteed

During the wholesale arrests of open air speakers, Fellow Worker Leo Stark chained himself to a lamp-post in order to continue speaking while the dicks went after the keys.

that the police couldn't drag him away till he had finished his organization talk. That was the night Captain Plummer's brave "bulls" arrested thirty wobblies for exercising their constitutional rights of free speech, and it was before a woman loaned her lot on Liberty Hill to the strikers for their meetings. Well, Leo Stark isn't exactly a youngster, though he's only been in the radical labor movement for thirty or forty years in nearly as many continents as Gelpke. Stark is a speaker and newsboy. He sells five hundred copies of each issue of "The Industrial Pioneer," "Industrial Solidarity" and "Industrial Worker," and is said to be a wizard at disposing of wobbly song books, pamphlets, and so forth. Of course he's out on bail as a criminal syndicalist and has a forty-day jail term awaiting him for a street speech charge, but that doesn't bother him after the Wichita oil workers' case, in which he invested four years.

One might go on to mention some of the vivid old veterans among the Spaniards and Mexicans who make up half the working force of San Pedro. Particularly in my mind there stands out one keen old strategist, a sturdy, grizzled fellow, with black eyes glowing out over high bronzed cheek bones and an aquiline nose. He is a man of much influence among his countrymen in surrounding towns and the steps he has taken to ensure solidarity from the Mexicans in the coast towns to the south would make an article in itself. And they have been effective. There is even less scabbing from Mexicans than from others.

But the young men are in the majority. They are running the strike committee, publicity committee, finance committee, launch committee, and so forth, and they pack the grounds on Liberty Hill where the strike meetings are held twice a day. And when the songs of labor brotherhood are sung there under the stars it is an inspiration to hear their clear voices rise in the night.

### Wobbly Enthusiasm

I had heard that the days of wobbly singing were over, that the movement had become too hard-headed for music, but San Pedro dispels that illusion that came from too long a sojourn with the theoreticians of the East. I have never heard anything sung with more enthusiasm than the song that peals from the throats of thousands every night on Liberty Hill. It is the class-war prisoners' song "Remember," which Harrison George wrote in the Cook county jail, with its commanding refrain:

**"Remember you're outside for us**
**And we're in here for you."**

That is the outstanding thought in this strike which was primarily called for the release of the class-war prisoners. The illusion is forever shattered in me that the American workingman would fight for nothing but more "pork chops." The fact is that the strikers here in San Pedro are talking more about forcing the release of their fellow workers from Leavenworth, Walla Walla, San Quentin and other prisons than

**Mass-Meetings Like This Were Held Every Day On the San Pedro Water Front.**

for anything else, even the abolition of the hated "scab hall." And by the class-war prisoners they do not mean only wobblies. Mooney and Billings are emphasized as much as Ford and Suhr. Every speaker, and there are many,—rank and file speakers talking five minutes each—stresses the demand for the release of the federal and state prisoners and the abolition of the syndicalism law.

* * *

Will the strikers win? That depends on the rest of the marine industry. San Pedro is a safe unit in the fight. The men are determined and their wives are behind them. Economic support is coming from all sides. Two bakeries are supplying free bread and wobbly fishermen give a ton of fish a day to the needy and money is given freely. San Pedro is doing its part.

One thing seems certain. The movement in San Pedro is now so deeply grounded that it will not blow away. It is grounded on a clear understanding, by hundreds of active members, of the issues involved. It is an unusually intelligent rank and file. Marine workers proverbially have a broader and clearer view of world movements than the stay-at-homes, and these men have also received an enviable postgraduate educational training in the last three months in San Pedro. Best of all, the movement is organized on broad human lines and is not limited and sectarian. That is shown by the policy of extending relief to all workingmen, whether members of the I. W. W. or not. The movement, though under the banner of the I. W. W., is a popular community movement against local injustices and vicious state and national persecution of labor.

Against such a wall the propaganda of hate of the Los Angeles Times and the San Pedro Pilot, a slimy local sheet which is trying to sic the Ku Klux Klan against the strikers, will beat in vain.

And ornithologists say the raven is croaking over the "scab hall."

# Under the Iron Heel

By R. F. PETTIGREW, Ex- Senator from South Dakota.

THE people of the United States are playing with fire. They are experimenting with an unworkable system of social organization—a system that has been tried repeatedly during the past three or four thousand years and that has destroyed civilization as often as it has been tried. The form of the experiments has been different, but their essential features remain the same.

Let me review these features briefly, because they lie at the foundation of our whole public life.

First, there is the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few men—"self-made," "irresponsible"—owing no allegiance to anything save our own destinies and their own ambitions. These wealth-lords, or plutocrats, ruling by virtue of their wealth, have been the bane of every great civilization from Assyria and Egypt to Rome, Spain and Great Britain.

Two per cent of the people of the United States own sixty per cent of the property of the United States. Yet they produced none of it. By legislation, by craft and cunning, by control of Congress and the courts, they took to themselves what others produced.

Sixty-six percent of the people of the United States own five per cent of the property of the United States. Yet they produced all of the wealth and have none of it. Why do not the producers of this wealth have what they produce?

### The Constitutional Convention

Because the making of the laws and the control of the industries and of the courts is in the hands of those who do not work, and this has been true from the beginning of the Government. The convention, which framed the Constitution of the United States was composed of fifty-five members. A majority were lawyers—not one farmer, mechanic or laborer. Forty owned Revolutionary Scrip. Fourteen were land speculators. Twenty-four were money-lenders. Eleven were merchants. Fifteen were slaveholders. They made a Constitution to protect the rights of property and not the rights of man, and ever since, Congress has been controlled by the property owners, and has framed laws in their interest and their interest only and always refused to frame any laws in the interest of those who produce all the wealth and have none of it.

In the second place, the wealth-owning class, because of its wealth-power and its hold on the machinery of society, takes a tribute from the mass of the workers. The character of this tribute varies from age to age. At bottom it is the same. The owner of wealth, because he possesses the things without which the masses would starve, compels them to pay him a return for their use. In Egypt and in feudal Europe, the masters owned land and exacted rent. Here, in the United States, the masters own the forests, mines, factories, railroads, banks and insurance companies. These things they own through the instrumentality of corporations and therefore their income takes the form of dividends on stocks and of interest on bonds. The form is immaterial. The fact remains that the few—whether as landlords or capitalists—hold the choice spots of the earth, and the many, for the privilege of enjoying these choice spots, pay tribute to the few who own them.

### The Workers—Wage Slaves

These masses—the workers—the producers are rewarded with the least possible amount upon which they are willing to go on working and reproducing their kind. In old times they were chattel slaves; today they are wage slaves. Formerly, their masters took all of their product and guaranteed them a living. Now, a part of the product goes to the workers, but they must keep themselves.

In the past the work done by the slave for his master kept the master in luxury and enabled him to live a life of ease, and, if he desired, of dissipation and waste. Today

the rent, interest and dividends paid by the workers to the owners of lands, bonds and stocks enable these owners to live in luxury, in idleness and, if they desire, in wasteful dissipation. The owners of American wealth, according to the returns published by the Internal Revenue office, state on their income tax blanks that their incomes amount to tens and hundreds of thousands, to millions and tens of millions of dollars each year. The most skilled of the workers seldom make over $100 a week with steady work, and seven-eights of them make less than $50 a week.

Furthermore, when hard times come, it is the worker who goes on the street and starves. The bondholder continues to draw his interest and the stockholder continues to receive his dividend. The bondholder, under the law, can insist upon his interest. The corporations take care of the stockholder long after the workers have begun to walk the streets looking for a chance to work.

These owners freed from the necessity for labor, develop rapidly into a leisure class, while the workers, struggling for existence, constitute a labor class. The leisure class controls the surplus wealth of the community. Out of this surplus it feeds, dresses and houses itself; buys privileges, corrupts the machinery of the state; invests in foreign exploiting opportunities; struggles with the leisure classes of other countries for the chance to exploit and rob.

### Poverty and Want

Among the masses, who are laboring and producing without getting the value of their product, there is poverty and want. Diseases waste and ravage; vitality is sapped; energy deteriorates. Perhaps nowhere in the modern world is the picture more clearly presented than among the exploited British factory workers during the forty or fifty years preceding the World War. If the soldiers on on the field were cannon fodder, the men and women of Lancashire and Birmingham were factory fodder. While the leisure class of Britain was shooting grouse and chasing foxes across the plowed land, the men and women and children belonging to the working masses were huddled in garrets and cellars—the prey of tuberculosis, rickets, anæmia and want.

The leisure class, having nothing better to do, plays at ducks and drakes with international affairs, plunges the country into economic and military conflicts, heaps up great debts, and wastes its own and the country's resources, while the workers do the mass-fighting, pay the taxes and suffer from starvation and disease. Between the two classes there springs up hate, class conflict and perpetual dissension. It was not for nothing that Alexander Hamilton wrote, "The various and unequal distribution of wealth."

When I entered the public life of the United States, the economic ruling class was just stepping into power. There was no leisure class to speak of. There was still an abundance of free land to the workers. The America that I knew in my young manhood was still talking, in all sincerity, about "government of, by and for the people." In the brief period of my own public experience we have adopted a species of feudalism more inhuman and more vicious than any of which history bears a record—a feudalism of artificial persons (corporations) using their power to exploit the workers in the interest of the parasites. Within my lifetime we have become a government of corporations whose attorneys are in the House and Senate and throughout the bureaus and departments of the Government, looking out for the interests of those who pay them their retaining fees.

This is capitalism—the control of the machinery of society in the interests of those who own its wealth. This was feudalism in France and slavery in Rome and in Assyria. This is the system of dividing the community into two classes—owners and producers—and of rewarding the owners at the expense of the producers. As I read history, this method of social organization has had and can have only one result. The leisure class rots out and drops to pieces; the workers starve and suffer and die. Sometimes they revolt—particularly in later years.

Generally they are too weak and too ignorant to do anything more than labor and reproduce.

### Owners Rob People

In the preceding pages I have tried to show how this system was getting its grip on the United States. Out of my own experience in public life I have indicated the activity of the land-grabbers, the bankers, the money-ring, the beneficiaries of the tariff, the trust magnates, the railroad operators and the other masters of the economical world. In Congress and out, year by year, they have taken possession of the country's best resources, robbed the people through monopoly, exploited and plundered the workers by means of low wages and high prices.

Then, with their ill-gotten gains, they have invaded other lands—Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Mexico, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Haiti—and there they have repeated the same process, by fair means or foul, gaining possession of timber, oil, copper and iron, and then forcing the natives to produce these commodities for a pittance wage. Behind them, in these ventures, the plutocrats had the army and navy of the United States to be used when necessary, as they were used against Spain, the Philippines, the Mexicans, the Haitians and the rest.

Meanwhile, at home, through the subsidy of political parties—through the passage of legislation—through the courts—through the private control or, where necessary, through the open purchase or coercion of public men, the interests have taken possession of the government of the United States, shaping its institutions, and directing its policies along lines calculated to yield the largest net returns to the plutocracy.

### Suppression of Free Speech

The last move in this direction involved the entrance of the United States into the World War; the conscription of men; the dispatch of an army to the battlefields of Europe; the suppression of free speech and a free press; search, seizure, indictment, trial, imprisonment and the deportation of men and women in open and flagrant violation of constitutional guarantees and long-established precedent.

The Wilson administration and the Supreme Court have demonstrated and established that in time of war the Constitution, with all its amendments, is but a scrap of paper and of no force and effect. Hereafter, all that the people who do not work and produce no wealth have to do is to unite and get control of Congress and other branches of the government and declare war on some country—any country—and at once proceed to enact laws in total disregard of the Constitution, and all its guarantees, and arrest and imprison all who disagree or protest. It is well for the people who toil to make a note of this fact.

No man who has regard for the welfare of this country, or who is concerned for its future, can fail to be alarmed at the course that it has followed, and is still following, along the road that leads to empire and imperial institutions. There may yet be time, but unless we turn back soon, it will be too late. It behooves the working class to take over the industries and operate them for use instead of for profit, which will make it possible for the workers to erect an industrial government and to enact laws so that every man shall have all he produces.

Capital is stolen labor, and its only function is to steal more labor.

* * *

**Editor's Note:** The foregoing is reprinted, by special permission, from former Senator Pettigrew's book, "Imperial Washington," published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co. This book contains the frankest exposé and the most stinging indictment of the Washington government "of, for and by big business," that we have ever read. Mr. Pettigrew spent twelve years in the United States Senate, and knows what he is talking about. We might disagree with some of the author's conclusions and remedies, but when it comes to giving an intimate and vivid picture of how the powerful trusts and corporations own and control the governmental machinery, this book has no equal.

The book contains 441 pages and sells for $1.25. In order to carry the message of The Industrial Pioneer and the lesson of "Imperial Washington" into thousands of homes over the length and breadth of the land, we will send you the Pioneer for a year and the book for $2.25. Regular price for the two: $3.25.

"My Old Kentucky Home"

# The New Migration — Northward

By ALOIS SENNEFELDER, JR.

A REVOLUTION is going on in this country. The direction of migration is being changed. Instead of flowing from east to west, or descending from the colder climes, it is going from the balmy south to the bleak north. Another historic exodus is on that will effect great transformations and perhaps simplify old problems. The Negro is leaving the South for the great industrial centers nearer the Arctic Zone.

The primitive white settlers living in the Appalachian mountains, descendants of original American stock, are also migrating north. They are being enticed from their mountain fastnesses into the modern factory. On top of it all come the Mexicans, who are being imported by the steel, mining and agricultural corporations, in violation of the contract labor law, from beyond the Rio Grande, for a life of slavery. Surely, all this means—or will mean—"something." What?

First, it looks as if "the Solid South" is being broken up, or is disintegrating. **Since it would not absorb capitalism, capitalism is absorbing it.** The Negroes are being drawn into the great melting pot of the country, which has always been to a very great extent located in the North East. They will become artisans, laborers,—thereby complicating the problems of labor and its organization. What to do with the Negro question in the South, is a problem that is being solved by its absorption into the labor problem of the North. And be it said, to the credit of the Negroes, they are willing to hasten this solution by clamoring for admission into labor unions and by embracing, to a more limited extent, revolutionary ideals. Be it said also to the credit of the I. W. W. in this connection, that it has always welcomed the Negro to its folds, convinced that in the solution of the labor problem would be found the solution of the problems of race, color, and creed.

With the whites of the Appalachians and the Mexicans, it is the same. Absorbed into the northern labor forces, they also tend to become a part of the labor problem and are inseparably bound up in its solution. The I. W. W. has set out to organize them also. In the rubber factories of Akron, in the construction enterprises of Ohio and the coal mines of that state and West Virginia are the mountaineers being brought into contact with modern industrialism and the I. W. W

The I. W. W. influence among the Mexicans is even more extensive. This is par-

ticularly true of workers in the agricultural, marine transport and mining industries in California, Nevada, Utah and Montana. In these and in the Gulf states, as well as in Mexico and South America, **Solidaridad, the Spanish organ of the I. W. W.,** wields considerable prestige, with the result that many Spanish-speaking workers have been won over to the cause of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Among the Mexican steel workers a like connection prevails. Many imported Mexicans are to be found in the Bethlehem, Pa., steel mills. Thanks to the efforts of some Spanish marine transport workers and to the vigorous organization campaign being conducted by Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440, of the I. W. W., a great part of them have been reached by the gospel of class solidarity. The I. W. W. press and organization have been of invaluable assistance to them in their fight against steel trust enslavement.

While this is creditable to the I. W. W., it is only a drop in the ocean. The I. W. W. must exert itself more stupendously than ever before, or the reactionary elements that are utilizing the exodus from the South will overgrow the organization and prevent its development, to the destruction of its great ideals. Make no mistake, the great labor problems of the future will center in the North and the East. Unless they are faced and settled there, no advance or solution can be had elsewhere. Let us, then, turn our faces in these directions and build up more organization there. And then still more organization. Nothing but complete, thorough and extensive organization will do.

That is one side, the northern and eastern side, of the revolution in migrations now going on in this country. But there is the other side. How will it affect the South? Will it leave the South in economic ruin and chaos? Or will it compel improvement and development? More likely the latter; especially as the South is failing in its attempts to stop this exodus. A regular war is going on for the control of the labor power of the South. The employment agents of large corporations are arrested and jailed. Negroes known to have slipped out to northern destinations also suffer the same fate. On all sides, the southern planters, bankers, and manufacturers are resorting to every means "to keep the Negro in his place." But all to no avail, the South is playing a losing game that will force modifications in its structure,—economic and otherwise. The South will have to step upward in the plane of industrial development, for it has been tried and found wanting; the exodus amply attests to this.

Mexican Workers

What will all this mean to white labor? For years there has been a tendency for white workers to drift South, especially in the textile, coal, marine, construction, and

other industries. They have taken with them the first weak beginnings of labor unionism. It is likely that, under the new circumstances, more of them may be needed and induced to go South. More labor unionism is likely to result. And so a greater capitalist South may develop, with a stronger industrial unionism.

One thing is certain—that the northern migration has its reactions on the South. The northern Negroes, writing home of northern conditions, affect the South profoundly. New visions, new aspirations, are created; and the leaven of discontent, the soul of progress, is set to work; with the result that even the stay-at-homes become a force for southern regeneration.

And then think of Mexican contact with American industrialism! Its reaction will also mean an upward pull in social development for Mexico and Mexicans. Already is this evident in the connections that are being made between the labor movements of both countries; especially the boycott by Mexican labor of California-made movies as a protest against the continued incarceration of the class-war prisoners and the Golden State's unjust criminal syndicalism law.

Verily, those who believe western migration to be "everything," have overlooked the newer migration northward. It is a revolution of profound import, and we had better wake up to the fact. Let us get on the trail of this new social phenomenon. And let us be lively about this, or else we will find it overcrowded by others who, grasping its great possibilities, will get there before us.

# Escaped!

(The boiler house whistle is blown "wildcat" when a prisoner makes a "getaway.")

By RALPH CHAPLIN

A MAN has fled . . . ! We clutch the bars and wait;
The corridors are empty, tense and still;
A silver mist has dimmed the distant hill;
The guards have gathered at the prison gate
Then suddenly the "wildcat" blares its hate
Like some mad Moloch screaming for the kill;
Shattering the air with terror loud and shrill,
The dim, gray walls become articulate.

But Freedom! Freedom is not there nor here!
In those far cities men can only find
A vaster prison and a redder hell,
O'ershadowed by new wings of greater fear.
Brave fool, for such a world to leave behind
The iron sanctuary of a cell!

# For a Mess of Pottage

By HENRY VAN DORN

ON May the tenth, sixty people, representing the Farmer-Labor, Socialist and Workers' parties, met in the Morrison Hotel in Chicago to outline and make announcement of the purposes and program of the labor party convention to be held in Chicago on July third. It was a meeting of heterogeneous elements — wage workers, farmers, politicians, intellectuals, and members of the middle class. A collection of over four hundred dollars was taken up.

The Morrison Hotel is one of the finest in the city of Chicago. A collection of over four hundred dollars for sixty people averages seven dollars apiece. We leave it to the judgment of the reader to make of these two observations what he will.

The I. W. W. is concerned with the welfare of the man who works in industry for wages. The industrial proletariat as a class is the strongest numerically of any in the United States, not excepting even the farmers. The thing for us to decide, therefore, is whether or not this class has anything to gain through political action, engaged in by a party such as has been proposed at this meeting.

In the first place, can any ground be found on which such divergent elements as were here represented could work in concert for the common good? Is there any precedent either in current or past history that this can be done?

We will have to admit that there is not, and that, therefore, to advise the industrial workers to spend time, money, and energy in political action is pure and simple opportunism. Opportunism is a mortal enemy of the working class. Witness the present rulers of capitalist Europe.

### Working Class Renegades

Premiers Mussolini and Branting of Italy and Sweden respectively, and presidents Millerand of France and Ebert of Germany, are all of them ex-socialists, political opportunists and traitors to the working class. Almost the whole of Europe is ruled today by politicians who once professed to be fighting in the interests of the working class. Now they are the henchmen of capitalism.

Is the same thing to be repeated in the United States? If such be not the professed purpose of the proposed labor party, the results undoubtedly will be the same, should it ever attain the same strength reached by the European political movement.

The agitation for working class political action rests on the fallacy of popular democratic government; it is the duty of all those who have the interests of the industrial worker at heart to do everything in their power to check the spread of these wrong and injurious ideas.

No such thing as democracy exists on the earth today, nor is there the least chance for it to come into being for a long time to come. The electoral system in all countries is part and parcel of capitalist dictatorship. By telling the workers that they can gain anything by taking part in the electoral system, we are miseducating them and merely blinding them to the facts as they actually are.

The powers that be are not afraid of political action by the workers, no matter how revolutionary this action may be proclaimed to be. As a matter of fact, they would welcome it if they realized how serviceable it is to them; and sometimes they do. It is one of the safety valves through which popular discontent fizzles off without doing any damage to the capitalist system.

### Futility of Political Action

If anybody wants to be convinced of the futility of political action, let him consider some of the European countries: Italy, England, Germany and France. Is anybody rabid enough to say that if the workers

in these countries had not been misled and miseducated for so many years by their political leaders, that they would be in such a deplorable condition today?

England has close to a million and a half unemployed. Many millions more are receiving wages of from $5 to $8 per week. There is a housing shortage of about one million homes. In short, the British worker is in as sorry a plight today as he could well be. Yet the Labor Party is one of the three strongest parties in Parliament. The working class is represented by over one hundred members.

In the face of this, the mass of workers are helpless and starving, and will no doubt continue in that condition for quite some time to come. Their bodies are enslaved to the master class and their minds are enslaved to the fetish of political action, which prevents them from doing anything to rid themselves of the bonds of slavery. All they have been able to attain has been a lot of fine sounding phrases, such as the resolution introduced in Parliament by Phillip Snowden to abolish capitalism and substitute in its place socialism; it sounds nice and revolutionary, but that's about all the good it does to the unemployed and starving British workingmen.

The classic illustration of the failure of political action is, of course, Germany. There they have the socialist Frederick Ebert as president of the German republic. Yet the whole of Germany is today in the hands of a few industrial magnates who practically exercise powers of life and death over the working people. In no other country has trustificaton of industry reached such an advanced stage and in no other country are the industrial workers so absolutely at the mercy of their industrial overlords; yet to all intents and purposes Germany is today a republic run by socialists who are supposed to be the representatives of the working class. Of course, the truth in the matter is that these so-called representatives of the workers are nothing but puppets in the hands of the big capitalists who are masters of the situation by virtue of their control over industry.

### The Italian Fascisti

But the greatest lesson is to be learned from Italy. There the workers were getting too strong to suit the purposes of the bourgeoisie. It is safe to say that what happened in Italy will be repeated in other countries as soon as the workers actually become strong enough on the political field to be even remotely a menace to the ruling class. At one fell blow the Fascisti demolished the Italian electoral system and substituted in its place the rule of brute force. When the disguise of democracy no longer serves the needs of the ruling class, it is done away with and other more drastic methods are used.

Let the dictatorship of the Fascisti in Italy serve as an example to all those who try to fool themselves and others by pointing to the great benefits to be obtained for the working class through parliamentary action. All political parties in Italy have been practically abolished. The Chamber of Deputies might as well be dissolved for all the good it does to anybody. Thousands of duly elected municipal and other officials have been put out of office; in hundreds of cases, they have been literally thrown out through the windows. Opposition newspapers have been mercilessly suppressed. Hundreds of buildings, newspaper offices, party and union headquarters have been razed and burned to the ground. Many thousands of men and women have been murdered by the Fascist bands—the Ku Klux Klan of Italy—and over sixty thousand have been arrested on various charges, many of them being sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The very last vestige and semblance of popular government has been abolished.

The accumulated labors of many years of hard work by the workers and peasants to gain control over city, provincial, and federal governmental institutions have been done away with inside of a few months. That is what is to be expected whenever the working class begins seriously to encroach upon the prerogatives of the master class by the use of political action. The labor unions and the co-operative move-

ment also suffered in this onslaught, but not to the same extent. The demoralization in the unions would not be near as great had they not been, not wholly excepting even the syndicalists, so closely linked up with the political movement.

The following statement by Premier Mussolini is highly illuminating: "Fascismo is not afraid to declare itself liberal or anti-liberal. It has already passed, and if necessary will pass again, without the slightest hesitation, over the body, more or less decomposed, of the Goddess of Liberty."

The dangers of reposing faith in a political party have been amply illustrated in Soviet Russia. The main concern of the Russian Communist party at present seems to be the enforcement of the new economic policy, which is tantamount to the reintroduction of capitalism with all its evils. The logic of events and the course of evolution no doubt demand it, but to imagine that on this score the immediate interests of the industrial workers and of the present government are identical, is to have a wrong conception of the Russian situation.

### An American Labor Party

Bearing these things in mind, we can now return to the United States. No doubt a labor party will spring into existence in the future, and it might even attain considerable strength in some localities and might become a factor of national importance, but this will not prove anything one way or another. The question is, of what earthly use can it be to the industrial workers either in their struggle with the employers for immediate demands or in the ultimate struggle for the abolition of the wage system?

We claim that it can be of no use at all, and that for anyone who actually understands the modus operandi of capitalism to say and preach the contrary is to deliberately miseducate the working class. For any body of men which professes to have the interests of the industrial worker at heart to devote its energies toward the formation of such a labor party is to run wild with opportunism. We consider it our duty to warn the workers of the false prophets who are trying to lead them into the by-paths of confusion and political folly.

Five men sitting on the bench of the United States Supreme Court can declare unconstitutional any law passed by both houses of Congress and approved by the President. It can overrule all of the laws passed by any of the state legislatures and its executives. This was recently demonstrated by the Supreme Court declaring unconstitutional, by a majority of one, the Minimum Wage Act of the District of Columbia. In the face of this where does the usefulness of parliamentary action come in?

### Economic Power

The basis of all power is the possession of economic power. Just so long as their supremacy in industry is not menaced the capitalists are sure to remain safe in the saddle. They are, therefore, not afraid of anything which looks forward to a change in the personnel of political institutions—the handmaidens of the big capitalists and financiers. As long as the industries are safely in the control of the powers that be, it makes no difference under what name the various political representatives might be put in office, the capitalists would remain masters of the situation. While economic power is still in the hands of the capitalists and the structure of the governmental machinery is not changed, Congress would continue to function in the interests of the capitalists even if every representative and senator were a socialist, laborite or communist.

The only place where the workers can fight the master class effectively is in industry at the point of production. Only there can they obtain their immediate demands for higher wages, better conditions, shorter hours; only there can they obtain their demands and ambitions of whatever character.

The master class knows this; that is one reason why it is so afraid of militant industrial action. That is the reason why it per-

secutes the Industrial Workers of the World. It realizes that the I. W. W. offers the only means through which the workers can come into possession of the good things of life; in other words, of the whole product of their labor. Knowing this, the employing class is exceedingly vicious in persecuting our organization.

While the so-called working class political parties are weak, the capitalists are not afraid of them, under whatever name they might masquerade; the capitalists are not afraid of revolutionary phrases. When they get stronger, as in Italy, they are crushed. What the master class is afraid of is that the workers might get a stronghold on industry by organizing themselves into genuine industrial labor unions.

It is the duty of every class-conscious, militant industrial worker to disillusion his fellow men about the mirage of political action.

**Passing the Winter Away at Palm Beach, Florida—A Fashionable Retreat for the Over-Worked Class, Including the Tired Politician. Golf, Politics and Bridge Are the Favorite Sports.**

# The Logic of To-Day

By RAGNAR REDBEARD

THEN what's the use of dreaming dreams—
that "each shall get his own"

By forceless votes of meek-eyed thralls,
who blindly sweat and moan?

No! a curse is on their cankered brains—
their very bones decay:

Go! trace your fate in the Iron Game,
is the Logic of To-day.

# The Marine Transport Industry

By A MARINE WORKER

THE World War withdrew workers by the millions from productive industrial occupations into the industries producing ammunition and other war supplies for the support of huge armies. It recruited millions of men from the army of peacetime production to carry on war, thereby causing a rapid increase in the prices of food, clothing and shelter. It decreased the number of unemployed to such an extent that the workers finally found themselves in such demand that they could ask for and get more wages and better working conditions than formerly. The employers had to give in. The shipowners were no exception; they had to grant some of the demands of their employes; they had to be "good" to their workers in order to obtain young men and boys for the fast-growing fleet of ships of the American Merchant Marine.

### The International Seamen's Union

The unions affiliated with the International Seamen's Union of America were speedily built up, especially on the Atlantic Coast, mostly through the aid of the U. S. Shipping Board and the shipping commissioners. The functions of these unions were mainly to aid in insuring the necessary discipline and to supply the demand for seamen at the prescribed rate of wages and conditions given by the owners and agreed upon by the union through contracts. They thus served as a convenient medium by which the shipowners kept the marine workers down to the terms of the contracts during a time when the seamen, had they been differently regulated, or organized, would have been able to get much greater remuneration for their labor power.

During the latter part of 1920, shipping decreased to an alarming rate. The agreements of the shipowners with the unions of the I. S. U. of A. very wisely had been set to expire on the first of May, 1921, when shipping had decreased to the desired point for the shipowners to reduce the standard of living of the crews to the lowest possible limit. The many autonomous parts of the I. S. U. had been very carefully kept apart from one another and were but loosely federated through a per capita to the general office, with Andrew Furuseth as its president. Internecine strife and hatred between the crafts were openly maintained; the longshoremen and their international, which also was and is still affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, came in for a large share of this foolish hatred.

Owing to this state of affairs, and chafing under the iron-fisted rule of their well-fed, highly paid and conserv tive officials, who could not be removed from their positions, the members at last woke up to their own helplessness, the weakness of their separate craft unions and the corruption of their officialdom. In the fight that followed whatever good work had been done in the past was destroyed. The members got disgusted and deserted the unions by the thousands, until today there remains only the corrupt officialdom, reigning supreme, supported by finks and a few dupes who are offering their services to the shipowners, and are "stooling" on members and delegates of the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510, of the I. W. W.

The I. S. U. of A. has in this strike degenerated into a scab-herding outfit and the few members it still possesses were during this strike scabbing on the seamen under police protection. Every self-respecting seaman of today abhors it. Thus ends the last chapter in the history of the once prominent International Seamen's Union of America.

### Industrial Union No. 510

In contrast to the above, another and greater organization sprang into existence, strengthened and purified in spirit by the many battles it has waged against the master class, and recognizing no craft divisions, creed, nationality, or color; an organizatino having great aims and ideals, without high-salaried officials, industrial in form and using up-to-date tactics in the fight against the employers; an organization which declares that the workers are the producers of all wealth and that therefore all wealth must go to labor. This organization, international in scope, and having for its motto "An injury to one is an injury to all," is the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510, of the Industrial Workers of the World.

This union held in its ranks a few seamen illuminated by its ideals, who realized the greatness of its work and the importance of its mission. They were aware of the obstacles in the way of building up a powerful marine transport workers' organization, yet they were filled with hope and enthusiasm, energy and determination. They acted as missionaries of a new faith, always busy, always eager to learn from past mistakes in order that in the future they might be victorious. They got many converts who again in their turn got many more.

And so it came about that these seamen who had lost faith in their old leaders—who had been proved to be blind leaders—began instead to place all confidence in themselves and to build up their own organization, in conformity with the principle of always keeping power in their own hands instead of delegating it to someone else.

This organization is steadily growing into still greater power and prominence. Since its inception it has been an inspiration and a fighting weapon to stop the encroachments of the masters and to gain improvements for the workers both ashore and afloat. Shorter hours, higher wages and better working conditions had been obtained on many ships even prior to the calling of the big strike.

That the members knew when to act to their best advantage, has been demonstrated by crews striking either when signing on or at the last minute before departure of shps.

### The Marine Strike a Success

Several months ago these M. T. W. seamen began in various ports to draw up demands for more of the good things of life, realizing that the organization would seon be strong enough to make the strike general on all American ships and on all foreign ships hiring crews out of American ports. Boston branch a few weeks ago started the ball rolling by tying up ships for more "dough" and improved conditions of labor. This met with great response and enthusiasm in other ports. New York, the greatest port in the world, went out on the 25th of April, and communicated by wire their action to the other branches. The response was wonderful; by the 26th every port on the Atlantic, the Gulf and the Pacific coasts had struck. The general strike in the marine transport industry was on.

The first demand of the marine workers was the release of all political and class-war prisoners. With the marine and lumber workers striking, with many thousands of workers out in other industries throughout the United States, this strike certainly has served as a forceful reminder to the owners of industry what can be expected from the wobblies in no distant future. The bosses will eventually be forced to admit that it is too expensive to continue keeping our fellow workers in prison. More of this spirit might hit them in their pocketbooks so hard that they will order their politicians to let our fellow workers out. That for the time being the marine workers have gone back to work merely means that they are gathering their forces for another and stronger assault on the master class for the liberation of our class-war prisoners.

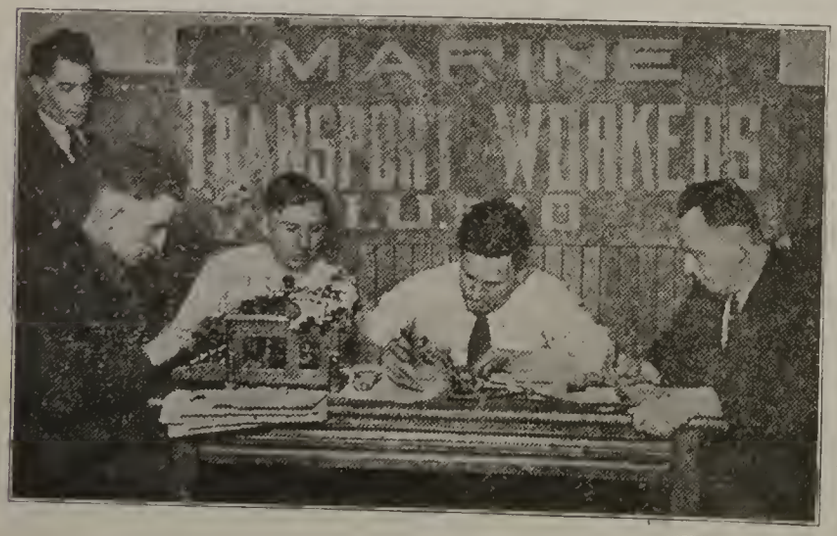
The strike went over with a bang. Many ports were tied up from 80 to 100 per cent—including the longshoremen. It was the most extensive spontaneous strike in the history of the marine transport industry, for it came at the most opportune time. The lakes were opening up, giving employment to thousands of seamen up there; owing to the improved industrial conditions thruout the United States plenty of work could be found ashore at fairly good wages, which left fewer seamen on the beach hungry and willing to become scabs. The demand for carriers at the time was great, freight rates were high; the owners could not afford a prolonged stoppage of their ships. As it was, the strike cost them millions of dollars. These are the principal reasons why the shipowners came to terms so soon, granting wage increases of from fifteen to twenty per cent, and most of the other demands. Except the liberation of our class-war prisoners, but **—we never forget!**

The prospects are highly encouraging that out of this strike will come closer co-operation between the M. T. W. in the United States and the marine workers of foreign countries. In England and Germany, and especially in Mexican and South American ports, a number of crews walked out. However, we cannot expect much for some time to come because of the disorganized and demoralized state of the foreign marine workers.

### Sentiment for O. B. U. Strong

The sentiment for our organization—for the One Big Union—is growing with leaps and bounds, here and abroad, aboard ships and ashore. The hardest job confronting us is the lining up of the longshoremen, teamsters and truck drivers, whose outlook is distorted by their craft unions, but we are confident of being able to accomplish even this.

The Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union 510, of the I. W. W., is already the most popular and best liked union among the seamen all over the world, and is becoming more and more so from day to day. The reason is its superiority in every way; it is the most militant, the most inclusive and democratic of all marine organizations; It has a far-reaching and comprehensive program. It has given new hope and inpiration to the marine workers everywhere. The One Big Union of all the workers is the only weapon by the use of which the producers of wealth will be able to come into their own.




(NEWS photo)

**I. W. W. STRIKE.**—A seamen's strike here was called yesterday by I. W. W. leaders Abe Franquiz, W. Drennen, Leonard Greene, W. Danton and James Walsh (l. to r.).

**This Picture Appeared in One of the Big New York Daily Papers**

# Mr. Kyne Joins the Head-Hitters

By JOHN NICHOLAS BEFFEL

IN California the popular sport among the leisure class is to hit the head of the nearest I. W. W. with any object that happens to be handy. Now and then the best citizens get together with tar and feathers or a rope, or with baseball bats, and hold a merry party. Again, they vary this diversion by invoking the magicians of the local county prosecutor's office, who with the presto-wand known as the criminal syndicalism law can transform any man who helped to build the roads into a poisonous reptile with promptness and dispatch.

Baseball bats have been found exceedingly effective, especially among the smart set of Los Angeles, in battering the fingers of Wobblies who, having fled a sportsmen's party of superior numbers, are hanging by the hands from lofty window ledges of the I. W. W. Hall with a nice, soft pavement below on which to fall when their fingers give out under the hammering.

This genial sport in a multitude of forms has been in vogue in California these 14 years. The I. W. W. have been regarded as the poor relations of those who ride the roads in high-priced cars. They are convenient figures on which to blame any untoward happening, such as a forest fire set going by locomotive sparks; the collapse of a reviewing stand built by a contractor who is a good politician; or the poisoning of guests with soup from copper kettles at a banquet tendered to notables from England and Iowa.

Almost every newspaper editor in California is both a golf enthusiast and an ardent hunter of I. W. W. heads. And the Head-Hitters' Club membership is open to any writer who can wield a typewriter with a preponderance af accuracy in the direction of an Industrial Worker's ear.

Peter B. Kyne is a recent notable addition to the ranks of the Head-Hitters. He qualifies for membership in Hearst's Cosmopolitan Magazine in a marine short story entitled, "The Thunder God." Thus a million onlookers watch while Mr. Kyne swings his bludgeon; and Mr. Hearst's native heath is saved once more from the "menace" which interferes so often with the comfortable enjoyment of wealth brought home by shackled oarsmen in one's galleys.

In Mr. Kyne's story there is to be a ship launching in San Francisco harbor. Something happens. The low pressure turbine gets jammed so the boat can't start. Valdemar Sigurdson, whom Old Man Hickman has raised from a pup, is now port captain, and he gets wrought up. He sets out to find the cur who did this thing.

He finds a sailor named "Frenchy" packing his things. From this point the story proceeds thus:

" 'I'm going to search you,' said the Viking.

" 'You can't search me without a search warrant. I'll have the police on you,' the man screamed angrily.

" 'You damned sea lawyer. Shut up.' The Viking cuffed the man with his open hand gently, as a mother bear cuffs her cubs. Then, holding Frenchy fast with his left arm and leg, he went through the man's pockets until he found a battered pocketbook.

" 'It ought to be in here,' he mused; and with a shove sent his prisoner reeling back into the stern-castle. 'Ah! It is. Here is his membership card in the I. W. W. showing his dues paid to date. Damned rotten French anarchist. Well, he'll never cripple another ship—the rat!'

"Frenchy pulled an automatic pistol from his pocket.—But Valdemar did not stand aside.

" 'No,' he said patiently, 'you can't get away with this. Shoot and be damned to you. Even if you get me through the heart, I'll live long enough to get my hands on you; then I'll break your neck and you'll die lingeringly. You're an enemy of this world, you crazy swine, and I'm going to destroy you.'

"Frenchy fired one bullet, missing. The next was defective. Valdemar knocked the gun out of Frenchy's hand, and the man fell to the deck screaming.

" 'Get up,' said Valdemar Sigurdson, 'and die like a man.' "

There is much more of this chivalric action. And at the end:

"Old Man Hickman walked up to the moaning Frenchy and spurned him contemptuously in the ribs. 'Score one for capitalism,' he piped."

The Cosmopolitan's editors liked that story so well that they asked Mr. Kyne to write a series along the same lines. But on completing that one Mr. Kyne was taken ill. So it seems that the Head-Hitters' Club will have to struggle along without him for a while.

Nina Wilcox Putnam has been invited to become a member of the California club, in view of her chain-shot hurling in a fiction story in the Saturday Evening Post—the chain-shot being aimed at Sacco and Vanzetti while they were on trial for murder committed by payroll bandits in Massachusetts. And Emerson Hough, who lately died, was a worthy eligible by reason of his book, "The Web," which celebrates the achievements of the illustrious American Protective League during the European unpleasantness.

"A Working Machine Must Not Play the Piano, Must Not Feel Happy, Must Not Do A Whole Lot of Things."

# "R. U. R."

THE time will never come when scientific research will have evolved a method of manufacturing human beings quicker and cheaper than is done by nature. Yet from the time when the primitive cave-dweller turned a stone into a tool, the human mind has been at work putting inert matter and the living forces of nature in the service of society. In the play "R. U. R."—Rossum's Universal Robots—which has created such a stir both in Europe and America, a scientist by the name of Rossum daringly conceives the idea of manufacturing artificial workers, human automatons, known as robots. This is but a figment of the human brain, a far-fetched fantasy, but the moral that it points out is of tremendous importance.

What could be more alluring to our present captains of industry than to obtain a formula whereby an army of standardized, model workers could be manufactured on a large scale, equipping them with only such physical organs and mental attributes as would make them useful working machines, devoid of everything that tends to hinder the making of profits? They would be creatures without ideals or souls, lacking even the slightest interest in themselves.

The play is the product of the intrepid mind of a young Czecho-Slovakian playwright, Karel Capek. He has succeeded in weaving a most lurid and, at the same time, ironical melodrama around the theme of the class struggle—the degradation of the present-

day industrial worker into a veritable mechanical working machine which lives and moves and has its being with but one end in view—to make profits for the master class. With an uncanny insight into this profit-mad world, he produces a sociological fantasy full of old ideas in new attire: The supremacy of one class over another; the resentment felt by class-conscious slaves toward their masters; the subsequent revolt and destruction of "those who do not work but live off the labor of others."

The action in the play takes place on an island where Rossum's Universal Robots are being manufactured on a large scale, at cost of one hundred and fifty dollars apiece. The impregnation of these robots takes place in the test-tubes in the factory laboratories. They are then put through various processes of manufacture; bones are supplied by the bone factory and nerves, brains, and all the necessary accessories, including a "high class human finish," in their respective departments. A perfect "human" machine is produced to supply the world's industries with docile mechanical workers.

The factory heads are typical. They range from a general manager, who holds idealistic theories about liberating "mankind"—from the "drudgery" of labor by letting the robots do all the work, to a psychological experimenter who provides these working machines with pain nerves—without them they would wastefully break off their fingers and other members. Little thought is given to anything else but industrial efficiency and the satisfaction of an insatiable greed for profits. Their motto is: "The cheaper the labor power, the greater the output, and therefore the greater the profit."

The making of the robots goes on unhindered, until a young woman, a member of a "humanity league," comes into their midst to remonstrate with the factory managers on the inhuman treatment of the robots. Her appeal, to provide these workers with more human feeling, with ideals, is met with amusing ridicule. They explain, that were the robots to have ideals, to have a will of their own, to distinguish happiness from misery, they would be too expensive; that is, a robot is a working machine, and happiness in a machine is not necessary. They are made for the specific purpose of producing dividends and profit. She is further informed by the manufacturers that these workers are sexless, but that the reason female robots are manufactured is because society is accustomed to the services of chambermaids, domestic servants, and other female "help." And again, unlike other mortals, the robots do not die; they "just get used up."

To afford the play a convenient turning point, the playwright throws in a little romance. After a rapid-fire courtship, the young woman who came to liberate the robots becomes the wife of the general manager. However, she does not abandon her hope to humanize the robots. She conspires with the psychological experimenter to improve on these machine-like workers. As a result he produces a few hundred that are nearly human. In fact, the specimens of this new brand are in mind and body superior to "people", and they are also provided with a certain amount of emotions and sentiments, which were absent in the other robots. As a consequence, they become conscious of their position in this man-made society and rebel. They form a nucleus for an international workers' organization. This they find a comparatively easy task, since they are all made alike— universal—which fact their makers the capitalists recognized as a mistake only too late. As one of the capitalists fittingly bewails: "Ours was a colossal achievement, but we are about to burst with our greatness." The more optimistic of them plan to make "national robots" in the future: Negroes, Chinese, and of all other races and languages, in order to prevent international revolts in the future.

This, however, cannot be realized, because the formulae for making these workers have been destroyed. The fate of the manufacturers is now fully in the hands of the robots. These latter now seize all the industries, telegraph and radio stations; they man the army and navy; in short, they exchange places with the capitalist class of the world. They kill all the "people" on the face of the earth—by "people" being understood the members of the ruling class.

It is interesting to follow the discourse and reasoning of the doomed manufacturers on Rossum's island. They are all barricaded within the home of the general manager. Doors and windows are bolted to keep out the enraged mob of workers, who have surrounded the building. One of the capitalists peers through the window at the relentless mob below. "One hundred thousand faces alike," he groans, "one hundred thousand expressions alike."

The denunciation by the robots of the parasite class is profound, Radius, a robot with a superior intellect, and later one of the active revolutionists, is an outstanding character. He has had a "breakdown in his mechanism," as his makers put it. In other words, he has become class-conscious and proceeds thus to give his oppressors " a piece of his mind": "I won't work for you. You are not as strong as the robots. You are not as skillful as the robots. The robots can do everything. You only give orders. You do nothing but talk. I don't want any master. I know everything for myself. We ourselves, the robots, want to be the masters."

The revolting slaves kill off all but one man, an architect whom they have seen working with his hands—the only man in the Rossum establishment they respect.

The play winds up with an epilogue much as any other play ends. After the revolution the "soulless" army of workers are in a predicament. They cannot reproduce themselves; neither can they manufacture any more robots because the formula is lost.

**"Robots of the World! The Power of Man Has Fallen! A New World Has Arisen: The Rule of the Robots!"**

But fortunately for them, just as the world is about to end, a young robot and robotess come on the scene. They are the highest specimens of the "improved" lot who have been provided with human instincts. They manifest human attractions for each other, which conveniently solves the problem of mortality.

We are convinced that the workers neither of Europe nor America will permit the master class to turn them into robots. We must recognize, however, that the trend of industrial development, of the machine process, of the whole system of capitalism, is in that direction. The author of "R. U.R." has rendered a great service to mankind by so dramatically calling the attention of all who have eyes to see and brains to understand, to this aspect of the class struggle.

**Rosa A. Knuuti.**

# The Skeptic

By "QU"

BECAUSE the rose
In perfect sinlessness and sweetness blows,
Must we suppose
God roses only knows?
Because the dove
Croons amorous from noon till night above,
How does it prove
God made the world for love?
Because the gist
Of life escapes our grasping like the mist,
Need we insist
That any God exist?

# On the San Pedro Slave Market

By FRED R. WEDGE

THIS is a recital of conditions on the San Pedro waterfront before the great strike of marine transport workers and longshoremen took place. I leave it to the intelligence and judgment of all sane man and women whether or not these workers had sufficient cause to strike.

I registered as a stevedore on March 21 at the office of the Pacific American Steamship and Ship Owners' Association. The slave number given me was 1313. The blue employment card was signed by E. Nichols; card revocable any time Nichols thinks the slave shows radical symptoms.

On this eventful morning over four hundred workers had been waiting outside since daybreak, in the hope of getting work cards. Inside the big building once known as the "slave pen" or "fink hall," over eight hundred workers were crowding, pushing, milling, like a drove of cattle on the range, holding their blue cards out to stevedore foremen pedestaled above them like medieval kings on thrones. The bosses looked down on the workers with critical eyes, sizing them up and picking them out, the same as did the plantation owners prior to the Civil War with their black slaves before buying them.

The job seekers are yelling: "Here I am, Alex!" "Over here, Bull Dog!" "You know me, Knuteson!" "Oh, boss, give me a chance!" "I'll give you two dollars for a job—three dollars—five dollars!"

Another yells out: "I'll give you ten per cent of what I make—take me!" Some slave way back in the crowd cries out: "I'm nice and fat, take me!

Then a big six foot stevedore tramples over the smaller workers, like a big bull plunging through the steers on the range. The bosses see him stampeding the other wage slaves and make a rush to give him a work card. This slave, they well know, will make the others run on the job—he'll "speed 'em up." He gets his card and with proud arrogant air crowds "the little fellers" out of his way again.

One man who had been knocked down by this husky fellow worker said to me:

"I don't know what I'll do if I don't connect with a work card today—I have a wife and three children in San Pedro and all I've made in two weeks is $4.00. Every morning I get here before six and stand up against this iron rail all day. I'm getting desperate. It's hard to see your wife and babies hungry when a few have all the good things of life."

An old gray-headed man was trying to fight his way to the boss. His shrunken body and wrinkled face made a pathetic appeal as he tried to bravely grin with toothless gums. He was just a worn-out old wage slave. The master's greed for gold had stripped him of all that he once held precious. Now forsaken by the masters, he waits the final call to the morgue—homeless, friendless; remembered for a day, the great curtain will soon close over him and some young husky stevedore will step up to the iron rail in the slave market to take his place.

As I turned away with a heavy, sinking feeling, a nauseating disgust against a system that would throw on the social rubbish heap this old man after almost every drop of blood had been squeezed out of him, a cripple limped up to me.

"It's tough to see men like you stand up in competition with these husky stevedores," I remarked.

"I was alright till a dock boss jerked a truck out of my hands and a heavy piece of iron broke my ankle."

"But why didn't you sue the company? The employers are responsible for the actions of their foremen."

This touched a sore spot. "Sue the company, hell! I went to a lawyer and he told me the most I could get was $200, and I'd never get a chance to work on the docks again. The company has all the slaves insured, and although I was entitled to $16.00 a week I never got it. Now the boss says when there are lots of boats and they're short of men he might take me on. I'm hoping so."

Another fellow was cussing the system that would cause him to stand up in the slave market and be bid upon like a chattel slave.

"I am from Nebraska," he said. "I came out here looking for work, and this is all I could find. I put in two years at the University of Nebraska. I have learned that a lot of things they taught me in college are not true. The old professor in economics said that labor is not a commodity. He might as well have said that water will not freeze. Labor is a commodity under this present system. The law of supply and demand governs the price they pay the wage slave."

"Young man," I replied, "you have been listening to some of these I. W. W. speakers up at Fourth and Beacon streets in San Pedro."

"Speakers, nothing! It's not the talk that makes radicals—it's the damn conditions under which we work. Say, I've learned more about the real principles of economics in one month here on the slave market than all those subsidized high-brow professors taught me in all my days at school and college. It's coming."

"What's coming?" I asked, looking around, expecting to be trampled under foot by a gang of stevedores.

"Why, a changed system, you damn fool!"

I admitted I had been a fool, but that I was beginning to take on a little education since I had

Fred R. Wedge, a Striking Stevedore and the Author of This Article

left Harvard. I wanted to just stay and hear these men talk and get some facts from them, for they dealt not in theories, but in the hard, cold facts of everyday life; these class-conscious men had been educated in the university of hard knoeks.

* * *

I suggest to every high school teaeher and college professor of economics and soeiology to put on a pair of overalls and handle a longshoreman's hook for a few months, and see if his parlor theories on ceonomics will stand the test. Today one looks almost in vain among business men, editors, school teachers, clergymen and politieians for an intelligent understanding of the demands of the industrial workers. The ruling class hastens its own downfall by the manner in which it deals with the masses. The leaders in power seek to draw publie attention back to old issues and faiths whieh are dead. The fact that the old charms and shibboleths no longer work, that the industrial laborer of today is intelligent enough to see right through them, to diseover hidden motives which they attempt to disguise, and to laugh at them, is stoutly denied by these self-appointed leaders.

As I went into the inner offiee of the Pacific Ameriean Steamship Assoeiation, I wondered if this man Nichols, into whose presenee I was about to be ushered, really knew what those men in the slave pen were thinking. The ship owners, hungry for dividends, plaeing the dollar far above human values, and blinded by greed, fail to read the hand-writing on the wall.

Nichols did not impress me either by his appearanee or intelligenee. I have less respect for these sleek, well fed, well groomed tools of the masters than for the masters themselves. The masters aecumulate millions, the go-betweens like Nichols drive the wage slaves—play the Judas Iscariot to their fellow men, and don't even get any dividends to placate their consciences with.

"What's your name?"

"F. R. Wedge."

"Ever work for this eompany before?"

"No."

"Are you a member of the I. W. W.?"

The truth is, at that time I was not a member, nor did I possess very definite ideas about the aims and objects of the organization. I showed him my Elks eard. This seemed to satisfy him that I was an obedient slave. But his satisfaetion was but for a moment. When he started to write my name in the slip which was to O. K. me with the registration clerk, somehow my name seemed to look different on paper.

"Wedge—Wedge—say, are you the fellow that has been speaking for the I. W. W's. in San Pedro?"

I replied that I had been doing some leeturing on economies, that teaehing was my profession. Niehols rang the buzzer. I thought it was for a policeman, but Kelly, another eompany offieial, answered the ring.

"Do you know this man?"

"Yes, I've been expeeting him here for several months. I knew he'd get here sooner or later. You're the man who gets $15 a night for speaking for the I. W. W."

I felt highly complimented to think the Pacific Steamship Manager plaeed sueh a high value on my serviees, but I was forced to admit that the Industrial Workers of the World place no sueh money value on my leetures. In fact, that I received no remuneration, but had begun to speak in defense of the working men who had been unjustly imprisoned on a fake charge of eriminal syndiealism. So I told him that from a monetary standpoint my work had not been a sueeess, that I was now forced to seek a job in order to support a wife and son. In the medieval days they eonsidered it no sin to lie to a heretic and now the heretie was prevaricating to a representative of the master elass.

The point is that I had made up my mind to get a job and see with my own eyes what's what on

the San Pedro water front, so after I had lied to E. Nichols and his tool Kelly, I added to my infamy by handing him a paper which I had written on the I. W. W. while I was studying at Harvard in Dr. Wm. McDougal's class in abnormal psychology. I wrote this paper before I ever met an I. W. W., when I was as innocent of the great idea of the one big union as my distinguished professor was ignorant of the struggles of the workers. I read to Nichols and Kelly some of the hottest Harvard arguments against the I. W. W., taking particular care not to reveal the fact that the thesis was a year old. In this paper I tried to prove that the I. W. W. idea was not caused by economic conditions but was merely an attitude of mind; that the "crowd ideas" of the radicals were "fixations," indicating that their leaders were neurotics and paranoiacs. In fact, in that paper I called the I. W. W's. every long scientific term I could steal from learned professors who had "Harvard ideas" about the workers.

I could tell immediately that Nichols and Kelly were greatly impressed by those psychological jawbreakers. I am sure they understood not a word of it, but they both expressed the thought they considered I was on the right line—that I had taken a very reasonable and rational view against the I. W. W.

So I exchanged my Harvard thesis on the I. W. W., written before I ever met a member of the organization, for a blue card. Nichols made it perfectly clear that I was not to be considered a common worker, that as soon as I became familiar with the stevedore business, I would be made a boss and would make from $70 to $80 a week. Kelly invited Mrs. Wedge and son to his Long Beach home, and I left the office of the Pacific American Steamship Owners with a very poor opinion of the intelligence of Nichols and Kelly, and a greater respect for the workers in the slave pen. I pondered upon the ignorance of those two men in that inner office about the great amount of knowledge among the workers on the slave market. Nichols had just told me that the present unrest among the seamen and stevedores was all uncalled for, that everything would be all right, were it not for the I. W. W. agitators who make the workers discontented. That when they succeed in silencing them by the use of force, by charging them with criminal syndicalism and sending them to San Quentin for ten or twenty years, that then everything will be "fine and dandy." "All will then be peace in the ranks of the seamen and stevedores forever and ever. Amen."

* * *

In writing of my experiences during the past four weeks on the slave market, before the slaves rebelled and went on strike, I have cast behind me proprieties usually held sacred. I have spared no one. I have considered principles and human values more sacred than personal confidences. Personally, I have nothing against either of the two company officials mentioned; they promised to give me the best of it and they tried to live up to that promise. In that inner office they told me that some of their most trusted men were once sympathetic to the I. W. W. but that now they are strongly against the wobblies. Sold out for thirty pieces of silver—O, Judas, thou art still alive! When the strike was called, some of these renegades to the working class became scab herders for the Pacific American Steamship Owners, they perjured their souls with acts of violence against the men who are trying to bring about a new and better system of society by organizing and educating the workers to the end of abolishing wage slavery.

* * *

On the following morning I was at the iron rail of the slave pen in the fink hall at six o'clock. There were men who had come even earlier. True to his word, Kelly stood beside one of the foremen and pointed me out. There was nothing fair in that method. I was told of the blue ribbon gangs —the men who have steady work. I thought they hold these jobs because they were better workers than the others, but I found that it is not so. Many of them never show up in the slave market. Most of them are personal friends of the bosses; they will stay on the job and scab when others strike. Some of them furnish wine and whiskey to the boss when he visits their homes, which happens quite frequently. Free eats, free booze, free cigars and cigarettes, at every visit. It is commonly reported and alleged that some of the more ignorant workers in these blue ribbon gangs, whose sense of justice and morality has been dulled through generations of slave philosophy, even permit familiarity of the bosses with their women folks at home.

Verily, verily, the modern stevedore boss is a regular feudal lord. In the dark ages, the serf had to get the consent of his master before he could marry, and often the lord of the manor got the first night. I hope the stevedore boss is more considerate. But the ethics of the dark ages still flourish.

To pass rapidly over the experiences of the last four weeks before the strike—when day after day I lined up with hundreds of workers in the slave pen and scarcely made starvation wages. I worked for a while on boats carrying cement and fertilizer, until I saw some men faint—who were not as strong and healthy as I. A few years of such toil will throw anybody on the social scrap heap. The policy of the Pacific American Steamship Company has been to keep hundreds of extra workers ready for extra boats, but with no thought as to how these workers are to live.

* * *

Then came the great day, the day when the slaves on the San Pedro water front asserted their manhood, when they looked each other square in the eyes and called themselves men. The strike was called on Wednesday, April 25. The vote was taken

in such a manner that the police officers and stool-pigeons scattered among the crowd were unaware that a strike ballot was in progress.

The following wage scale was demanded: A minimum wage of $100 per month for seamen and three watches to prevail for all seamen except coal-burning firemen, who shall have four watches—a 44-hour week. A minimum scale of one dollar an hour for longshoremen. A 44-hour week for harbor workers. All overtime at double pay. All men must be hired through the M. T. W. 510 Union Hall; this means the abolition of the San Pedro slave market. And, the biggest demand of all,—**the liberation of all class-war prisoners.** The fight was on.

The usual lies were printed in the capitalist papers.

The workers were accused by Nichols of "threats of violence, in which weapons were said to have been displayed in calling workers from the ships. Capt. Plummer also negotiated with chief of police Oaks for fifty additional officers to patrol the San Pedro wharves to prevent greater violence."

The fact is that there has been no violence among the striking workers, the violence and provocations have been committed by the tools of capital. This also is news, but it never gets into the papers. The police are so busy watching the I. W. W. that the bootleggers are around the streets openly soliciting trade—peddlers with hip pocket flasks are offering free drinks to the strikers. But the workers are wise, they are keeping their brains clear. They have declared war on the hootch peddlers, gamblers, and the whole nasty breed of perverts and panderers to capitalism. Even the business men have commented upon the orderly and intelligent conduct of the strikers. While the police are co-operating with the bootleggers and trying to create disturbances, the I. W. W. workers are on the job organizing the unorganized and doing everything in their power to make a success of the great strike to release innocent men who are now behind prison bars.

The first arrest came when Arlene Schetna, a Norwegian seaman, who was alleged to have been distributing radical literature at the meeting, was taken into custody. He was taken to jail on a charge of violating a license ordinance and sentenced to thirty days imprisonment when he refused to promise Judge Sheldon that he would discontinue distributing I. W. W. literature.

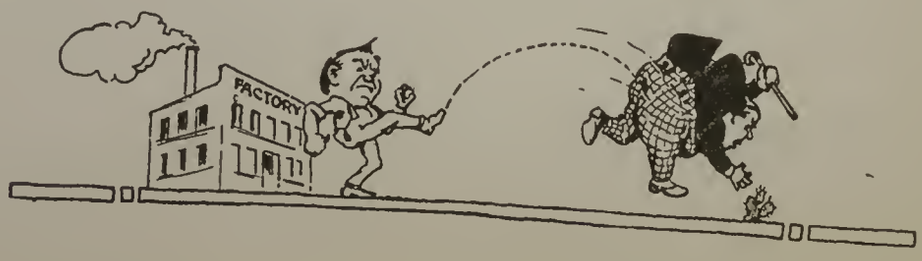
Later in the afternoon, George Barret, a longshoreman, and George Kinney, a machinist, were arrested for the same offense.

On the second day of the strike more arrests were made. The San Pedro Daily News, tool of the Pacific American Steamship Owners, announced in big headlines—"**STRIKE LEADERS ARRESTED.** A heavy blow was struck at the foundation of the strike last night when three I. W. W. officials were arrested at a mass meeting at Fourth and Beacon streets, the officers taking the men into custody in the midst of a huge crowd of sympathizers and interested bystanders. H. C. Duke was taken off the box and placed in the city jail, under $25,000 bail. Soon afterward George Stark and Julius Tharr were also charged with criminal syndicalism and placed under $25,000 bail."

Then followed a very lengthy interview by Edwin Nichols, manager of the Shipowners' Association, on how they only needed 200 more scabs, but to my positive knowledge, after a careful census, not less than 1500 men were on strike. Since then the strike has spread to the Standard Oil, Union Oil and American Petroleum Company refineries.

After the arrest of the I. W. W. speakers I looked up the financial secretary of the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510, handed in my trade union card and received in return the red card of the Industrial Workers of the World—the "little red docket" which so many thousands of workers value as dearly as their very lives. I then took the place of the arrested fellow workers and spoke to large crowds of strikers and sympathizers. The fact that I belong to the Elks, the National Teachers' Association, and the San Pedro Ministerial Association, perhaps may have kept me from getting arrested that night. But better men than I have gone to prison for this great cause. Labor organized into solid, class-conscious industrial unions is the greatest thing on earth.

The San Pedro sailors and longshoremen have asserted their manhood. So have the workers in the other ports. All hail to the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510, of the Industrial Workers of the World! All hail to the Solidarity of Labor!



# Tribute to Ricardo Flores Magon

By MORTIMER DOWNING

## I.
## CERTITUDE

I AM progeny
Of eternally recedent eras—
Of man, of man's forbears, of cosmic unison.
Some elements are crude
And some of rare subtility—
My Self, encysted in a clod.

Assault and repulse,
Struggle and yielding,
Battle and triumph,
Built the frame of me.
Between the Me that thinks and the insensate dross
Conflicts rage, enforcing form upon the incohate;
Every mite agonizing toward freedom in cannibal voracity,
But subserving to support me.
Intrinsic all—matter, function, stress.

Emancipate of duty,
These atoms would ride the wind,
Plumb the sea, seep into the rocks,
To wed and fashion other forms.
Shall I shudder when tranquillity enfolds this shape?
Death is Life's last kiss.

## II.
## PURPOSE

EFORE the earth was spaced in rhythm with the spheres,
Life was.

In deepest rocks, in frigid aether, incandescent suns,
Life abides.
Matter-motion-force, changing, indestructible, continuous,
Age on age, cell near cell, sterile,
Reposed the germinative urge;
Whirling gases calmed, affinities coalesced;
Mass emerged—land, ocean, air—
Chemic womb of animation.
Upon the silted floors of sunny seas
Cell sought cell and clearer light was craved;
Organization ripened into function;
Experience waxed into instinct;
Reproductive ganglia quested food.

Who recks the day when man's ancestor
Dared a space upon the strand
And from that feat regained his kind?
Who celebrates that seeker for the Holy Grail?
Offspring of gelid love,
Where school and school and school had spawned—
Broadcast melt with roe uniting—
This high adventurer broke trail for Eros and for Psyche.

To all the travail from rock-bound cell to Aristotle
I am heir.
Sentient, conscious, in Nature's laboratory I stand.
Shall I cower?
Shall I tryst with Destiny, my sweetheart ,
In her to procreate my will?

# The Electrification of American Railroads

By A CIVIL ENGINEER

FOR many long years, it was accepted as the truth that an electric railroad could not successfully compete with a steam road in long distance traffic. There are still in use old textbooks where one can find the statement. Acknowledged authorities made the statement and repeated it until that great compelling force of all progress, economic necessity, made itself felt and decided otherwise.

The United States was in a fortunate position. It had all the coal it wanted and some more besides. This was not the case in Europe. France and Italy, for instance, were compelled to electrify because of the shortage of coal, its prohibitive price and the presence within their boundaries of water-power resources which presented a more economical way of generating current. Throughout Europe, these dominating reasons have led to the same result. France, Italy and Switzerland have gone in for a comprehensive policy, the result of which will be the complete electrification of their railroad systems. Belgium, Norway, Sweden and England have made a beginning on an extensive scale, and several other countries are still in the period of preliminary studies.

As things stand at the present time, the United States, on account of its size, leads the world in the amount of miles already electrified but, considering the rate of progress of new undertakings in Europe, it is lagging behind, in a relative way.

The electrified road mileage of the U. S. today amounts to 1607 miles, with an equipment of 375 electric locomotives. Eighteen other countries have together 3567 miles of electrified track, which gives the U. S. nearly one-third of the world's electrified mileage. The work so far accomplished in this country has cost in round figures eighty million dollars.

New projects which have reached beyond the talking stage and which have, at least some of them, been partially started and for which material and equipment has or is about to be ordered, involve between twelve and fifteen hundred miles of road at an estimated total cost of one hundred and fifty million dollars.

Amongst the most important projects are:

The electrification of the Illinois Central terminals in Chicago, and 28 miles of suburban traffic track out of that city.

The electrification of the New York Central terminals in Cleveland.

The electrification of one hundred miles of the Ford road.

One hundred and twenty-five miles of the Milwaukee in the Cascade mountains.

One hundred miles of the Norfolk and Western.

The economic considerations which have influenced the private owners may be summed up as follows:

First, the financial condition of the roads is good and their borrowing capacity at normal rates of interest allows them to find the necessary money through issues of bonds.

Second, the increase in traffic. For several years past the capacity of some of the roads has been heavily taxed by the traffic, to such an extent that something must be done. It is a case of either double tracking or electrifying.

The third factor is the small rise in the price of

coal over the general rate of increase in the average price of all other commodities.

The cost of electrifying per mile will be on the average $45,000 for single track and $75,000 for double track. To this must be added from 40 to 50 per cent of the cost of track fitting for power stations. The total cost per mile will thus be in the neighborhood of $65,000 for single track and $100,000 for double track.

One of the main features of electrification, where no water power is available, will be the use of coal at the mouth of the mine or pit. It will not be very long before as a mere matter of common sense, for possible emergencies all those mine-mouth power stations will be linked up together. The owners will proceed on a larger scale just in the same manner as the private owners of industrial plants today who generate their own power but find it desirable, in view of possible emergencies, to connect their private system up with some other electric system selling "juice" to the public. Through these connections between power companies will be established the technical or material basis of one of the most powerful trusts of the future.

To gain an idea of the imminent developments in that direction, it is only necessary to look at a map of the state of California and to consider how the various power systems derived from the rivers which flow from the high levels of the Sierras toward the Pacific have all been connected up into one comprehensive system, which has led to the formation of the economic power that is ruling the state of California today.

In order to gain an idea of the economic consequences of electrification, we have at our disposition the traffic figures for the year 1922, as published by the statistical division of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The coal tonnage carried in interstate commerce amounts, roughly speaking, to three-tenths of the general total of tonnage carried. In the total of coal carried by the railroads, one quarter is company coal. In other words, every fourth car of coal carried in interstate commerce is company coal and this proportion only covers the coal used for generating steam for hauling freight and passengers. This fuel used only in transportation service does not include the fuel used in railroad shops, offices, etc.

If all the railroads of the U. S. were electrified, no more company coal would have to be carried and electrification with juice derived from water-power and generating plants at the pit mouth would do away with three-fortieth of all railroad traffic. In other words, for every forty carloads of freight there would be three carloads of coal less.

The capitalists who own the railroads would never have decided upon electrification with the enthusiasm which they are showing today, if there did not exist, under the circumstances, a possibility of huge profits. As a matter of fact, one road expects the economies of electrification to pay for the entire cost of the work within five years.

The interests of the workers do not count before the boards of directors of the owning concerns. For that reason, it is not only useful but practically imperative that there should be in existence a publication like The Industrial Pioneer, where those huge projects may be considered from the point of view of the workers.

To the construction worker I would say: Are you ready to get your legitimate share of that expenditure of one hundred and fifty million dollars within the next few years? Besides, an undertaking of that size means a reorganization of the personnel. Lots of old timers who think themselves secure in their seniority are due to go into the discard. Electrification means a demand for a new type of labor to be used in entirely new forms of activity.

The very suggestion of a craft union makes one smile. The craftsman is not going to get a look-in on those jobs. He would be useless if he tried and therefore it is useless for him to try. The man who is going to be benefited by electrification is not the specialized craftsman but the worker who comes upon the labor market with the greatest faculty of adapting himself to the machine processes to be used in the job.

We shall probably see a repetition on a much enlarged scale of what took place on many railroads when the block-signal system was put in. There will be a standardized gang and every man will start at the foot of his gang, working himself up through all intermediate stages till he reaches the top. Every time a stretch is completed, the men at the top of the gang will be left behind as maintainers of the completed stretch while the balance of the gang will move up to help in further construction, and so on.

To represent the men who do the work in the various activities of organization, something more efficient is needed than a lot of high-salaried craft union delegates butting into each other all over the works and working at all times at cross purposes with each other and hand in glove with the boss. Besides also, our old friend the employment shark is already figuring on getting his. Effective protection for the workers, efficient representation in all transactions with the employers, elimination of crooked employment agents working in collusion with grafting officials can only be brought about by a centralized, well disciplined and efficiently manned ONE BIG UNION aiming at nothing less than job control in the fullest sense of the word.

To the coal miner it must now become evident that before any coal is used for generating current, every possible available inch of water will have to be put to work. This will probably lead to a certain curtailment of coal mining. Can the coal miners trust their organization and their officials, as we know them by their past records, to stand by them honestly and faithfully in this crucial hour?

As for the railroad men, let them not lose sight of that suppression of three cars in every forty and figure out what it means to every one of them in particular. Are they efficiently organized to control the changes that are bound to come in the wake of electrification and to see to it that part of their wages does not go to pile up those economies which are expected to pay inside of five years for the cost of electrification?

To all the workers affected by electrification I would like to leave this closing thought: Do you want to be, in true A. F. of L. style, just poor imitations of petty bourgeois puttering along without vision and without profit on the outskirts of a great industrial undertaking or do you wish to enter into this marvelous new industrial development with the proud consciousness that you are both the creator and the future owner of these electrified roads? Do you want to get a fair living out of their construction and some day to run them with your fellow workers, in one efficient group, and to take part in the noble adventure of realizing for the common good the technical progress which science has brought as a boon, not only to the capitalists but to the whole of society and to the producers first of all?

Your answers to these questions will decide whether you will do your share in the coming work of electrification with an antiquated A. F. of L. craft card or with an I. W. W. card in your pocket.

# "Negro Slavery or Crime of the Clergy"

THERE has recently been issued from the press a very interesting and educational document on the Negro problem, which is now over four hundred years old.

In its time it has engendered a vast amount of talking, writing and prejudice, and one naturally inclines to the opinion that it is far from a solution. Such an opinion, though, is somewhat modified after a careful reading of Mr. Russo's book. He not only has a solution for the question but he sets forth a program that has the merit of being practical. He quite clearly demonstrates that there now are forces at work that will solve the whole Negro question. He indicates further that these forces are fast bringing on a crisis in the situation. When the crisis has arrived our author points out some very definite practical steps to be taken.

The work indicates that the author has devoted much time to reading, research and study of the question upon which he writes. His brief and succint history of the slave trade, beginning with Prince Henry of Portugal, and the extension of that trade to Spain and England, is not only instructive but intensely interesting as well.

The author is able to carry not only himself but the reader backward in history. In reading this work one is carried back to the days when "Black Ivory" was a commercial product and the Negro was bought and sold in the market much the same as cattle are nowadays. Here we find a good analysis of the slave-trader's psychology. How the trader would judge a Negro according to his temperament, weight, strength of bone and muscle, is vividly described. Our author visualizes for us again the days when the white man haggled and bartered over the amount of gold he would exchange for a black man.

The quotations contained in the book from the great abolitionists and Negro sympathizers are well chosen. Among them we find the names of Thomas Jefferson, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Horace Greeley, Abraham Lincoln, Winwood Reade and Parker Pillsbury.

Among the most interesting and startling facts in the book is an accurate analysis of the growth of Negro population in the United States. This analysis is keen and is presented in such manner as to show the gradual increase in power for the Negroes through the proportional increase of their population.

Also, "The Center of Negro Population in the United States" is set forth with a historical background. The Negro population, its changes and movements, the causes and effects of such movements, are accurately set forth and incisively analyzed. Perhaps no more interesting facts and data have been introduced on this question than those that Mr. Russo compiles under this head.

The most significant feature of the document, however, is the manner in which the author identifies the cause of the white and black workingmen. He shows that their present conditions as workers differ only in degree and not in kind. He concludes by telling us that both the white and black man should lay aside race distinctions, visualize their common humanity and organize themselves into an effective social engine for the purpose of breaking down the wage system, which keeps them both in bondage.

The book is interesting, bristling with facts, and has a constructive outlook. It should be in the hands of all those who wish to be informed on the social status of the Negro.

**Samuel Ball.**

Published by Pasquale Russo, 833 Sedgwick Street, Chicago, Ill. Price, 25 cents.

# Editorial

## FIGHTING FOR AN IDEAL

"NATIONS which have no vision, perish" so says history—and proves it. Individuals who live without vision, degenerate and become outcasts among human kind. The same is true of men in the aggregate, of societies and even of labor unions. Man does not live by bread alone.

The Industrial Workers of the World is an organization with ideals. Its members carry in their hearts at all times a vision of a future society in which crime and degradation, poverty and slavery, will have been forever wiped off the face of the earth. The I. W. W. is a labor union which fights the master class at the point of production for more wages and better conditions, but it is also at the same time something more than that. Something infinitely more than that, for it fights for an emancipated and a regenerated humanity.

Witness the spirit of the I.W.W. General Strike! What a wonderful, what a magnificent display of idealism, class solidarity and self-sacrificing enthusiasm! A hundred thousand lumber workers, tens of thousands of marine transport, construction, and oil workers quit their jobs and announce for the whole world to hear that the first and foremost of their demands is the liberation of all class war prisoners.

This might be a decadent and materialistic age, as regards the members of the parasitic and ruling classes, but the base spirit of narrow-minded self-interest has neither corroded nor corrupted the souls of workingmen. They are as ready now as ever to fight for right and justice.

## SAN PEDRO

THE marine transport workers strike in San Pedro will go down in the annals of history. "The San Pedro Spirit" ought to become a watchword thruout the nation; it is an inspiration and a prophesy.

Who said the workers "will not stick?" Talk about solidarity! Here is an example of it—par excellence. First, the sailors and longshoremen tie up the port, practically one hundred per cent. Over ninety ships laying idle. Then, meetings—peaceable, orderly, well-conducted, held by the strikers and sympathizers within their constitutional rights of free speech and free assemblage. Daily meetings attended by thousands of striking workingmen and justice-loving citizens from all walks of life who believe in fair and square dealing.

Second manifestation of solidarity: Arrest of speakers; one after another, a seemingly endless stream of them are arrested and thrown into jail. But does that break the spirit of the strikers. or lessen the enthusiasm of their supporters? Why, no! It merely serves to fan the flames of discontent, to bring together still closer all those who are fighting the vicious and corrupt power which rules the state of California.

Third manifestation of solidarity: thousands of membership cards in the Industrial Workers of the World are issued. The workers and citizens of San Pedro have realized the necessity for a permanent and a fighting labor organization.

At last, having lost all sense of decency and every vestige of self-control, and having become raving mad at the unflinching and dauntless spirit of the striking workers and citizens of San Pedro, the police, at the behest of the shipowners, arrest every member of the strikers' committees—sixty-eight in all.

This is followed by the arrest of six hundred strikers and sympathizers—including Upton Sinclair. The jails are filled to capacity; a stockade has to be built. We are confident that "The San Pedro Spirit" will be equal even to this crowning outrage.

## STRIKES AND—STRIKES

THE purpose of a strike is to compel the boss to grant the demands of the strikers. It therefore stands to reason that those tactics which will achieve this end are the right tactics. That up till now they might not have been frequently resorted to is beside the point. The question is—do they deliver the goods?

The long-drawn-out strike has been proven to be a failure in the majority of cases. How many strikes of this character have there been in the last ten years that have been successful? Very few indeed. Labor cannot fight capital with money; labor does not have enough of the "long green" to supply it with the necessities of life if the strikes lag on for months and months.

The I. W. W. lumber workers went back to work on May 7, but they are still on strike! This will be a surprise to the standpat old-timer in the labor movement. All that the lumberjacks have done is to carry the strike back on the job. Instead of paying strike benefits out of their own pockets, they will let the boss pay them— in the form of wages.

Striking on the job means—any one of a multitude of things. It means slowing down on the job, retarding production by a multiplicity of methods; it means, in short, hitting the boss in the pocket-book. And the beauty of it is that the boss is paying all the expense of conducting the strike.

The marine transport workers, excepting the San Pedro strikers, stayed out for a week and a half after the lumber workers went back, and then they also returned to their jobs. They won practically all their demands, outside of the release of class war prisoners.

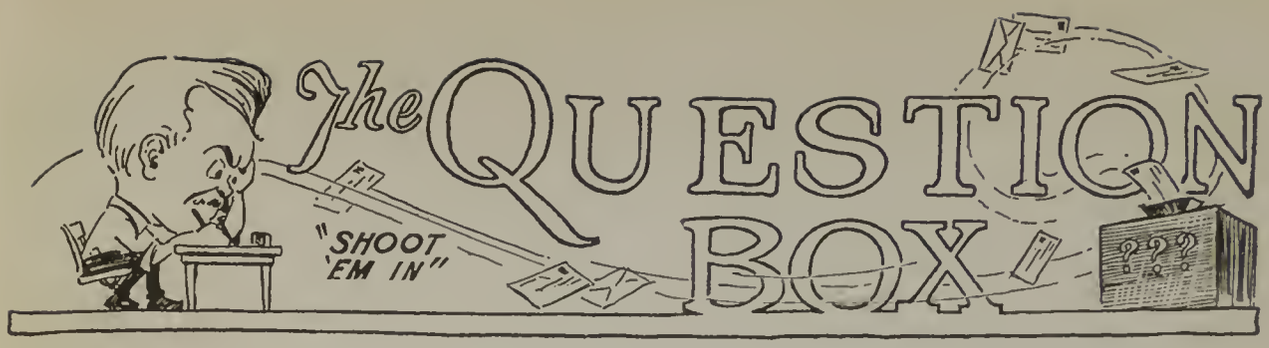
The moral is: strike while the iron is hot! The workers cannot afford to stay away from their jobs months on end, in the vain hope of "winning." If they cannot win in a comparatively short time off the jobs, then let them carry the strike back on the job, and win there!

## Leavenworth

(Dedicated to the 53 war-opinion prisoners, 49 of them members of the I. W. W., who are still confined in Leavenworth penitentiary.)

SEE, tho the oil be low, more purely still and higher
The flame burns in the body's lamp! The watchers still
Gaze with unseeing eyes while the Promethean will,
The Uncreated Light, the Everlasting Fire,
Sustains itself against the torturers' desire
Even as the fabled Titan chained upon the hill.
Burn on, shine here, thou immortality, until
We, too, have lit our lamps at the funeral pyre;
Till we, too, can be noble, unshakable, undismayed;
Till we too, can burn with the holy flame and know
There is that within us can triumph over pain,
And go to death alone, slowly and unafraid.
The candles of God are already burning row on row.
Farewell, Lightbringer, fly to thy heaven again!

A. E.




**WHY are you opposed to a labor party? Should not the workers use all and every means to fight the capitalists?—G. H.**

We are opposed to agitation for a labor party, or for any other political party of whatever name, because we do not believe in fooling the workers. They are being fooled enough as it is, by the mouthpieces of the exploiting class, so we believe in laying off of it. Let us tell our fellow workers the true conditions of things that they are up against, and, knowing the truth, sooner or later they will fight their way out of the morass of capitalism by the use of direct economic action.

Now, the truth is that the workers in all capitalist countries are living under the dictatorship of the master class. This class maintains itself in power through various agencies, one of them being the electoral system. The governmental machinery of all capitalist countries is so constructed that it operates to one end, and to one end only—namely, to perpetuate the ruling class in power. It makes no difference under what name one might be sent to the state legislature or to Congress, it makes no difference whether he be called a republican, democrat, socialist, laborite, or what not, the result in every case will be the same: That representative will be a cog in a machine which, while it continues to exist, will be used for the purpose of keeping the workers in subjection.

Everybody who knows anything at all knows that none of our law-making or law-enforcing bodies ever did anything for the working class nor will they ever do anything. If by an accident they have passed any laws that benefit the man who works for a living, those laws remain a dead letter if the workers do not have the economic power to back them up. Witness all the eight-hour laws in the United States, almost every state has passed one at one time or another in its history, yet what good are they? Why, no good at all—every school boy knows this. If any class of workers in any industry want the eight-hour day they have to fight to get it, and after they have got it they have to fight like the devil to keep it—eight-hour law or no eight-hour law.

Every state has on its statute books dozens of laws passed ostensively in the interests of the "horny-handed sons of toil," but the only earthly use they have ever been to anybody is that they offer an excuse for some blatant labor-faking politician to "shoot off his mouth" the next time he runs for office about what a wonderful friend he has been to the "poor but honest working people" who elected him. If to the above adjectives he would add the word "simple" he would then have a combination that's hard to beat. Any workingman who will waste his time and effort to put some glib-tongued politician into a nice, fat job protecting the bosses' interests, must indeed be possessed of great simplicity of heart—and mind.

By trying to get representatives elected to administrative positions the workers are not using one of several means to fight the capitalists: They are merely squandering and misdirecting their energies and fooling themselves in the bargain.

But some of our political action friends might say to us: Your arguments are "fine and dandy" as far as they go, but they do not apply to us, since we do not take part in election campaigns because we expect to accomplish anything through our elected representatives, but because that offers us a way to get in touch with the masses, to educate them.

Now, that is "the bunk"—par excellence. If that is all they intend to do, then where does the necessity of a political party come in? Why take part in election campaigns at all? The I. W. W. carries on an educational campaign that never ceases,—it publishes newspapers and pamphlets, sends out speakers, hold entertainments, conducts study classes,—and we have yet to hear that it has suffered any qualms of conscience for having done all these things without being incorporated as a political party.

**Why does not the Industrial Workers of the World make an effort to affiliate with the farmers?—L. S. M.**

Because to organize the farmers is not the object or the function of this organization. The I. W. W. is a labor union which organizes wage workers—and wage workers only. When we take into consideration that there are over twenty million industrial workers who work for wages, we will realize that the I. W. W. has a big enough job on its hands, without making an effort to organize, or affiliate with, the farmers. The farmers are being forced into the ranks of the wage earners at the rate of hundreds of thousands every year, and as they become acclimated to their changed condition they

will gradually assume the outlook of the industrial proletariat, and will see the necessity of industrial unionism.

**Do you believe that all human beings have descended from the monkeys?—Portland Shorty.**

We believe that men have evolved from the lower animals, but why all the blame should be put on the monkeys is beyond us. We can think of some bipeds who navigate around in this dusty vale of sweat and tears who would promptly be disowned by any self-respecting monkey. Think of those specimens of the so-called human race who never bat an eye-lid when asked by some oily parasite to work ten, twelve, or fourteen hours per day for about one-tenth of what they actually produce. There is not the shadow of a doubt that these individuals could trace their descent straight back to the mule family. Good thing mules don't understand our lingo, since even they might resent being linked up in any way with some of the human work animals that make a hell on earth for their fellow workers who believe in leaving some of the work undone so the master class would have something to do when the time comes for them to put on overalls.

Then again, there are the moonshine guzzlers, the Peruna and hair tonic fiends, and the wise boys who can tell bad hootch from "good whiskey." They think that it is the height of cleverness to exchange six or seven weeks' wages for a big head, and then to take the first job they come across for half the "going wages." This is the breed of animals who love to wallow in dirt, physical, moral and spiritual. They don't like to fight the boss for the better things of life because they have an inborn antipathy to clean living quarters, good grub, good clothes, or anything else that is even remotely associated with cleanliness and manliness. Specimens belonging to this species of sub-human beings have been investigated by various biologists and anthropologists, and it is the consensus of opinion among these scientists that they are lineal descendants from the swine family.

**Why are you radicals always so pessimistic? Don't you think this world would be much better off if we were to spread more sunshine and optimism?—Violet L.**

We are inclined to be pessimistic now because we believe it is so much better for the health to be a pessimist with a full bread basket than with an empty one—at least while there is still a running chance to keep it replenished two or three times a day. If by being pessimistic now we learn to prepare to take care of ourselves in the future, we will be ten jumps ahead of the game.

Look at the Germans: Before the war they were the most optimistic people on earth; they had plenty of work, plenty of lager, and they loved so dearly their Kaiser and their Gott. The thought never entered their heads that they were living in a fool's paradise, and they waxed fat and fatter from drinking so much beer and scattering so much sunshine. In those by-gone days a mere handful of twelve hundred Germans dispatched themselves every year to the happy hunting grounds.

But while they were having such a good time and scattering so much sunshine, capitalism was getting in its deadly work,—with what awful consequences, we all know. And the end is not yet. Last year sixty thousand Germans committed suicide, an increase of five thousand per cent over the prewar rate. From being the proverbial stout man the German of today is the leanest and skinniest of all human beings. His standard of living has sunk below the poverty level; all his wealth is in the hands of a dozen industrial magnates. He has proven conclusively that optimism does not pay. If we lull ourselves to sleep just because temporarily living conditions are not as bad as they might be, the wily and unscrupulous imperialistic capitalist is sure to steal a march on us and leave us in the lurch when we are least prepared for it.

**Is it true that the American Federation of Labor is losing members?—J. S.**

Yes, during the past year the federation lost close to eight hundred thousand members. During the preceding year it lost almost as many. If this keeps up there won't be much left of it five or ten years from now.

It is only natural that the federation should lose in membership. With the advance of the machine process skilled labor is fast being displaced by unskilled or semi-skilled labor, and craft unions, being protective societies for skilled workers, or, in other words, job trusts, tend to go out of existence when they no longer have a function to perform. When an unskilled man after a few days of practice can operate a machine just as efficiently as a machinist who has spent four years learning his trade, how is it possible for a machinists' protective society to conserve that job for its members exclusively? When that cannot be done the reason for the machinist continuing his membership in the job trust ceases to exist. The same applies to most of the other trades as well.

Under the present methods of production the only form of unionism that has a chance to grow is industrial unionism. The craft unions are doomed. An effort is being made to prolong their life by "boring from within" tactics and by attempts at amalgamation, that is, welding the various craft unions together to the end of transforming them into industrial unions, but, unless the lessons of all history are to be reversed, that move also is foredoomed to failure. Thinking that the craft unions, which for so many years have served as instruments in the hands of the capitalists to divide and disorganize the workers, can be turned into genuine industrial labor unions is the same as imagining that the capitalist state can be transformed

into a proletarian state. The idea is ridiculous on the face of it.

This does not mean, of course, that those of us who belong to craft unions should not carry on agitation for radical ideas among the other members. The craft unionist is as a rule just as ignorant of how capitalism operates and of the manner in which he is exploited, and just as little amenable to the great concept of working class solidarity, as is the unorganized worker. Let us do all we can to set his rusty thinking wheels in motion,—at least until we get kicked out by the big-bellied agents of capitalism who are in control of practically all the craft unions in the United States. But let us not be foolish enough to be carried away by the vain idea that these protective societies can ever be transformed into genuine industrial unions.

## Waste Fires Burn on Every Hand

ANY one who has a sense of thrift in his nature must be hurt by the sight of the waste fires to be seen at the tail-end of every sawmill in the Northwest. One remembers that for five years and more there has been a fuel famine in the East, while all Europe is suffering for substance with which to heat its homes and turn its industrial wheels.

Constantly the waste-fires burn at the mills. The owners call it necessary waste; they say that transportation of this wood would cost too much to do anything else with it except burn it up; they say there are not enough cars.

Meanwhile, prices for fuel are high in the cities, in keeping with the cost of everything that people eat and wear and utilize in their daily lives. Why could not all this waste wood from the mill be used as fuel for great central heating plants for the cities? The central heating idea is in operation in Toledo, Ohio, and from all accounts it has worked out successfully there.

Central heating is one of the big economic values to be expected when the workers shall have reached the point of establishing industrial democracy.

## To Labor

By CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

**(Air: "Maryland, My Maryland")**

SHALL you complain who feed the world,
Who clothe the world,
Who house the world?
Shall you complain who are the world,
Of what the world may do?
As from this hour
You use your power
The world must follow you.

The world's life hangs in your right hand,
Your strong right hand,
Your skilled right hand.
You hold the whole world in your hand,
See to it what you do.
Or dark or light
Or wrong or right,
The world is made by you.

Then rise as you never rose before,
Nor hoped before
Nor dared before,
And show as was never shown before
The power that lies in you.
Stand all as one—
See Justice done;
Believe and dare and do.

I. W. W. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS, CHICAGO, ILL.

# Special Offer

## Reduced Rates on All I. W. W. Publications for Three Months

In order to obtain the greatest circulation possible, for the papers and magazines published by our organization, we have decided to give our readers an opportunity, never before available.

Club rates for all our publications have been arranged, and the club arrangements under which the Industrial Pioneer may be obtained are shown below.

These arrangements will be in force for three months, and any one wishing to obtain our publications at reduced rates, can do no better than take advantage of this opportunity.

If the club arrangements shown below, do not appeal, any of our publications, the rates of which are the same, may be substituted at the pleasure of our readers.

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|---|---|
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| INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY | 2 " " |
| INDUSTRIAL WORKER | 4 " " |
| Total | $8 |
| Club rate | $6 " " |

| Club No. 2 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY | 2 " " |
| IL PROLETARIO (Italian) | 2 " " |
| Total | $6 |
| Club rate | $4.50 per yr. |

| Club No. 3 | Regular price |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| FELSZABADULÁS (Hungar.) | 2 " " |
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| Total | $6 |
| Club rate | $4.50 per yr. |

| Club No.4 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| SOLIDARIDAD (Spanish) | 1 " " |
| INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY | 2 " " |
| Total | $5 |
| Club rate | $3.75 per yr. |

| Club No. 5 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY | 2 " " |
| GOLOS TRUZENIKA (Rus'n) | $2.50 per yr. |
| Total | $6.50 |
| Club rate | $5 per year |

| Club No. 6 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY | 2 " " |
| RABOTNICHESKA MYSL (Bulgarian) | 2 " " |
| Total | $6 |
| Club rate | $4.50 per yr. |

| Club No. 7 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| IL PROLETARIO (Italian) | 2 " " |
| INDUSTRIAL WORKER | 4 " " |
| Total | $8 |
| Club rate | $6 per year |

| Club No. 8 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| INDUSTRIAL WORKER | 4 " " |
| SOLIDARIDAD (Spanish) | 1 " " |
| Total | $7 |
| Club rate | $5.25 per yr. |

| Club No. 9 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| TIE VAPAUTEEN (Finnish) | 1.75 per yr. |
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| INDUSTRIAL WORKER | 4 " " |
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| Club rate | $5.25 per yr. |

All of these papers and magazines, with the exception of the Industrial Worker, are published at I. W. W. headquarters, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. The Industrial Worker is published in Seattle, Wash., Box 1857. Money orders for any of these club rates may be sent to whichever address is most convenient.

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers
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## "As a Man Thinketh in His Heart, So Is He."

Slavery is as much of the mind as it is of the body. Ignorance is the greatest enemy of the advancing proletariat. Do you want to acquaint your friend or fellow man with the principles of Industrial Unionism?

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JULY, 1923 20 CENTS

# INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

## The Great Agricultural Workers' Drive

— Page 3

# Boycott All California-Made Goods!

THE state of California has put itself outside the pale of civilization.
It has taken from workingmen the right to organize.
It has suppressed free speech and free assemblage.
It persecutes men for reading in public the Constitution of the United States.
BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

The state of California wants to reduce the working class to a condition worse than chattel slavery.
It sends men to prison for believing in and advocating industrial unionism.
It has reverted to barbarism and the dark days of the Spanish inquisition.
Its criminal syndicalism law is an outrage and an insult to the working class of the whole world.
BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

The state of California has sentenced over fifty workingmen from one to twenty-eight years in prison for being members of a labor union — the Industrial Workers of the World.
These men are now rotting in Folsom and San Quentin penitentiaries for the "crime" of trying to improve the miserable living conditions of their class; for the "crime" of having the courage of their convictions.
Scores of others are now on trial, or out on bail, awaiting sentence.
The crimes being committed by the state of California cry out to high heaven.
BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

The state of California keeps in prison for life men who are admitted by the whole world to be innocent — Mooney and Billings, Ford and Suhr.
The city of San Pedro has arrested and herded into stockades like cattle over six hundred peaceful striking marine workers and sympathizers.
The state of California is paying ten dollars a day to three professional witnesses, Dymond, Coutts, and Townsend, moral and sexual perverts, who have confessed to having committed so many crimes that they ought to be put behind prison bars for the balance of their lives.
The corrupt and vicious powers that rule and control California have caused the arrest of Upton Sinclair, internationally known writer and idealist, for upholding the United States Constitution.
BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

Demand the liberation of all workingmen and women incarcerated in California's dungeons!
Demand the repeal of the infamous criminal syndicalism law!
In the meantime—
BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

JULY 1923

*The*

Vol. I. **Industrial Pioneer** No. 3

Edited by Henry Van Dorn

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The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. I. JULY, 1923 No. 3

# The Great Agricultural Workers' Drive

ONE of the chief failings of human beings is that they have an appetite. Right or wrong, no matter what happens, people like to eat—and what's more, they are real serious about it, too. A few have tried the experiment of living without eating, but apparently without much success; as a rule they die just as the experiment is about to succeed.

This is where Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W. comes in. It attends to the very important business of keeping this nation alive. In the spring of each year its members scatter over the food-producing states and, together with other workers who have not yet heard the great message of working class solidarity, they pick the berries and cut the hay and harvest and thresh the wheat, oats and other cereals. Then, when the long and sultry days of summer begin to grow shorter and cooler, they dig the potatoes and husk the corn.

And as a result of their manifold activities, the one hundred and ten million men, women and children who make up this nation trip merrily along the highway of life, hardly ever giving even a thought to those thousands of agricultural workers who in the sweat of their brow, working long hours for insufficient pay, keep the nation supplied with food—feeding the parasites as well as the producers of wealth.

### Last Year's Accomplishments

Just to get an idea of the scope and extent of the work carried on by the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, we are citing these figures: In the year 1922 this union took in 14,459 new members, and the cash receipts of business transacted amounted to $135,055.40. This year the prospects for organization work are much brighter than they have ever been. To date the number of members initiated has been almost double what it was last year about the same time. Of course, almost the same ratio is maintained by the other I. W. W. unions, which merely goes to show that the workers are beginning to wake up to the necessity of real class-conscious industrial unionism.

### The Spring Convention

All indications are that the territory covered and the results obtained in the 1923 drive will be by far greater than anything ever before accomplished. The 110 Spring Convention took place in Oklahoma City, from May 20th to 24th; the constructive measures taken there give promise of great things to follow. The drive started with a bang at this mass convention and every indication is that this spirit will be maintained thruout. Here follow some of the important actions taken:

On top of the fifty cents commission allowed every delegate for initiating a new member an additional fifty cents for expenses will be allowed. This is equivalent to going back to the dollar commission that was in effect during other years. Considering the great work that the delegates are doing in spreading the gospel of class solidarity by lining up new members they certainly are entitled to the additional fifty cents.

Another constructive step taken was putting out a number of "voluntary traveling delegates" and giving them ten dollars per week wages. This will make it possible for them to do better organization work by relieving their minds of the anxiety of the grub question—that is, while they are not at the point of production.

The Convention also authorized the G. O. C. and the Secretary-Treasurer to issue a special one dollar stamp to pay the quota

of I. U. 110 of the $62,000.00 bail and bond indebtedness which was incurred by Haywood and others forfeiting their bonds by leaving the country. The I. U. 110 quota will amount to $13,150.00; there is little doubt that 110 will be able to wipe this amount off its slate during the coming year.

The organization drive has been planned to include much more territory than it ever did before. For instance, states that have hardly been touched during the previous drives will be paid especial attention to this year. Several thousand dollars have been set aside to push the organization drive in the infamous state of California where working men are thrown into the penitentiary for fourteen years for the "crime" of belonging to labor unions. A special effort will also be made to reach the Palouse, the great wheat belt in the state of Washington. This wheat belt is known as the "big combination country" on account of the harvesting and threshing being done by gigantic combination machines drawn in many cases by as many as twenty and thirty horses. The harvest starts about the middle of July.

The following motion taken from the minutes of the Oklahoma City Convention is also pregnant with meaning: "That this body go on record in favor of 110 using all the energy possible for a decisive drive thru the corn belt this fall."

The Man in Auto Represents the Bankers and Commercial Clubs, Who Profit More From the Farmer's Crops Than the Farmer Himself.

### Harvesting and Threshing

About the time that this magazine will be off the press work in some of the agricultural districts will already be on in full blast. Haying in the more southern states—such as Oklahoma and Kansas—starts in as early as the first part of June and is quickly followed by harvesting. From there on the movement of the agricultural workers is towards the north, as the crops ripen with the advancement of summer. After work is completed in the two states mentioned above, the men proceed to Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and Montana. After the threshing is all done in the last named states hundreds of the agricultural workers cross the boundary line into Canada, where the work is kept up in some localities long after the snow begins to fly.

But besides taking in the grain harvest I. U. 110 is also going to devote much attention this year to the other crops. There are states such as Michigan, Arkansas, Iowa, Illinois, Oregon, and others, in which hardly a beginning has yet been made in reaching the agricultural workers with the message of the One Big Union. Besides, there is the great Panhandle wheat district in northern Texas, to reach which not even an attempt has yet been made. Of course, owing to various peculiar conditions and the psychology of the southerners, especially Texans, the workers in this part of the country are very hard to organize. But we are confident that even this task will not prove too great for I. U. 110, which has accomplished such wonders in the past.

### Oklahoma and Kansas

There is a peculiar characteristic about the I. W. W. which will stand investigation by some of the so-called great psychologists in our universities. It is this: The more the I. W. W. is persecuted in some localities, the more it seems to grow there. Take, for instance, the example furnished recently in California, and especially in the port of San Pedro. Was there ever such brutal and relentless persecution of any labor organization in America and were ever the results obtained so gratifying to the organization persecuted?

In Oklahoma the powers that be are starting out early this year with a campaign of intimidating the agricultural workers. Word reaches us as we write this that already thirty members have been arrested in Enid, Oklahoma. It seems that the commercial clubs and bankers who instigate the persecution against these workers are so thick-headed that they can never get it thru their skulls that the spirit of class-solidarity thrives on persecution. We will see in a few weeks what attitude the authorities in Kansas will take towards the I. W. W. Whether an attempt will be made to enforce the injunction against organization work in the state we cannot tell at the present time. For three years it has been inactive and our defense lawyers are of the opinion that no such attempt will be made. But should the Kansas state authorities try to uphold this injunction, the case will doubtlessly be appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

### Fighting the Town Clowns

Making a success of an agricultural workers' drive is by no means an easy task. It's a man-sized job, in the full meaning of the term. Many snags are met with; many obstacles have to be overcome. The main of these, of course, are the activities of the commercial clubs and the bankers. The town clowns—that is, the sheriffs and other police officers—are of course nothing but henchmen of the bankers and the mercantile interests which control the rural centers. But, of course, they have never yet been able to stop a real live, aggressive wobbly delegate, who has made up his mind to go thru hell and high water, in doing his duty towards the I. W. W.—nor will they be able to stop him in this drive.

Besides the obstacles enumerated above, there is also a class of workers which is very hard to reach. The most noteworthy among this class are the homesteaders in North Dakota, and Montana, who are out to make a few dollars even if to accomplish this they have to work for next to nothing. A lot of these people have not the slightest idea of what real wages look like, and in some cases it's a hard proposition to keep them from working for chuck, to say nothing of genuine, honest-to-goodness money, but we are confident that in the course of time even they will realize that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

The Agricultural Workers' Drive this year is going to be without a shadow of a doubt the most successful and aggressive one ever conducted by I. U. No. 110. There is no more fitting way for closing this article than by reprinting the following resolution passed by the Oklahoma City Convention:

"Resolved, That we re-affirm our adherence to the I. W. W. Preamble and the cardinal principles of the I. W. W., and that this resolution be given publicity in all I. W. W. publications."

# How to Strike

By VERN SMITH

## INTRODUCTION

THE need is apparent for a manual of the strike. Of course, all strikes are different ; furthermore, strikes in one industry have peculiar characteristics and peculiar problems that make them unlike strikes in any other industry. It would be ridiculous, for example, to expect to win a sailors' strike by the same tactics exactly that the lumberjacks could use.

But there are resemblances between strikes, too. There are certain universal principles, in the strategy of the class-war, that apply, just as general principles apply in military combat. They are useful when taken as suggestions, not to be followed word for word, but applied to the circumstances with judgment and "horse sense."

This series of articles is intended to be such a manual.

It will fall properly into three parts, which are: first the problem of when to strike and how to get started; second, the question of practical organization to win, what committees, what sort of publicity, and how to get it out, how to keep up morale, how to get finances, when to carry the strike on the job, how to use job action, how to picket, etc.; and third, the problems involved in ending the strike, what demands are essential and what can be compromised, how to audit the accounts, satisfy everybody that there is no graft, stay organized for the next strike, and in general follow up the victory.

The first part of the manual, contained in this first article will have to be rather more theoretical and descriptive, with less practical details, because so many strikes are not started, but happen instead, and because of the nature of the preparatory work.

## PART I.
## WHEN TO STRIKE AND HOW TO START

The strike is the chief weapon of militant Labor. This accounts for the heat-wave of capitalistic newspaper venom, for torrents of anti-strike propaganda which flow steadily from pulpit and rostrum, and it accounts for the sickly fogs of sentimentalism with which the question is beclouded, and in which the employer hides himself, and the worker loses himself.

The capitalist has succeeded in setting a mark of disgrace, a stigma, on the very word "strike," so that conservative union men adopt a timid and shame-faced manner, as tho doing something that had to be apologized for when they enter upon what should be an honest and open attempt to take back a little of what has been stolen from them. Unions starting a big strike usually begin by explaining that it is the employers that lock them out, etc. They issue proclamations that read like the "white books" of hypocritical capitalist governments attempting to prove themselves very angels of peace and non-resistance, at the time of a great war they are fighting in their own interests.

Too often it really is the employers that start the strike, and too often the conditions are intolerable. That is nothing to be bragging about. It merely shows that the workers have been docile, meek and submissive. They ought to go gladly on strike, recognizing that at last a portion of the working class has mustered the courage, and developed the will, to defy the great tyranny of the employers, the enemy in the class-war.

### Preliminary Propaganda

Wherever possible, then, the strike should be preceded by propaganda intended to sweep away the misconceptions, the capitalist ideals, and prejudices, with which the workers' minds have been poisoned. The workers are not naturally sentimental, and they are courageous. They can stand the sight of horror. They need to know the worst. They must be convinced that they are not just sometimes, but all of the time, in a struggle with the boss, that this struggle exists from the very na-

A Mass Meeting of I. W. W. Strikers During the Recent Water Front Strike in San Pedro, Calif.

ture of things, since they can not have that portion of the product which the master takes for himself, and the master can not have what the worker gets in the shape of wages, board or good conditions.

There is no space here to go into a full description of the class struggle, but there are innumerable leaflets and publications which specialize in it, and if possible, workingmen who are likely to go on strike should be deluged with such propaganda. A clear realization of the class struggle makes a determined striker.

It is possible to narrow the field, if there is a practical certainty that we are dealing with a number of wage earners who will strike in the near future, and spend some time directly sweeping out the cobwebs that the master has been spinning. We should argue away such expressions as, "The Waste of Strikes," "Destructive Disputes," "Loss of Wages," "Unfortunate Strife," "Hardships of Women and Children," "Job Lost," "Better Be Safe Than Sorry," "Labor Should Recognize Its Responsibility," and other slogans of like nature, which always appear in the capitalist propaganda, thicker and thicker, before the day of the walkout. They are defeatist phrases, intended to maintain the fiction that strikes are very risky, and not very moral undertakings, and that disputes should be arbitrated, compromised, settled, as soon as possible. They can be met and completely annihilated by a true statement of the situation that exists between the working class and the capitalist class.

For its moral effect, an attempt should be made to substitute such notions as "Breaking the Chains," "Crippling the Boss," "Victorious Working Class," "Labor Deserves All It Produces," etc. It is a good plan to get everybody to use in daily speech such words as "Wage Slave," to make people realize the fact that the workers have little to lose by fighting, since they are already degraded about as far as it is possible to be, and that the approaching fight is going to give them some opportunity at least to recover their manhood.

Human beings are to a large degree creatures of habits. If the worker has been in the habit of thinking he is free and that there is little to gain by a change, if he is slothful and lethargic, mentally, if he dreads "trouble," and wishes to be friendly

with the boss, then it is a good thing to jar him out of those habits by pointing out the many abuses he suffers, merely as proof that he has allowed himself to be weak. This is not argument to justify the strike for it needs no justification. The existence of abuses means that the worker has neglected his duty, to himself and all other workers; has failed to make conditions as good as he could have made them.

### What To Do About The "Public"

Sometimes the master class drags in a mythical "public" and goes so far as to make laws forbidding strikes. Kansas with its industrial Court is an example; New Zealand with its now discredited arbitration schemes was another. Similar to this is the plan of getting some judge to grant an injunction against the workers, forbidding them to strike.

This sort of thing causes great distress of mind to the worker who does not understand the function of government in capitalist society. He finds himself forced to give up his fight, and go back whipped, or else oppose his government, his country, which he loves. The clearer we have made it to the average worker, that there is no government worth respecting, that the capitalistic governments are merely the executive committees of the rich men, and are always going to be on the side of the employers, the easier it will be for the striker to stick to his class in an industrial dispute.

Where there are anti-strike laws, it is necessary to point out that they are slavery, that any ordinance or any court which tells a worker he can not quit his job, has instituted slavery, not just wage slavery, which we already had, but chattel slavery, convict slavery, the sort the Negroes have in the South. Such laws and judgments are unconstitutional, and it is the duty of even the patriots to oppose them.

To often, of course, this propaganda can not be carried out. It is general in its nature, and should be always as widespread as possible, but the chance to strike often develops in a quarter that has not been educated.

Strikes in fact seem to be of three general sorts. There are: the strike in which job control exists, like the last coal strike of the United Mine Workers; the strike in partially organized industries, like the I. W. W. General Strike of May 1, 1923; and the spontaneous, unorganized strike, like the Lawrence textile strike in 1912. These strikes are only different in their origin, not in their conduct after they are started.

### The Job Control Strike

The strike where the workers are thoroughly organized has many advantages, if the strikers are wise enough to use them. In the first place an organization which is strong enough to maintain a closed shop, as the U. M. W. did in the coal fields in 1922, could have circulated an enormous amount of propaganda, could have everybody so wise to the facts in the case, that no gesture by the government, no treachery of the officials could hinder the strike. The U. M. W. of A. did not do this, but that is a fault which A. F. of L. unions possess in themselves, and does not do away with the favorable circumstances.

The next great advantage which job control gives is the opportunity of sudden attack. If the workers are always ready to struggle, an organization, no matter how large, could be thrown on strike in a single week. A referendum would not be required. The membership could give consent for a strike to take place when the situation is favorable, and the headquarters could announce the date by messenger, if the capitalist telegraph service and postal system would not carry the strike call. The strike could spread from the center out, the districts most distant from headquarters would hear of the walk-out from capitalist sources and would probably anticipate the message.

The strike would be complete. On Saturday night the capitalists might be licking their chops with pleased anticipation of enormous profits, by the middle of the next week, they might be wandering again thru their flooding mines, or silent factories, wondering how many years it would take them to

EDUCATION ORGANIZATION EMANCIPATION

# Industrial Workers of the World

1001 WEST MADISON STREET

CHICAGO, ILL.

*November, 1922*

## *Strike! Strike! Strike!*

*"THE WORKING CLASS AND THE EMPLOYING CLASS HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON!"*

*The above words are ringing true to form! The Masters have declared war on organized labor. They have been and are still trying to destroy all labor organizations. Their recent success with the United Mine Workers of America, Railroad Shop-crafts, the independent union at Lawrence, Massachusetts, the various organizations in the textile industry in the New England states and the old seamens' union, has greatly encouraged them until they have become drunk with power, blind to injustice, and thirsty for blood,—all for the sake of profits.*

*They centered their attacks upon the Industrial Workers of the World during the War. Shortly after the armistice was sig[illegible] commenced [illegible] form of labor organizations and all except the Indust[illegible] under t[illegible]*

**Facsimile of an I. W. W. Strike Bulletin Sent Out Last Winter as Part of Educational Campaign Carried On Preparatory to Striking.**

make up what they lost by not yielding at once to demands they first heard on Sunday. There would be no opportunity for piling up reserve supplies of coal, or other products, no chance to call out armies of scabs and gunmen, no chance to bribe union officials, no chance for any preparation. The swifter the strike comes, the more terrifying it is, and the more real damage it does.

Strikes are only won by doing damage to the employer. It is the fear of losing profits that causes him to yield to the demands.

### The Paralyzing Contract

There would be no chance for such an onslaught as this if the workers were tied up with bundles of legal tape, with contracts, that have time limits. No worker should be a party to a contract. To make a contract with a robber who holds you up at the point of a gun would be as reasonable. In fact, it is not possible for a worker to make a contract with a boss that is legally or morally binding. To contract, even under the principles of capitalist law, you have to be a free agent. A slave cannot bargain, since he has no will of his own. Even under capitalist law, if a man signs a contract under threat of great bodily injury, it is illegal, he cannot be held by it. If workers find a contract in their way, when the time comes to strike, they are justified, by the spirit at least, of even capitalist law, in disregarding the contract, since it was signed under threat of the most extreme bodily injury, namely—starvation.

In order to be free to violate the rules which capitalist lawyers have made for the conduct of the workers, unions should have their treasuries safeguarded by concealment, or by being held in another name, or by some other trick. Otherwise, even if no law is broken, the courts will seize them on some pretext—"attach" them, as it is called.

The United Mine Workers in their great strike of last year had no such precautions, of course.

Naturally, in this strike, as in all strikes, there should be every effort made to spread the walk-out over as many industries as possible, but unless there is organization covering all these industries to start with, organization wide enough to make it a general strike from the beginning, the spreading has

to be done after the first industry or plant goes out, and therefore will be discussed in the second article of this series.

What is demanded, whether conditions are good or bad for the employer, provided they are not so bad as to shut down the industry altogether, does not matter very much in this sort of strike. The workers are bound to win, if they stick it out, and if the strike covers territory enough. Since they can tie up the whole industry, it is difficult for the scabs to get acquainted with the more skilled trades in the industry, and there is no effective production by scabs. A strike which is complete in one or two trades in the industry stands little chance to win, if the other trades stay at work. The failure of the shopmen's strike is proof of this. A strike which covers only a few mines or a few plants, is usually broken, because there are flying squadrons of scabs who are partially trained in skilled trades, and can be, for a considerable price, rushed in to break a small strike. Black Jack Jerome and his crew, are a sample.

The strike machinery need not be very extensive. The regular officials and committees can usually handle the business of starting a strike where job control obtains.

(To Be Continued.)

# A Ford Slave Speaks Up

**To I. W. W. Branch**

Detroit, Mich., June 4, 1923.

YOU fellows in Detroit makes me sick, and your 1 big union, you gets me nervis.

Now hears what I want to get of my chest. I want to tell you that I am a member of the ford famely and prowed off it to. I am perfectly cuntentid. you guys in our country is trying to brake up our homes.

I dont have to mintin the name of the graytest man the world ever prejuced, but he is right in Detroit. you foriners that dont know how to talk our american languge have the nerv to tell the likes of men like I that we dont know nottin only work. I am sorry to say too young respectible young men that I knew in me home town one of them works here not at Mr. fords plant, anyway, he has a big job over tool maker and dy setters. He dont drink any hooch. Hes a fine fellow and to me greatest surprise hes a I. W. W. to, yes hes smart as a meckanic and studys ekoniks—(thats a forign word) but he dont know nothin when he kicks about. He sayes the hell of a sistem that is, what do you think of that and him earnin over $200 a month.

Thats not all of it his brother here—he have a swell job to—no not a mekanic he is what they calls a c. p. akountant and like his brother he have a I. W. W. card as one day a week ago he was lookin threw some papers in his inside coat poket & I seen it and he had a paper named Solidey in his coat pocket to—I will say its a dam shame where the finest kind of our american boys those with good habits and good jobs and had the lovelyest parents in their home town. If their folks only new all this —good christ theid drop ded. I have a brother he is a locomotiv fireman on the u. p. railway. I expect him to detroit any day and I bet when he heres what I tell him about these boys that I related to he will be shocked to.

As I said I am a ford man I only get $5 now but after 90 days Il get me $6—the boss said I am a natural born good worker I can do as good as the best they ever had on that job. the boss thinks the world of me. I think a man near where I work is a I. W. W. somehow he acts like one. no I would not squeel on him nor I wouldent scab but I have no use for the I. W. W. I am glad to get this of me chest. What could you do if you dident hav a money man pay you, you fellows are crazee.

I wont sign me name I dont want any nioterity.

B.

# Eighty-five Days in Irons

"GOING to sea in ships" is great sport, except when you hire out as a sailor. But let us relate a little story about what happened to a couple workingmen, to illustrate the point.

A few weeks ago there came up to the Pioneer office two fellow workers, both of them marine transport workers, one Taylor, being a native American, and the other, Harold Wood, born in Wales. They are of the type of alert, intelligent looking men that one meets among the M. T. W. members everywhere; men who have made up their minds that sailors and marine workers in general are as good men as any that walk in shoe leather; men who are not going to stop till they get the wages, conditions and respect that is rightly due them by virtue of the great and indispensable work they are doing in moving the world's shipping—the life-blood of the nations.

Fellow Workers Wood and Taylor shipped aboard the barkentine "Monterey," a 1,700 ton five-master, bound for Cape Town, South Africa, on Sept. 23, 1922. They were the only red card men on the ship, the wages running around thirty and forty dollars per month. One of the biggest problems they found was trying to break down the slave-psychology of the other sailors. There are some so-called human beings who will stand for anything, short of being hit over the head with a sledge-hammer.

Here are the conditions that obtained aboard the "Monterey": No place to sleep, leakage in forecastle so bad that floor was covered most of the time with two feet of water. Grub not fit for hogs to eat, let alone men who are supposed to deliver every twenty-four hours a good day's work. They ran out of lime juice in a week; being without lime is against the law, as it subjects the men to the dangers of the dread scurvy. They ran out of spuds before completing half the trip, when just around the Horn. So their chuck consisted of nothing but "wet hash" and "dry hash," salt horse and dog biscuits. Either variety of hash is made up of a combination of refuse and garbage that would make a beef stew in the cheapest eating joint on the Bowery look like a king's repast by comparison.

But the richest part of the menu was what could be called a maggot and molasses dessert. It seems that by some accident they had some ancient ham aboard ship. It could not be learned whether this ham had been excavated from King Tut's grave or not; anyway, there could not have been much difference in vintage between this ham and the corned beef Lord Carnarvon took out of old Tut's tomb. There was so much mold and so many maggots on this ham that the skipper set one of his men

Harold Wood Aboard the "Monterey"

scrubbing it with a wire brush. This mold and maggots were then taken and molasses poured over them, to be served as dessert, the skipper no doubt thinking that the combination would make a toothsome delicacy for his men. Whether he himself or his wife and daughters ate the concoction has not been recorded.

Well, to make a long story short, the men were in hell—and no joke about it; Dante's inferno had nothing on them. No place to sleep, nothing to eat but the worst imaginable garbage, menaced by scurvy and—work like the devil. Feeling among the men began to run high. And so it happened that one day when Fellow Worker Wood was made the subject of an unwarranted "cussing out" by the skipper, he hauled out and landed a wallop on the skipper's chin that sent him sprawling to the deck.

He was then put in irons by the skipper and kept in them for eighty-five days, which includes ten days that he was held prisoner aboard the ship after it reached Cape Town. The picture of Fellow Worker Wood that is reproduced here was taken by a relative of the captain himself aboard the "Monterey".

The water front of Cape Town is controlled to a great extent by the Industrial and Commercial Workers of South Africa, a mixed labor organization dominated almost one hundred per cent by a handful of leaders. The rank and file of the longshoremen wanted to boycott the ship but these leaders would hear nothing of it. And there the matter was dropped.

Fellow Worker Taylor deserted the ship, losing thereby his wages and clothes, and managed to get back to the States as a stowaway. In other words, on the way back he worked his passage—after being discovered—and did not get a cent for it. Besides losing his clothes, he put in five months all told of time and hard work, under almost unbearable conditions, and received not a red penny for services rendered. All this owing to the savage and despicable conditions that obtained aboard the "Monterey," and that no doubt obtain to almost as great an extent on other sailing vessels as well.

On the clearance given Harold Wood by the skipper his character and ability are marked as "bad," with a clause inserted calling attention to "insubordination on part of seaman." This is a form of blacklist that the marine transport workers ought to bend every effort to abolish.

The above is just one instance of the kind of treatment that the marine transport workers get at the hands of the shipping interests. Similar things are doubtless taking place aboard other vessels. Truly the life of a sailor is a hard one. But it need not remain such; all that is necessary is for these workers to wake up and do their duty toward themselves and their class. The preachers promise us hell after we are dead, then why live in hell while we are still on earth?

Organization is the only way out. Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union, No. 510, of the Industrial Workers of the World will do away with the unbearable conditions in the marine industry. All shoulders to the wheel!

# The International Situation

By HENRY VAN DORN

DAILY papers and weekly publications carry endless columns about what takes place in Europe and other foreign countries. The whole of Europe is in a turmoil and nobody seems to know what's what. Diplomatic complications, alarming reports, minor wars, rumors of wars, clashes between the city workers and the peasants, encounters between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, succeed each other with lightning rapidity. One day it looks as if war were inevitable and the next day the calamity seems to be permanently averted, only to be followed by the cropping up of other portentous possibilities. The worst of this is that hardly anybody seems to have the least conception of the inner meaning and probable consequences of what is taking place.

### Bird's-Eye-View of Europe

The proper way to approach this subject is by first getting a bird's-eye-view of the whole situation. No small share of the confusion concerning foreign countries has been created by the radicals themselves. They seem to have a penchant for being carried away by every gust of enthusiasm that comes sailing down the pike. The great majority of conceptions that we harbor about the international situation can only be corrected by getting an insight into the situation as a whole.

Let us take, for instance, the case of Hungary. A few years ago the revolutionary city workers of that country set up a soviet government. Many people were sanguine enough to believe that the new regime could have continued in power had not forcible and untoward events intervened. As a matter of fact, so long as the surrounding countries remained capitalistic, there was no chance at all for a permanent proletarian dictatorship, for the simple reason that Hungary is economically dependent on other nations.

Then again, there is the case of Italy. A couple of years ago a general strike was called in the metal and machinery industries. Hundreds of machine shops and factories were taken over by the workers. The owners were locked out. Again many thought that the social revolution had arrived.

In the eyes of those, however, who understood the interdependence of one European country on another, it was a foregone conclusion that this move on the part of the Italian working class was bound to fail. Italy has no raw materials to speak of. It produces no iron ore and it mines no coal. It has to import the greater part of its textiles. It is short of a great multitude of raw materials that are essential for the continued operation of its industries. Therefore, it stood to reason that just so long as the surrounding countries remain under the domination of the capitalist class a revolution in Italy could not be successful, even were it to be extended to every industry in the country. This, however, was not the case, as it embraced only the metal and machinery industries.

### Economic Interdependence

Notwithstanding the many languages that are spoken in Europe, economically the whole continent is a unit. This is to say that Germany could not exist without France and France could not exist without Germany; the smaller countries being dependent wholly on the larger ones.

Racially there is also not much difference. There is no difference racially between any of the peoples living north of the line which separates the northern countries from the distinctly southern ones, such as the Balkan and the Latin countries. Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen, the Scandinavians, the Belgians and the people living around the Baltic Sea, are racially of identically the same stock, the only difference being in their languages.

The point that it is intended for the foregoing to make is that the social revolution cannot be confined to one country alone. To

give another example. The British Isles have to import forty per cent of their food supply. The great bulk of the raw materials that are worked up in British industries also come from abroad. This merely means that should there be a serious upheaval in the British Isles without a corresponding change taking place in the rest of Europe, or for that matter in the rest of the world, the British Isles could easily be isolated and could be starved out inside of a very few weeks.

Let us look at Germany. At the present time she depends on foreign countries for most of her iron, all her textile raw materials, all of her oil, most of her metals, a large part of her food, and most of the capital needed to restore her to normal efficiency. It stands to reason, therefore, that the enthusiasm with which many greeted the uprising of the workers in the Ruhr recently was wholly unwarranted. Germany being so wholly at the mercy of other countries which supply it with the necessary raw materials to keep the wheels of its industries running, whatever moves for liberation are made by the German people would, in order to be successful, have to be supported by the workers in the surrounding countries.

Russia comes as close to being a self-sustaining nation as any in Europe, and yet it has found thru bitter experience that economically it cannot stand on its own feet.

### Present-Day Europe

Bearing these things in mind let us now take a glance at Europe as it is today. The thing that strikes us more forcibly than anything else is the wave of reaction that is sweeping over the continent from one end to the other. While a few years ago, at the beginning of the Russian revolution, the prospects seemed bright for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the supremacy of the working class, at the present time the reverse is true. Italy is under the heel of the bloody and brutal Fascist dictatorship. It is significant to note that at the last Italian Socialist Congress, held a few weeks ago, a membership of only some ten thousand was represented, as against over two hundred thousand at the previous congress.

The remorseless persecution of labor in Spain has not abated one whit; if anything, it has grown worse. Many hundreds of Spanish workers have been killed outright or are confined in dungeons, which are full to repletion. Not a day passes but some of the more militant of the working class are shot down in cold blood in the open streets by tools of the Spanish bourgeoisie. It is hard to estimate the number of actual victims of the class-war in Spain, but it is safe to say that they run into many thousands. In this connection it might be well to remember that the Fascisti bought the success of their revolution by spilling the blood of about ten thousand working men and women.

The class-war in the Scandinavian countries, in Germany and Great Britain, does not require so many victims as it does in the Latin countries, but the cost in suffering and eventual death is tremendous. In Germany millions of people have been submerged below the poverty level. The misery, poverty, and degradation endured by the German people at the present time is practically incalculable. The hardest hit are those who were formerly in fairly good circumstances—namely, the professional and middle classes. Government employes, clerks, teachers, doctors, lawyers, writers, artists, have been reduced to the level of paupers. The livelihood made by laborers and mechanics is somewhat better than that of the clerks and professionals, but it also does not suffice to keep mind and body together.

The worst of the condition in Germany is that there is little prospect of betterment in the near future. This owing to many causes, which will be enumerated more in detail later on.

### Soviet Russia

As is to be expected, the reaction has not only hit these countries, but is demanding a ghastly toll in Soviet Russia as well. While the peasants are, on the whole, much bet-

**This Applies With Especial Emphasis to the German Workers in the Ruhr District.**

ter off than they were prior to the revolution, the city workers are in a sorry plight. The attempts to introduce the new economic policy have thrown many thousands into the army of the unemployed. To make things worse, the internecine struggle in the ranks of the communists and the revolutionary proletariat in general, between those who want to remain faithful to the ideals of communism and those who want to swallow capitalism—line, hook and sinker—is assuming grave proportions. Initiative on the part of the workers has been stifled thru the abolition of free soviets, which has necessarily reacted unfavorably on the attempt to reconstruct the industrial life of the country. If we are to credit reports reaching us from syndicalist sources, thousands of workers are being imprisoned and exiled for daring to oppose the government's economic policy.

On the other hand, foreign capital is not as anxious to invest in Russia as it might be. The capitalists seem to be still suspicious of the Bolshevik authorities. Many of them are inclined to lie low and wait for a while longer; even tho recognition in some quarters, notably in Japan, appears to be close at hand. Lloyd George has recently come out in favor of it.

The reason for the attitude of the capitalists is not far to seek. The revolutionary undercurrent in Russia is still very strong, whatever the actions of the soviet government might be. The Russian revolution was a monumental and an epoch-making event. It has left an indelible imprint of far-reaching implications on the mode of life and the whole mental outlook of the Russian people. At least for a while, the working masses glimpsed and became enraptured of an order of society other than capitalism. Even today many still hold on tenaciously to their former ideals and aspirations for communism, for a better and a nobler world, believing in the actual and literal dictatorship of the proletariat—not over the proletariat; even tho this might mean persecutioon by the present government.

Besides, the new generation is growing up in a revolutionary atmosphere. It is hard to foretell what the future might bring. A lot of good might yet come out of great Russia.

### Internecine Strife

The things that make for the turmoil and deplorable condition in Europe could be briefly subdivided under some five heads. At the top of the list will come the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class of the various countries. Next in importance is the rivalty between the city workers and the peasants. Then come the political subdivisions which, however, run closely along class lines: In a country like Germany there are, for instance, the social democrats, communists, nationalists, clericals and royalists.

The underlying sentiment for feudalism, in other words, for the restoration of royal-

ty, in some of these countries is still so strong that it plays havoc with the general run of things. By way of illustration, it might be pointed out that the German royalist clique is bent upon the restoration of the kaiser and feudal prerogative, with everything that goes with it. Its adherents have assassinated to date in the neighborhood of five hundred republican governmental officials and labor leaders. Even in a country such as France, which has for decades been a republic, the undercurrent of royalist agitation and activity is no negligible factor in the life of the nation.

To make things worse, there are the religious and nationalistic antagonisms, dating back many centuries, and aggravated by differences in language. When we consider the language barriers that separate the working class of the various countries in Europe, the situation looks almost hopeless. Just consider the region of the countries lying to the south of Germany. In a territory not as large as some of our states are living people using dozens of different languages and looking upon their neighbors across the boundary line as their mortal enemies. Is it any wonder, therefore, that the progress being made by these people towards working class solidarity is so slow?

### Changing Germany

On the other hand, we must not overlook the potential importance of the changes that have taken place since the war. Although capitalism is still dominant in Germany, the revolution that has taken place there in the structure of the country and in the mentality and morality of the people is so tremendous that it cannot be overestimated. Bourgeois morality has been turned upside down. The last prop has been knocked out from underneath the framework of capitalist ideology. One of the axioms of the bourgeois world is that people can get a start in life and make a "success" of themselves by being thrifty, by saving their hard-earned pennies, by planning ahead for the future, but in Germany at the present time this has been turned the other way around. Owing to the inflation of the currency and the machinations of the big industrialists, the more a man saves the less he has. The only way to get ahead of the game is to spend his money as fast as he makes it. If a man works like the devil and saves, let us say, what would be equivalent to fifty dollars, a few weeks later it might be worth only one half or even less. Naturally, he would be a fool to exert himself and to deny himself in order to save this money.

Likewise practically all of the rest of the tenets of bourgeois morality have been "shot to hell." It is proving increasingly difficult for one to even exist unless he turns into a speculator and breaks the law. Ability and virtue do not count. Owing to the practical elimination of the middle class, a man who has spent many years in acquiring a technical education now has to work for wages less than those being paid to manual laborers. In short, the whole background of concepts that have formed up till now the bulk of capitalist ideology is being swept away. The German people are ruthlessly being prepared to adopt an entirely different outlook on life from the one that their fathers and ancestors have been brought up to.

### The Growth of Syndicalism

Another significant feature to be noted in Germany is the steady growth of syndicalist unions. The workers are becoming disillusioned with political and parliamentary action. Their reliance upon political parties has been the will-of-the-wisp which has led them up till now in their search for a better world, and has now at the critical moment left them in a morass of despair. We might safely say that the German proletariat will not entertain a very high opinion of the efficacy of political action after their present harrowing experiences. The dominant power in Germany are the industrialists, who control the destiny of the nation by the virtue of their ownership of the industries. Ninety per cent of the coal and of the iron and steel industries are in the hands of a mere dozen men, whose wealth is so staggering, compared with the uniform

poverty of both the working and the professional classes, that it is almost beyond our power to comprehend.

The only salvation for the German workers is to turn their attention to industry and to concentrate their activity to the end of taking the industries away from the big capitalists and running them themselves. This up to now they have been prevented from doing owing to their past political education. The growth of the syndicalist movement in Germany is indicative of the fact that the German proletariat is beginning to wake up to the necessity of acquiring economic power by the use of direct economic action. In this process of awakening they will lose much of their past respect for state socialism or state capitalism.

There is essentially no difference between state socialism and capitalism as it now flourishes in Germany under the dictatorship of a mere handful of industrialists; if anything, state socialism, where the workers would not be entitled to a freely elected industrial representation, would be worse. It would be worse because in industries operated by the state it is treason for the workmen to strike. Treason, of course, is punishable by the heaviest penalties, involving even the death penalty. It is much easier for the industrial workers to wage war against a private capitalist than against an autocratic political state.

The workers thruout Europe are waking up to this fact. They are starting to fight for workers' control of industry thru the use of direct economic action. They are beginning to realize that economic power is what counts, that political revolutions are nothing but a change of masters, even should these masters masquerade under a revolutionary name.

### Recent Events

At the present writing it appears that war in Europe is not as close at hand as it was proclaimed to be some time ago. The Greeks and the Turks have come to a mutual understanding at the Lausanne conference, whereby Greece resumes the moral responsibility for the destruction that the Greek troops wrought during their campaign in Asia Minor, but is not compelled to pay the damages.

Turkey has been granted privileges and rights that amount practically to an acknowledgement by the Big Powers of her as a sovereign state. So it seems that from that angle an outbreak of hostilities has been averted, at least for the time being.

What the outcome will be of the scramble by French, British and American interests for the exploitation of oil in the Near East is, of course, a different question. The possession of the Mosul oil fields in Mesopotamia is today the biggest thing at stake in the whole world. In the opinion of various groups of imperialistic oil pirates these lakes of petroleum are worth the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. Whether or not it will lead to another conflict on a large scale between the Great Powers is a matter that cannot now be predicted. American capitalists seem to have stolen a march on their rivals by obtaining the Chester concession, but the British are not far behind by grabbing off the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad. The French imperialists seem to be highly incensed at the advantages thus obtained by their commercial rivals. The atmosphere is pregnant with explosive possibilities to say the least.

Nobody expected much from the international socialist congress held recently in Hamburg. The expectations have been fully gratified. Beyond affiliating the Second and the Two-and-a-Half internationals, and passing a lot of fine-sounding but impotent resolutions, nothing of any consequence to the toiling masses was accomplished.

### Acquiring the Industrial Outlook

We do not want to appear pessimistic, but it is hard to see how much progress can be expected in any of the European countries in the immediate future, from the point of view of the class-conscious proletariat. Even should revolts break out from time to time in some of these countries, this would not necessarily mean the introduction of the millenium. The workers over there will first have to get rid of their political outlook and acquire the industrial

way of looking at things. Just so long as the influence of the political poison which has been injected into their minds for so many years, remains predominant, little is to be expected.

Another conclusion that has been forced on us since the armistice is that misery does not necessarily make for the overthrow of the present system. The philosophy of misery has been blown to smithereens. If misery and suffering were all that is necessary for the workers to dump the masters off their backs, the capitalist system in Europe should have been abolished long ago. For surely of misery, suffering and degradation these people have had more than enough, and yet nothing tangible has been accomplished.

There are many points of difference in the principles and tactics of the Industrial Workers of the World and the European syndicalists, nevertheless they furnish the one bright spot in the European picture. No matter how many errors they might make in experimenting with the new philosophy and the new methods of attack, their efforts are in the right direction. The movement is growing stronger, from all reports, day by day. Organization on the economic field for the eventual control of industry and the expropriation of the present exploiters of labor is the only salvation for the suffering masses, not only of Europe but of every country on the face of the earth.

# "O, Say, Can You See?"

By BRENT DOW ALLINSON

To the victims of American apathy, and capitalist persecution, still confined in Leavenworth federal penitentiary.

I WANDERED wearily across the world
Seeking for men whose beating hearts could spell
Truth, Courage, Faith, and Brotherhood and Peace:
I found them in a felon's aching cell!

I found them in America's bastile,—
Chained, tortured, starved, defiled, all but forgot,
I found them broken on the prison wheel. —
Still dreaming dreams of what their land is not!

Jerusalem and Ninevah and Tyre,
Carthage and Rome, and even glorious Greece,
Perished in tyrant dust because the fire
Of Brotherhood was quenched by affluent ease.

America, your crowded dungeons' shame
Echoes across the barren, sorrowing earth!
And men who once revered your glorious name
Now utter it in scornful stinging mirth!

Sons of a great tradition, are you blind—
Here where Hope's martyrs die under your eyes?
Open the dungeons and your cringing mind,—
Or hold your peace beneath your iron skies!

# El Proceso Wilckens

**A Tale of Patagonia**

By LEONE ESMOND

SLOWLY and long in coming, creeps up from the Argentinian pampas a tale of unparalleled capitalist ferocity and vengeance taken therefor.

Southern Argentina is a land of great ranches. To these ranches, every year, come the "swallows," the migratory workers, following the harvest southward across the equator. Poorly paid, worse fed, housed not at all, even the hard lot of the agricultural worker of the United States is soft, compared to theirs.

In the summer of 1922, for the first time in the history of the great "estancias," the migratory workers struck, unable to endure longer the hardships imposed on them by their masters. There was some disorder. Starving and desperate men are rarely lamblike. But no violence on the part of the strikers could have justified the awful deeds about to be enacted in the name of "orderly government."

The ranch owners appealed to the Argentinian government to put down the strike. The government acted. Into the affected regions went a body of soldiers, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hector V. Varela, forever after to be known as "la fiera,"—the wild beast. His orders were short and impossible to misconstrue. "Finish with the anarchists!"

On the desolate pampas of Patagonia they staged the tragedy. At the lake San Martin, about 380 strikers, trapped between two bands of soldiers, surrendered. They were robbed of whatever poor trifles they possessed that their conquerors thought worth taking, then shot down in cold blood. Only three of the 380 escaped. On a nearly ranch, another group of 90 were driven to the edge of a high precipice and used as targets. When the sport wearied, those still alive were flung over the brink and their bodies left to the condors and foxes. At "El Mitre" and "La Anita," a band of soldiers murdered the men and assaulted their wives and daughters. Their commander, Lieutenant Frugoni, according to reports of eye-witnesses, first "diverted himself" with the more attractive of the unfortunates, then turned over his victims to the mercies of a brutal soldiery.

At Santa Cruz was played the crowning act of the tragedy. There Varela commanded in person. He had captured between 1,500 and 2,000 strikers on the neighboring estancias. These poor men were brought out, forced to dig their own graves, and then to stand on the edge of the pits while Varela's soldiers massacred them. The earth was thrown in over dead and living alike, and Varela marched back to Buenos Aires, leaving behind him "an orderly province." He had "finished with the anarchists." But the "anarchists" had not finished with him.

On the morning of the 25th of January, 1923, the avenger of the dead of Patagonia, Kurt Wilckens, lay in wait for Varela at the door of the latter's house, armed with a bomb and a Colt revolver.

Kurt Wilckens is a Pole, about 36 years old, by trade an automobile washer. He had been in Argentina about four years, coming there from the United States. He had been arrested during the labor troubles of 1922 in Buenos Aires, and had spent four months in prison.

As Varela emerged from the door of the house, Wilckens prepared to hurl the bomb. At that moment a little child, who had become acquainted with him while he haunted the neighborhood to learn the face of Varela, ran to him. Wilckens leaped from his hiding place, cried to the child to run, lest the automobile kill her, and pursued the flying Varela. Rather than kill the innocent child, he did not hurl the bomb till he had overtaken Varela, and was himself so close that his body was torn by the flying fragments.

Varela, who was but slightly wounded

by the explosion, seeing his adversary disabled, drew his sword and turned to make an end of him. Wilckens drew the revolver and fired six shots, one of which passed thru Varela's heart.

Wounded and unable to escape, Wilckens was seized by the police and taken to prison. There he declared himself an anarchist, and his act to be solely inspired by a desire to avenge the crimes of Santa Cruz. "If Varela did his duty, I have done mine," he said calmly.

This statement has been echoed by organized labor of Argentina. "El proceso Wilckens" bids fair to become as famous among labor of Latin America as is the case of Tom Mooney in the Northern hemisphere. Defense committees have been organized. Every labor paper carries a call for funds and an appeal for economic action to save the man who sacrificed his own chance for escape to save a little child, while not for a moment abandoning his determination to avenge the murdered workingmen of the Patagonian pampas.

Labor holds the deed justified. "Let the sentence fall on the head that speaks it!" it growls ominously, "Eye for eye; tooth for tooth!"

Render Unto Caesar
-Even thy sustenance
MAMMON
POWER
Commodities, including labor, exchange at their market price which is determined by supply and demand. A higher market price can be obtained for labor by the organization of this commodity and the reduction of its hours of application. But intelligent working "MEN" ask, "Why tolerate a system which lowers human beings to the level of pounds of corn; tons of iron or yards of cloth?"
ILLUST

# The Significance of the Modern City

By GEORGE WILLIAMS

THE modern city in present day society is a subject that might well engage the attention of revolutionary thought, in more ways than one and from angles that are perhaps foreign to radical philosophy.

The acute poverty of congested city populations, or parts thereof, on the one hand, and the magnificence and luxurious ease of a wealthy few on the other, are proverbial.

Take the city of Chicago, for instance. Here are three million souls crammed into an area of such mean dimensions that were each individual allotted an equal space to call his or her own, it would be but a few square feet.

The latest census gives some amazing figures on the distribution of population in the United States. It shows that in 1880—not so long ago—71.4 per cent of the population was in the rural areas and the remaining 28.6 per cent in urban or city districts (towns of 8,000 or more). In 1920, however, (40 years later) the census gives 51.4 as the percentage of the city population, which leaves only 48.6 per cent for the rural districts. These figures represent a shifting from rural to city life of 22.8 per cent, and show what has been manifest for years. But the rate at which people are now flocking to the cities indicates a tremendous acceleration of that movement and causes speculation as to what degree this social phenomenon will develop and what the ultimate results will be.

This no one can foretell. The movement has its main urge in the development of modern machinery, and since it is conditioned on the operation and duration of capitalism, to attempt to predict its outcome would be like guessing at the nature of the weather on a certain day twenty-five years hence.

### The City of the Future

What the outcome is to be if the present tendency keeps up, we might perhaps imagine by visualizing the city life of today in all its manifestations of horrid debauchery, robberies and brutal murders, its perverts and perversions, corruption and graft, dirt, filth, and all the monstrosities that now lurk in the city's myriad rat holes; then by multiplying all this by a hundred fold, we might gain an inkling of what the future holds in store for the city.

This drift to the cities has a striking lesson for revolutionary organizations; it requires profound study. Unless the lesson is well learned, the subject carefully weighed and thoroughly examined, an organization like the I. W. W., with an industrial outlook, will find itself on the wrong side of the industrial barricades when the showdown comes.

History, however vague it may be about some matters, does indelibly impress upon our minds the greater importance of the city over the rural areas. The objective of any army is always a city and there is more reason for this than there is instinct. If a certain enemy area is to be captured or controlled the dominating city is occupied and the trick is done. This is the great truth of every war and every revolution.

The reason for this is not hard to understand. It is fundamentally established and changes only in the degree or in the same proportion in which we have noted the trend of population. With the development of machinery the importance of cities is becoming increasingly ever greater.

### Machine Production

No one needs to be reminded of the swift and amazing development of machine production and distribution. Twenty-six thousand patents granted in one year by the patent office is an indication, when considered together with a period of ten years, to what tremendous proportions mechanical contrivances are being used to displace human labor. This is aside from projects, in process of development, such as Super-power, whereby electricity is to be

distributed from designated centers, which in themselves will completely revolutionize present day standards of production and distribution.

Since the tendency of machine development is to practically eliminate hand production, the question arises—what becomes of the displaced labor? This is a complicated question; in the space allowed us we can only convey a general idea of the full answer.

The world's population is many times greater today than it was during the period of hand production. This in spite of the development of machine production, popularly presumed to eliminate labor. Still, the teeming millions manage to live, and moreover, to increase.

Now, if we were to consider machine production as merely a process that decreases the amount of labor necessary to the production and distribution of a given article, and would apply that to all other produced articles, we might arrive at the conclusion that the population of the world should decrease instead of increase. But the ever-expanding development of machine production and distribution does more than decrease the amount of labor necessary in the production of goods: **it creates other and greater industries, it increases activity and research.** It has revolutionized the standards of living; on the basis of the first crude inventions rest the culture and attainments that exist today.

### New Industries

As examples of this re-creating process of machine production might be mentioned the automobile industry, the railroads, electricity and various mechanical appliances; the development of oil, moving pictures, aviation, and of many other industries, more or less important, all of which were non-existent not so long ago.

Thus labor, displaced by the newer mode of production is—speaking in a general sense—invariably drawn into other lines of activity.

Machine production and distribution is the founder of large cities. Strangely enough, it has simplified the production of raw materials and complicated the process of distribution to such an extent that more people are engaged now in distributive than producing activities. This is represented in the movement of the population toward the cities.

Cities are the distributing and storage centers of rural districts. This function means very much in the light of the following:—**that society—not capitalism, which is a system of society—has two main functions: the production and distribution of the means of life.** That is to say that certain portions of society are engaged in the production of materials and things, while other portions are occupied with the distribution of the finished products.

(For the purpose of avoiding confusion and misunderstanding it might here be pointed out that the division of capitalist society into workers and employers, wherein their relations produce a peculiar system of values, has little if any relation to the subject dealt with in this series of articles.)

Production and distribution are such general terms that the way these words are here used is likely to be misunderstood unless an explanation is inserted. It is impossible to define exactly where the production of an article or commodity ends and where distribution begins. With some commodities, such as coal used for heating purposes, it is not hard to see that when it comes from the pit it has gone thru the producing process and that on being loaded into coal cars it enters on the first stage of distribution. But iron ore, coming from the mouth of the mine, besides being the finished product of the miners who have mined it, is still the raw material for a great number of other industries. This iron going thru the various processes is successively the finished product of one industry and the raw material of another. And so it is with a great many other basic raw materials.

### Cities—Distribution Centers

The writer uses the terms production and distribution in a general sense, using production to mean the extracting or the cultivation of basic raw materials, such as coal, base metals, agricultural and fishery

Part of the Trimming Department, John B. Stetson Hat Factory. This Illustrates Large-Scale Production as Carried On in Big Cities.

products, etc., and distribution to mean the various processes of transportation, manufacturing and direct selling. This use of the terms will of course be open to much criticism since there are many who maintain that the production of an article does not cease until it is actually consumed, or put into use. But we are discussing social functions, in which we perceive, broadly speaking, two general spheres of activity, centered in the cities and large towns on the one hand and in the rural areas on the other. From one, the cities, come the finished products, from the other, the rural sections, come the raw materials.

It is not mere inclination that is driving the population into the cities from the rural districts. In the olden days of hand production there was no such tendency. In a word —for it has long ceased to be a mystery— machine production is the stringent force that sucks the "hayseed" in ever larger numbers from his bucolic surroundings to the city's slums or—palaces.

One other great achievement accomplished by machine production besides providing a profitable windfall for the exploiters of labor, due to a less and less amount of labor necessary to produce any given commodity, was the larger social accomplishment of distinctly differentiating the areas and the means with which production and distribution is carried on. Machine development became centralized in the cities. Old hand production fashioned out its rude tools— pounded the wheat, so to speak—right where the raw materials came from the ground.

### New Modes of Living

Modern machinery has performed some other things in the process of its development. It has tremendously stimulated the sciences, such as chemistry, organic and inorganic, physical and mechanical sciences, geology, metallurgy, etc. These have in turn brought forth new modes of life by introducing electric lights for candles and the countless other uses of electricity; also, weaving of cloth, building of houses, automobiles, transportation, and a multitude of

other things, have become daily necessities. Consequently, as separate units the city folk are entirely incapable of producing by their own individual labor one single article of life.

Up-to-date machinery has so intensified and revolutionized production and distribution that as individuals we compare to the both functions as a whole in about the same proportions as electrons to a powerful electric current. So vast and intricate are these processes that only by the perfect co-ordination of all parts can the whole keep going.

As between production and distribution, the latter is the more complex. It is in this field that revolutionary bodies must in the future spend most of their energy. For it is on the distribution of the necessities of life that society depends most.

If the wheat of the middle-west cannot be put thru the various stages of distribution, such as grinding it into flour and transporting it to where it is needed, then that wheat is useless. If it is not moved and consumed in time, if machinery and replacement parts are lacking, stagnation is bound to ensue, which would react unfavorably on other and contingent basic production.

**Soviet Russia**

Russia is an example: owing to the dogmatic and indifferent attitude on the problems that confronted Russia we have lapsed behind in our comprehension of industrial and social issues.

Sometimes—as in all undertakings, business and otherwise—it is advisable to cast an eye inward and take stock of ourselves. Like the individual who gets constipated and therefore needs a physic to restore tone, so an organization must needs review its own principles from time to time, and must enact such adjustments as will prevent acute dogmatism.

Russia in some respects is an old story. However, the story has many conflicting versions; is it any wonder, therefore, that most people are groping in a mental fog trying to discern the facts? Without arousing any pros and cons on the revolutionary aspects of Russia I will merely point out what is visible to all. The main fact about Russia is that the production and distribution functions of that country crumbled, and with them the revolutionary ambitions of the Russian people.

There was a long period of stagnation and starvation. What particular conditions, party or dogma was responsible for that debacle is beside the point, from the standpoint of this article. Suffice it that the main breakdown came first in **distribution.** This is obvious, since the revolutionary storm centers were in the distributing centers—Petrograd, Moscow, and a few provincial towns, while many of the rural districts were unaware for a long time that the czarist regime had been overthrown. It might be pointed out that production, especially agriculture, in Russia as elsewhere, is something in which the sun and weather play an important part, and that these elements are not dependent on the complexion or the doctrines of the party in power. But the continued breakdown of **distribution,** which is almost entirely based on human endeavor, will eventually demoralize production of raw materials.

Therefore Russia's predicament hinged itself almost mainly on the collapse of **distributive** functions.

(To be continued)

# Portrait of a Supreme Court Judge

By LOUIS UNTERMEYER

HOW well this figure represents the Law—
This pose of neuter Justice, sterile Cant;
This Roman Emperor with the iron jaw,
Wrapped in the black silk of a maiden-aunt.

# Revolutionary History and the Workers

By PASQUALE RUSSO

REVOLUTIONARY History is written with drops of blood; its every page is reddened with the life current of thousands of martyrs who have challenged the master's right to exploit the workers.

"Merry England" furnishes many examples of the heroic struggles of the oppressed masses against the master class.

In the first half of the fourteenth century the Black Plague ravaged Europe; it took a ghastly toll from the ranks of the workers and peasants. Europe was left with very few laborers. This scarcity transformed conditions in England. Immediately an era of good wages, short hours and good times generally was inaugurated. However, this period of prosperity for the workers was brief indeed. At that time the English Parliament consisted, for the most part, of the landed aristocracy. This body, feeling that their dominance was threatened, enacted legislation curtailing the advantages which the logic of events had put into the hands of the workers. The measures resorted to by Parliament were so extremely repressive that they awakened great discontent. The unrest increased daily until 1871, when Watt Tyler, a very able leader, appeared on the scene and crystallized it into open rebellion.

### Peasants Turned Into Beggars

To counteract this revolutionary activity the English ruling class discharged and literally drove off the land many thousands of workers. This brought on an era of unemployment and starvation. In a short while the streets in the cities of England were overrun with beggars. Now the good Christian plutocrats of England added insult to injury by enacting laws against beggars. Violators were punished by whipping and imprisonment. Thus it is seen that even in those days the masters held the whip hand.

Conditions for the working class were at that time much the same as they are today. Then as now, there were masters and slaves. Property, then as now, was in the saddle. Its form was somewhat different, for in those days the slave was a part of the land; he was a chattel. Excepting this difference in form, the relations of master and slave were the same as today; the oppressor and the oppressed had nothing in common.

John Ball, a very able leader of the day, was conscious of this antagonism, and in speaking about it said: "Good people, things will never go well in England, so long as goods be not in common, so long as there be villains and gentlemen: They are clothed in velvet and are warm in their furs and ermine, while we are covered with rags. They have wines and spices and fair bread; we oatcake and straw, and water to drink. They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labor, the rain and the wind in the

"The Man With The Hoe." After the Famous Painting by Millet.

field, and yet it is by our toil that these men hold their state."

Years after John Ball was dead, long before the French Revolution, the ruling class of England fought a bloodless revolution, taking the power from the king and investing it in their own class. The Divine Right of Kings was abolished but the system of impoverishing the workers still remained.

### The French Revolution

Perhaps the most interesting, instructive, and thought compelling pages of Revolutionary History are those containing the story of the French Revolution. Here is laid bare, in all its simplicity, the story of the struggle between the landed and industrial aristocrats. The American Revolutionary War had been concluded some three years before the revolution in France. In America the English ruling class had attempted an interference with the American land speculators. The English government was worsted; this turn of affairs gave the French ruling class great joy and inspired the confidence and assurance which they so lustily manifested during the Revolution in France.

The French Revolution of 1789 was a bourgeois revolt fought for the purpose of abolishing the feudalistic tyranny of the landed aristocracy. The bourgeoisie won; it introduced a new and more barbarous system of exploitation, which we now know as capitalism. After the revolution the workers found themselves as badly off as ever.

The French Revolution teaches us, if it teaches anything, that the interests of the bourgeoisie and the workers are directly opposed one to the other; also, that it is extremely foolish on the part of the working class to entrust their social well-being to politicians.

During the Tyler rebellion, and again in the French Revolution, the workers made the mistake of allying themselves with the politicians, but somewhat later, during the brilliant revolutionary period of 1848, they changed their tactics.

In 1848, the workers began to manifest that class-consciousness which will ultimately lead them to victory. For this reason, if for no other, the year 1848 is memorable in Revolutionary History. In the autumn of 1847, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels published the Communist Manifesto. This document contained a call to unity. The workers answered it by organizing with amazing rapidity and bringing on a rebellion in France, Hungary, Italy, Germany and Ireland. In the struggle of 1848 the workers made substantial advances and gained some rights and privileges that have been of substantial value since. Among them may be mentioned free press, free speech and the right to be educated; also, the right to study and to advocate the principles of socialism. Of course, as we all know, the workers of some countries have again lost their rights of free speech and press.

### Paris Commune

Turning another page in Revolutionary History we are brought to the year 1870. We are now in the midst of the Franco-Prussian War. The year following the French were defeated, which caused a working class revolution in the city of Paris. In March of that year the workers took charge of the government and established the Commune. For about two months they governed France with unusual efficiency. The Commune was lost in great part owing to a lack of leadership and a vast amount of treachery. Along with Paris the workers lost also the advantages gained during 1848. The White Guard of the bourgeoisie, as supplanters of the workers, not only destroyed every scintilla of freedom but they also made the famous French shibboleth "Liberte, Egalite and Fraternite" ineffective. In one respect, tho, all was not in vain, because the spirit and courage of the Communards inspired and heartened the rebels in all parts of the world.

On another page of Revolutionary History are recorded the struggles of the Russian people. Here are a people, long suffering and patient, who endured untold agony under the Iron Heel of the abominable Romanoff dynasty. Hungering for liberty and weary of the despotism of the Tzars, they revolted in 1905. But here again they committed the fatal error of entrusting their interests to politicians. Utter defeat was the portion

meted out to the workers for their heroic struggle; thousands were slaughtered at the instance of good little father Nicky. The defeat served, however, as an admonition and a lesson. From it the rank and file learned to take charge of their own affairs and to perfect and solidify their organizations. In 1917 they avenged their fallen comrades of 1905 by overthrowing the rotten and tyrannical government of the Tzar. A tremendous step forward has been taken; whether or not they will be able to maintain a real Workers' Republic only the future can show.

**The Haymarket Tragedy**

Turning our attention to America we find many interesting pages in Revolutionary History. Perhaps first in importance is the Haymarket Tragedy. It was here demonstrated that Chicago had then, and no doubt has now, some genuinely sincere men who are ready to die for the cause of labor. For some time previous to May, 1886, a great movement had been going on to obtain the eight-hour day. As it would affect all industries the capitalist class regarded the movement as a grave menace and decided to stop it at any cost.

The crisis came at a working class meeting where a bomb was thrown, killing a policeman. The newspapers laid the blame at the door of the anarchists; a demand for the lives of the strike leaders went forth. Every capitalist, labor fakir, subsidized preacher and lackey of the moneyed interests joined in the hysterical outcry for the blood of the valiant labor men.

On November 11th, 1887, four of the accused working men were legally murdered in Cook County jail, Chicago. They sacrificed their lives in the attempt to prevent the strangulation of the labor movement by Big Business.

The men hanged were August Spies, George Engel, Adolph Fischer and Albert R. Parsons. August Spies spoke but few words from the gallows, but they were pregnant with prophetic meaning. He said: "There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voice you strangle today."

**Industrial Workers of the World**

These events of the past have had a cumulative effect; in the year 1905 thousands of the more intelligent and revolutionary workers in the United States adopted a new form of organization. It was designed to embrace all the workers in all industries, regardless of color, nationality, occupation, or creed. It was named Industrial Workers of the World and was based on a strict economic foundation. Politicians, political questions and squabbles were eliminated as unworthy of consideration. Since its inception the organization has adhered to its ideals; it is now composed of wage-workers without any admixture of politicians or parasites. Students of Revolutionary History would do well to read the story of the I. W. W. It is a story of heroism; it has ever been loyal to the cause of labor and has at all times fought the workers' battles with honor.

The I. W. W. has always been a protector of the workers' rights. The capitalists fear the I. W. W. chiefly on account of its revolutionary spirit and actions. Hence the bitter and relentless persecution of this organization. Revolutionary industrial unionism as embodied in the I. W. W. is the only hope for the emancipation of the workers in America.

# Caliban in the Coal Mines

By LOUIS UNTERMEYER

GOD, we don't like to complain—
We know that the mine is no lark—
But—there's the pools from the rain;
But—there's the cold and the dark.

God, you don't know what it is—
You, in Your well-lighted sky,
Watching the meteors whizz;
Warm, with the sun always by.

God, if You had but the moon
Stuck in Your cap for a lamp,
Even You'd tire of it soon,
Down in the dark and the damp.

Nothing but blackness above,
And nothing that moves but the cars—
God, if You wish for our love,
Fling us a handful of stars!

# Cooks De Luxe

IN all ages it has been customary to "blame the cooks" for everything that happens. If a man gets bald headed, it's the cook's fault.

He says, "that woman thou gavest me really ought to know cooking at least." He brings home a pay envelope that strikes terror to the heart of the "sweet woman," and causes her to grab at least three breakfasts per week from the oat bin—can you blame her? There he sits, like a storm cloud on Lookout Mountain, and demands to know why she don't feed him round-steak at least once't in a while. It's the cook's fault!

Even the children are quick to notice the "culinary failures" of the family foodstuff worker.

Of course I am not trying to advance a child as a person capable of passing on the merits, or demerits, of a cook—nor do I attempt to convey the idea that a child has any exceptional ability "to come to an understanding" of the underlying causes that "offset" the cook in rather a compromising position. No, I merely desire to emphasize the old saying "Like father, like son"—childish.

The cook at all times is doing the best she can. (If there is no good food on the table it is because she could not procure it, for some reason or other.)

The hotel cook is generally a man. Ninety-nine in hundred, of such men, are regular "he-men," and many are the battles they have put up, for the "eaters," against the management. Single handed, only with the support of dishwashers and porters, have they fought the encroachments of an organized system of stomach-robbery—which all goes to show how "yellow" the public is.

Ordinarily a cook has all he can do to look after his own welfare; his own wages; his own conditions of servitude. But it is true the cooks have repeatedly sacrificed their own interest, their jobs and their "standing in the industry," trying to better the food for a shiftless, easy-going public. Someone has said, "to hell with the public"; and I do verily believe, he guessed it.

The public is rapidly reaching a stage of mental, moral and physical putrefaction, which might be termed a condition of hell. The cooks have been unable to save the people from the profit system, although the people were willing to let them do it.

Not only in swell hotels, but in commissary-camps, are the inmates patiently waiting for the cooks to win "their battle" with the capitalist system. I think they'll wait a long, long time.

* * *

It is now up to the cooks to save themselves. This idea of fighting someone else's battles is getting to be old style and is frowned upon in well-organized circles. Let the cooks organize in a union of their industry, and let them fight for wages, shorter days and better conditions for **themselves.** That's the best thing they can do for the Public.

**T-Bone Slim.**

# Tightline Johnson Goes to Heaven

By WILLIAM AKERS

FLOPPIN' is done by the best people. It is an institution highly developed by the human race and is frequently indulged in by tired business men, cow-eyed stenographers and loggers with stag pants. It is the one thing that every man, woman and child enjoys more of than anything else that they get.

Where does a stiff find any more high-class sensations than comes to him just after rollin' in to a fine well-thrown together bunk, piled high with fluffy blankets, clean sheets, one of those double-ribbed, triple-plated, pressure-packed twenty-layers-rolled-into-one sort of mattresses,—all landed together on top of a fast feedin' set of springs in a bugless paradise?

Echo answers—"Where?"

Herb Hoover has come out strong for standardization. Me and him are unanimous on this proposition. Of course, Herb has devoted a lot of attention to fields that never interested me. His idea for instance to make only seventeen kinds of bricks bloom where a hundred and ninety cluttered up the roadside before, never aroused any undue enthusiasm in my hyphenated Scotch-Irish-Scandinavian-American heart. Somehow I always felt safer with a little heavy confetti laying round handy.

But the principle is sound. Reduce the varieties. And right here is where Herbie finds Tightline Johnson ready to do a Horatius at the Bridge with him any old time.

There is too many varieties of beds, bunks and flops. My idea is this: let's start right in and reduce the species down to about ten kinds, but all of these ten kinds to be built according to the best and most scientific plans and specifications.

I would allow skid-way to take care of any sappy notions as to outward appearance and the like. If anybody is goin' to die happier because they have a bunk all faked up like a Louie Quince, help 'em along, says I.

And this pet idea of mine has sound practical points to it that would interest any profound capitalist in the market for elbow grease, providin' these said employers had not been in the lumber business so long that the knot on top of their spinal columns had degenerated into punky butt stock.

I speak from practical experience. How is a good and willing slave goin' to give his master his undivided attention when a lumpy flop and last year's crop of fill-or-busters join hands to divert him from his proper rest?

I am with Herbie right down to the ground of his Native Oregon. I don't believe in anything extreme. Far be it from me to hint that a gold decorated bedstead, equipped with the finest auxiliary box spring mattress, supplemented with Belfast linen sheets, brocaded Astrachan blankets and a hand worked and embroidered Irish lace coverlet, should be installed for every logger that ever threw a spiked hoof on top of a bit of round stuff.

No Sir! I ain't one of these Kerenskies that want nothing less than a Czar's bed to sleep in. Not that I am sayin' anything against 'em, mind. I remember one time when I had the flop of a life time in just such a bunk.

* * *

It was down in the heart of the steel country during the early days of the renaissance of the Ku-Klux Klan. Normalcy and the American Defense Society had the country by the throat. To be a foreigner was as popular them days as the corner bootlegger is during a general strike of the I. W. W.

When lots of these ignorant Europeans were asked the original question—"If you don't like this country why don't you go back where you came from?" it was surprising to find so few who could dig up a real convincing answer. The more they thought it over the more determined they got to follow the Goulds and the Astors over to Europe. So they were pullin' out by the thousands every day.

Me—I came rollin' into this vacation ground from Cleveland in the dead of winter. I was hooked up inside of a coal gondola on the Panhandle. Me and a couple of chunks of cast iron had been makin' impressions on each other and on the shack all afternoon.

This shack was one of these temperamental cusses. Must have had an unhappy home life, he was that restless and nervous. He chased me off of that string about ten times into the snow rollin' down from the chill breezes of Lake Erie.

The further south we got the colder the wind became. The exercise kept my blood flowin' freely but my ideas of the human race was becoming more and more pessimistic. I thought to myself that Schopenhauer could have written a real masterpiece if he had taken that trip.

After dark it became easier for me and harder for the shack and he got real nervous. When we pulled up to a water tank at Ambridge, about fifteen miles out of the Pitt itself, he went and brought up reinforcements. Two gunmen of the American Bridge Company rallied to save the system and they run me out of that car and up along the bank of the Ohio River like Three Finger Jack on the trail of a lost soul with a ten dollar bill.

I was always inclined to lean towards the idea that efficiency among the lower classes was enhanced by periods of unemployment, and the way these two gun men extended themselves sure cinched the argument. Here was two specimens of a class as low down as can be found and they were sure overworkin' themselves for no other reason at all so far as I could see.

After headin' upstream for a ways I decides to

sprint off to my left up the side hill. The leg that I busted in the log jam at the Mary's, out in Idaho, was in no shape for a marathon and I realized that I had to look for cover pretty pronto.

I must of run about a mile up that hill when I came to a brush hedge, stretched out along a road. I gallops along when I hear a flivver poppin' in my rear. I hears a hail and glancing back I spies the lizzie pickin' up my gladhanders. So havin' a firm idea that I was unable to compete with modern machinery by hand I finds me a nice crotch in the hedge and highclimbed it and boosted myself over.

I gave the once over to about four big back yards, each surrounded by a prickly hedge which I was just gettin' the proper hang of the way to bounce over, when they played out on me and I could see nothin' but a road on the other side of the last one. Alexander and me felt just alike regardin' new worlds to conquer.

There was only one thing to do and that was to look for a flop real handy.

* * *

In my mind back yards is always connected with some kind of houses, barns and the like. I soon located the back building in this shebang. It was a brick garage and had a door on it like the Union Trust Company's safe.

The house was one of these big nifty summer dumps where the hand-outs are pretty certain if a guy can get by the gardener or the lawn-mower pusher. I thinks to myself that nothing can look more lonesome that a summer cottage in the winter time and pinches my ear to see if I was bit. Sure enough, I found it frosted even after my hurdle race. Here was a hell of a fix.

There flashed into my mind the picture of a man I had seen when I was a little kid. He had both legs off at the hip and was out advertisin' artificial limbs. Both his had been froze off.

I decided that I would have a hard time seein' America first if I lost my legs all on account of two Steel Trust sluggers. I looks over this dump loomin' up alongside in the snow light.

There was a big balustraded porch on one whole side of it constructed in a pleasin' architectural style. French windows looked out on to the upper porch. Now it stuck in my mind, from seein' a few movies, that French Windows are duck soup to the heroic burglar that is out to swipe back the jewels which rightfully belong to the daughter of the old man. So I qualifies for a degree in porch climbin' and ten years in the big house and tries my luck.

Sure enough, by just nickin' a piece of glass out of one corner of those panels I could reach thru and open the thing up. I stepped in, after pushing open the shutters. I lighted a match and the first thing that I seen was a big cut-glass fruit dish sittin' on the sideboard. I grabbed this like Damon receivin' Pythias and dashed out to the porch and filled it up with snow. I took it in and closed up the shutters and lit up one of the candle sticks.

At one side of the room was a bed the like of which would set an Oregon balloonist to pinchin' himself. But I paid scant attention to it then.

I flipped off my clothes and shoes and rubbed that snow into my skin for fair. A bath before retiring is wonderful for the complexion I was once told and I have been run out for repeatin' it in every loggin' camp from the Hammond outfit up to Ocean Falls. A snow bath and a rub down on a great towel that felt like a spring cushion sure set me up in business.

I climbed into a pair of pink pajamas, took a couple of wraps about myself with a plutocratic bath-robe and, armed with the candle stick set out to explore the house.

Me bein' the son of an old-time prospector and havin' done a little mushin' and pannin' myself, the ideas of hospitality in vogue amongst us sourdoughs has always struck me as bein' fair and square. Many is the time some snowshoe pushin' traveler has moved into my cabin when I was out and helped himself to the grub, livin' strictly up to the code by whittlin' shavin's and washin' the dishes before mushin' on next mornin'. And the same had been done by myself.

So here, thinks I, is an opportunity to introduce some fine healthy customs into an effete society. I finds a pantry stocked with can openers, tinned asparagus tips, oysters, corn, tomatoes, crackers and a big hunk of imported French cheese with little blue sections scattered thru it. It sure all tasted good to me.

I carried the cans down cellar and cleaned up the pantry—then I took my candle and went back to my bedroom.

"Call me early, James!" says I to myself as I blew out the candle and jumped into bed.

Boys, I am here to tell you that that was some bunk. It was so comfortable that I went to sleep quicker than Old Shuteye the Burns stool pigeon, who was supposed to be the miners' checkweighman down at the Indiana Number 3.

And I had one of the finest dreams that was ever produced by a Welch rabbit.

* * *

I was floatin' up thru a pinkish sort of sky with a feelin' of easy gracefulness like that displayed by the choir leader of United Presbyterian Church.

I flitted hither and thither and I thinks to myself—"This system of ramblin' around sure is keen. Wonder why I never thought of it before."

By and by I came to a landin'. It looked just like a chunk out of the West Kootenais—anywheres away up in the hills above timber line. A lot of rocky bluffs and a little level piece with thick mountain grass springin' up.

I strolled along but my hat blew off and I had to chase it and push it down solidly. I wondered if it would leave a red crease across my forehead.

Suddenly I was in a field of mountain blossoms and ahead of me was a big gate like they have in Garfield Park in Chicago—all built up out of flowers

and trailing vines and hedges.

I started to walk thru when a funny old guy, with a beard like a Jewish rabbi, bounced out and wiggled his beard at me.

"Who are you?" he asked sadly, like an employment clerk during hard times.

"Tightline Johnson," said I.

"Look him up in the book," he sang over his shoulder to a couple of skinny looking angels who were sittin' on tall stools and were draped over a slant topped desk.

I stood and gawped about me. It was a funny lookin' dump. Little paths run every which way between small grass plots. They were made out of black sand just like I had shoveled up on the Stikine in British Columbia when I was muckin' the stuff into placer cradles for the Guggenheims.

A little cupid came bouncin' over with a card from an index file in his hand. Old Whiskers looked at it and shook his head.

"Mr. Tightline Johnson," he said, "you have a very bad record. It doesn't seem possible that we can let you into the Kingdom of Heaven. Very black. Very black. You have done so many things that you should not have done. You have neglected so many things that should have been done."

"Break it gently," says I. "When did they cut the wages?"

"In Heaven," he said, "there are no wages. But your case is very doubtful. I can not let you in on my own authority. You must come before the judgment throne."

"That's all right," says I. "Lead me up to the squeeze. I never liked to talk to straw bosses anyway."

The fat cupid bounced out with another card in his hand and gave it to me. I looks at it and says to the old fellow who was leadin' me along:

"Say, old timer, was you ever in Butte?"

"That sinful place! Never!"

"Well, don't get peeved. I was just wonderin' where you picked up this rustlin' card idea. I thought that system had been knocked in the head everywhere's except around the copper kings' sweat boxes. Even Gary himself is strong for the idea that each man has a sacred right to work and look for a place if he wants to. Come alive! Your outfit must be way behind the times."

"Hush!" says he, "we approach the presence!"

The old fellow took me before a grandstand bigger than the Stadium of the University of Washington that I once busted fog on. There was thousands of dim white figures sittin' in this grandstand lookin' on. Out in front on a nifty little stage was a big fellow with whiskers and wings and a long flowin' robe.

My conductor left me standin' on one side and went up and whispered in the big fellow's ear. About half a hundred court room hangers-on was sittin' and standin' around and they all give me the once-over with the same kind of expressions that I saw on the faces of a gang of reformers who came thru the Kansas City Can when I was being kept in cold storage there so as not to interfere with the benificent work of the High-jacks. It sure was a wet lookin' outfit. I punches the nearest one in the ribs and asks, "Who is the main push up there anyway?"

"You are now in the presence of the most high God!" says he.

So I looked again.

"Tightline Johnson!" God booms out. "You are here! Advance to the foot of my throne. I would speak with thee."

So I mopes up.

* * *

"Johnson," he said, in his deep full tones that reminded me of Harry Feinberg singin' love songs in the Tacoma County jail,—"Johnson, I gave to you many gifts. They have been abused. I granted you many instincts. They have been perverted, twisted, crushed, or are still dormant in your breast.

"To you I granted the great instinct of sex.—The record of your life shows much of loose living, of neglect of those love-hungry women who may have longed for consolation and affection. You have produced no children. That instinct which I gave to you, which would have uplifted you into the glory of life and love, you have allowed to drag you into the mire, to torture your nights and to pollute your days.

"I gave you gregariousness so that you might live together with your fellows, leaning upon them and lending them aid in time of social need. I gave you gregariousness so that mankind could live in harmony and peace together,—the common needs of this instinct binding the whole world in chains of interdependence and human love. You have separated yourself from the run of human beings. Along the highways and by-ways of the world you have chosen to live. Far from your kind I have seen you in the hills and mountains,—away from all the average humanity I have seen you with a few of your outcast tribe building camp fires along the sides of city dumps and railroad tracks. I have seen you rambling carelessly with defiant head erect from logging camp to logging camp refusing to settle down in company with your fellows, refusing to hearken to the promptings of sexual and gregarious urges.

"You were sent forth with a soul stored with a measure of self pride in order that you might never demean yourself before your fellow creatures, in order that in every task, in every trial you would always stand forth at the peak of your accomplishment—in the height of your ability and shining glory. Yet I have seen you walk thru the filthy places of the cities clad in rags. I have seen you turn your back on offered positions which would elevate you to posts where you would in a full measure be able to gratify the urges of my great gifts. Rather

than ride upon soft cushions you have hung at the peril of your very life upon the rods and the blinds of passenger trains or violated the laws of your fellow men by riding in cars constructed to carry freight.

"Acquisitiveness was given you in order that those things which were deemed worthy might appeal to you and cause you to exert yourself in order to acquire them. This great blessing of mine would have caused you to save the product of your toil, to have labored mightily and with all the cunning of hand and brain in order to gain from the storehouse of nature the wealth that lies there for your kind. What have you cared to acquire? Nothing but hard hands and calloused feet. The joys of accumulation which are known even to the tiny ant and the happy skipping squirrel are passed by untasted by you. You have scorned my gifts!

"That great instinct of workmanship which distinguishes man from most of the beasts has been restrained by you with a throttling hand. You have cast slurs at the joy of creative effort, the pleasant upsurge of pure feeling at a task well done. You have scorned the speedy workman, have abjured the creative instincts and have defied the very well springs of my life-giving and precious offerings! Think you that there is room for you here, Tightline Johnson? No! A thousand times NO!!"

A great silence fell on the assembly.

Thinks I to myself, "Kangarooed again, by God!"

There was a commotion at the entrance to the judgment hall. A tall slender figure clad all in white with hair the soft color of gold and eyes that looked like those of a married man with a family who has just got the sack because he had the guts to carry a red card.

Said he: "Father! Would you cast this fellow worker out, without giving him a chance to speak? Let us ask him why he has done these things. The ways of humans seem strange to us from here, yet I who have been amongst them, am full of compassion for those that err. Pray—let he whose hands and feet are calloused speak, that we may know what is in his heart."

"Johnson!" said God to me. "Have you anything to say for yourself?"

"I've got a mouthful," says I.

* * *

"When I was just a kid about three times the size of that cherub over there I went to work in a lead smelter. Over in the Coeur d'Alenes. They set me on the feed floor dumpin' charge cars into the furnace. An old Swede was workin' alongside who had been leaded twice. One of his hands was fixed so he could only use the fingers for a hook, from the other one he had the use of three. His feet were lumpy. His knees knocked. The lead had him right. Every move was a squeak. He was done.

"The only thing that Swede ever thought about was gettin' a few dollars to get out of that lead poisonin'. And he worked—like a fool.

"At every pay day the company men would coax him into the bar and have one drink before he left. 'Come on, you old Scandahoovian grave cheater!—Have one on me', they would say. 'Hell, there is many a wallop in the old boy yet—Hey?'

"For Andy Anderson was a man that knew charges. The smell of the smoke told him more than a chemist would ever find out and the company wanted to keep him, even tho it was killin' him by inches. Other men would not stay with the job, so if they could just keep Andy broke—just get him drunk—the trick was turned.

"Two pay days passed me on the job—interested in the work, tryin' to learn, just achin' to find out the why and how of things. But none of my money went over the bar. I did not spend it with the tinhorns or the chippies that the company brought in to keep us flat. No! I wanted to save my money in that hell hole—so that I could get out and learn something about what makes the wheels go around. I was crazy about machinery. I wanted to study and to have the know. And I was just a kid then, fellow worker.

"Do you think the Idaho Smelters gave a damn about that? What were they thinkin' about me anyway? They seemed to have track of Andy? How about the Kid—Johnson? They had their eye on me all right.

"This outfit run the company store. They sold the tobacco, the clothes, and shoes and operated the saloon. They handed over the booze, they operated the pool tables and over the hill they had the string of crib houses where the girls were brought in about pay day.

"They run the boardin' house—they run everything.

"They had their eyes on me all right. I wasn't spendin' all the money I made. Towards that money I was tighter than alum. You see I had instincts all right and I was tryin'—By God—**I was tryin'.**

"And what did those psalm readin' directors and flunkies of directors do? When they found that I had some money ahead of the game they laid me off for two weeks. Yes, fellow worker—gave me the sack for fourteen days so that I would have to spend my money either in camp with the company or on the road lookin' for another job, and jobs was hard them days.

"Was you ever turned loose in a smelter camp with nothin' to do for fourteen days but wait till your lay off was over? Did you ever get up in a smelly dirty bunkhouse out of a tier of bunks three high, along a wall where twenty-one men slept—seven men lengthwise and three deep? Did you ever listen thru a long night to men with the lead eatin' into their lungs and hear 'em spit out on the floor—a chunk of lung each crack? Would it drive you to drink or wouldn't it, now—I ask you straight?

" Well, it didn't drive me! I was young and I was determined that I would save money and get out to where I could learn something else than to mix a

eharge car by the smell of the smoke. I didn't want to have my fingers eurl up in me! I didn't want to have dagger pains in every joint of my body till they reaehed my heart and stopped the works!

"And neither did Andy. I went baek on the floor with Andy when my time was up and I still had money ahead. I still was holdin' out on the eompany—and they knew it.

"Two weeks after I went baek to work we was paid off again. I had nothin' eomin' for they took it out for my board. Andy was deeoyed and tanked up again. Oh! Yes! I saw the whole thing—and I couldn't help it. But next night when Andy and I came on the Graveyard shift together I turned double trick, for the old man was down and out. Sweatin' and puffin' I pushed the buggies for both of us.

"At three o'elock in the mornin' I knoeked off to throw in a gulp of blaek eoffee and a eouple of bites of sinker from my lump. When I came baek on the feed floor Andy was gone. And I knew that Andy had taken his last big smell of the smoke. Leanin' over into the eharge I eould see an outline of his bones down below in the colored flames.

"I ran like mad to the furnaee boss. But he said he dassent blow out the furnaee. So at the last the company got baek even the lead that had been eatin' into Andy's bones and playin' tag thru Andy's veins.

"I eould never faee a feed floor again. I was done.

* * *

"Before I got another job I was flat broke. Could I write home and tell my mother that I was already a bum beatin' my way on freight ears to every plaee where I heard of a job? I ask you, fellow worker, eould you do that?

"When after many months I did get some money —after I did find a plaee in the damnable profit makin' maehinery of business and sent for her—she was dead!

"Died of a broken heart, they said, while I was grabbin' armsful of box ears lookin' for a job—at anything, for anything—exeept chargin' a lead furnaee.

"Did that ever happen to you? Was you ever in a fix like that? Better think it over, fellow worker—seems like somethin' was wrong. Some said—hard luek. But I eut my eye teeth on that hard luek—I seen it from every side. It is worse than that.

"I had an instinct of solidarity! I had a feelin' swell up inside me at a job well done. And it was these feelin's that made a rebel out of me. I want to show my solidarity to my fellow workers at every ehance by puttin' my shoulder to the wheel and helpin' them to make things better so that no other kid will have to go thru the mill that me and millions more like me has bueked up against. I got enough workmanship in me to know that a system that is slung together in such a haywire manner has had some damn poor meehanies on the job.

"I am Tightline Johnson and any bull of the woods will tell you that Tightline may be a hard-boiled wobbly but he wears no ehinwhiskers as a fog buster and ean handle a yarder with any man that walks on two legs. Just ask 'em and see. And what I can do with a yarder in the way of nursin' it along and makin' the parts run easy and smooth, me and the rest of us wobs has been tryin' to do with the system of produetion and distribution of the things we make.

"Beeause I am a rebel against the slave-drivin' system that takes all that a man produees and gives him no ehanee in life unless he lines up and fights—beeause I have shown my fellow workers how and why to line up—they have made an outeast and an outlaw out of me. Every gunman's hand is against me. Every seab and fink hates me and all that are like me.

"They have kept me on the bum. They have driven me from camp to eamp—blacklisting my name from Ketchikan to Eureka, Çalif. They have thrown me into jails—hunted for me with ropes in their hands—hired an army of stoolpigeons and spies to sneak out the seerets of my organization when we have no seerets to hide. They have sent hundreds of my best friends and the whitest men that were ever born—have sent them into prison because they have ideals.

"I ask you is a man who is living sueh a life and fighting sueh a battle in a position to take on a wife? Can one whose very freedom is in jeopardy every day and every hour bring peaee and happiness into a love life? Is it treating a girl fair to eall up in her the tender feelings of love only to tear her heart to bits with fear and perhaps leave her weepin' with the little ones when they send you to the big house?

"I never walked a dirty street by choiee. I never went into a brothel by preferenee.

"I have trembled at the thought of a sweet woman's arms elasped about me in love. I have stood with my throat choked with a string of burning lumps—outside of some bourgeois's home, and watehed a while the anties of the elean ehildren playin' on the lawn.

"You sit up there and tell me I am not wanted! You sit up there and say that I am a waster of my natural gifts! How would you aet and what would you do? Just answer me that!"

And do you know the old geezer broke down and eried like a baby.——

* * *

And when I woke up it was mornin'

# Savage Survivals in Higher Peoples

By PROF. J. HOWARD MOORE

## THE ORIGIN OF HIGHER PEOPLES

ALL civilized peoples have come from savage peoples. They have grown from savages, just as you and I as individuals have grown from babies. It is important to know this. For we can't understand the things civilized men and women do and think and feel—many of them are so barbarous and strange—unless we recognize the fact that civilized men and women are merely made-over savages.

It is also important to know something of the nature and ideas of savages; so that we can compare them with our own nature and ideas and see how much of us has survived from savage times and how much has been produced since then.

These articles will prove that all higher peoples go back in their ancestry to savages, and will show what sort of beings savages are; that is, something about what sort of animals our ancestors were.

### Where the English Came From

Go back into the past two or three thousand years, and you don't find any English in the world, nor any French, nor Spanish, nor Germans, nor Russians. But what you do find is that each of these modern peoples is represented at that time by one or more barbarous tribes, from which it has grown. The English go back to the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, three barbarous or semi-barbarous tribes that lived originally in the region of Denmark and southward. They came over and settled the island of Great Britain fourteen or fifteen hundred years ago. The first settlement was made about 449 A. D.

These people were very rude. They dressed in skins, loved adventure, and were fond of water. They lived a good deal by pillage. They would get in their boats and cruise along the coast of the Baltic till they came to a town of some other tribe. They would drive the people out or kill them, plunder the town, and then burn it. They thought this was the proper thing to do; for they acted on the principle that "might makes right"; that is, on the principle that it is right to do whatever one has the power to do.

Wherever you go you find the English—in North and South America (we are English), in South Africa, Australia, India, and in many islands of the sea. The English, more than any other people, have been the explorers and settlers of the planet. The English-speaking peoples are so enterprising that they already occupy a large part of the surface of the earth, including practically two whole continents.

One reason why the English have been so restless as a race is because their ancestors were that kind of a people—sea-rovers. Suppose the English had come from land animals—beings who lived in the interior of Europe, a quiet, home-loving, peaceful people. Don't you suppose the history of England would have been a very different thing from what it is today? The adult English people merely reflect the character of the infant peoples from whom they have grown, just as a grown man is in a general way like what he was when he was a child.

### Other Modern Peoples

The French came from the Gauls, scattered tribes that lived in the region of what is now France at the time of the Roman Empire.

The Germans came from the Goths, Vandals, and Cimbri, three barbarous tribes that lived in central Europe and assisted in overrunning the Roman Empire.

The Italians come from the Romans, a people who spoke the Latin language and lived in the peninsula of Italy and other Mediterranean lands about the time of Christ and later.

The modern Greeks are from the ancient Greeks.

And all of the modern white peoples—Russians, Germans, French, English, Swedes, and Americans—can trace their ancestry back, by means of common languages and common legends, to a people who came long ago out of the East, out of the land beyond the Caspian. These people came into what is now Europe and settled there long before written history. And from them all of the modern European peoples have come. So you see we have all branched from the same tribe if we go back far enough.

### The Cradle of Mankind

But where did these original white people come from? And where did the dark peoples come from? And the Chinese? and the Indians? Where was the cradle of the human species? In what part of the world and at what time did man originate as a new and distinct species of animal? This must have occurred at some certain place on the earth and at some definite period af time.

It is pretty certain that the human species did not originate in what is called the western half of the earth and spread from there as a center over the world. For reasons, the most of which I cannot give you, because it would take too long to make them plain, it is believed by scientists that the cradle of mankind was somewhere in the eastern hemisphere.

One reason for this belief is that it is here that we find the oldest tracks of man, the earliest evidence of his existence in the world. We can go back into the civilization of the Nile and of the Euphrates and of some of the rivers of India for thousands of years, in some places 8,000 or 10,000 years. Here we find one civilization on top of another. Here are found the things men have fought with and worked with and lived in—objects which have defied the teeth of time, and which endure long after their creators have vanished. It is believed that man originated somewhere in southern Asia.

Or, possibly, still further south than the present boundary of Asia, in lands now drowned by the Indian Oeean. This supposed land has been called Lemuria.

### Changes in Geography

You know from your study of physiography that a large part of what is now the land surface of the earth was once the floor of the sea. Sandstone and limestone, whieh are so common over the land surfaees, we know, are made under water, and no plaee else. And we find the fossils of fishes and other water animals seattered all over the land, even to the mountain tops. The remains of a whale were found in northern Mississippi the other day. This animal, when it died, was swimming in the Mississippi Sea, a great body of water whieh onee extended from the Gulf of Mexieo over what is now the Great Central Plains of the United States.

The City of Louisville, Kentueky, is built where it is beeause the Ohio river has a fall there. This fall is eaused by a eoral reef running aeross the river at that point. Corals are sea animals. And the eorals that loeated the eity of Louisville by forming a reef at that partieular plaee and eompelling the Ohio river to stumble over it, lived and died in that far off time when Indiana and Kentueky formed a part of the floor of the Mississippi Sea.

Now, it is not so well known, but it is a fair inferenee, that much of what is now water surface was once land surfaee. We mine eoal under the sea some plaees. And I suppose that if we eould only get at them we would find many things in the lands under the sea that would be useful to us land animals. Maybe, sometime, when we have exhausted the stores of the land, we shall get so hard up or so skilled that we shall be able to get at these drowned treasures beneath the oeeans.

We know that there have been many ehanges in the geography of the earth in the past—that the geography of the earth a million or ten million years ago was not what it is today. We know that Afriea was joined to Europe at Gibraltar until rather reeent times in the history of the earth, and that Asia and North Ameriea were united at Behring Strait.

Geologists say that North and South America have been separate eontinents during most of their geologieal history. The Isthmus of Panama is very reeent, geologieally speaking. There are reasons for believing that before South Ameriea was joined to North Ameriea it was eonneeted with Africa and even Australia( forming a great Antartie eontinent.

In the Plioeene age of geology Alaska was joined to Asia by a rather wide isthmus. It was over this isthmus of Behring that many of the North American animals first eame into Ameriea from Asia. Animals like the buffalo and the mountain sheep did not originate in America. They eame from Asia. And they eame over the Behring bridge in the Pliocene age of the world. No bones of these animals are found in Ameriea previous to this time. The Indians also no doubt eame into America from

Lands (Shaded) and Seas (White) at the Beginning of the Eocene Epoch.

Asia by the same route, altho the Indians came much later than the buffalo.

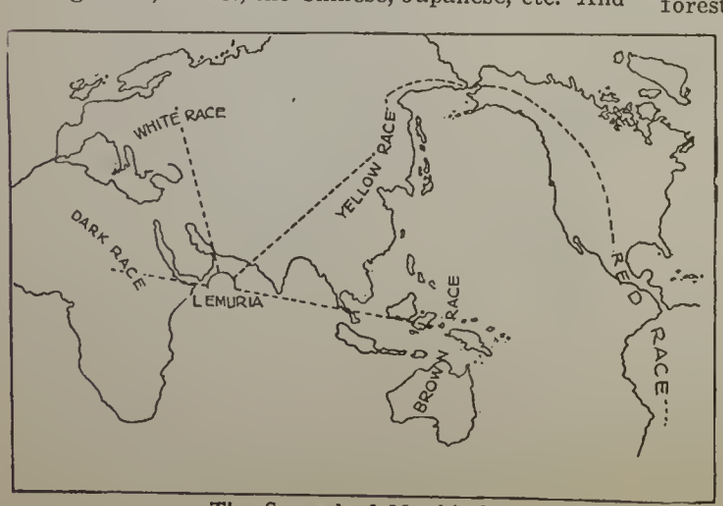
Until comparatively recent times in geological history, the island of Great Britain was joined to, and formed a part of, the Continent of Europe. The earliest inhabitants of Great Britain were Celts. They were called Britons by the Anglo-Saxons. Great Britain may not have become an island until some time after it was settled by human beings. The Celts may have walked dry-shod over what is now the North Sea into what was then a western peninsula of Continental Europe. That is, when England was first settled by human beings, it may have been a peninsula.

### How Old Is Man?

How long it has been since man originated as a new species of animal, no one knows. But it is known that it was a long time ago. Until fifty or one hundred years ago, it was generally supposed that human beings had not existed on the earth more than five or six thousand years. But the more man is studied and the more the earth is rummaged, the further back into the past is the beginning of things known to be. It is known positively that there have been living beings on the earth for a good many millions of years. It is estimated that life has existed on the earth for fifty or one hundred million years; that is, that the animal kingdom is fifty or one hundred million years old. But during most of this time there were no human beings in the world. Man is a recent species. But it is believed that man has existed on the earth for as much as five hundred thousand years.

### The Spread of Mankind

The human species probably originated somewhere in the Indian region of southern Asia. And from this as a center it has spread pretty thoroughly over the land surfaces of the globe, not only over the continents but to most of the islands. One branch moved westward and formed the dark people of Africa. Another moved north and northwest and became the white or Caucasian race. Another moved north and east and developed into the yellow or orange race, that is, the Chinese, Japanese, etc. And a branch of the orange race probably moved on over from Asia, past the Behring Strait region, into what is now called America, forming a modification of the orange race, the copper or red race, the so-called American Indians. And another branch of the species moved eastward to the Malay peninsula, the East India Islands, Borneo, New Guinea, the islands of the South Pacific, on as far as the Hawaiian Islands, forming the brown or Malay race. This gives you a little idea of the scattering out of the different races of men from the original human nest.




The Spread of Mankind.

The Malays are an island race. They love the water and are at home in the water. They have been developed in connection with the water, and are largely water animals. You know there is one species of buffalo that is called the "water buffalo," because it loves the water. The Malays are water men.

The Hawaiian islands were not settled from North America nor Asia, but by those brown sea-rovers from the southwest. The nearest land to the Hawaiian islands is over 2,000 miles away. How the first human inhabitants of those remote dots ever found their way over the vast wave-wastes they had to traverse before getting there no one will ever know. But probably they were refugees, carried out to sea by a storm, and losing their way on the trackless plains, wandered on and on, until they happened to stumble upon those hitherto unknown volcano-tops. We know such things can happen, for a junk with survivors on board drifted ashore from the west at the Hawaiian islands in December, 1832.

### The First Men

Original men, that is, the first men who ever existed, probably lived in small, loose bands, each band being composed of from 20 to 50 or more individuals. These bands, in their organization and modes of life, were probably very much like the bands of other animals that are met with today in the forests and on the prairies. They were without fixed places of abode. They subsisted on the fruits, nuts, roots, young shoots, and bird's eggs which they came upon during their wanderings thru the forest. These bands of early men must have had only the bare beginnings of law and government. Each band was led by an old male as chief, who had won his position as leader by his exceptional strength and intelligence. There was probably no family life, the sexes mingling much as among lower animals generally. Early men lived in a tropical climate, and were without either clothes or fire. They had long arms, and short, weak legs. Their weapons were sticks and stones. They were able to overcome all except the larger animals by co-operation and the force of numbers. They probably used the trees a great deal as a refuge in time of danger. They may have had the beginnings of superstition.

**Editor's Note.**—The above is the first of a series of articles dealing with the origin and descent of man, special emphasis being laid on the survival of primitive traits both in human beings and in domesticated animals. This is a subject in which all thinking men and women are intensely interested. The author of these articles is Professor J. Howard Moore, one of the world's greatest authorities on anthropology. For the permission to print this work we are indebted to the publishing house of Chas. H. Kerr & Co. of Chicago, who first brought it out in book form under the title of "Savage Survivals."

# A Cry From the Ghetto

**(From the Yiddish of Morris Rosenfeld)**

THE roaring of the wheels has filled my ears,
The clashing and the clamor shut me in;
Myself, my soul, in chaos disappears,
I cannot think or feel amid the din.
Toiling and toiling and toiling—endless toil.
For whom? For what? Why should the work be done?
I do not ask, or know. I only toil.
I work until the day and night are one.

The clock above me ticks away the day,
Its hands are spinning, spinning, like the wheels.
It cannot sleep or for a moment stay,
It is a thing like me, and does not feel.
It throbs as tho my heart were beating there—
A heart? My heart? I know not what it means.
The clock ticks, and below I strive and stare.
And so we lose the hour. We are machines.

Noon calls a truce, an ending to the sound,
As if a battle had one moment stayed—
A bloody field! The dead lie all around;
Their wounds cry out until I grow afraid.
It comes—the signal! See, the dead men rise,
They fight again, amid the roar they fight.
Blindly, and knowing not for whom, or why,
They fight, they fall, they sink into the night.

# The People

By TOMMASO CAMPANELLA

(Italian philosopher 1568-1639. This poem is as timely today as it was six hundred years ago.)

THE people is a beast of muddy brain
That knows not its own strength, and therefore stands
Loaded with wood and stone; the powerless hands
Of a mere child guide it with bit and rein;
One kick would be enough to break the chain,
But the beast fears, and what the child demands
It does; nor its own terror understands,
Confused and stupefied by bugbears vain.
Most wonderful! With its own hand it ties
And gags itself—gives itself death and war
For pence doled out by kings from its own store.
Its own are all things between earth and heaven;
But this it knows not; and if one arise
To tell this truth, it kills him unforgiven.

# Editorial

## PROPAGANDA BY DEED

THE capitalists believe in propaganda—by word of mouth, by printed matter and by deed. Millions of dollars every year are spent to influence "public opinion." Ninty-nine per cent of the "opinions" that the dear public holds are machine-made. The main purpose of the bourgeois press, however, is not to "put something over," so to speak, but to keep those who read it in a perpetual state of mental slavery, which state is looked upon as the normal intellectual outlook of the populace.

But sometimes conditions arise which require that sterner and more effective methods be used in order to make the working class do the bidding of their masters. For instance, during strikes. Propaganda by deed is then resorted to. As witness what happened to some of the fellow workers who were unlucky enough to fall into the hands of the San Pedro police during the recent waterfront strike.

According to the sworn affidavits of a score or so of men, chief of police Oaks personally beat up three arrested strikers; several others received brutal treatment at the hands of other police officers. Also, almost a hundred prisoners were herded into a tank in the city jail and the windows shut air-tight, as a result of which the air became so foul that many of them fainted.

Yes, the master class believes in propaganda by deed. At present the state of California and the Ku Klux Klan are its chief exponents in America.

## DOLLARS AND MARKS

THE eyes of the whole world are today centered on Germany. What takes place there is laden with profound meaning. It used to be said that some people can see the grass grow in the spring of the year. In Germany things are happening so fast nowadays that by observing her closely we can see with out naked eyes, so to speak, the disintegration of capitalism and the passing away of the old order of things in general.

On June 18 the German mark is reported to have reached the record level of 160,500 to the dollar. This is followed by a panic. Many of the banks and stores close their doors. The workmen realize that their real wages have been still further reduced below the starvation line on which they have been living, and threaten to call a general strike. In the Ruhr district the French invaders have practically handed the workingmen an ultimatum either to work, fight, or starve.

The monetary system has crumbled utterly; and it is one of the bulwarks of capitalism. The "living wage," or any slightest approach to it, has disappeared; it at least keeps workers in some other countries temporarily contented. Personal initiative, thrift and perseverance can no longer get anything for anybody in Germany; and these constitute almost the whole of the moral background of capitalism. Truly, in Germany, the end of the world is close at hand—the world of capitalism.

The lesson that the German workers are learning from their untold suffering and agony is that in order to extricate themselves from their present predicament and become masters over life they first have to become masters over industry.

## THE SANCTIMONIOUS STEEL TRUST

THE Steel Trust has decided that the twelve-hour day is a good thing for the souls and bodies of its employes, as well as for the general welfare of the "public." Incidentally, we take it for granted that it is not such a bad thing for the pockets of the stockholders, either.

Judge Gary, Charles M. Schwab, and that whole gang of industrial super-pirates who fatten on the sweat and blood of their thousands of slaves who toil in those hell-holes of smoke, heat and molten metal known as the steel and iron mills, are

strong for the teachings of the Bible, the beauties of the Holy Land, and the wholesome effects of the 12-hour day.

And yet there are some people left who still believe in all sincerity that this country is "the land of the brave and the home of the free." Free, indeed, to slave your life away for the enrichment of a handful of parasitical overlords!

Never before has production in the steel and iron industries reached such a high peak, and never before have the profits been so enormously great. Steel is now being manufactured at the rate of approximately 44,000,000 tons a year, an increase of 4,000,000 over the previous high mark. Still these magnates are not satisfied.

Even the federated church bodies, representing some fifty million Protestants, Catholics and Jews, have joined in the protest against this barbarous action of the Steel Trust. The Federated American Engineering societies have taken like action, after a careful two-year investigation. "Our committee found indisputably," says their report, "that the 12-hour shift is not economically necessary and that continuous industry can be run at a profit with the shorter working day."

We entertain grave doubts that the steel workers will get this shorter work day until they organize industrially at the point of production.

## THE BULGARIAN "REVOLUTION"

ANOTHER country has fallen victim to the reaction in Europe. Fascism can add another feather of victory to its cap. The peasant government which ruled Bulgaria since the armistice has been overthrown, Premier Stambouliski has been murdered and a military dictatorship set up. All true and trusty reactionaries—all those who believe that the "lower classes" ought to be "shown their place"—are greatly overjoyed.

Of course, there was nothing much about the Stambouliski regime for the industrial workers to fall in love with. It represented the material interests and aspirations of the peasantry. And the idealism of the peasants is not of the kind that soars over the mountain tops. The city workers were given hardly any consideration by the government. Still, peasants are producers of wealth; they are not to be put in the same category with the feudal and industrial lords and parasites who are shoving Europe to the brink of utter ruin.

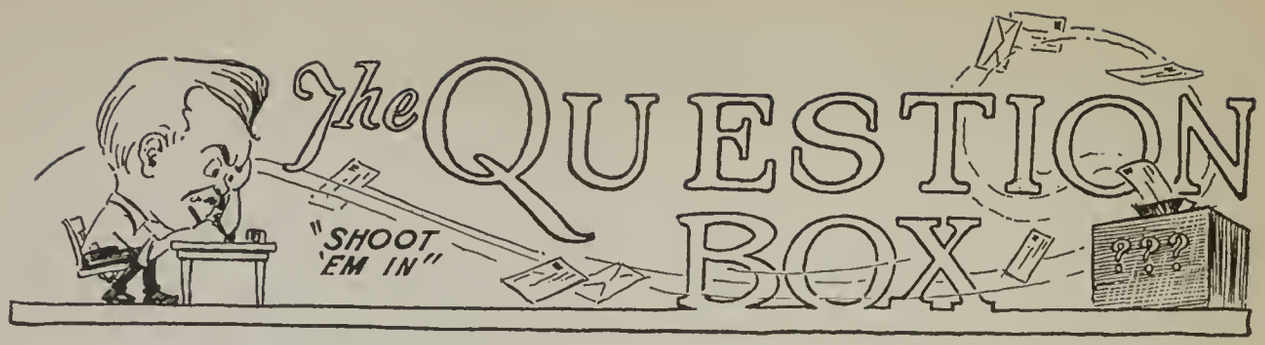
As usual, the Bulgarian counter-revolution was accompanied by violence and bloodshed. The "new reaction" believes that might is right, and it practices what it preaches. Today the mailed fist rules supreme in Italy, France, Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria. The doctrine of "brotherly love" has been pigeon-holed, at least for the time being, as being either a back-number or an unattainable ideal.

What will be the fate of the working class, of the liberals, of the radicals of various complexions, under the new regime? Will they be tortured and slaughtered by the thousands, as was the case in Hungary after Admiral Horthy and his "white" henchmen took over the reins of power? There can be no doubt that both the peasants and the city workers will be made to suffer greatly.

The only hope for bleeding, unhappy Europe is a united working class determined to throw overboard all the militaristic parasites, to take over the functions of production and distribution, and to bring order out of chaos by operating industry for use instead of for profit. A big job!—but sooner or later it will have to be done.

## BOURGEOIS JUSTICE

A MAN in Brooklyn by the name of Gabriel Ianotte will have to serve approximately twelve years in Sing Sing because he stole a thirty-five cent teapot. The war-profiteers and contractors stole many millions of the people's money and none of them have yet been sentenced to serve even twelve days in jail—to say nothing of twelve years. If Ianotte had stolen thirty-five million dollars he would be one of our "best" citizens.




**I AM thinking of moving to the city. What would you say are the advantages of city over country life?—John F.**

Our answer to the above question would be that when it comes to advantages of various kinds, the country ain't in it—any way you look at it. Take such a little matter as doing chores, for instance. Why, there's hardly any chores to be done in the city, cows being few and far between, and instead of horses we have automobiles. You can feed a tin lizzy a couple gallons of gasoline any time of day, so there's no reason to get bumped out of bed at four o'clock in the morning to attend to the feeding. As for the milking—well, most of that is done by slick guys who hang out downtown, and it's mostly fellows that are new in the ways of the city that get milked. So you see somebody else does the work.

There are many other advantages, but we can only enumerate a few of them here. One of them is that you don't have to have anybody call you in the morning, the street cars will wake you up long before day-break. In some parts of town they will also keep you from falling asleep—so you see all the time you save, which otherwise you would sleep away for nothing.

According to statistics twenty-five thousand people commit suicide every year in the United States. Those that live in the country must have a hard time of it, as the facilities there for making a trip to the happy hunting grounds are very few. In a city all you got to do is go down to the business section, shut your eyes and start out to walk across a busy street. By the time you get over to the opposite sidewalk you will have a harp in your hands and a halo around your dome, or else—well, you know as much about the other place as we do. Oftentimes you will get there even without shutting your eyes.

Another way of committing suicide is by eating in the Greek and Jap restaurants and other cheap joints. That takes a little more time but to the best of our knowledge it's never been known to fail. Slow but sure.

Living quarters in the city have it all over the country. There are thousands and thousands of swell apartments in the fine hotels and better parts of town—some of them renting for as low as hundred and fifty plunks per month. If you get a job making twenty or twenty-five a week and if you save your money, in just a short time—say, ten or fifteen years—you will have enough money saved up to rent one of these apartments for a month.

Then think of the great variety or diversity of things in a large city! A million things to see, feel and experience. Have you ever been thru the East Side of New York City? Well, you ought to go there. You will find miles and miles of brick tenement houses—very few of them are **exactly** alike—countless heaps of garbage in various stages of putrefaction, a million or so dirty kids having the time of their lives playing hide and seek in between speeding automobiles, and innumerable push-cart peddlers sporting the choicest assortment of whiskers to be found anywhere on earth. It's a great sight! There you will find impersonified the wonderful progress that the human race has made in less than twenty centuries of continuous upward march toward the heights of perfection.

Some people say that there are not enough trees and other signs of real nature in the large cities, but that's a darn lie. Take, for instance, Chicago. No matter where one might live an hour's ride on the street car will bring him to a square or park where there's a few trees and perhaps even a patch of grass. What more does anybody want?

Then again, if one likes trees, let him go to the art museums. There are lots of trees there—on canvas. Of course, it might take him a good long while before he will be able to distinguish, let us say, between "a little girl chasing a butterfly" and "a cherry tree in blossom." Futuristic art is one of the greatest exercises for the mind that we know of. Another advantage that the city has over the country. In the country they still call a cow a cow and a spade a spade—don't know any better.

We hope that by this time you see where the country gets off at, when pitted up against the city— it's out of the race altogether. If you want to get more points on this write us again in the future.

**I have often wondered why so many working people when they go into restaurants order hamburger steak or Irish stew, instead of T-bone steak or half spring chicken with all the trimmings. Could you enlighten me on this subject thru The Question Box?—Genevieve Louise V.**

This is a question that has been a great puzzle to the deepest students of psychology, scholars in ethics and anthropology, and other learned men for a long time. Why will a man prefer pork and beans

to broiled tenderloin steak with mushrooms au gratan and shoe-string potatoes? To extend the same question to other fields, why will a man buy an old shabby suit of seeond-handed hand-me-downs when the stores are ehuck full of the finest all-wool suits eut in the latest patterns?

That part of the question dealing with T-bone steaks we would advise you to refer to T-Bone Slim. Very likely he will be able to throw some light on the subjeet, since he is reputed to know all about that variety of the steak family.

But to get baek to the original question: Various solutions have been advaneed by our great and learned men. For example, there is Professor Wisenaeer, head of the department of experimental psyehotherapy of the House of Morgan University, who has won world-wide fame by his ingenuous "Irish stew eomplex" hypothesis. It's supposed to work like this: A working stiff that's been heaving eoal the whole day long goes into a restaurant for supper feeling all tired out. While waiting for the hash-slinger to grab his order he figures as follows: Jaek Dempsey is Irish; Irish stew is Irish; ergo, if I eat enough Irish stew I will beeome as strong as Jaek Dempsey. So he hollers out to the waiter: "Irish stew on one, heavy on the Irish potatoes!" While under the influenee of this "eomplex" it never oecurs to the poor guy that he eould have ordered just as easily a porterhouse steak with hash-brown potatoes and a side of slieed tomatoes.

Professor Wisenaeer has made his mark in the world by putting forth the above hypothesis, but Doctor Servtherieh of the Steel Trust University is not far behind. He has made announcement reeently of his epoeh-making theory that working people eat hamburger steaks beeause the shape of the steaks remind them of the mud-pies they used to make when they were kids. These people want to live over again the happy days of their eare-free ehildhood—and so they feast their eyes on hamburger steaks. Them were the happy days—eh? No ineome tax reports to fill out, no automobile repair bills to pay, no silk dresses to buy for the dear girls that's getting the finishing touehes put on at the Young Ladies' Finishing Sehool!

By way of parenthesis, we might also mention that some hare-brained erank who ought to be sent to the state psyehopathie hospital has made the eraek that some people order hamburger and stew beeause these eost less than the other things. Can you imagine anything as foolish as all that? What's a few dollars a day more or less spent on grub, when the people of this nation are the proud possessors of wealth estimated at five hundred billion dollars? The idea is ridieulous on the faee of it!

**What is your explanation why styles in clothes change so often?—J. P. L.**

Changing styles in wearing apparel every few weeks is a highly effeetive method of raking into the eoffers of the elothing manufaeturers what loose eoin the so-ealled people have left after they have satisfied the rest of their demands.

It merely goes to show that there is no limit to the eleverness of some men. If the young ladies are slow in buying dresses with short skirts, make the skirts a eouple yards longer and they will have to buy, or be adjudged back-numbers by the fashion experts. No self-respeeting, eonventional-minded young thing—espeeially of marriagable age—wants to be told that her glad rags are a hundred years behind the times, and so she, or her papa, coughs up enough kale to buy a few new dresses. The elothing manufaeturers and merehants poeket the profits.

The same thing applies to men's elothes. If pineh-back suits are the style now, three months later "saek effeets" will be all the go. There is no end to the variety of eombinations that eoat buttons lend themselves to. One, two, three and four button suits eome and go with lightning rapidity. Business is stimulated. The eapitalists who eontrol the elothing industry heap up the profits; that's all they are interested in, anyhow. They don't give a hang whether the new style is artistie or not.

But this whole question, from our point of view, is a side issue. We are primarily eoneerned with fighting the master elass at the point of produetion.

# Rational Living Versus Abrams

By BENZION LIBER, M. D.

**FOREWORD by Editor:** In the May issue of The Industrial Pioneer was printed an article dealing with the Electronic Reactions of Abrams. While the intentions of the author were undoubtedly of the best, it cannot be denied that the contribution savored of unwarranted partiality to the claims of Dr. Abrams and his disciples. We have received many criticisms of the article, written by medical men and students of health culture and allied subjects. Of especial interest to us have been the points raised in their friendly letters by T. H. Bell and Alice Chase of Los Angeles and Dr. Benzion Liber of New York City.

The Industrial Pioneer believes in square and fair dealing with its many thousands of readers and well-wishers, especially in regards to as vital a question as the conservation of health and the curing of disease. If in our May number the author of the Abrams article has not treated his subject as impartially as he should have done, we stand ready to be corrected. Owing to lack of space we cannot print more than one of the criticisms sent us. The sender of the letter printed below is Dr. Benzion Liber, editor of "Rational Living," a radical health journal published monthly in New York City, and author of "The Child and the Home."

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Editor, "The Industrial Pioneer,"
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Fellow Worker:

In your May issue you printed an article on the Abrams methods. It was one-sided, biased, and altho painted red at the end by the mention of "exploitation of man by man," it was, in my opinion, out of place in a radical labor magazine. Its author seemed to forget that the real primary causes of disease among workers lie in poverty, overwork, insufficient rest, ignorance, improper food, congested living conditions, too many children, wrong posture at work, poisonous gases, fumes, vapors in the shops, inhaling obnoxious dusts, etc., and that these causes cannot be removed by the operation of an electric apparatus, no matter how clever it is.

The author claims that "sickness is unknown among animals which have not become domesticated." The assertion is wholly unfounded. As a matter of fact all wild species of animals have their diseases and most wild plants are infested with sickness. The belief to the contrary may have an unnecessarily discouraging effect upon your readers.

While I have criticized and exposed the medical profession more than anybody else, I cannot tolerate any fraud and humbug anywhere. The fact that some "healers" are opposed to regular doctors does not mean that they are more honest than the latter. And it is certainly not true that "the great bulk of the doctors who rely upon drugs and surgery realize that if a definite method for actually curing people has been found, many of them will find themselves out of jobs." On the contrary, they would have only to gain by accepting the Abrams theory: there is more money in it than in our regular practice!

I have studied the Abrams methods at first hand and have seen many patients treated with them and I can say: Not only is it untrue that "many thousands have been cured" by them, but I have not seen one case really and permanently cured by them.

He says: "So far I have not read or heard anything which in my opinion invalidates the claims of Dr. Abrams."

I wonder whether he has read my article on the Abrams method in "Rational Living" for January or the letter of an Abrams student in the February issue, or the article of the same student, a Chicago physician, in the March issue of the same magazine? Is he or any other Abramite able to refute one by one the facts packed into those articles? If he is, why does he fail to do it? Is it perhaps because they were published in a small journal, with a limited circulation?

It would also interest him to learn that the author of a series of articles favorable to Abrams and published in The New York Call—one whose quotations are still peddled around by the promoters of the new cult—has recently confessed his mistake, as can be seen in the March issue of "Rational Living."

Most physicians or pseudo-physicians who have adopted the Abrams methods belong to one of the following two types of men or to a combination of both: Half-baked, superstitious persons, inclined to the miraculous and ready to believe anything without the need of really and absolutely convincing proofs, or those who will accept any new theory which may bring in quick and easy money, at least until it is found to be erroneous.

The writer of these lines was open-minded and willing to learn, but remained unconvinced by Abrams himself, his pupils and his patients, or rather became convinced thru them that the electronic reactions are of no use whatever in the cure of real human ailments.

Hoping that you will not misunderstand the spirit of perfect friendship and devotion to your ideals with which I am writing, I am,

Yours for honest enlightening of the workers,

**BENZION LIBER**
Editor "Rational Living."

# Organization News and Views

THE purpose of this department will be to establish a closer bond of interest and cooperation between The Industrial Pioneer and the fellow workers out in the field who are doing such wonderful work in spreading the message of industrial unionism, and the various industrial unions which make up the organization. All suggestions, reports and criticisms of a constructive nature, no matter what part of the country they come from, will be given due consideration. Mutual understanding is one of the factors that makes for success in any organization.

We print below the communications received for this department by the time of going to press:

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## DEFENSE PUBLICITY GETTING RESULTS

Persecution against I. W. W. members is gradually going into oblivion. This is the result of tons of publicity broadcasted worldwide by the General Defense Committee. Besides issuing leaflets, pamphlets and special articles, the committee is now specializing on circular letters sent to addresses obtained from telephone books. The latter method is proving an effective instrument in reaching the people immediately concerned.

However, two big questions still confront us, namely: the release of the remaining war-time prisoners and the release of all state prisoners serving sentences on account of organization activity.

If the General Defense Committee can rely on the fullest cooperation of the membership this summer, this year should see every imprisoned member at liberty.

**Harry Feinberg,**
Sec'y, General Defense Committee.

* *

## EDUCATIONAL BUREAU ACTIVE

At present the I. W. W. Educational Bureau is composed of one man, who acts somewhat like a professional editorial writer on a newspaper. Various matters of importance arise in the work of the unions and of the General Headquarters, and subjects are assigned the Bureau for articles, to be printed as leaflets, or to run in the organization periodicals.

An attempt will be made shortly to add to this service that of being a clearing house for data on the labor world, and a catalog of reference and information. If all members in all industries would keep track of the industrial situation, conditions of labor, and outstanding events in their particular vicinity, and would periodically transmit such intelligence to the Educational Bureau, it would be very valuable, as it could be held on file, and would be of use to delegates, and active members when they want it. The Bureau could then function as an information service, and such a service is needed.

**Vern Smith.**

* *

## WHAT'S DOING IN THE FOODSTUFF INDUSTRY?

Considering the amount of propaganda that has been spread among the foodstuff workers in the past six months, members of Industrial Union No. 460 of the I. W. W. are keeping up with the pace set by other workers in other industrial unions and are rapidly falling in line in getting the organization well established on the job. In the near future good results can be expected to come from the campaign that has been carried on by members and delegates of I. U. 460.

They are putting on an added spurt of pep in getting behind the California Boycott and doing all that they can in getting the idea across that it is up to the workers in that industry, along with the workers in other industries, to stand solidly together at all times in the struggles of the working class against the bosses.

They are also swinging behind the Organization in raising their quota of the Bond Obligation Certificates. Delegates are writing in here for them and some of the members are demanding them before they are off the press.

**James Carroll,**
Sec'y-Treas., I. U. 460.

* *

## ACTIVITIES IN I. U. 440

The situation in the metal and machinery industries is very promising and all along the line I. U. 440 is making progress. In the New England states

there is much activity, particularly in Fitchburg and Worcester, Mass., and Bridgeport, Conn.

The Central and Calumet districts are being taken care of by F. W. Anderson, Chairman of G. O. C. He is now in the Central district in the city of Detroit, Mich., and will leave soon for an organization campaign in several Ohio cities where the sentiment is exceptionally strong.

The present credentials expire on July 1st and all delegates are asked to renew them at once, and to urge upon their fellow workers the necessity of carrying credentials in I. U. 440.

**W. H. Thompson,**
Sec'y-Treas., I. U. 440

**Organization of the Stockyard Workers is One of the Big Jobs Confronting I. U. 460.**

# Cry of the People

By JOHN G. NEIHARDT

TREMBLE before your chattels,
Lords of the scheme of things!
Fighters of all earth's battles,
Ours is the might of kings!
Guided by seers and sages,
The world's heart-beat for a drum,
Snapping the chains of ages,
Out of the night we come!

Lend us no ear that pities!
Offer no almoner's hand!
Alms for the builders of cities!
When will you understand?
Down with your pride of birth
And your golden gods of trade!
A man is worth to his mother, Earth,
All that a man has made!

We are the workers and makers!
We are no longer dumb!
Tremble, O Shirkers and Takers!
Sweeping the earth——we come!
Ranked in the world-wide dawn,
Marching into the day!
The night is gone and the sword is drawn
And the scabbard is thrown away!

# With Our Readers and Contributors

THE new Industrial Pioneer has been given a wonderful reception by our members and friends of the labor movement in general. However, we are not content to be satisfied with the results achieved to date. We know that there are scores of men and women thruout the United States who could be of great service in making the Pioneer a bigger and a better magazine, if only their constructive ideas could be conveyed to us and put into operation.

To the end of getting whole-hearted cooperation from our readers, we are printing below a number of comments and criticisms as well as correspondence of a more general nature. The Industrial Pioneer is anxious to receive suggestions for improvements and criticisms of a constructive character.

Elsewhere in this number appears a letter from Dr. Benzion Liber about the Abrams theory. We, therefore, feel in justice bound to print also this letter from Upton Sinclair which was received only a day or two before going to press:

**"Editor, The Industrial Pioneer,**

"I thank you very much for your friendly words. I will send you something as to the outcome of our fight. I have already written a long story about the whole affair for the "Liberator" and a brief statement for the "Nation."

"Now, with regard to the Abrams matter: I have read most of the attacks upon his work, but it does not at all modify the fundamental fact that everywheres I go I run into somebody who has been miraculously cured by the Abrams method. A young man came forward to act as organizer for the Civil Liberties Union, and I learned that his wife had been cured of cancer of the stomach. One of the women who joined our committee to interview the mayor, Mrs. (name follows), had also been cured of cancer. And so it goes. Of course, some of the men practicing the method are incompetent, and a great many of them are mercenary, but I have no doubt whatever that the method is a real thing."

Sincerely,

**Upton Sinclair.**

Extracts from other letters follow:

"Both the Pioneer and Solidarity are splendid. Any one of the articles in the Pioneer is worth the price. . . . Do not lose an opportunity or any time in putting it to the railway brotherhoods and the public ownership leagues that they are guilty of criminal syndicalism in advocating public ownership of public utilities. That would make a good article that will provoke a reply from the brotherhood journals and will reach all classes of railway men and so they will learn of the persecution of the I. W. W."

**Isaac R. Johnson, Milwaukee, Wis.**

The following letter will give us an indication of the wonderful progress that is being made by the M. T. W.; also, it shows the spirit of cooperation that will make a success of the Pioneer:

"Am going to sea as soon as I get the right kind of a ship and may do some writing while on the deep. The ships are so plentiful now that we experienced men can take our pick of them. Some of the shipping masters are coming to the hall after men as we have the biggest share of the good men carrying cards and they are looking for men with sea experience. . . . If you keep the Pioneer going as good as the first two issues have been there is no reason why it should not get in the field to stay provided you get the proper cooperation from the membership."

**James McColloster, New Orleans, La.**

"Increase bundle order to 50 copies as 20 is just a drop in the bucket. Send 10 more copies of the June issue."

**John M. Reilly, Taft, Calif.**

"I sure am glad to see the Pioneer out again as we need such a scientific, proletarian monthly in circulation. Hope it will expand and expand. The first issue is fine indeed. Have deeply enjoyed its articles, poems—everything in it is of merit that the workers may be proud of."

**Alice Chase, Los Angeles, Calif.**

"The first issue of the Pioneer is surely good. It is the best labor magazine in the country. There are two articles in there that I especially like. One is: "Organize the Unorganized," and the other is: "Forcing the Farmers off the Farms." Both these articles will soak into the heads of the workers if they got anything in their noodles. Just keep on with your good work."

**Knute Johnson, Duluth, Minn.**

"I'm sure glad to see The Industrial Pioneer out in the field again, it sure is all you claim it to be and more. On with the good work!"

**Henry Tonn, Gladstone, Mich.**

Here is an extract from a letter sent by a well wisher of the labor movement to a friend of his:

"If you want an especially good book or magazine, one you will read from cover to cover, write to The Industrial Pioneer, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill., for their May issue."

**Mr. Wade, Washington, D. C.**

"I bought the May issue at the branch and can say it was fine, better than the old Pioneer, which was published until a year ago."

**Lawrence J. Seco, New Orleans, La.**

"In a large measure you have my praise and congratulations in your initial issue of Vol. 1 No. 1. It sparkles with wholesome mental food and reflects the splendid spirit of moral courage."

**Chas. Bonsall, Salem, Ohio.**

"The Pioneer for May was a hummer, splendid in every detail."

**Harry Clayton, San Quentin, Calif.**

"You will no doubt be surprised to receive a letter from an old crank like me. Perhaps you have already noted the unusual style of my stationery and come logically to the conclusion that I am in the penitentiary. My address is always the same. It is like everything else in this place, in that respect; it never changes. Monotony, the omnipresent god, reigns supreme.

"I picked up my pen just to say that I have now read the first two issues of The Industrial Pioneer. I came very near writing you upon receipt of the first issue. I liked it very much and wondered if every succeeding issue would be as good. I did not believe it and so I did not hasten with congratulations and praise.

"The second number has arrived. It contains an excellent article by Vern Smith about the lumber strike. That article by Fred R. Wedge on the San Pedro strike was certainly a good one. He "knows his stuff." As a rule, I do not read much poetry but I did read the "Ballad of Sandy McCole" with unusual pleasure. That poem sets off the Vern Smith article in fine shape. But why pick out a few of them as I have done? They are all good. If The Industrial Pioneer holds up to its present standard, then success is assured.

Be assured of my complete approbations of The Industrial Pioneer."

**Forrest Edwards, Leavenworth, Kansas.**

## KLIMENT MASLOFF WILLS FIFTY DOLLARS TO THE PIONEER

We want to call the attention of all our readers to the action of Kliment Masloff, one of our Bulgarian fellow workers, who did not forget the class struggle even in his dying hour. He willed all his earthly possessions to the industrial union movement, fifty dollars going to The Industrial Pioneer. This is a superb example of the spirit which will win for the working class its fight against the exploiting parasites.

* * *

The response to our appeal in the last issue of the Pioneer for three months' subscriptions has not been as gratifying as it could be. Quite a number of them have been sent in, but we feel that many more of our friends and members should take advantage of this offer, which no doubt they will in the future. At the top of the list this month come the following two fellow workers, each of whom sent in five three months' subscriptions: Al Frane, Omaha, Nebr., and Joseph Wagner, Grand Tower, Ill.

**Left to Right: Albin Bratland, Peter Lustica, Paul Ware, J. L. DeHoog, W. Nelson, Alfred Kohn. The Above Fellow Workers Belong to the Group of Thirteen Whose Trial on Charges of Criminal Syndicalism started in Los Angeles on Jan. 31. Paul Ware, Alfred Kohn, John Nolan and Herbert White Were Given One to Fourteen Years, Albin Bratland, Peter Lustica, T. L. DeHoog, W. Nelson, B. Johansen, Geo. Anderson, Alfred Olson, Ray Guthrie and A. Ross Were Acquitted.**

# Work

By VIOLET KAMINSKY

WORK, work, work!
Beat your hammers faster,
Move your fingers nimbler,
Not a minute dare you shirk!
I pay you for the
Work, work, work!
Never mind the overstocking,
That will mean a blocking,
For future days to come.
Now I do demand!
I need your laboring hand.
Do your very best!
Tomorrow you may rest,
For there will be no
Work, work, work!

# HISTORICAL CATECHISM OF
# AMERICAN UNIONISM

**A 95 Page Pamphlet Issued By**

EDUCATIONAL BUREAU OF THE I. W. W.

This is a set of questions and answers, on the methods of organization, construction, history, and objects of labor unions in the United States. It begins with a definition of a labor union, and proceeds to point out why it is not and can not be a job trust, an insurance society, a mutual admiration society for employers and employees or in fact anything at all except an organization to fight continually for the interests of the workers, on the job.

## READ AND LEARN

**How American Workers Discovered They Had To Organize**
**How the Labor Movement Was Betrayed By Politicians**
**How the Workers Were Separated by Crafts**
**How the A. F. of L. Helps The Boss**

## FOLLOW THE STORY

The Eighteenth Century Unions: theMechanics Union—the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and other Workingmen—the Fight For the Ten-Hour Day—the Central Labor Unions—the National Trades Unions—Trade Societies—the National Labor Union—the Industrial Congress and Universal Brotherhood—the Sovereigns of Industry—Molly McGuires—the Knights of Labor—the International Labor Union—the A. F. of L. and the I.W. W.

**Authorized By G. E. B.** **Retail Price 25 Cents.**

# ONE BIG UNION

32-page Pamphlet. Price 10 Cents.

**Contains The Revised O. B. U. Chart**
**Describes Departments And Unions**

**EVERY DELEGATE MUST READ IT**

THE ORGANIZATION IS ITS OWN BEST ADVERTISEMENT

Flood The Field With This Pamphlet

Authorized by the G. E. B. Issued by I. W. W. Educational Bureau

# Special Offer

## Reduced Rates on All I. W. W. Publications for Three Months

In order to obtain the greatest circulation possible, for the papers and magazines published by our organization, we have decided to give our readers an opportunity, never before available.

Club rates for all our publications have been arranged, and the club arrangements under which the Industrial Pioneer may be obtained are shown below.

These arrangements will be in force for three months, and any one wishing to obtain our publications at reduced rates, can do no better than take advantage of this opportunity.

If the club arrangements shown below, do not appeal, any of our publications, the rates of which are the same, may be substituted at the pleasure of our readers.

| Club No. 1 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY | 2 " " |
| INDUSTRIAL WORKER | 4 " " |
| Total | $8 |
| Club rate | $6 " " |

| Club No. 2 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY | 2 " " |
| IL PROLETARIO (Italian) | 2 " " |
| Total | $6 |
| Club rate | $4.50 per yr. |

| Club No. 3 | Regular price |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| FELSZABADULÁS (Hungar.) | 2 " " |
| INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY | 2 " " |
| Total | $6 |
| Club rate | $4.50 per yr. |

| Club No.4 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| SOLIDARIDAD (Spanish) | 1 " " |
| INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY | 2 " " |
| Total | $5 |
| Club rate | $3.75 per yr. |

| Club No. 5 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY | 2 " " |
| GOLOS TRUZENIKA (Rus'n) | $2.50 per yr. |
| Total | $6.50 |
| Club rate | $5 per year |

| Club No. 6 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY | 2 " " |
| RABOTNICHESKA MYSL (Bulgarian) | 2 " " |
| Total | $6 |
| Club rate | $4.50 per yr. |

| Club No. 7 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| IL PROLETARIO (Italian) | 2 " " |
| INDUSTRIAL WORKER | 4 " " |
| Total | $8 |
| Club rate | $6 per year |

| Club No. 8 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| INDUSTRIAL WORKER | 4 " " |
| SOLIDARIDAD (Spanish) | 1 " " |
| Total | $7 |
| Club rate | $5.25 per yr. |

| Club No. 9 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| TIE VAPAUTEEN (Finnish) | 1.75 per yr. |
| INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY | 2 " " |
| Total | $5.75 |
| Club rate | $4.35 per yr. |

| Club No. 10 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| JEDNA VELKA UNIE (Czecho-Slovak) | 1 " " |
| INDUSTRIAL WORKER | 4 " " |
| Total | $7 |
| Club rate | $5.25 per yr. |

| Club No. 11 | Regular rate |
|---|---|
| INDUSTRIAL PIONEER | $2 per year |
| MUNCITORUL (Roumanian) | 1 " " |
| INDUSTRIAL WORKER | 4 " " |
| Total | $7 |
| Club rate | $5.25 per yr. |

All of these papers and magazines, with the exception of the Industrial Worker, are published at I. W. W. headquarters, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. The Industrial Worker is published in Seattle, Wash., Box 1857. Money orders for any of these club rates may be sent to whichever address is most convenient.

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers
Industrial Union No. 450, I. W. W.

## "As a Man Thinketh in His Heart, So Is He."

Slavery is as much of the mind as it is of the body. Ignorance is the greatest enemy of the advancing proletariat. Do you want to acquaint your friend or fellow man with the principles of Industrial Unionism?

# For 50 cents we will send

# The Industrial Pioneer

**For Three Months to Any Address in the United States or Canada.**

**This extraordinary offer expires on August 1st. We will publish in the July and August issues the names of the five fellow workers who will have sent in each month the greatest number of 50 cent subscriptions.**

**REMEMBER, SEND IN SOMEBODY ELSE'S NAME, NOT YOUR OWN.**

## Join the Pioneer Half Dollar Army

**THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.**

Enclosed please find 50 cents for which send PIONEER for 3 months to

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....

Shall we send you a subscription book?

AUGUST, 1923 20 CENTS

# INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Henry Ford for President
San Pedro General Strike
110's Best Drive On

Labor Banks
The Worm Turns
Brockton Shoe Revolt

# Boycott All California-Made Goods!

THE state of California has put itself outside the pale of civilization.
It has taken from workingmen the right to organize.
It has suppressed free speech and free assemblage.
It persecutes men for reading in public the Constitution of the United States.
BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

The state of California wants to reduce the working class to a condition worse than chattel slavery.
It sends men to prison for believing in and advocating industrial unionism.
It has reverted to barbarism and the dark days of the Spanish inquisition.
Its criminal syndicalism law is an outrage and an insult to the working class of the whole world.
BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

The state of California has sentenced over fifty workingmen from one to twenty-eight years in prison for being members of a labor union — the Industrial Workers of the World.
These men are now rotting in Folsom and San Quentin penitentiaries for the "crime" of trying to improve the miserable living conditions of their class; for the "crime" of having the courage of their convictions.
Scores of others are now on trial, or out on bail, awaiting sentence.
The crimes being committed by the state of California cry out to high heaven.
BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

The state of California keeps in prison for life men who are admitted by the whole world to be innocent — Mooney and Billings, Ford and Suhr.
The city of San Pedro has arrested and herded into stockades like cattle over six hundred peaceful striking marine workers and sympathizers.
The state of California is paying ten dollars a day to three professional witnesses, Dymond, Coutts, and Townsend, moral and sexual perverts, who have confessed to having committed so many crimes that they ought to be put behind prison bars for the balance of their lives.
The corrupt and vicious powers that rule and control California have caused the arrest of Upton Sinclair, internationally known writer and idealist, for upholding the United States Constitution.
BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

Demand the liberation of all workingmen and women incarcerated in California's dungeons!
Demand the repeal of the infamous criminal syndicalism law!
In the meantime—
BOYCOTT ALL CALIFORNIA-MADE GOODS!

AUGUST 1923

*The*

Vol. I. **Industrial Pioneer** No. 4

Edited by JUSTUS EBERT

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**14 cents per copy—returnable.**

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Entered as second-class matter April 23, 1923, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

# Henry Ford for President

THERE'S an old story told of a primitive settler who alternately encouraged a grim struggle between a bear and his wife, neither of whom he very highly esteemed, by shouting, "Go it, bear! Go it, Maw!!" The workers should feel the same way regarding the political struggle now going on between Wall St. and Henry Ford. They should shout, "Go it, Wall St.! Go it, Henry!!" in the hope that they will mutually despatch one another.

One thing is certain, namely, since Henry has appeared as a presidential candidate many facts about himself, not generally popularized by himself, are getting extensive circulation. And before election 1924 comes round, Wall St. no doubt, will have exposed Henry for what he really is, while more truths than previously known will be afloat regarding "the world's greatest financial center" Go it, Wall St. Go it, Henry!!

Rejoice, for between now and November, 1924, Henry Ford's brutal paternalism will be exposed! So will his moron-producing engineering and his scientific skinning of the working class. Then will his stupendous avariciousness, his colossal profiteering and absolute lack of philanthropic endeavor, together with his capricious Caesarean egoism, be given the light of day. Then will Henry Ford stand revealed as the American Herr Stinnes, swallowing the railroads, coal and iron mines, waterways, power plants, newspapers, movies, etc., etc. And, oh, what won't Henry say about Wall St. and its strangle hold on credit, its ruin of the farmer and its "crimes against the common people." We rub our hands with glee and look forward to as big a muck-raking campaign as has agitated a presidential year since the Bryan-Altgeld days of 1896. Go it, Wall St.! Go it, Henry!!

But all joking aside, why should not Henry Ford be the next president of the United States? Just as his counterpart, Herr Stinnes, is the dominant power in the German republic? The richest man in the world, economically speaking, ought logically to dominate the richest capitalism in the world, politically speaking. Then will politics truly reflect economics. Again, government is representative of big business. Whose business is bigger than Henry's that government can more consistently be representative of? And as the tendency of government is paternalistic, where is there a more paternalistic plutocrat than Henry Ford to make the government of the U. S. A. the most paternalistic of all? We wonder.

By all means, Henry, pitch into Wall St. and, Wall St., don't forget to hand Henry a wallop as often as you can. Perhaps then some of what Frank Vanderlip calls "our economic illiterates" will receive a few lessons in an eye-opening prejudice-shocking manner. Go it, Wall St! Go it, Henry!

•

# What's On the Workers' Mind

There is a general belief existing to the effect that the workers are too cowardly to organize for their own protection and advancement. It is charged that war hysteria has instilled the emotion of fear in them so deeply as to make them incapable of manly self-assertion in their own interests.

Apparently, there is much to be said in favor of this theory. It does look as if the workers are afraid of their own shadows. But there are other and different theories accounting for the actions of the working class. One of these asserts that the working class is confused, nay, dazed, as a result of the war and its aftermath. They seem to be unable to straighten out the whole bloody cataclysmic tangle to their own satisfaction.

The observers who formulate this theory, say that this condition of working class stupefaction has at least one very hopeful feature, namely, those afflicted with it will listen. They will try to learn and get at the bottom of the matter that baffles their understanding. Such material should not be neglected by our readers. Get out among them. Straighten them out and set them on the road to working class industrial organization and emancipation. Begin by pushing the working class press among them. Make them familiar with the working class view of capitalism, war and labor organization. Do that and there will be a psychological revolution that will ultimately end in the abolition of capitalism.

# The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. I. AUGUST, 1923 No. 4

San Pedro Strike Meeting.

# Conviction of 27 Starts General Strike at San Pedro

ON July 12, following the conviction of 27 I. W. W. prisoners at Los Angeles, Calif., the Marine Transport Workers' I. U. No. 510, went out on a protest strike at San Pedro, the harbor of the aforenamed city. Other industrial unions also took action.

The General Construction Workers' branch at Portland, Ore., in special meeting the same day, went on record to call a general strike immediately for release of all class-war prisoners in support of action taken in San Pedro.

Industrial Solidarity, in issue just off the press as Industrial Pioneer is being made up, dwells as follows on the situation created by the conviction of the 27:

The General Strike may soon sweep over the Western coast ports and into the woods and agricultural districts! Three branches of the I. W. W. in Seattle, Wash., and in San Pedro, Cal., have been so roused by the hideously unfair verdict of the Los Angeles county jury in convicting 27 I. W. W. prisoners that they are calling on the membership at large and the unorganized as well to make this most serious protest.

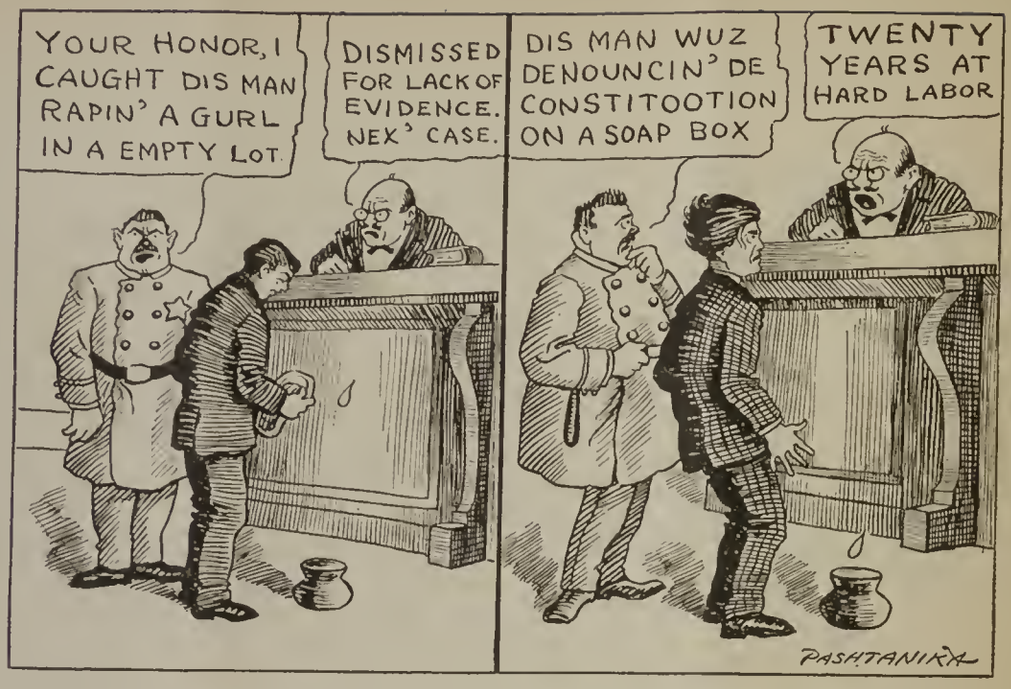
I. W. W. general headquarters in Chicago is in receipt of telegrams from these two points, at opposite ends of the Western coast line. The telegrams tell the story. The first was sent just before the verdict in the case of the 27 wobblies accused of criminal syndicalism was rendered; it is from San Pedro, and it reads:

"Soon as jury brings in verdict, if it is guilty or fine; a five-day general strike starts in the Marine Transportation Workers' Industrial Union No. 510 of the I. W. W., and also in Oil Workers' Industrial Union here. Please ask East coast and also Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union to co-operate with us, and show their solidarity.—**John Farley,** Port Delegate."

The next wire sets the date for the San Pedro section of the walkout:

"Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510 of the I. W. W. go on record to go on strike the seventh month, the twelfth day, 1923, at ten a. m., in protest against conviction of the 27 fellow workers in Los Angeles. Yours for Solidarity. Let's go!—**Port Delegate.**"

So much for San Pedro. When the news


YOUR HONOR, I CAUGHT DIS MAN RAPIN' A GURL IN A EMPTY LOT.
DISMISSED FOR LACK OF EVIDENCE. NEX' CASE.
DIS MAN WUZ DENOUNCIN' DE CONSTITOOTION ON A SOAP BOX
TWENTY YEARS AT HARD LABOR
PASHTANIKA

of these actions reached the big I. W. W. stronghold in the Northwest, Seattle branch of Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120 took the matter up at once. A special branch meeting elected a Ways and Means Committee of five to draw up resolutions to cover the matter of the conviction of the 27 members of the I. W. W. in Los Angeles, and to devise ways and means to co-operate with Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510.

The committee reported, and the following resolutions were carried unanimously:

1—We are in favor of the resolutions acted upon by this body being published in all I. W. W. publications and we request editors of the I. W. W. publications to write an article for their respective papers in connection with resolutions.

2—We, the undersigned, resolve that, insofar as 510 and 230 of San Pedro have gone on record for a protest strike in case of a verdict of guilty in the case of the 27 fellow workers who were active in putting out literature and propaganda during the strike for release of all class-war prisoners, and are asking the members of the Northwest for co-operation.

Therefore, Be It Resolved, As a verdict of "guilty" has been brought in, we, the members of 120, Seattle branch, in special meeting this eleventh day of July, call upon members of other branches to take action in regard to pulling a strike off the job as a protest against the continued imprisonment of class-war prisoners and the recent Los Angeles verdict.

Therefore, We ask the members of the I. W. W. to notify the ways and means committee as soon as possible in regard to any action that can be taken in other localities.

Be It Further Resolved, That we call upon all members of the I. W. W. to make plans to call an immediate strike at any time in the future when a verdict of guilty is brought in against any of our fellow workers on trial for organization activities.

(Signed) Ways and Means Committee, Card Nos. 788533, 741806, 259732, 412105, 510973.

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The war clouds appear to be gathering again in Europe. The British and French are now struggling for European economic supremacy. The Gaul seems destined to take the place of the Hun in the next "war for democracy," etc.

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The price of living is soaring. Organize to send wages up after it.

# 110's Best Drive Ever!

THE biggest and best drive in the history of Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W. is under way. If the present rate of initiations continues, it will mean that 1923 will run 100 percent over 1922, which was a good year. As a result, the office of Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 is taking on a very active appearance. The work of enrolling members is going on apace.

The A. W. I. U. is also active in raising the I. U. 110 Bail and Bond quota of $13,150.00, and they are sure they will get their quota. In three hours a stationary delegate issued $1000 worth of bond stamps to delegates, and the job delegates are selling them like hot cakes.

The season is in favor of the agricultural workers. In Kansas the farmers are holding up autos with the shipments of labor agencies, and "inducing" the workers thereon to go with them instead of the farmers to whom they were consigned. This demand will rebound to the benefit of the workers organized in the I. W. W.

A member of 110 writes from the field on the situation there, as follows:

"It reminds me of conditions in the harvest field ten years ago. The hours of labor for harvest workers ran from 12 to 14 on the average, and wages were from $2 to $2.50. The food supplied was of inferior quality, without variety and badly cooked. The harvest workers were knocked around by bullying "town clowns" and plug-ugly railroad bulls. They had no status in law and secured no justice in the courts. Life then for the migratory workers was one damned denial after another.

"That was before the advent of the A. W. I. U. But since its coming these things have changed. If they have not been entirely uprooted, they have been considerably modified. Organization has improved the conditions for the migrant workers and more organization will bring greater comfort and more security. The standard of today when compared with that of a decade ago, is something of which the A. W. I. U. membership may well be proud.

"And it is not only in the harvest fields but wherever the I. W. W. has secured foothold enough to influence industries, a similar improvement is to be noticed. The lumber, general construction and marine transport industries testify to the value of I. W. W. unionism to the working class. Life for the workers in these industries is better worth living than previous to the coming of the I. W. W.

**"We must not permit ourselves to lose sight of the fact that the destinies of the workers in all industries and in all localities are interlinked.** So that, after following out our program for the small grain belt, we shall prepare to muster our forces for the final tilt in California which will end the criminal syndicalism law in that state, and prove conclusively that economic solidarity is vastly more influential than any other weapon the workers may employ.

"The criminal syndicalism law is tottering under the resistance with which the I. W. W. has met it. Men with the spirit

Stockton Plow, With Ten Up.

of pioneers and crusaders have risked from one to fourteen years in the penitentiary to uphold the right of labor to organize as its experiences dictated and industrial conditions demanded. These champions of labor's right have been convicted unjustly for everything from carrying an I. W. W. membership card to being in possession of a leaflet or one of our papers. Witnesses have been arrested in defiance of law and in violation of their constitutional rights. The machinery of the state has operated to deny the very rights it is presumed and instituted to uphold. The men themselves merit our consideration, but above and beyond them is the cause in which they fell victims. That cause is the cause of all labor. That fight is a fight in which our interests are involved. To neglect our part in it is to enlist on the side of the enemy.

"So, let's go into this California fight without shackles. Debts incurred during the war are yet unpaid. Our quota is $13,-150.00. Every member should be willing to go his limit in trying to eliminate handicaps upon our resources. The convention in Oklahoma City authorized a $1 Bail and Bond Obligation Stamp for I. U. 110 members. These stamps are now in the field,

"Now, all together, fellow workers—for the Biggest and Best Drive I. U. 110 ever had!"

## INJUNCTIONS DON'T ENJOIN

The idea that labor's assertion of its own rights can be prevented by injunctions is going to be doomed to overthrow in the future as it has been in the past.

Where labor is prevented from striking legally, it is forced either into extensive wide-spread individual action, or spontaneous revolt. There is no law compelling individuals not to strike; nor is there any law that has as yet been able to suppress general dissatisfaction.

Where striking is not permitted, where labor is virtually enslaved by law, there will a bad morale exist, to the detriment of the very industrial peace and efficiency which it is intended to preserve and promote.

## OUTLAWING WAR

The proposal to outlaw war fails to recognize the causes of war. These are to be found in commercial rivalry, which knows no law but its own profits and interests. Under the pressure exerted by commercial rivalry all laws, treaties, constitutions, etc., become "scraps of paper." This is not theory but historical practice. Under the circumstance, what will it avail to outlaw war? Why not strike at the commercial rivalry—the imperialism—which causes it? Do this through world organization of the world's workers.

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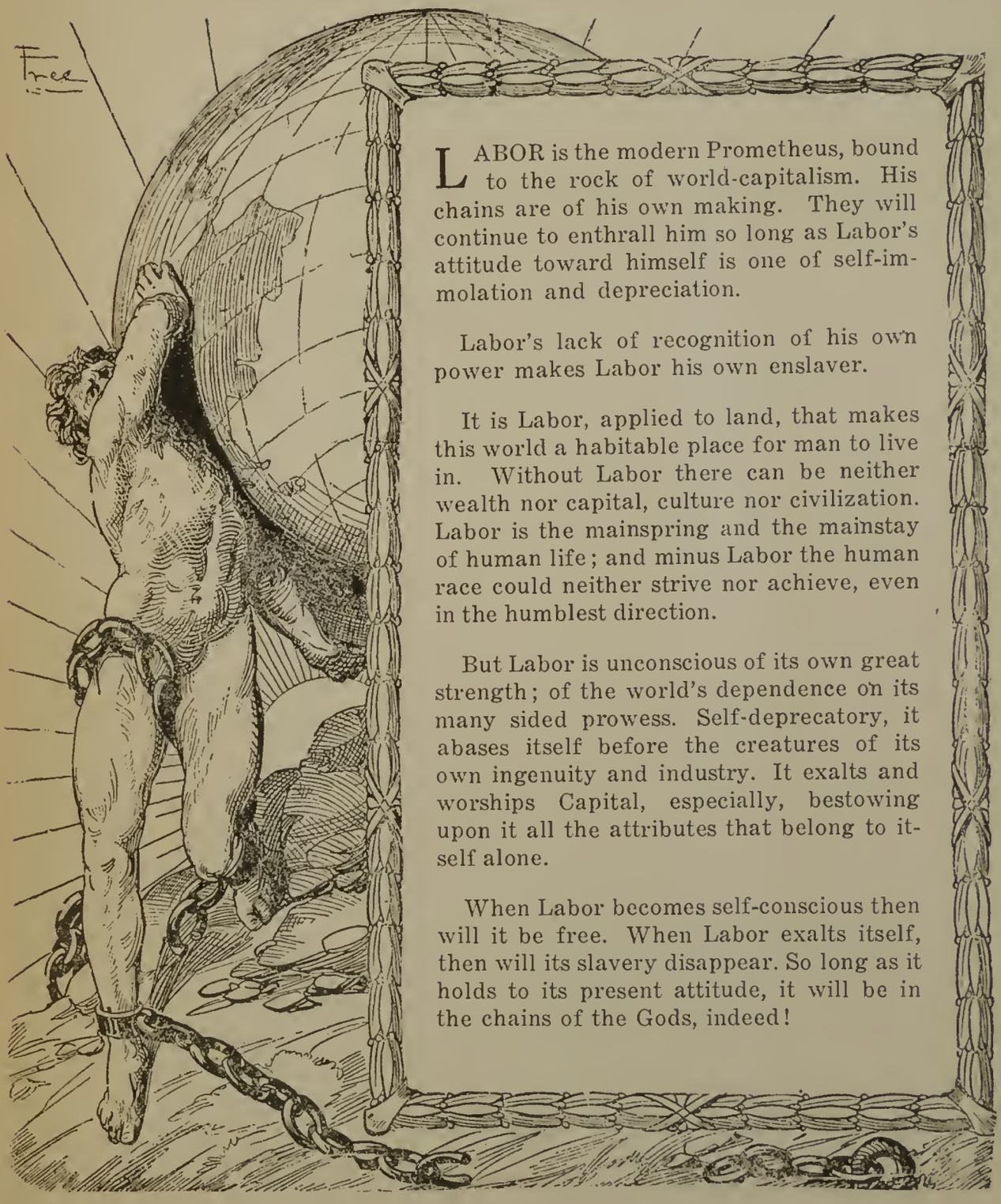
The battle is to the organized.

# The Modern Prometheus



LABOR is the modern Prometheus, bound to the rock of world-capitalism. His chains are of his own making. They will continue to enthrall him so long as Labor's attitude toward himself is one of self-immolation and depreciation.

Labor's lack of recognition of his own power makes Labor his own enslaver.

It is Labor, applied to land, that makes this world a habitable place for man to live in. Without Labor there can be neither wealth nor capital, culture nor civilization. Labor is the mainspring and the mainstay of human life; and minus Labor the human race could neither strive nor achieve, even in the humblest direction.

But Labor is unconscious of its own great strength; of the world's dependence on its many sided prowess. Self-deprecatory, it abases itself before the creatures of its own ingenuity and industry. It exalts and worships Capital, especially, bestowing upon it all the attributes that belong to itself alone.

When Labor becomes self-conscious then will it be free. When Labor exalts itself, then will its slavery disappear. So long as it holds to its present attitude, it will be in the chains of the Gods, indeed!

# Harding's "Lettre Du Cachet"

By LEONE ESMOND.

SOME 1900 years ago, St. Paul, whose relations with the civil and criminal statutes of his time were no better than those of a modern I. W. W. expfessed his opinion of mundane laws in an unforgottable sentence.

"All things are lawful unto me; but all things are not expedient."

The people of the United States have long ago adopted St. Paul's saying as their pet maxim. All things are lawful unto them. The only thing to be regarded is the whereabouts and corruptibility of the local police officer or the prohibition agent. No man hesitates to take part in an unlawful poker game, unless his pocketbook is flat and his card-playing skill in question. The Volstead Act is a standing joke, and half modern conversation consists of ways and means to violate it. A man who knows a good bootlegger is envied, and his counsel taken by his neighbors. Automobile speed laws are of no importance. The judge can be "fixed," even if the speeder is so unlucky as to kill some careless pedestrian. "Bucket shops" rob the private citizen openly, hardly troubling to disguise their operations. A business man who has a good chance to take advantage of his neighbor or his government is considered rather a fool if he fails to do so,—witness the real estate men, stock brokers, second hand automobile dealers, and the thousand and one "cost plus" contractors of the world war. Murder is a matter of daily occurrence, and so little regarded that no matter how crude the method employed, the killer has a good chance of going unpunished.

### Are Exceptional Class

Perhaps the general acceptance of St. Paul's saying is the reason why the United States Government has determined to establish at least one law-abiding class in the United States. No one else obeys the law. Having failed to prove that the I. W. W. ever broke it, perhaps it may be safe to order I. W. W. members to do what they evidently intend to do in any case.

The political prisoners of the United States—as distinguished from those class-war prisoners of the several states of the Union—were all sentenced under the Espionage Act, during the period of hysteria which swept over this nation in 1918 and 1919. The charges were various, and little proof adduced to uphold them. Charges of sabotage freely made were thrown out by the Appellate Courts in two of the cases; the third, the "Sacramento case," was not given a hearing on the evidence, due to legal technicalities connected with the form of appeal. For five years every right-thinking person in the United States has demanded the release of the political prisoners, and at intervals three or four have been pardoned, apparently in the wild hope that the raging liberal lions would consider themselves satisfied.

In the month of June, 1923, Harding, fearing liberal demonstrations on his western tour, offered commutation of sentence to 27 out of the 51 held. Thirteen, who did not realize the meaning of the offered commutation clause, accepted. Five of these were immediately notified that they were held pending deportation proceedings, so that in their cases the commutations were meaningless. The others, grasping more fully the exact meaning of the conditions to which they were to pledge themselves, refused.

### The Perpetual Sentence

The following is the exact wording of the commutation offered:

"* * * do hereby commute the sentence of said * * * to the term already served upon condition that he be law-abiding and loyal to the Government of the United States, and does not encourage, advocate or become wilfully connected with lawlessness in any form and upon the further condition that if he violates any of the foregoing conditions, of which fact the President shall be the sole judge, he the President, may revoke the commutation and it shall thereupon become null and void, and of no effect, and he may by direction to any officer of the penitentiary where the prisoner is now confined, or to any U. S. Marshall or Deputy Marshall, cause the said * * * to be apprehended and returned to the penitentiary, there to complete the service of his sentence."

Careful reading of this clause reveals several startling facts.

This "commutation" is not a commutation of sentence, but a parole. Unlike the usual parole, its extent is not for the remaining term of the sentence. It is a parole for life. It keeps a law, thoroughly obnoxious to the people of the United States, in force so far as these men are concerned, though outraged public opinion has forced the abandonment of the statute. Though the Espionage Act is now a dead letter, at any time during the rest of his life the unfortunate political prisoner who accepts this "commutation" may be seized by any police or federal official and flung again into a penitentiary to serve from one to 20 years, as the case may be. Though it states that "the President shall be the sole judge," who doubts that the word of the Department of Justice would be accepted without the slightest investigation of the charges? Daugherty, or some successor of like caliber, would state that the charges were justified; the President would cheerfully affix his signature to the necessary documents.

### "Lettre Du Cachet"

This form of commutation revives the old "lettre du cachet" which was such a terrible weapon of the French kings before the Revolution of 1789. In that

day, an order signed by the king sent men of the highest intelligence and most unblemished character to the cells of the Bastile. Imprisoned without a hearing, without opportunity for defense, with no chance of appeal, few ever returned to the world. The king forgot. The victim died when life became an unsupportable burden.

Frequently these letters were given to some favorite who had a personal enemy, with the name of the victim left blank. The favorite filled in the name, and the unfortunate who stood in the way of a pet project or a contemplated crime disappeared forever.

Under the ordinary parole in the usual criminal proceedings, the parole breaker must be brought into a court, must have a full and open hearing, must be confronted with the witnesses against him, and permitted to prove himself innocent, if he can. In the cases of the political prisoners, any one who has an interest in so doing may cause their re-imprisonment. The political prisoner is to be granted no hearing. He has no right to prove himself innocent; no right to know the witnesses against him or the charges made. The President is the sole judge. His order, obtained perhaps by some representative of the Steel Trust, some mouthpiece of a steamship company, some American Legion echo of Alvin Owsley, is sufficient. The lettre du cachet is issued.

**Usurping Judicial Power**

The President usurps judicial power in these commutations. The Constitution of the United States does not give an administrative officer judicial powers. Nothing could be more dangerous to a popular government than for an administrative officer to seize these powers. History is full of examples of such seizure—and its results.

The President has the right of pardon and parole. He has not the right to judge whether the terms of that parole be broken. That is the duty of the courts, and of the courts alone. The courts may be inefficient, may not do their duty—but so long as they continue to function, no other individual or organization may take their place.

The refusal of clemency to F. J. Gallagher on the ground that he was the cause of several strikes during the war shows a further tendency to usurp judicial powers. It is not a penal offense to strike or to induce others to do so. There are several court rulings on the question. But the administrative power of the land refuses a political prisoner clemency on grounds that the courts of the United States have declared are no grounds.

Those who actually disobeyed the law—spies, dynamiters, profiteers—were released without conditions, presumably because they had lived up to the American maxim: "All things are lawful." They had merely overlooked the final clause about expediency. They are in no danger of going back to jail. They did not stay there very long. The political prisoners have been in jails and penitentiaries for nearly six years, and most of them are there yet. The ones at liberty are in danger of being returned at any time.

Law-abiding—in a country where no law is obeyed. Loyal—to a government that favors declared enemies, grafters and spies, above men who attempted to do the right as they saw the right. Not to be connected with lawlessness—in a country that cherishes the Ku Klux Klan, race rioters and "patriotic" mobs.

The commutations offered to the political prisoners of America form another chapter in the dreadful work now being written—the history of the decline and fall of the American Republic.

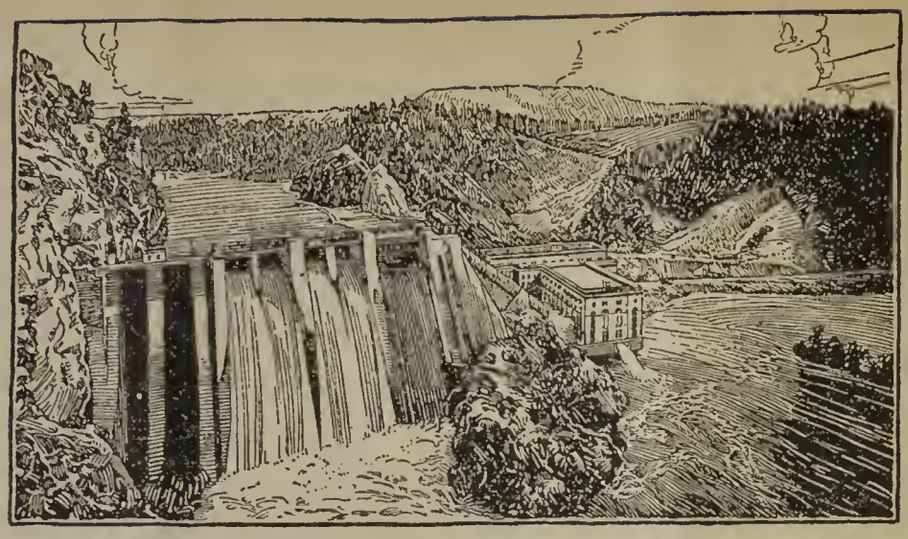
## Hurrah, To The Next That Goes

By Vera Möller.

Cut off from the world of freedom
In the shade of these grated walls,
That some shall find but a doorway
To gloomier prison halls.
Stand, Stand with your cups held steady,
A message to friends, to foes;
One cup to those gone already,
Hurrah, to the next that goes!

Cut off from the world of sunshine
We have but the inner light:
A flame that burns ever stronger,
Like a lamp that is trimmed and bright.
Then let them confine the body,
They cannot subdue the soul;
We brought our unsullied honor
And here, we shall keep it whole.
Then stand with your cups held steady,
The great doors may open or close;
We'll pledge to those gone already
Hurrah, to the next that goes.

**Everett, Wash., I. W. W. Headquarters**



Every idle stream or waterfall that is put to work, and furnishes light and power to homes and factories many miles away, means a saving in coal and, what is more important, a saving in human energies.

# Super-Power Capitalism

GAZE on the above picture reader. It's a part of an advertisement of a public utilities bond investment company appearing in a weekly magazine. It is an indication of what the country is coming to, namely, super-power capitalism. Never heard of it before? Well, you ought to know all about it, especially if you are a construction worker or an electrical worker; also a railroader or a coal miner.

Frank G. Baum, consulting hydro-electric engineer of San Francisco, gave the recent National Electric Light Association convention in New York, "the dope" on super-power capitalism. It consists of harnessing within the next two generations vast charges of electricity, with a reduction of 40 per cent in production of coal and the release of 500,000 laborers now in the mines.

The displacement of a half-million laborers—that's what the advertisement means when it refers to "a saving in coal and, **what is more important,** a saving in **human** energies." Talk about "labor shortage" then—that's likely to go out of fashion about that time.

Other workers may also be hit hard. We wonder what Mr. Baum's "single system of 220,000-volt transmission lines grouped in twelve areas according to existing facilities—water power, industrial centers and transportation systems," will do to locomotive and stationary engineers?

Electrification, with its manipulation of switches and pressing of buttons, does away with high-priced motive-power engineers, according to our observations. But then look at the work the building of all these super-power dams is going to give to general construction and electrical workers. We look for some more Hetch-Hetchy and Southern California Edison Power strikes in the future. To judge by the past this super-power capitalism is going to engender some super-proletarian struggles.

Get ready for them. Join the General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310, I. W. W. Start now. Don't wait two generations. It'll be too late then.

## Organization Brevities

Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120, Marine Workers, 510, Agricultural Workers, 110, General Construction Workers, 310, Metal Miners, 210 and Railroad Workers, 520 are now the six leading industrial unions in the I. W. W.

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Lumber Workers' Bulletin for July 1st gives space to articles dealing with the organizaiton of saw mill hands and lumber town home guards in the I. W. W. Also to extending the organization eastward into Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and New York.

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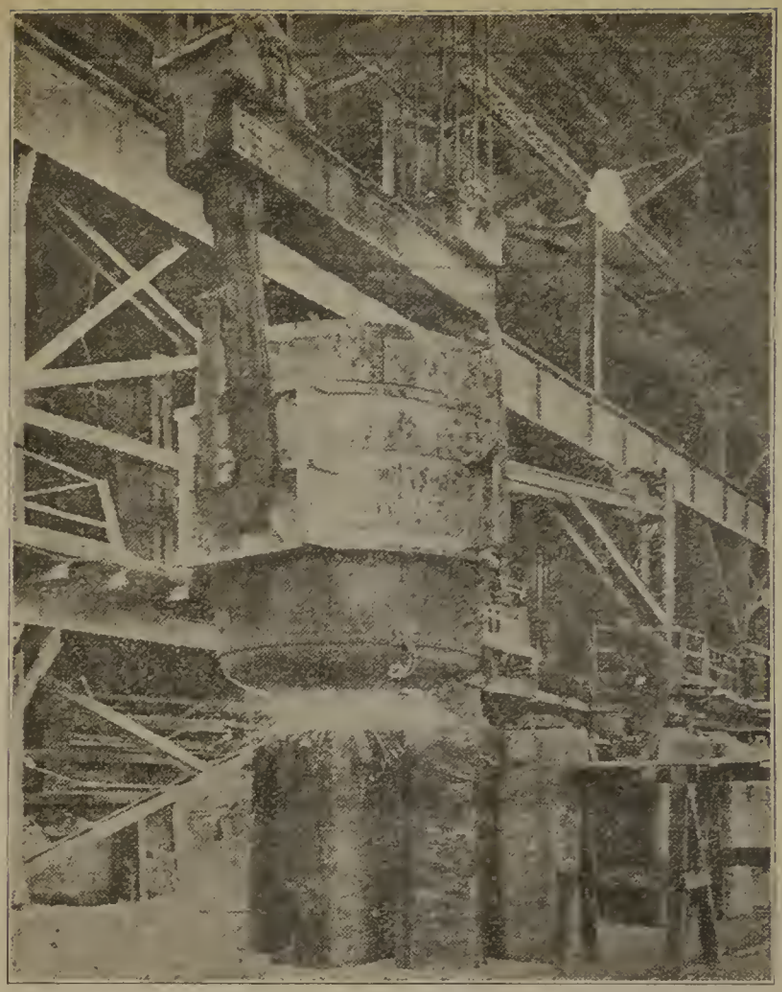
The activities of Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440, in the Schwab Steel Works at Bethlehem, Pa., contributed greatly to the expose of the illegal importation of Mexican workers by steel corporations. No. 440 was among the very first to "write up" this feature for the I. W. W. press, which interested liberal and reform journalists and investigators.

# Judge Elbert Gary Exposed

## Misrepresents 12 Hour Day and Other Steel Mill Conditions

## Prostitution Widespread In Homestead



Workers in the United States Steel Company plant are in danger of being burned by splashing steel when they tap this seventy-five-ton ladle from which the molten metal can be seen running.

JUDGE Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, refused some time ago to permit the New York Daily News to investigate labor conditions in his mills. Therefore Ralph F. Armstrong, Industrialist, was assigned to work as a laborer in the corporation's mill at Homestead, Pa. He reports (1) That Judge Gary has totally misrepresented the twelve-hour day and other labor conditions. (2) That the workmen want conditions changed, but are powerless to protest and hold their jobs. (3) That the seven-day week has not been abolished. (4) That the "Corporation with a soul" has a soul of production only. (5) That the corporation is enticing colored laborers from the South to work in its mills under false pretenses. (6) That the corporation controls entire town governments and police forces. (7) That prostitution is widespread in the labor settlement at Homestead. These reports are contained in a series of articles.

Declaring that "120,000 men are toiling for twelve hours each day under conditions injurious to health in the steel mills of the United States," Senator Matthew Neely of West Virginia bitterly scored Elbert H. Gary and other "steel kings" for their attitude toward labor in a speech delivered on Independence Day.

Judge Gary's acceptance of the abolition of the 12-hour day (in principle) is not worthy of trust. His past promises are still unfullfilled.

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**Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union, No. 440, I. W. W. is actively at work endeavoring to extend its organization among the steel mill workers.**

**A ton of literature was recently sent among them for distribution. A mass conference at Toledo, O., on July 22, will consider further steps to organize them. Watch for report in September Pioneer.**

# "The Worm Turns"

## A Tale of the Northern Woods

By ARCHIE SINCLAIR

NICK GOUGE, son of the senior partner of Gouge and Payless, whose logging operations stretch from Maine to Oregon, walked briskly into his father's private office one crisp morning early in October. His father sat at a flat-topped desk near the window overlooking the mill pond. The "old man," as he was affectionately called by the free-born American citizens whom he employed, looked up from the papers that were scattered in neat disarray—whatever that is—on his desk, and seized a check book.

"Well, son, what can I do for you this morning, a little check, eh?" he said.

Dick raised a well manicured hand in protest. "No, father," he said, "I have had my fling. I have scattered wild oats from Mobile to Saskatoon and am ready to go to work and in some measure try to repay you for all your kindness to your wayward son."

Gouge senior reached out and gripped his son's hand hard, or hard hand, I have forgotten which. "Why, son, I have not done very much for you. I have only allowed you $26,000 per year since you started to college!"

"Wait a minute, dad, let me finish," replied Dick. "I have decided to go to work and learn the lumber business from the ground up, so, with your permission, I am going into one of our camps at Frozen Fish Landing and learn to be a lumberjack."

"Dick," growled his father, "you are made of the right kind of stuff."

"A chip of the old block, eh?" said Dick as he turned to go.

### Riding the Logs

As the train on the "Mike and I" pulled into the little depot at Frozen Fish Landing, Dick Gouge seized his two suit-cases and stepped off onto the platform. A pair of riding breeches were stuffed into knee-length laced boots. He wore a gray flannel shirt and a windsor tie, a plaited shooting jacket and a stiff rimmed gray felt hat, dented at the four corners. He had heard of lumberjacks riding the logs, and as he believed in efficiency, he wore a pair of silver spurs to hurry the logs to their destination in the mill-pond. Anyone could tell at a glance that he was a full-fledged lumberjack.

He decided to go into the camps incognito, and so, with the exception of the foreman, two of the loaders, the blacksmith, handyman, saw-filer and bull-cook, he told no one of his identity.

That night the crew, led by a huge French Canadian teamster, with the shoulders and chest of a gorilla, decided to have some fun at Dick's expense. They rushed at him with the evident intention of rolling him in the snow, but after twenty-six of them had been knocked cold by a fist hardened by years of whist-playing, they decided he was a good sport, and accepted him into the free-masonry of the camp. One night in the vermin-infested bunkhouse redolent of punky socks and toe jam was enough for Dick, and the next morning he moved into the office with the foreman and time-keeper. At noon the foreman gave him a cant-hook and sent him tailing down for "Chain Lightning" MacLean. Two days later he was promoted to a top-loader. What it had taken ordinary lumberjacks years to learn Dick acquired in two days. He was a true son of old Alex Gouge, who through industry, patriotism and above all honesty, had risen from a farmhand to the owner of vast lumber holdings.

### An Obliging Tragedy

The weeks flew merrily by and Dick went about his task in a manner denoting efficiency and loyalty to his employer. Then one morning a limb of a tree, torn loose by a wind storm the day before, obligingly fell on the foreman, breaking his neck, and Dick was installed in his place.

A few days after his installment as camp foreman Dick called the men into the office and addressed them as follows:

"Owing to the small demand for lumber and the consequent low prices, we—the company—have decided to cut the wages ten percent and to work an extra hour per day."

His remarks were met by an enthusiastic outburst of silence on the part of his auditors.

"And further," he continued, raising his voice slightly, "Anyone who hasn't the interest of his employers at heart can go down the road."

Only one hundred and eight out of the one hundred and twelve men in camp drew their time. By noon that day Dick and his four lousy, lazy, loutish lumberjacks had the camp to themselves.

Although he was somewhat surprised at the lack of loyalty shown to his dad, Dick accepted the situation as cheerfully as possible, and the next morning he boarded the train for Tamarack Falls to secure another crew. He was agreeably surprised on arriving at the Falls to find a large number of lumberjacks in town. He quickly got together another crew and returned to camp.

### Eight-Hour Men

The men, on arriving at camp ate their supper and turned in and next morning went to work. Everything went smoothly, too smoothly Dick thought, as the men seemed to have some secret joke. Every time he looked at one of them he caught a glint of humor in his eye. Nothing happened in the forenoon, however, and after dinner Dick believed that his fears were groundless. At

## INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF LABOR

**Runaway 7-Car Log Train Wrecked At Cokedale, Sagkit Co., Wash., Sept. 5, 1922.**

**Left on a steep incline with the brakers set up and no evidence of blocking, the train ran a half mile, jumped a turn and smashed into the cookhouse. The cooks escaped by a narrow margin.**

four o'clock the mystery was explained. Dick, on a tour of inspection, met the crew coming in to camp. "What's the matter?" he inquired.

"There's nothing the matter with us," replied one of the men, "What is the matter with you?"

"Well, this is a ten-hour camp," shouted Dick.

"Yes?" was the quiet rejoinder, "Well, we're eight-hour men."

Dick swore and threatened, but it was of no avail, he only evoked grins from the crew.

At last he shouted: "Get out of camp, every one of you!"

"We'll get out alright," they replied, "tomorrow morning, and take the other camps with us. We have already notified the crews in all the camps that we are pulling out in the morning and by noon tomorrow your old man won't have enough lumberjacks in his camps for a baseball nine. You people have been getting away with murder and we have decided you need educating."

"Don't we pay you good wages for working for us?" screamed the now enraged Dick.

"No." said Joe Dunn who had spoken previously, "you don't pay us at all, we pay you for the privilege of being enslaved. We produced all the wealth that your old man has, except the raw material, and Nature produced that, and as far as that goes raw material—in this case standing timber—is not wealth, because it is worthless until labor power has been added to transform it into lumber. And, furthermore, the methods your old man employed in acquiring the timber lands he now calls his own cannot stand very close scrunity. If the courts of the land were not rotten to the core with corruption, your old man would be facing a charge of bribing the legislatures in every state where he owns timber holdings."

Dick was struck dumb by anger and amazement. What had got into the lumberjacks? The once contented "timberbeast" who submitted to any conditions imposed upon him seemed to have disappeared and in his place had come these clear-eyed, intelligent lumberjacks who demanded a good standard of living. As the men rounded a bend in the trail leading to the camp, the sound of singing floated back to where Dick stood.

**"Hold the fort for we are coming,**
**Union men be strong;**

**Side by side we'll battle onward,**
**Victory will come."**

### A Weighty Problem

Dick stood pondering over the situation a few moments, then he slowly turned and went back to the office. He resolved to go home and lay the problem before his father, and seek his advice. "Dad will know how to handle the situation," he fondly thought.

The next day he boarded a train for Gougetown where his father ruled supreme. The train was crowded with erstwhile employes of the Gouge and Payless Lumber Company. Dick took a seat at the forward end of the day coach and tried to appear as inconspicuous as possible.

As the train rolled out of Frozen Fish Landing a clear tenor voice struck up a song and Dick listened attentively although he could not have told why.

**Oh, such a lot of devils," that's what the papers say—**
**They've gone on strike for shorter hours and some increase in pay—**
**They left the camps, the lazy tramps, they all walked out as one;**
**They say they'll win this strike, or put the bosses on the bum."**

A young lumberjack came down the aisle with a pile of books and papers under his arm. He stopped in front of Dick and extended a small red book. "Song book, ten cents?" he inquired politely, with a twinkle in his eye. Dick took the book and handed him the dime. "Thank you," said the young fellow gravely, and passed on.

### The Flames of Discontent

The first words he saw as he picked up the book seemed to symbolize the whole situation. "To fan the flames of discontent." Dick read the book from cover to cover. The songs—some humorous, some intensely serious— all breathed the spirit of revolt. Suddenly his thoughts went back to a lecture he had once heard. It was in the class room at college. The professor of history was speaking.

"The British soldiery were well fed, well clothed and had good equipment. The Yankee farmers lacked all these, and yet these same farmers, who fought in the snow with bare and bleeding feet at Valley Forge, won the day, because of their intense love of Freedom."

In some way that Dick could not have explained, the cases of these men and the men at Valley Forge, seemed to be analogous. Into the eyes of Dick Gouge crept something like admiration.

By the time he had arrived at his father's office, Dick had lost some of his confidence. Would his father blame him for starting the strike? In a way he was responsible, and the worst of it was that he could not condemn the men for striking against the conditions that prevailed in the camps of Gouge and Payless. He shuddered when he thought of that first night in the bunkhouse at Frozen Fish Landing. The crawling vermin and the foul air were a nightmare; and the quiet, orderly, determined air of the men excited his admiration.

### The Brass Check

"Well, son," greeted his father, "you started something you couldn't stop, didn't you? Don't take it to heart boy," he hurried on, "this thing was bound to come anyway. Look here!" He spread a copy of the Gougetown Courtesan on the desk and pointed with a stubby forefinger at an article on the front page:

"A strike has been called against the Gouge and Payless Lumber Company. Few of the men have responded to the strike call, and the rest are believed to be going back to work today. Sporadic strikes are reported throughout Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho and Montana."

"Of course, you know, son," he continued, "we own the Courtesan and it publishes just what we tell it to publish. The fact is, however, the whole Northwest and Minnesota and Wisconsin are tied up. We will hold out a few days, but we will have to give in. The old time 'timber beast' is no more. We are fighting an organized body of men who knows more about industrial warfare than we'll ever know. And what do you think is their chief demand?"

"I, I don't know," stammered Dick.

"The release of Class-War Prisoners," said his father. "You see, son," he continued, "whenever men were active in organizing the lumberjacks, it has been our policy to have our judges and all the rest of our men in public office arrest them and throw them into prison. So far it has worked fine but now I guess we will have to call a halt. I guess I'll have to wire Washington and Olympia to turn them loose. Of course they will have to find some excuses for doing so. It would never do to let the workers know that it was their power that secured the freedom of their fellows."

"Do you know, Dad," said Dick, "I believe the lumberjacks are right."

"You turned Bolshevik too, son?" inquired his father.

"No, no, but still they, they"—Dick floundered helplessly.

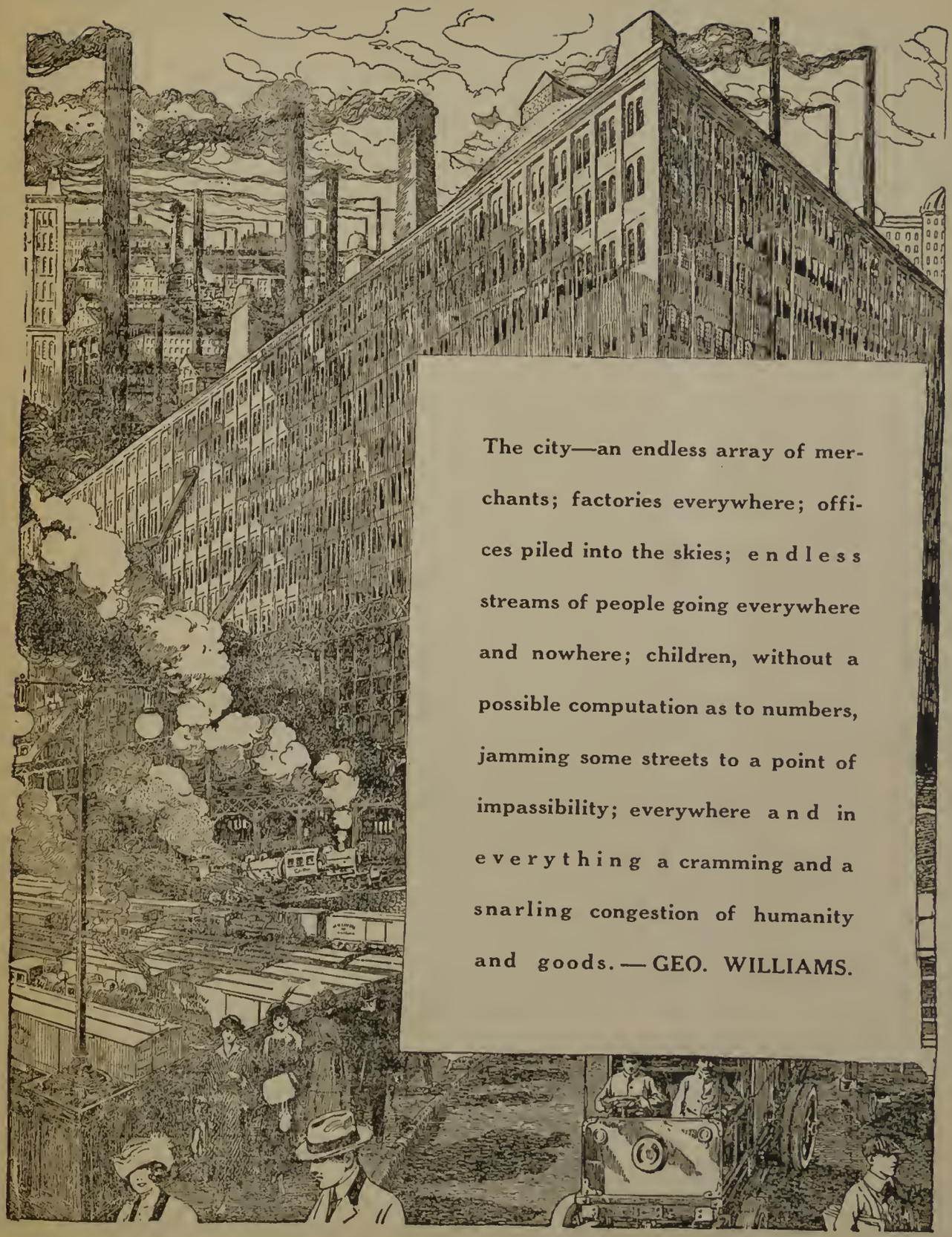
"Hell yes, of course they're right," shouted the old man," but we'll have to fight them just the same."

"I guess I had better resign," said Dick. "I want to take a trip to Europe anyway. Lionel Plute is making up a party to sail next month."

"Sure, run along," said the old man.

As Dick stepped out into the street he heard the sound of voices raised in song:

**"Hold the fort for we are coming,**
**Union men be strong;**
**Side by side we'll battle onward,**
**Victory will come."**



The city—an endless array of merchants; factories everywhere; offices piled into the skies; endless streams of people going everywhere and nowhere; children, without a possible computation as to numbers, jamming some streets to a point of impassibility; everywhere and in everything a cramming and a snarling congestion of humanity and goods.—GEO. WILLIAMS.

# The Significance of the Modern City

By GEORGE WILLIAMS

Part II.

THE potent fact that distinguishes **production** from **distribution** (in the sense with which this article deals with these attributes of society), is that the production of raw materials is largely a natural process; in this way—coal, which is a raw material, attains its combustible and chemical properties through a natural process. It only remains to be dug out and transported. No system of society, capitalistic or otherwise, will ever stop for an instant the process and nature of a bed of coal one iota; likewise with the base metals---copper, gold, tin, silver, etc. Agriculture relies more on human aid for development, but even with these products of the earth, the sun, weather and soil play the largest part. Crops already planted, under favorable conditions from the elements already mentioned, will grow the world over despite the system under which production and distribution is carried on. But the party in power (a dictatorship of some kind) can, by disrupting the functions of **distribution**, leave the coal and metals in the ground or cause the agricultural areas to become sterile in a short time.

### Nature of Distribution

But **distribution**, in its general sense, is almost entirely performed by human labor: more than that, the manner of conducting **distribution**, or rather in apportioning the products, is almost entirely of human arrangement and energy.

To sum up briefly and perhaps make a certain point clearer—machine development so far has greatly simplified the production of raw materials on the one hand, but has greatly complicated the distribution of the finished products on the other. The reason is that the production of materials is a matter of nature and labor—**distribution** of the finished products is a human institution—capitalism.

Viewed from any standpoint, the methods of production is a process that changes only with the development of machinery. A revolution could not change the manner of production any more than it could change the course of the earth around the sun. Production is a matter of developing power—applying labor and machinery to the land.

But a revolution must alter the system of **distribution.** Not of course such a function as transportation, but all those relative parts of distribution such as buying, selling, finance, etc.

A system of society that succeeds Capitalism, besides abolishing the exploitation of labor, buying and selling of commodities for profit, landlordism, etc.,—must substitute something to take the place of these functions of capitalism, and what is substituted must be as good or better than the capitalist system; otherwise it will fail or never come about.

Merely to prepare or advocate a revolution and leave to the imagination what will transpire after the denouement will gain nothing.

The workers are robbed of the products of their toil under capitalism, and we are advocating the abolition of capitalism, and a system of society wherein the workers will receive the full products of their labor.

### What Is New Society?

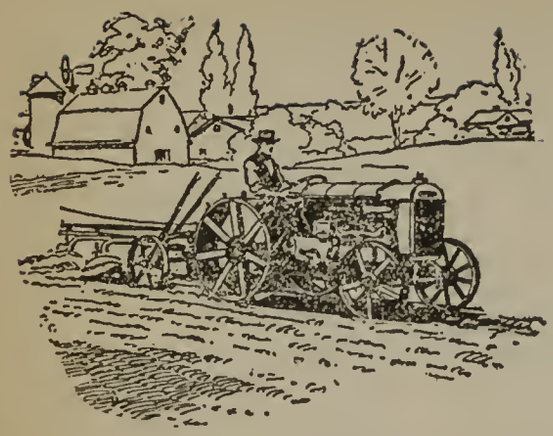
But what is this new society, and how will it function?

To say that the workers will receive the full product of their labor in answer to the foregoing question is no answer at all, because the communists and political salvationists give the same answer, and in Russia the workers got very much less than their full product. Nor will such vagaries as "World Revolution," "Social General Strikes," or "Transition Periods" answer at all. Rather, they confuse more than enlighten, and lead the mind of the average worker into the realms of mysticism and doubt from which nothing but stagnation can result. This condition might be desirable from the standpoint of "proletarian dictators" or effeminate saviors of the husky proletariat, but for the I. W. W. with their industrial philosophy, rank and file dictation, etc., —it has no place.

Now in my opinion the I. W. W. have the soundest position in regard to these matters; but they have not as yet developed to the fullest extent the possibilities of that philosophy. Believing this, I am attempting to add a little discussion to the general problem by these articles on the city, in the course of which I can, in passing, pay a little attention to the general problems of revolutionary philosophy.

In this age and country we have in plain view before our mind's eye, cities (nearly a thousand of 8,000 or more population), in which there are more people than in the whole of the vast area that comprises this country. The total space of these towns combined could be easily included in less than half the size of Rhode Island. Nowadays cities are distinctly distributing areas while the rural districts are distinctly producing areas.

Machine development has enslaved the rural districts to the cities in more ways than one, i. e., by the system of financial control and by the fact that in production and development of the natural resources machinery is absolutely essential. In America the dependance of the basic industries on machinery is more pronounced than in any other country. As the finished machine is the product of the cities, in which places the assembling and technical process can only take place, the producing areas are economically subordinate to the cities.



### Role of Chemistry

The development of agriculture, mining, oil production and various other sources of raw materials is also becoming more and more dependent on chemistry, a science which directs its activities from cities. The relation of chemistry to production is a subject in itself and so important is it to agriculture, for instance, that successful production is becoming impossible without the aid of that science. Intensive development of the land which is sure to follow increase of population will make chemistry an absolute necessity in the near future.

No doubt some readers will ask, "Well, what about this distinction of production and distribution areas which you are making; is it not more a question of organizing the workers everywhere regardless of where he is and then doing away with capitalism?" Yes; that is part of the question, but not all of it. For the question of organizing the workers in the cities is a somewhat different problem than with those in the rural sections. The progress of the I. W. W. to date shows this plain enough, and that we have made little if any progress amongst the city workers cannot be denied.

### A Horrible Example

The multitudinous activities that occupy the time of Chicago's three million people (including a good proportion who do nothing at all and seem to thrive at it), is subject enough for an army of investigators. We know of the endless array of merchants that infest every street; factories everywhere; offices piled up into the skies; endless streams of people going everywhere and nowhere; children, without a possible computation as to numbers, jamming some streets to a point of impassibility; —everywhere and in everything a cramming and a snarling congestion of humanity and goods.

In a city of three million like Chicago, the I. W. W. has practically no members. I could pick out a dozen small communities in the northwest, in any one of which the active dues-paying members would easily outnumber those in Chicago. The same is true of any large city in the East. This condition is not of chance nature. There is a cause for it, and whatever the cause, it is one that certainly needs close study and an adjustment of, not the city conditions to our organization, but of the I. W. W. to the city.

### Industrial Chicago

The total output of Chicago's factories in 1914 exceeded that of any state in the country with the exception of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Massachusetts, and, of course, Illinois. Since that time the output has advanced over 20 percent; and while the manufactured products of the four states mentioned have also increased, it is certain that because of its economic advantage as a distribution center, combined with a centralization of population, Chicago's measure of gained production in manufactured commodities is perhaps greater than the states mentioned, with the exception of New York.

Chief in the industries of this city are meat and food packing, clothing, agricultural implements, iron and steel, flour and milling, printing and publishing, electrical appliances and lumber.

In meat and its food by-products Chicago distributes more than any other center.

The volume in which these products are handled in the so-called Central Market (Chicago), is so tremendous as to tax the carrying capacity of the railroads that enter it from every direction. Chicago is the super-market of the entire West and certain areas East of that city. As a domestic distributing center it has no equal. An array of figures could be no more impressive than to say that millions of people in the central and western states are supplied with products of numerous varieties by only three of the largest mail order houses in Chicago. Other of lesser calibre distribute proportionately.

The wholesalers of Chicago: groceries, men's clothing, electric appliances, etc., dominate the whole West. Even within itself such a city is a market of tremendous proportions. Three million people require vast supplies on which to barter and trade —besides living. And Chicago has within its limits such an accumulation of goods—in the warehouses, stores and factories—that it is impossible to even estimate. Perhaps one could never very easily visualize in its entirety the tremendous industrial activities that pervade Chicago today. In ten or twenty years what will it be?

Multiplying such an industrial bee hive by numerous other centers, let us ask ourselves the question: What particular force, or movement, or philosophy, could supplant capitalism and maintain the necessary equilibrium in distribution that must be maintained in these centers?

# Brockton Shoe Workers Revolt

BROCKTON, Mass., is the scene of a revolt of 20,000 shoe workers. The factories are shut down. A strike is on against the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and with offices in Boston. Behind this union stands the bosses' association.

There have been repeated revolts against this organization, throughout the shoe industry of the country. Many other shoe centers have known bitter conflicts and cessation of operations due to the same causes before this. The Brooklyn 1911 strike of 10,000 workers, under I. W. W. leadership, was also a revolt against the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. The employers' association boasted that it raised a $1,000,000 fund to beat that strike. There have been many other strikes since then, against the same union and against the same kind of backing.

### Well Done, Shoe Workers!

The reason for this repeated occurrence speaks well for the shoe workers. It proves conclusively that they will not be submissive slaves and that the spirit of revolt within them never dies. They know from actual experience that the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union is not a labor organization, but an auxiliary of the boot and shoe employers' association. It is a strikebreaking, scab-herding agency for the latter, that's all. This has been shown in every shoe center where it has been resisted by the workers and supported by the boot and shoe employers' associations.

The officials of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union do not care at all about the working conditions, wages or hours. In return for the use of the union stamp and the members forced into their organization by the agreement made with employers, they unionize plants at the prevailing conditions and bind all the workers therein to arbitration of all differences that may arise. In the event of a strike or other disputes they undertake to furnish strikebreakers and scabs to fill the places of all who go out. The employers, finding this arrangement to their advantage, collect dues and influence the election of officials favorable to their interests. They have been known to express their preference for certain candidates, through press statements and other ways more direct. They actually run "the union." As already shown, they have been known to raise enormous strikebreaking funds through their various associations in order to keep the A. F. of L. Boot and Shoe Workers' Union on the backs of a working class that refuses to be bled by it. These strikes have been known to last many months. The boot and shoe workers have always, be it said to their credit, fought this labor leech to the limit, at a great expense and cost to the employers' association. They have thus prevented its more extensive growth.

### Form Own Union

The Brockton District Shoe Workers' Union has been formed by the revolters. This is an independent union. I. W. W. speakers from Boston have addressed the strike meetings and been well received. The message of class-conscious industrial unionism has made a good impression. One of their bulletins, telling the story of the revolt, reads as follows:

**To Our Fellow Workers:—**

We are representing 20,000 striking shoe workers in the Brockton, Mass., District, and this strike directly or indirectly affects 200,000 people.

This district, until the time of the strike one month ago, was completely in the control of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, a strictly non-strike organization which compelled us to submit all differences to the State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration.

This board consists of three members appointed by the governor, the make up of which follows:

Chairman Fisher—Lawyer, and Ex-Senator (politically dead).

Mr. Wasgat—Ex-Shoe Manufacturer.

Labor Representative Samuel Ross—Retired Organizer of the Textile Workers; a feeble old man 73 years old, whose physical condition (because of advanced age) prevents him from having any weight or influence with the other members of the State Board.

At the last Convention of the Massachusetts State Branch of the A. F. of L., held at Springfield, Mass., action was taken, requesting Gov. Cox to remove Mr. Ross, the present labor representative of the State Board, but in spite of that fact at the expiration of his term, he was re-appointed for three years.

The contract which compels us to submit all matters and contentions relating to conditions of labor and wage is made with the manufacturers with but one stipulation: that every employe, shall be a member of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; adjustments of conditions, labor, or wages, are not taken into consideration at time of granting use of a union label stamp.

After Chairman Fisher of the Massachusetts State Board had given to the press of Boston the statement to the effect that New England was due for 10 percent reduction in wages, the manufacturers of Brockton in 1921, taking advantage of that clause in their contract made application to the State Board for a 20 percent reduction in wages.

The result of that request was that the State Board handed down a 10 percent reduction, in blanket form covering the entire industry in the Brockton District, admitting that inequalities existed and stating that "adjustments would follow in a reasonable time." Bearing that in mind several lo-

cals applied for readjustments of inequalities.

After a series of decisions, with practically no change, the last decision affecting one of the poorly paid locals, (the Dressers and Packers) composed mostly of girls and women whose wage was $17.50 a week, and whose minimum wage was $11.00, a 20 percent raise was requested, and they received an increase **granting them 85 cents a week raise.**

At a mass meeting called to consider the award, the girls became incensed at the small amount granted them, and a little girl stood up and made a motion to strike, which was immediately seconded by unanimous acclamation of the entire membership of 900.

The General Office of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union revoked the Dressers and Packers Charter the following day.

Within a week, mass meetings of all locals were called and twelve of the thirteen locals voted to strike, because of the absolute conviction that justice could be had in no other way.

The result in the revoking of the Charters of four more locals, before the General Office called a halt, realizing that revoking of Charters could no longer scare us into submission.

We were in poor shape financially, because the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union Constitution made us turn over two-thirds of all dues, and the remaining third barely covered the administration expenses of the locals.

As individual members, we were in exactly the same position, because of the fact that the previous nine months were the dullest period in ten years, along with the semi-annual spring stock raising period, which left every one in very poor financial condition to start a strike.

We have formed our own union, namely THE BROCKTON DISTRICT SHOE WORKERS UNION, a real solid progressive union, and are presenting the following demands:

1. Recognition of our Union.
2. Restoration of the old wage list.
3. We demand a quicker and more just adjudication of disputes, through a local board of arbitration.
4. We reserve the right to strike.

The manufacturers maintain they will never reopen until we consent to become members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, their organization.

The workers stand firm for their right to maintain their own organization, but must begin at the bottom with no treasury whatever. All the powers of the old organization, combined with that of the manufacturers and their money power, are arrayed against us.

Our lines are firmly established and we are done for all time with the old organization.

Thanking you for whatever you can do to help us, we remain yours fraternally,

**Brockton District Shoe Workers' Union,**
Eagle Hall, Ward Street,
Brockton, Mass.

# The Only Way Out

AT SYDNEY, Nova Scotia, 13,000 miners are out in sympathy with steel workers on strike against the Dominion Steel and Iron Company, the most powerful iorporation of its kind in Canada.

John Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers has denounced the sympathetic strike as unauthorized and a violation of agreement. He has ordered the miners to return to work, but at this writing, they have defied him, saying that they are autonnomous and declaring that there is no lightning behind the Lewis thunder.

This incident is typical of the A. F. of L. It insists on lining up with powerful corporations against sympathetic working class action. It also mobs those of its own adherents who try to reform it from within, as was done with the Fosterites at the Scranton convention of the anthracite miners. Under the circumstances, the only thing left for labor to do is to revolt. This it has done among the shoe workers at Brockton, Mass. This it appears to be doing among the coal miners of Nova Scotia! Where will it happen next?

Revolt is in the A. F. of L. system. It is inevitable! Labor has no other way out!

# PITTSBURGH

By JAMES OPPENHEIM

OVER his face his gray hair drifting hides his Labor-glory in smoke,
Strange thru his breath the soot is sifting, his feet are buried in coal and coke.
By night hands twisted and lured in fires, by day hands blackened with grime and oil,
He toil at the foundries and never tires, and ever and ever his lot is toil.

He speeds his soul till his body wrestles with terrible tonnage and terrible time,
Out thru the yards and over the trestles the flat-cars clank and the engines chime,
His mills thru windows seem eaten with fire, high cranes travel, his ingots roll,
And billet and wheel and whistle and wire shriek with the speeding up of his soul.

Lanterns with reds and greens a-glisten wave the way and the head-light glares,
The back-bent laborers glance and listen and out thru the night the tail-light flares—
Deep in the mills like a tipping cradle the huge converter turns on its wheel
And sizzling spills in the ten-ton ladle a golden water of molten steel.

Yet screwed with toil his low face searches shadow-edged fires and whited pits,
Gripping his levers his body lurches, grappling his irons he prods and hits,
And deaf with the roll and clangor and rattle with its sharp escaping staccato of steam,
And blind with flame and worn with battle, into his tonnage he turns his dream.

The world he had build rises around us, our wonder cities and weaving rails,
Over his wires a marvel has found us, a glory rides in our wheeled mails,
For the Earth grows small with strong Steel woven, and they come together who
plotted apart——
But he who has wrought this thing in his oven knows only toil and the tired heart.

# Hell!

By JULIUS IMP.

JUST what is meant by this word, "HELL"?
They say sometimes, "It's cold as hell";
Sometimes they say, "It's hot as hell";
When it rains hard, "It's hell," they cry;
It's also "hell" when it is dry.

They "hate like hell" to see it snow;
It's "a hell of a wind," when it starts to blow;
Now, "how in hell," can any one tell
Just "what in hell" they mean by "hell"?

"This married life is hell," they say;
When Dad comes home late, there is "hell to pay";
It's "hell," when the kid you have to tote;
When he starts to yell, it's a "hell of a note."

"It's hell," when the doctor sends his bills
For a "hell of a lot" of trips and pills;
When you get to "hell," you will know quite well
Just what is meant by this word, "hell."

"Hell, yes," "hell, no," and "oh, hell," too;
"The hell you don't," and "the hell you do";
And "what in hell," and "the hell it is";
"To hell with you," and "to hell with this."

Now, "how in the hell," and "oh, hell, where?"
And "what in the hell do you think I care?"
But "the hell of it is," "it is sure as hell,"
That nobody knows "what in hell" is H-E-L-L-!

# Three Men in a Fetid Den

By DENNY CROWLEY

THREE men there are, their hands are clean
And their lips are free from guile;
They share a cell in a prison Hell
Where the breath of God is vile.

Eight paces long, eight paces wide,
Is their stone and iron tomb,
And twenty men pace its narrow race,
And sleep in this foulsome room.

Full twenty men, with bunks for more,
Crowd this rigid space;
A sink and a bench and a thing whose stench
Pollutes the air of the place.

Open and shameless the "thing" is there
With only a whitewashed rim;
Never a lid the polluter hid,
Its presence is ghastly grim.

At times a trickle of water flows,
When the garden claims it not;
But the yard outside is the prison's pride
And the sun out there is hot.

What matters it that sun and air
And life are things unknown,
Where twenty men in the fetid den
Squirm on their slabs of stone.

Orange County Jail, Santa Ana, Calif.,
May, 1923.

Steel Strikers Listening to a Speaker.

# How to Strike

By VERN SMITH

PART II.

## The Strike of the Partially Organized

THE second sort of strike, the one in an industry where there is little organization, cannot usually be entirely a surprise attack, though this element can be preserved to some degree. If there is to be a considerable walkout, there must be widespread publicity. The organization of this publicity, the arrangements of the strike, and the final calling of the strike have to be undertaken principally by the organization that exists and that is determined to strike.

It is extremely important to strike at the strategical moment, and at the psychological moment. The strategical moment is that period of time when the employer is expanding his business, when the market is good, when the stocks of product are low, and when the boss has orders to fill, especially if he has, as exists in construction work, contracts that must be carried out by a certain time, to avoid a penalty. All this should be ascertained by reports to a central strike committee or board of statistics, or educational bureau, maintained by the organization. All members of the I. W. W., in whatever industry they are occupied, should be on the alert as to conditions in the industry. The workers can tell, by the way the work goes, how the boss is faring. The attempt to introduce night work, to put in overtime, to speed up in any way, is one indication of a good market, but a better one is the attempt to increase the crew.

There are in libraries, and lying around in offices of corporations, trade journals. Every industry has special magazines, issued to aid the capitalists of that industry, and much information of use to workers can be gleaned from these publications. Workers should form the habit of reading those which pertain to their industry, to see how the capitalist feels, and find out what he knows. Disregard anti-labor propaganda found in them, and watch production statistics, and market reports. Sometimes these are false, designed to profit some clique or group of capitalists within the industry, who may happen to control the publication. But these can be checked up with the practical experience of the workers, and with the daily market reports and shipments recorded in the newspapers. The United States Census of Manufactures is a mine of information about the conditions of industries at the times the census was taken.

There should be full discussion of the situation, and the membership should spread through articles in the organization papers, through discussion at the noon hour, and in the bunk houses, information amongst the unorganized as to the approaching favorable strike conditions. If the conditions are not favorable, this sort of strike should not be undertaken; instead it would be better to concentrate on organization propaganda.

## Every Man Has His Part

This spreading of information and general agitation along the lines already mentioned, can be best done by man to man, personal conversation. The educated men

on the job should talk to the uneducated. Leaflets have to be printed by the organization committees and publicity committees and distributed on the job. Delegates (organizers) when lining up men should use their discretion, as to how much publicity to give themselves. In general only one delegate at a time should step into the foreground, in any one job. Then if the boss fires him, another should come forward. Meetings should be arranged, at which speeches are made on the importance of a strike, the chances of winning, and the need of organization. In calling a meeting, the advertisement will have to depend on circumstances. Written notices posted on doors and announcements made in the cook houses will do in some cases. The meetings even in this case should not be announced as strike meetings, but should be to introduce a speaker, or to discuss general conditions.

In other cases, any such publicity would result in the meeting not being held, and the only way is for some one to go where the men are congregated, and start talking.

At the earliest opportunity, local strike committees, elected from general meetings, not just by the union membership, should be functioning, sending in demands to the union headquarters, delegates too, if possible, and suggesting dates for the strike. Everybody should be watching to kill any attempts made to provoke the strike before the general strike committee issues the word, as a preliminary walk-out only weakens the forces.

### Demands and Strike Call

The exact date for issuing the strike call should be set by an executive committee of the general strike committee. This general strike committee should be elected from the various branches of the organization, but should seat delegates from the general, non-membership committees. Every attempt must be made to avoid the appearance that the organization is dictating to the non-members, still, the calling and direction of the strike must be centralized. This does not mean that the general strike committee need necessarily be at the union headquarters, either. The closer the committees are to the jobs, the better.

The strike demands should if possible include some revolutionary ones, such as, "Release of Class War Prisoners," "Workers' Control of Industry," etc. These may not be won, but the strike is a demonstration in their favor, and helps to get people used to them. In each industry on strike, demands of immediate practical value should be included. It is not necessary to make these later demands universal. A considerable amount of local autonomy must be allowed, even within a single industry. Harvest workers in Kansas might demand five meals a day, whereas cow-milkers in California might prefer two meals, if they came at the right time, and want some other demand instead.

The general strike committee will include some of the bosses' stool-pigeons, naturally, and no attempt need be made to keep its meetings secret. But for the actual setting of the strike date, an executive committee of two or three men can be elected, and there is a fair chance that this committee can act secretly. The general decision as to the date of strike can be arrived at by the general strike committee, which can announce that the strike will take place, "this summer," "this fall," etc., and can issue proclamations containing strike demands, and a call to be ready for the strike call. This method worked very well in the I. W. W. General Strike of 1923, except that the small executive committee (the Strike Committee of the North-west Branches) was itself too large, and had too much to do, attempting to attend to many details that should have been cared for by a general strike committee of wider scope.

### Relations Between Committees

Delegates to the general strike committee should be paid, if at all, by the branches and local strike committees sending them to strike headquarters, and should meet, decide on the strike demands, except for those to be added by local branches, elect an executive committee, a publicity committee, and a finance committee, to sit continually and

be under pay, but none of them to consist of more than three members. There must be authority given the executive committee to appoint temporary picket captains to coordinate the work of the local picket captains. The general strike committee should then adjourn, with all the members informed that the committee meets again, with the same delegates or others, immediately after the strike date is announced, sessions to start as soon as a given number, say ten, are present.

The local strike committees, formed on the job, will probably be fired off the job soon after they start functioning. They should give way to others formed on the job, if the strike is still far in the future. But if the preliminary calls are out, the local committees should not disband, but adjourn to the nearest town, preserve a permanent post office address, and keep in touch with their former associates on the job, and also with the executive committee of the general strike committee.

Strike committees of the branches of the organization function permanently at the address of the branch.

### Getting Out The Call

The capitalist press can be used to some degree in spreading the strike call, but it is highly unreliable. The best way is to print thousands of strike notices and to have members ready at central points, probably at the branches of the organization, ready to carry packs of them from camp to camp, or from plant to plant.

The packages must not be sent out far in advance of the actual date for which the strike is called, as some stool-pigeons will surely secure notices, and the effect of the surprise be lost. The mails will be found to be unreliable, and the telegraph service is, of course, both undependable and public. Nevertheless, after the strike is on, both mail and telegraph can be used to get the strike call into isolated districts. Mail or express is the cheapest way of circulating the strike call, and after the matter is no longer secret, can be used to supplement other means.

The strike call should appear at the psychological moment. This is that time when the propaganda for a strike has reached its climax. Usually it is ushered in by several sections of prospective strikers who break out of control. Some superintendent precipitates the conflict by discharging a whole camp or a whole plant; some gun-man kills a speaker; some peculiarly asinine and irritating order comes from the office of the capitalists, and a spontaneous revolt takes place. If this outbreak is not too early, the executive committee of the general strike committee should seize the occasion, and declare the strike, giving as much publicity as possible to the provocation. There will surely be incidents that show the tension is great and these are signs for the strike call.

It will be observed that throughout this discussion, it is assumed that the strike will cover several plants, a whole industry or several industries. There really is not much use going to all the trouble of agitating a strike on a smaller scale, unless under very exceptional circumstances. Smaller strikes are useful as protests against some immediate injustice and do not usually have to be very much prepared for. They have not much chance of winning unless the demands are very limited. However, the principal requirements are a strikers' meeting, a strike committee to draw up demands, present them at once to the meeting which should adopt them, amended if necessary, then present them at once to the management, and bring the answer back to the same meeting. Speeches of a general propaganda nature can go on while the committee is hunting up the super. Speed is the main requirement.

The third great class of strikes is the spontaneous walk-out. These are the most hopeful sort, in one way, because they show that grievances are felt, though perhaps not understood. They are always a surprise to the boss, and possess that advantage.

They are absolutely certain to fail, unless outside organizations, or some embryonic organization in their midst, steps up, takes control, formulates demands, and gets mass meetings and committees at work. But that is the subject matter for the next article.

# Labor Goes Into Banking

By ALOIS SENNEFELDER, Jr.

THE latest subject of interest in the labor world is banking. Labor is turning banker. Labor banking is being embarked upon with all the zeal and ardor of a new crusade. The enthusiasm instilled seems marvelously re-creative; in fact revolutionary. And so we approach the subject with interest; nay, with inspiration. Here, at last, is a means to labor's emancipation, fraught with immense practical possibilities. But, after one look, we come away disappointed. For labor banking is similar to capitalst banking. It is essentially exploitative and but a modification of capitalism, due to its labor prefix—that's all. No wonder capitalist bankers do not oppose it. No wonder they become its practical heads, and provide seats for its representatives on the boards of directors of huge trust companies. "Birds of a feather, etc.

The theory of labor banking is very simple, in fact more simple than sound, from a labor standpoint. It consists in the belief that labor, through its individual and collective savings can gain control of credit and thereby dictate financial, i. e., capitalist policy. The history of the co-operative credit union movement of Europe, with its 7 billions of annual turn-over, ought to dispel such a belief. Stupendous as this amount is, it cuts almost no figure at all in European finance. The controllers of credit in Europe, same as here, are the big industrial financiers.

The reason is not far to seek. Credit is based not so much on savings as upon the reserves of profits and commodities withheld from labor at the point of production, or in process of exchange.

Credit is in many respects tangible. But it cannot function without commodities and profits such as labor alone produces on the land and in industry. Consequently, it follows that if labor wishes to gain control of credit it must seek such control in the control of production primarily. It must get at the sources of wealth-production, land and machinery, without which exchange and credit are both impossible. In so far as labor-banking hides this fact from the workers it is injurious rather than beneficial. It is then on a par with the capitalist bank thrift campaigns which cause the workers to believe that proletarian salvation is to be found in stomach-robbing savings.

It is in pursuit of this erroneous theory of financial control that labor banks accumulate deposits—for what end? Why, the same end as the capitalist banks, namely, reinvestment at a profit, or interest. These deposits are used—to free labor?—Nay, but to exploit it, to the end already stated. Witness the strike against the open shop in the West Virginia and Kentucky coal mines financed by the Locomotive Engineer's bank and owned by the company headed by its president, Warren S. Stone, trust company associate of Schwab, Du Pont and other giant industrial financiers.

There we behold the essential oneness of all banking, whether labor or capitalist, fully demonstrated. We also see the theory of financial control in the interests of labor knocked into a cocked hat. Labor banks, whether so intended or not, instead of becoming a means to aid labor in times of strikes, have become a means to make laborers instead of capitalists the exploiters of the working class.

The world of labor should free itself from the banking delusion. Instead of aiding in the work of construction, like a quicksand, it draws labor on to its own destruction.

### Chain Factories

An illustrated booklet of the General Electric Co., manufacturers of electrical apparatus and supplies, suggests another problem in industrial union organization, namely, the chain factories.

The G. E. B., according to this booklet, has its main works at Schenectady, N. Y., where its employers number 25,000 Then are pictured in succession, the plant at Lynn, Mass., with 12,000 employees; Pittsfield, Mass., 8,000; Erie, Pa., 5,000; Fort Wayne, Ind., 5,500; New Kensington, Pa., Bloomfield, N. J., and Maspeth, L. I., 3,500; Edison Lamp Works at 12 different points, number not given; and the National Lamp Works, home office, Cleveland, O., 11,500.

Here's a huge corporation with plants and 75,000 employees in 25 cities and 9 states. It is in itself a complete manufacturing and assembling unit, awaiting labor organization as such. When the I. W. W. tackles successfully the problems in unionism presented by the G. E. B., it will prevail in every respect. Until then it will prove only partly successful.

A. S., Jr.

# What's a Home Guard

A HOME guard is supposed to be a worker who stays in one locality and has a home and family there to guard against the alleged injurious results of labor unionism, strikes, etc. He is supposed to be the opposite of the migratory worker, who is said to be "foot-loose" and more rebellious on that account.

We say supposed, as most of the alleged differences between the homeguard and migratory are mere supposition. The home guard is not the coward he is generally supposed to be. Nor is the migratory the revolutionist he is supposed to be.

There are armies of both home guards and migratories among the reactionaries. Their conversion to a better view of life is the task of all the workers, regardless of distinctions, alleged or otherwise.

# WOBBLES

## THE WORDS OF GREAT MEN TINTINABULATED

### Jazz Band Led by Bill Akers.

President Harding, starting on His Excellencies' Alaskan vacation, announced on his piccolo:

"Yes! We have no political prisoners!"

While Mr. Weyerhauser, with one eye on a recent bulletin from the Northwest, twangs on the harp:

"Yes! We have no strike in the woods!"

The State of California booms monotonously on the brass drum:

"Yes! We have no syndicalists here!"

Fatty Arbuckle, gracefully tripping across a Chicago theatre, plays on the Jews' harp:

"Yes! We have no wraps on the stage!"

Wall Street financiers form synchronizing quartets and warble:

"Yes! We have no bottoms in our buckets!"

Henry Ford contributes to the melody by an enthusiastic rattle of the can:

"Yes! We have no desire to be president!"

Andy Furuseth contributes a doleful ring on the cowbells:

"Yes! We have no Sailors' Union now!' '

Attorney General Daugherty beats trippingly on the snare drum:

"Yes! We have no son in a hospital!"

Judge Gary, just back from Europe, tickles the ivories with:

"Yes! We have no eight-hour shifts!"

Herbert Hoover, on eve of his departure to address the United States Chamber of Commerce, draws this from his bass viol:

"Yes! We have no individualist society!"

French Cabinet, after jumping on benches to call each other liars, rasp this on their violins:

"Yes! We have no German money to pay!"

Wm. Z. Foster, while reading telegram announcing that the A. F. of L. lost another 800,000 members, pipes this on his cornet:

"Yes! We have no militant labor movement!"

Wm J. Burns, on his Wall Street office steps, tortures this on his trombone:

"Yes! We have no bombing plots on file!"

Imperial Wooze, while announcing to Klepto Klon Klave that the price of Klassy Kleagles Kling sheets are to double, sounds this on the saxophone:

"Yes! We have no wet ones in our wardrobe!"

A Wobbly, found most everywhere, mentions this on his mouth organ:

"Yes! We have no damn use for parasites!"

■ ■·■ ■ ■ ■ ■

### Economic Interpretation of Theology

Little Sissiepuss, in Sunday school, when asked, "Who made you?" answered "Capital made me!" To which the teacher correctingly replied, "No; God made you!" "No, he didn't," persisted Little Sissiepuss, "God made the fellow who just went down stairs. Capital made me; for my father says 'Capital makes everything'; and let me tell you, I'm something!"

***

### Prize Joke of the Season

The W. I. I. U. quoting De Leon AGAINST the S. L. P.

***

### Second Best Winner

"The farmers are in rebellion. This rebellion is assuming various forms. First a mass DESERTION of the farmer from the land."—THE JULY LIBERATOR.

***

"Raising the dead by modern science" has nothing on raising prison bars by direct economic action.

### "LEAVINGS" IS RIGHT

Well, the farmers are leaving the farms for the city, the city worker is leaving the factory for a change of jobs, the migratory worker is leaving Hobohemia for the harvest, the Negro is leaving the South for the North, the coal barons are leaving coal in storage for more profits, the—hold up! Wait! Let's take a breath and find out where we are at before we go any further. Ah, yes! this appears to be a system of leavings, especially for the workers. That's all that they appear to get out of it.

***

### FOSTER AT SCRANTON

Of all sad words from tongue
or pen,
The saddest are these:
Kicked out again!

***

Nobody ever puts camphor balls on politics. That's one reason why they're so full of holes.

# Interview with the Hoboes

By JIM SEYMOUR.

### MUSIC AND THE REVOLUTION.

WE were hungry. He had a handful of coffee and I had a couple of rolls, and with that we had made a fifty-fifty supper and were lying on our blankets, puffing our pipes and talking. Rather, I should say, he was talking. An Italian passing along the railroad track and singing had furnished him with a new topic.

"Verdi," he breathed. "A wonderful people, the Italians; and Verdi is the most wonderful of them all. I use the present tense because it is correct. The report that Verdi is dead is false. Verdi will never die. That fellow's voice is a little harsh—driving mules, I suppose—but Verdi's entrancing melody covers that slight defect. Verdi's melody is omnipotent. To one at all musically inclined it is excruciating. It grasps his physical being and tears it to shreds, then pulverizes the shreds and casts the dust into the great infinite. What is left of him he neither knows nor cares; he is simply a tiny part of the cosmos and Verdi is all the rest of it. True enough, this moonlight filtering through the eucalypti is beautiful, and there is an inspiring beauty in the majestic sweep of a powerful locomotive rounding a curve, but I tell you, old-timer, if you want beauty that you can see and feel and hear and taste and smell; if you want beauty that will make you forget your empty stomach, bum your way into a performance of a Verdian opera. Don't tackle the big social-display outfits, but select a tramp Italian company; its half-starved singers and musicians are genuine artists, filled with the divine fire of the great master who controls their surging emotions and does not permit them to neglect him in the interests of slimy commercialism."

He paused, and I asked his opinion of American music.

"American music!" he exploded, with a sarcasm that stung like a yellowjacket. "It is savagery; nothing more. It is the challenging bellow of the bull ape. It is the spirit of the caveman who pranced as they walloped a hollow log with their battle-clubs. It is the smacking of the bloody chops of our forbears as they 'mumbled the bones of the slain'."

"Do you think," I asked, "that a people that likes such music can ever inaugurate a society of better things?"

"Such a society presupposes intelligence enough to want it; yet while I doubt if the man to whom ragtime appeals can ever be improved intellectually; conditions may nevertheless bring him to the psychological moment; it will then only be necessary for the understanding ones to apply the ragtime judiciously and the gorilla will break loose. And in that day you and I will eat, for the beast likes us."

"Well," I replied, "I'm not particularly anxious for trouble, but I'm ready for anything if it means eats. When do you think the circus will start?"

"'Of that day and that hour knoweth no man.' **Quién sabe** just when our anthropoid friend will sink his fangs into the throat of his heretofore tolerated neighbor? Nobody. But we all know that he is pounding his chest right now."

Shortly thereafter I dropped asleep, my last consciousness being of his intensely musical whistling. And I recall that his whistling was not Verdi. It was de l'Isle.

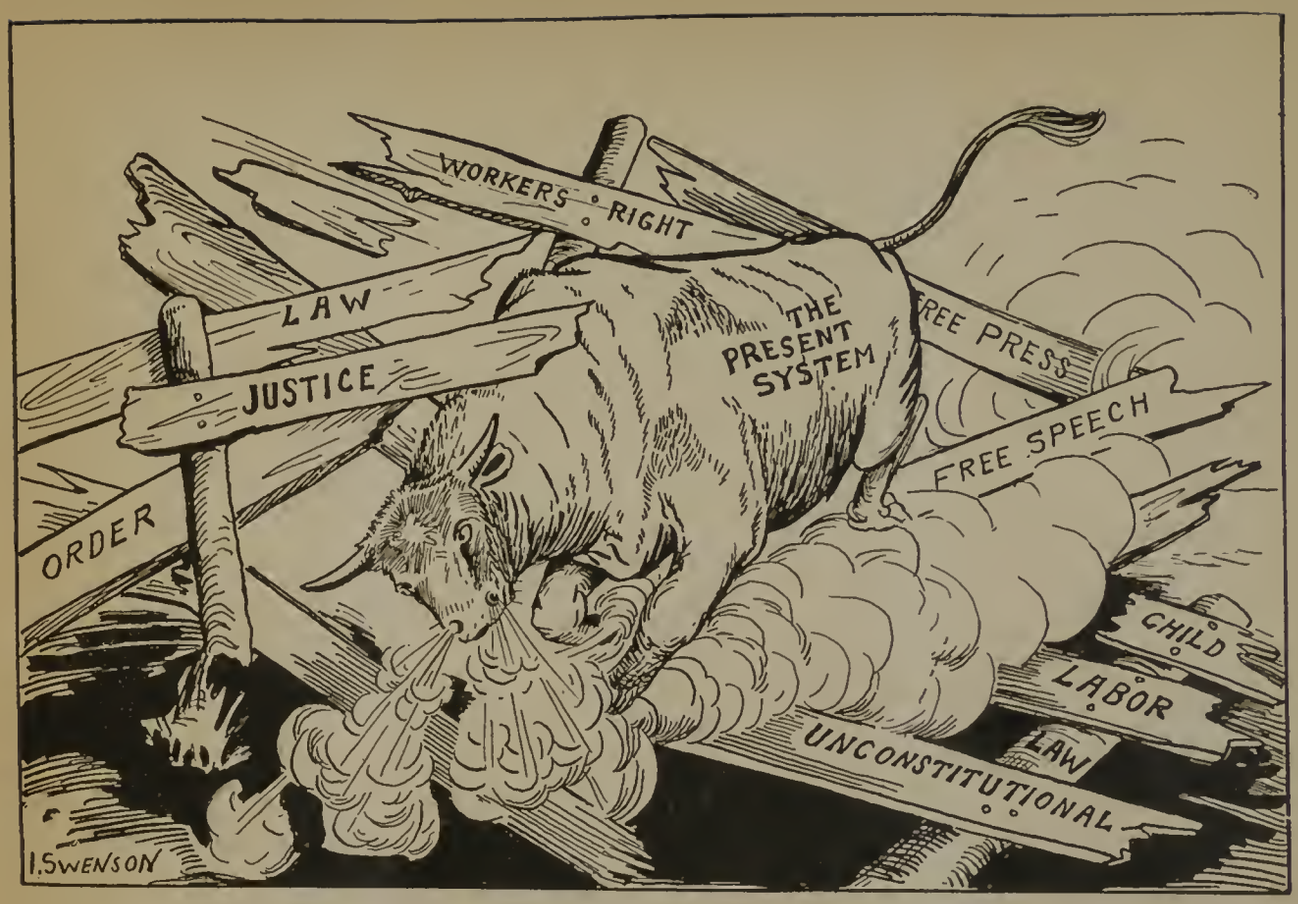
# The Disgrace at Scranton

THE claim of the Fosterites that the A. F. of L. can not be revolutionized from within because the revolutionists withdraw from it, is not in accord with facts. The reason why the A. F. of L. cannot be revolutionized from within is because the revolutionists are kicked out of it, not only metaphorically, but physically as well.

Witness the disgraceful treatment accorded to the Fosterites at the recent Scranton convention of the United Mine Workers. There John Lewis showed himself to be the strong arm man of the operators, as he created the atmosphere that lead to the beating up of the Fosterian disciples. And yet his whole conduct is characteristic of the A. F. of L., when dealing with borers from within.

But what can one who is informed expect? This conduct is not only typical of the A. F. of L., it is also logical. The A. F. of L., via the trade agreement and contract, and especially the check-off, is under obligations to corporations and associations for the enrollment and control of its membership. Without capitalists' support, the A. F. of L., and particularly its "backbone," the U. M. W., would not last long. The capitalists make the A. F. of L.

Nevertheless, despite the evidence to the contrary, now so apparent to all, the Fosterites will continue to contend that boring from within is a failure because the revolutionists withdraw from the A. F. of L. Men convinced against their will, etc.




# Civil Liberties in Los Angeles

By UPTON SINCLAIR

THE editor of the "Industrial Pioneer" has asked me to write briefly explaining what has happened here in Southern California as a result of the raid on civil liberties by the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association. I assume that this story of the harbor strike and of our arrest in connection with it will be fully told by other writers, and I will merely say a few words about the Southern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, which has been the outgrowth of these adventures.

### Talk American

It is something which I have been urging upon the rebel workers for the last twenty years, that they should talk American, and should make use of American forms of social protest. The class struggle is no new thing in America; it has been going on since the very beginning of the country, and there are among our old-time heroes a number of figures who are quite as useful to the rebel workers of today as Karl Marx and Liebnecht and Kropotkin. The orthodox hundred percenter of the present day has no remotest idea how really radical were the utterances of these ancestors, who are mentioned in every history book used in our schools. And there are a great many Americans who would be shocked by a quotation from some European "red," but who would stand by the opinions of Sam Adams, and Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson, and John Brown, and Wendell Phillips, and Abraham Lincoln.

### Dual Unions

Not all Americans are able to agree about the remedies for our present economic problems. For example, I am not able to agree with the I. W. W.; I think that dual unions are a mistake; and also I think that workers' organizations which repudiate political action are like a man who should tie up one leg and insist on hopping instead of running. But, completely as I differ from the I. W. W. program, I am willing to stand by the principle that the I. W. W. shall have a right to argue their claims; I am willing to take my chance of being able to answer the arguments of all my opponents and do not need to prove my case by throwing the other fellow into jail. I call this the real hundred percent Americanism; and I am doing what I can to organize Americans upon the principle that we shall settle our problems by free and open discussion, and by respecting the rights of all men to freedom of speech, of press, and of assemblage. We have found it possible to interest a great many Americans in this pro-

gram—people who would not classify themselves as radicals, or back any radical program.

Of course the "Times" has been quick to advance the theory that anyone who backs civil liberties must be a secret agent of the I. W. W. They have called the American Civil Liberties "the defense branch of the I. W. W."—this on the authority of a non-existent "Agent Townsend of the Department of Justice." Probably from that point of view I am unwise to write an account of our activities for an I. W. W. publication. But I fearlessly advance the thesis, in spite of all the menaces of the "Times," that I regard I. W. W.'s as human beings, and as part of the "people" whose civil rights are protected by the Constitution. And we are going on quoting that Constitution in Southern California, especially the first amendment, which specifies that:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances."

### Jefferson's Statement

Also we shall quote from the Constitution of the State of California, Article 1, Section 9: "Every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments of all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press." And Section 10: "The people shall have the right to freely assemble together to consult for the common good, to instruct their representatives, and to petition the Legislature for redress of grievances."

Also we quote a decision of the United States Supreme Court, ratifying the statement written by Thomas Jefferson, and passed by the Legislature of Virginia; Reynolds vs. United States, 98 U. S. 163:

"To suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his power into the field of opinion, or to restrain the profession or propagation of principles, on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all liberty, because he, being of course judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own. It is time enough for the rightful purpose of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order."

So much for the law. We go on to give our hundred percent business men a little taste of the radicalism of some eminent Americans; for example, George Washington:

"Government is not reason, it is not eloquence—it is force! Like fire it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master; never for a moment should it be left to irresponsible action."

And then Thomas Jefferson, who wrote during the Revolutionary War a prophecy of America a hundred and fifty years later:

"The spirit of the times may alter, will alter. Our rulers will become corrupt, our people careless. A single zealot may become persecutor, and better men be his victims. It can never be too often repeated that the time for fixing essential right, on a legal basis, is while our rulers are honest, ourselves united. **From the conclusion of this war we shall be going down hill.** It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be forgotten, therefore, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights. The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war, will be heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion."

### What Lincoln Said

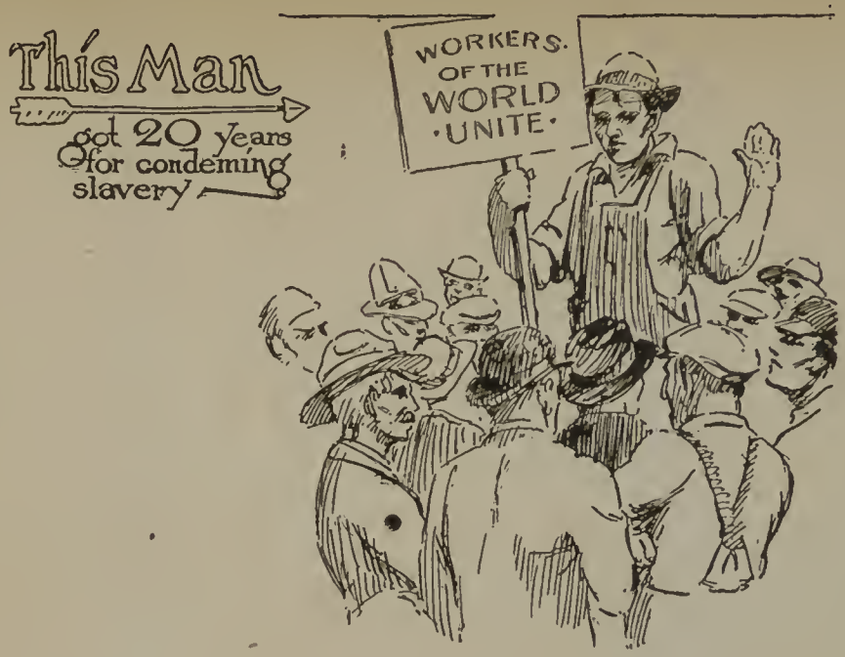
Finally, we are quoting Abraham Lincoln, two sentences for which in the State of California today he would be arrested for criminal syndicalism by the first policeman he met, and sent to San Quentin to work in the jute mill for the next twenty-eight years:

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

Our American Civil Liberties Union, Southern California branch, has fifteen volunteer committees, all of which have pledged themselves to real work.

I will give you the list of them, because there is no better way to make clear the nature of our job, which ought to be the job of true Americans in all other parts of the country. First, a committee on membership, to see to it that we get two thousand members and ten thousand names of people interested in our literature. Next, the committee on finance, to raise the six or eight thousand dollars a year which our program will require. Next, the literature committee, which will attend to the preparation of leaflets and pamphlets, and devise plans to get them into the hands of the public. Next, the speakers' committee, whose chairman is John C. Packard, an attorney of Los Angeles. This committee is going to compile a list of people who can speak and will speak on civil liberties, and make arrangements to get them before clubs and churches and other organizations which will hear them; also, to arrange for an open forum. Then the committee on jail conditions, whose chairman is the Reverend Clinton J. Taft, pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church of Los Angeles. The Ministerial Union of Los Angeles at its last monthly meeting, voted to appoint a committee to investigate jail conditions.

Next, a committee on bail. We have on this committee one tireless friend of the oppressed, who didn't wait for a committee to be organized. From the beginning of the wholesale arrests of the strikers she and a little group of friends have been busy




raising bail. I am referring to Mrs. Kate Crane Gartz, of Altadena. Next, the press committee, whose chairman is Mrs. Reuben Borough, wife of a tireless and devoted newspaper reporter, who has been busy day by day writing the stories of our movement which have been published in the Los Angeles "Record." Next, the students' committee, to work among the colleges and universities. One of our mass meetings was a meeting for students.

Next, the lawyers' committee, whose chairman is John Beardsley, attorney of Los Angeles. Not merely are we going to get a few lawyers to work in the cause of civil liberties; we are going to get them together, and teach them what civil liberty means. And the same thing with the doctors' committee, whose chairman is Dr. T. Percival Gerson, president of the Severance Club of Los Angeles. We are going to educate the doctors, and also to have their help when political prisoners are ill. Next, the club committee. There are powerful clubs in this community, some of whose active members, especially the women, are really concerned about the late collapse of the Constitution.

Next, the church committee whose chaiman is the Reverend G. Bromley Oxnam, pastor of the Church of All Nations in Los Angeles, and recent candidate for the school board. Next, the teachers' committee. The teachers had a ticket for members of the school board, and the reactionary press diligently lied about them, and they have still much teaching of the public to do. Next, the labor committee. We are going to try to get all the labor unions, the conservatives as well as the radicals. We don't think there are many workingmen who will refuse to support civil rights, if the issue is fairly presented to them. And finally, the visiting committee. This is a wonderful invention which we discovered in the course of our crisis. It produces a tremendous impression upon public officials who are violating the law, if you come to them with a large group of distinguished citizens, professional men, and ladies clad in the latest spring fashions. We are going right on calling, and have selected an excellent chairman for the purpose; the Reverend Doremus Scudder, who was until recently executive secretary of the Federation of Churches of Greater Boston, and has come out here to Southern California to make his home, after being director of Red Cross work in Siberia for several years. Dr. Scudder knows how to talk to these people; he tried it out the other day on the Y. M. C. A. directors. Some fifteen of them were summoned in solemn conclave when the terrible news leaked out that a clerk in the office had made a mistake and rented the Y. M. C. A. auditorium to our Civil Liberties Union for an organization meetng! The Y. M. C. A. secretaries came to us humbly, begging us to let them off from this frightful peril. We asked for a session with the directors, and got it. We finally agreed to go to another hall; but I assure you that our educational work is going to include the Y. M. C. A., and we shall bring some of those directors around to real Christianity and Americanism before we get through.

There were h u n d r e d s of men thrown into jail—most of them for "vagrancy," though they have families and homes. They were beaten and tortured, and held under most atrocious conditions; and the Y. M. C. A. would not permit us to hold a meeting to tell the public about it! "I was hungry, and ye fed me not; sick in prison, and ye visited me not!"

We are going to try to change some of these things; and we hope that when the next strike comes at the harbor, the I. W. W. will help us by being as orderly and as wise as they were during the last strike. You may be interested to know that Police Captain Plummer told my brother-in-law, Hunter Kimbrough, that he had no fault to find with the way the wobblies had handled the strike—they had kept order excellently!

# Practical Internationalism

THE I. W. W. is nothing, if not practical. It believes in internationalism; and stands ready to assist any part of the world's working class as occasion requires. This is shown in a recent issue of Industrial Solidarity, wherein its readers are called on to support the German seamen's strike. According to despatches from Emden, Germany: The Deutscher Schiffartsbund (a marine transport workers' union of Germany) is on strike. In a communication sent to branches of Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510 of the I. W. W., the workers in this industry in Germany ask for support, especially to have the news of the strike spread on all German ships. The statement of the Deutscher Schiffartsbund is to the effect that the strike was a spontaneous one, originating in the great need of the German seafarers, and that the above mentioned union had taken over the work of organizing the strike, as other organization had failed to do so.

The chief demands are for an increase of wages, the enforcement of certain parts of the labor laws, and for the hiring of workers through a union hall.

The German Marine transport workers may rely on I. W. W. assistance in spreading the strike.

## Refuse to Handle These Ships

POSTAL CABLE from London to I. W. W. says six thousand English dock workers are on strike. Ask fellow workers to refuse to handle English Merchant ships. Strike in England being run by Rank and File. Yours for Industrial Solidarity.

(Signed) STORROCK
Secretary London Strike Committee, Black Road and Canning Town, London.

# New Russian Policy Success

DR. LOUIS LEVINE, well-known for his studies in American syndicalism and Montana taxation, is recently back from Russia. He predicts the success of the new economic policy of the Russian government. He is of the opinion that while in the past there was a tendency to magnify the Russian experiment, there now is a tendency to belittle it—both of which tendencies he regarded as unfortunate. Russia's first venture in public ownership, in 1919, he said, was an attempt to socialize everything. Whether it failed or not, he declared, depends on the tests one applies.

"Taking into account," he pursued, "the results of war, blockade, and previous destruction, there is no doubt that it broke under the strain. **But political-mindedness was one of the main causes of the collapse. Socialized industry needs technicians, not politicians.** Neither were the consumers educated to co-operate in the new system. The Russians, too, were working under a delusion as to the efficiency of centralized management. They overdid centralization.

"But the new track on which Russia has started, called the new economic policy, is fundamentally public ownership of key industries—but public ownership not primarily for use but for profit. **It is state capitalism.** In the last two years it has shown that there is no efficiency that capitalism has developed which will not work under this system. **From the point of view of the worker, notwithstanding it leaves much to be desired. It does not protect the workers entirely from exploitation and abuse."**

# The New Idealism

WHAT the members of the working class need is a new idealism. They need faith in their own indefinite possibilities. They are intended to be more than the mere drawers of water and hewers of wood for the profits of others. They are destined, did they but realize it, to be the controllers of their own fate and the builders of a new race of supermen.

The working class, to attain the new idealism, must first recognize the worth of its own members. Though life is impossible without their labors, though no railroad can run, nor any other economic function be performed without their time, attention, skill and ability, the workers regard themselves as the dross instead of the true metals of life. It is time to end such self-depreciation and to awaken to a consciousness of the real greatness of the working class.

The times need men, not alone of brains and brawn, but of self-respect and ideals.

# Tony the Immigrant

By PASQUALE RUSSO

### The Class Struggle in Italy

EVERY day in 1910 the class struggle in Italy was growing more bitter. The Dynasty of Savoy was trembling before the advancing proletariat whose victories threatened to end the inhuman and barbaric rule of the capitalist class.

Agitators were everywhere North and South, preaching Socialistic doctrines. In substance these agitators said to the working class: "By adopting the fundamental principles of Socialism you may abolish poverty, starvation, misery and usher in an era of justice for all who toil."

That these teachings were effective was evidenced in the number of adherents gained and the clash of the classes so frequent and violent that the rulers decided to put a stop to it. However, they realized that to do this openly would be folly, nay, suicidal. The rulers were conscious of the fact that the workers were well organized and action on the part of the government that thwarted their plans would mark the beginning of civil war in Italy. In fact, the class struggle had developed to such a point that the rule of the capitalist class was threatened and there was a real danger of them being overthrown and supplanted.

### Capitalists Not Fatalists

Capitalists are not by any means fatalists, and in order to avert this calamity they assembled in conclave for the purpose of forestalling the advance of workingmen's opinion and activities.

These meetings were held in camera and attended by the great money lords with their retainers from all parts of Italy. Prominent among the attendants were the professional butchers, commonly called Generals, and with them the Bishops, ready to bless any action that would abort or defeat the workers' hope.

The principal subject discussed at the meetings was the method to crush the labor movement. The most efficient means, they concluded, of crushing the laborers was by a war. This they knew would arouse the workers to a defense of nationalism, distract their attention from the immediate problems and transfer it to the saving of the country.

It was decided that an invasion of Turkey was to be the first move in this direction. The necessary ardor for the undertaking was to be engendered through the agency of the newspapers which exercised a powerful influence over the working class.

Immediately the newspapers began a campaign of well directed calumnies about some atrocities which at that time were alleged to have been committed by the Turks. The truth or falsity of the reports were unverifiable owing to the inaccessability of Turkey. A robbery or street fight in Turkey was magnified by the newspapers into a premeditated offense against the liberties of the Italian people. The newspapers implied each day that Turkey was a barbarous nation and that it was Italy's duty as mistress of civilization to give Turkey lessons in Latin-Roman culture.

Italy, posing as the guardian of small nations, was ready, for the glory of Italian imperialism, to slaughter, rape and destroy another people whose only crime was that they were born in another land.

### The War

This propaganda against Turkey met with success and in one year from its inception the directors found it advisable to openly declare war on Turkey. Some fifteen years previously the Italian nation had been quite severely trounced by Menelik, the Abyssinian Emperor, and in defeat the Italian workers had been the chief sufferers. But the great mass of mankind have short memories, much credulity, and when the war was proposed it was received with avidity and enthusiasm. A few weeks later the workers laid down their tools, marched away accoutred for war. Here, the Church, capitalistic institution that it is, played its part by encouraging the workers in their war on the infidel Turks.

The only unified opposition to the Turkish-Italian War was made by the membership of the Socialist Party. They were the chief promoters of the general strike which took place in Rome and several other Italian cities. All these strikes were lost and this was evidence of the powerful hold that the war propaganda had on the great mass of the people.

At this time Benito Mussolini, who so recently has attained notoriety as the father of Fascismo, was editor of the Socialist daily paper Avanti, and through the medium of its columns he valiantly denounced the war and its promoters. Since then Mussolini has changed front and is now the agent of the capitalized Italian brigandage practiced on the working class.

One of the chief causes of the failure of the general strike, mentioned previously, was the defection of many of the revolutionary leaders who joined with the war propagandists. Most notable among these was the labor fakir and renegade Socialist, Enrico Ferri. For a mess of pottage, this Judas of the Italian Socialist Party sold himself to the enemies of the workers, the capitalist class.

Another factor that defeated the general strike and furthered the war on Turkey, was the glib promises of the ruling class. They promised a speedy ending of the war, an era of prosperity immediately thereafter; so much so, said they, that no one would have the desire to emigrate.

The war lasted something over one year, the capitalist class of Italy being victorious. In winning the war two objects had been attained, one the de-

feat of Turkey, the other the defeat of labor. Labor, as usual, lost everything, including most of the liberties it had previously enjoyed.

### Emigration

This loss of freedom, unemployment and other miseries growing out of war caused the workers to look toward emigration for relief. Constantly, in all Southern European countries, American industrial barons maintain agents who go among the laborers and try to induce them to emigrate to America. The trap is laid by attractive advertisements appealing to maids, cooks, all kinds of domestic servants and skilled artisans, setting forth the possibilities of good wages, comfortable homes with an abundance of freedom, in the Western World. Consequently, thousands of European workers fall into the trap annually.

Tony, the son of a village blacksmith, came into possession of some of this alluring advertising literature and in a short while his heart was aflame with hope. He ran to his mother, telling her, with bated breath, about the great land of opportunities overseas. His mother, more experienced and wiser, told him quite frankly that the advertisements for the most part were misleading and were a misrepresentation of the actual conditions in America. She pointed out to him that while she herself had never been to America, she was confident that where there is a capitalist class there is to be found tyranny, also.

### Longs for Liberty

Tony, little heeding, insisted by saying: "Mother, I want to go to 'the Land of the Free'." In due course the mother capitulated, the boy had his way, and preparations for the journey went forward apace.

The mother, by dint of much economy, had during her life, saved something over 100 lires. Tony's journey to America would cost at least 250 lires. In order to obtain the required amount, the mother sold a cow and several pieces of furniture.

In the morning of the day previous to Tony's leave, he attended mass, kissed the hand of the village curate and hastened home to spend the remaining few hours with his mother.

During the evening many friends called, bidding him goodby and wishing him good luck on his voyage. Early the next morning, with a bag full of chestnuts, salame and cheese, Tony set off down the road toward the seaport town. Two days later Tony was aboard the ship that was to carry him from Naples to the "Land of the Free."

Aboard the ship were thousands of men and women who, much the same as Tony, had been innocently victimized. Most of them had grown tired of the system of exploitation in Italy and were willing to go to an alien land in the hope that it might be a paradise of liberty.

The voyage from Naples to New York were the happiest days that had ever come to Tony. All along the trip, night and day, there was singing and dancing and general merry-making. To the passengers the day of deliverance was at hand, and in a short while they would begin a happier existence.

The voyage of fourteen days was happy, indeed, and ended dramatically by the sight of the Statue of Liberty. This was a moment of keen delight; emotion ran high, and Tony, engrossed in the spirit of the event, was heard to shout: "Hurrah for America, the 'Land of the Free!'"

### Tony In America

Immediately upon landing, Tony was given a red colored card. Not being acquainted with the English language, Tony imagined it was a membership card in the Socialist Party. Later he learned in a conversation with a Sicilian, that the card was a means of identification as to destination.

Attaching the card to his coat lapel he was hustled into a large truck where, with many others, he was packed in like so many sardines. In spite of the confusion, inconvenience and excitement, Tony imagined he was in heaven. This fancy bordered on reality when a fellow countryman took him to a barroom and treated him to some American beer. Some time later he actually entered paradise by visiting a moving picture theatre.

These days of idleness, luxury and pleasure had passed all too quickly, and Tony was soon facing a serious situation. His funds were getting low and it seemed that the only way out of the dilemma was to go to work. The landlady at his lodging house, a good Christian, said to him: "My dear boy, your rent is due. If you fail to pay, out you go. You are now in America, where business is business."

### Hunting a Job

The following Monday Tony began seeking a position. Just at this time in New York there were thousands of men out of employment and a corresponding scarcity of jobs. From one place to another, hour after hour, Tony sought the elusive job. Apparently, no employment was to be had. Growing weary, he found a convenient street-box, and seating himself, began turning over his experiences in his mind. It began to dawn upon him that possibly "the Land of the Free" might be a myth—and spectre-like the form of his landlady, her sharp admonition, came distinctly into his consciousness. These two past incidents seemed somehow related to one another. Suddenly, and without warning, he received a painful blow on the head. Raising his head, he looked about and became aware that he had been hit by a policeman's club. Meanwhile, the policeman said: "Move on, Dago!"

For the balance of the week Tony spent the day looking for work and evading policemen. On Saturday night, true to her word, the landlady informed him that he would have to seek lodgings elsewhere.

For the next few weeks, Tony's sleeping time

was spent in a barn. One morning, after days of hardships and sleepless nights, Tony decided to join a legion of hoboes, who, as he knew, went from place to place begging a living. In his travels as a hobo he visited many cities, and in each he sought employment. In each place he had the same difficulties and hardships. In all industries he found the same conditions, the same indignities, the same system of robbery. In a very short time Tony came to the conclusion that it was not the "Land of the Free," but a land of oppression and robbery; freedom and liberty, it was evident, had died long ago.

### Tony Goes to Work

One evening, while lounging about in the corridor of a ten cent hotel, a man asked him if he wished to go to work. Smilingly, Tony answered in the affirmative. Shortly afterward Tony went to his room, but sleep was not for him; a job in sight, his troubles would end—this was happiness indeed. That night he resolved to work hard, save his money and help his dear old mother over in Italy. These pleasant thoughts ran through his mind all night, keeping him awake, and in the morning, without waiting for the alarm clock, he was ready to work and thereby make an honest living.

Leaving his house Tony went to a nearby restaurant, had some coffee and rolls, and then nervously, hastily, set forth on foot to the factory where he was to sell his labor power.

At the factory he was met by the time-keeper who plied him with questions such as "How long have you been in this country?" "Are you a member of the I. W. W.?" and many others that appeared to our inexperienced Tony as both useless and foolish. Then the time-keeper gave Tony a brass check on which was engraved the number "13." This number gave Tony a pause, and some misgivings came to him about going to work.

Thinking the matter over in his mind for a few moments he decided to refer it to "Mack," a large, husky, good natured son of Erin, and foreman of the factory. Mack was a good Catholic and never overlooked an opportunity to be in church during services. His good qualities both as man and churchgoer, however, at no time deterred him from getting drunk several times a week. Mack was also rather proficient in profanity, and, like all Irishmen indulged this proclivity quite freely.

While seeking the foreman, Tony questioned the janitor regarding Mack's whereabouts. The janitor was a member of the I. W. W., rather kindly disposed towards his fellow workingmen and in a very genial manner showed him the foreman's office. A second or so later Tony stepped into the office and was greeted with a hearty "Hello." After receiving instructions, Tony removed his coat and was deeply engrossed in the work assigned him, a little later.

As Tony became adjusted and familiar with the surroundings and the daily routine of his work, his leading temperamental characteristics began to manifest themselves. Now, our Tony was a young man with a vast amount of pride, and his pride was very sensitive indeed. On the other hand, Mack, after years of man-handling, had grown accustomed to trample on the pride of any man under his domination. At intervals, Mack would go among the employes commanding, "Hurry up, boys, hurry!" These words were offensive to Tony, and being repeated day after day, began in time to rankle in his mind. Pondering, Tony finally came to the conclusion that conditions on the job were extremely unpleasant; that he was a slave; that he produced a great amount of wealth and his remuneration in the form of wages was only a pittance.

As the lunch hour came daily, Tony's mind was given over to musings of his mother and Sunny Italy. Tony was homesick, and as the malady grew his appetite vanished. The janitor, ever alert for the organization which he held dear and noting Tony's discontent, approached saying: "Fellow worker, don't worry; worrying is to no purpose. Slow down with your work, produce less—thus only can the boss be made to understand. Organize with your fellow workers; join the I. W. W. Here is the preamble, take it home and read it carefully. Then mail to the nearest local secretary an application with a two dollar fee, and you will become a union man, conscious of your rights with a power to assist you in enforcing them." At this juncture the whistle blew and Tony resumed his labors for the afternoon.

At the end of the day Tony went to his room. Weary though he was, he read the document given him by the janitor, and a profound impression was made on him. In discussing the matter with the janitor the following day, he remarked that he was now interested in securing literature of a similar character. With this the janitor handed him a copy of the then current Industrial Solidarity, a weekly paper published by the General Executive Board of the I. W. W.

### Getting Acquainted With the Class Struggle

Reading the paper that night, Tony became aware for the first time that the society round about him was divided into two distinct and warring economic classes. In his reading they were designated as the "working class" and the "employing class," and with no great difficulty was he able to follow the reasoning. In time Tony came to know this as the class struggle, realizing that it must go on till the economic power of the world is in the hands of the workers themselves.

The conclusions arrived at by reading the I. W. W. publications were forcibly driven home by a campaign of villification and slander then being conducted by the capitalistically-influenced newspapers. These papers almost daily referred to the I. W. W. as "an outlaw band of murderers and criminals," "an association of criminals," etc. In the meantime Tony learned that these statements were false, and

engendered by a sordid interest against an upright and well intentioned organization.

However, each day these falsehoods were broadcasted by the newspapers and the calumnies hurled at the I. W. W., resulted in a fierce persecution of that organization by the government, local vigilantes committees and other patriotic organizations.

In numerous parts of the United States, thousands of workers were flogged and mobbed; many were killed, and all in the name of 100 percent Americanism. But probably for no less reason than to make America safe for organized capital.

Had the promoters of this campaign of slander been acquainted with Tony, they would have been both disappointed and surprised at the effect produced in his mind by their efforts. By antithesis, Tony became convinced that the only real advocate of fundamental Americanism was the I. W. W., whose membership had and was demonstrating a willingness to fight and die for the freedom of the working class.

All this happened while Tony was in Butte, Mont., but there came a day when he conceived the idea of becoming a student at Northwestern University in Chicago. Acting on this idea he gave up his position, bid the janitor goodby and made his way to Chicago.

### University of Knowledge

Arriving in Chicago, Tony visited the university, gleaned some facts, and finally concluded that universities, like all other capitalistic institutions, were directed and controlled in the interest of a property owning class.

One day, while walking west on Madison street, Chicago, Tony found another university. It was somewhat to his liking, and in due course he came to the conclusion that it was quite the best university in the United States. This was evidenced by the fact that it had contributed more to the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery than all the universities and colleges combined. This university was, in truth, a university of knowledge and bore on the window this legend, "Headquarters of the I. W. W."

"Here is an opportunity," thought Tony, as he entered it, "to help crush industrial autocracy in America." After a little conference with the fellow workers in charge, Tony became a member and resolved to do what he could in furthering so worthy a cause.

In the I. W. W. he had found a real university; here was literature with something of educational value to the workers, and for them to be mindful of it would be instruction for them.

As a member of this great university, Tony traveled from city to city, from coast to coast, preaching the doctrines of Industrial Unionism and thereby arousing interest in the cause to which he had pledged himself. Often, in the course of his experience he was beaten, tarred and feathered, even jailed for opinions or some activity, but at no time did he waver or swerve from his aim of assisting in the freeing of the working class from the yoke of industrial slavery.

To Tony the crisis came in 1917. At that time the American capitalist class was very active in inducing the people of the United States to join the world slaughter of the workers then going on in Europe. The turning point came on April 6th of that year, when President Wilson answered the appeal of Wall Street with a declaration of war on the Imperial Government of Germany.

Soon after this came a second declaration of war, this time against the rights of the American people and was in the form of an Espionage law, which deprived all citizens of such freedom as they had. To review the whole of the law and its effects would lead us far from our theme, but it will suffice to say that by the means of this law the American people lost the right of free speech, free press and the right to assemble peaceably. In its train also it brought a reign of terror. Hundreds of periodicals were denied the use of the mails, many clubs and organizations were raided, forcibly disbanded, properties destroyed by organized bands of hoodlums.

The objective of most of these attacks was the I. W. W., and thousands of members of this organization paid in suffering for loyalty to the working class. For this loyalty many were injured, hundreds were jailed, and scores gave their lives.

### In Jail For Freedom

During these turbulent times, Tony, one evening, was speaking on a street corner in Bisbee, Ariz. For two hours the crowd had stood and listened with respectful attention, when suddenly and without warning, Tony was savagely attacked, and a little later lay in the street bleeding from many wounds. It developed later that the slugging of Tony was the work of several patriotic American citizens. Which, of course, is quite the customary procedure in dealing with people who entertain opposite views from the capitalists.

When Tony came to consciousness the next day, he found himself in the city jail. After several days he was informed that he had been indicted—that a federal warrant was awaiting him together with 166 members of the same organization for an alleged plot against the government.

Some days later Tony was taken to Chicago where he was placed on trial. It was not before the court of justice in the ordinary meaning of that term. Rather, it was a traversity on justice, presided over by a biased judge with a hand-picked jury in attendance. The trial was concluded by sending all the indicted men to the penitentiary for periods ranging from ten to twenty years.

At the penitentiary began a new experience, this time as a political prisoner, giving up his liberty for the cause he loved so well.

Five years have come and gone, but that his spirit

# A Visit to Liberty Hill

NEW YORK, metropolis of the Atlantic, has its Liberty statue.

It is not the fault of the lady on the pedestal that the Wall Street pirates and others of their ilk, who today control our halls of legislature and our courts, are making her a liar.

For many decades she was the beacon light of freedom to the oppressed of many nations who came to find liberty and justice on these shores.

Los Angeles Harbor (San Pedro) has no statue of liberty but it has Liberty Hill.

Liberty Hill today is probably the one spot in California where freedom of speech and freedom of assemblage exist.

Somehow, in spite of the criminal syndicalism law, in spite of the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, and other reactionary influences which control this state, their power seems to stop at the foot of Liberty Hill.

Liberty Hill rises about 200 feet above the level of Third street, several flights of crude stone steps leading up to it.

### A Public-Spirited Woman

It is private property, the use of which has been granted the M. T. W. 510 of the I. W. W. by its public-spirited woman owner, and thus you find on top of it hand-made wooden benches seating about 800 people, a small platform 6 by 9, and standing room for several thousand, some of which is always occupied, and often it is taxed to capacity.

Here on this hill the I. W. W. holds five meetings each week, outside of their business meetings, which are always attended by from between one and three thousand for the English meetings and by from five to eight hundred for those held in the Spanish language.

We had promised ourselves the treat of being present at one of these meetings for quite some time, and had promised the fellow workers time and again to be there, but until Saturday, the 18th, something had always happened to prevent us.

We had heard the wondrous story of the fight the boys did make; we had written about it, and had expressed our opinion that it was the most wonderful thing in our experience, but now since we have been there we'll have to say "the half has never yet been told!"

We wish that somebody with more power of description was writing this article, for we know that we shall not be able to more than half convey to you the spirit of liberty and loyalty to the class struggle which exists in San Pedro and finds its best manifestations in the meetings on Liberty Hill.

When we left Los Angeles it was cool; probably the coolest night of the summer, and we remarked as we closed the door of the Defense office: "Well, there won't be many at the meeting tonight!"

### A Sea of Listeners

When we mounted the platform on Liberty Hill a sea of faces stared up at us from the benches, and most of the standing room was taken.

There has been one peculiar feature about this revival of industrial unionism in Los Angeles County —while the men were on trial in Court 19 (twenty-two), and the men who are on trial in Court 12 now (twenty-seven), naturally, did only a small portion of the wonderful work which has been done, they were always in the front part of the front trenches, even while their trials were going on.

### No. 510 Active

Not too much praise can be given the local membership of Marine Transport Workers' I. U. 510 in San Pedro, not too much can be said for those go-getting, class-conscious delegates who came up from the East Coast, but they got part of their inspiration from the fact that the men who were on trial in jeopardy of their liberty in court five hours each day, and spending many more hours in the law library and pouring over transcripts, found time and had the energy and the spirit to make the welkin ring with their exhortations and to move about all over Los Angeles County distributing literature, expounding the gospel of industrial unionism, and lining up members right and left.

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is not broken is evidenced by the following appeal which he makes to the working class of America:

### "Fellow Workers"

"A gigantic struggle is going on in America. Especially is this true of California. In Los Angeles, San Pedro and various other localities, the workers are being persecuted for belonging to an organization opposed to the interests of organized capital.

"For this, hundreds of members of the I. W. W. are in jail, thereby losing their liberty and each subjected to inhuman and brutal treatment. They and we are in jail for you, and it is only just to us that you do something for yourselves that our great sacrifice may not be in vain.

"Organize Industrially, should be your answer to us. Let your answer be one of solidarity. Are you a scab to your class? Are you an enemy to the workers, to their cause, to yourself? If you are not, you can best do your part by becoming a member of the I. W. W.

"Fellow workers, whoever you are, black or white, Chinese or American, French or Italian, join against the common enemy of the working class: the industrial overlords who oppress you.

"Fellow Workers, do your duty, and in this way you will make America the 'Land of the Free.'

"Refrain from reading the capitalist newspapers and patronize your own publications where news that is reliable and dependable is to be found.

"All together! march against the common enemy, with the motto: 'An injury to one is an injury to all'."

Things had been moving at a fairly good rate up until March 15, when five of our fellow workers were not only found guilty, but for the first time in the history of California, sentenced to serve their terms on both counts consecutively, thus making their sentences from two to 28 years.

This, we have positive information, was done at the direct command of the Chamber of Commerce, with the idea that it would scare the delegates as well as their prospects.

### When Persecution Goes Wrong

When this became known among those of us who were on trial in Court 19 at the time, as well as the membership in general, we were filled with a Berserker rage and a determination to "show them."

Men who had been keeping on the side lines and never dreamed about taking credentials were writing letters in to their respective industrial unions for credentials and supplies, to be sent by RETURN MAIL.

Instead of quietly and unobservedly trying to get now and then a new member who might be of benefit to the organization, we went up and down the streets of Los Angeles, San Pedro, and many other towns with our papers and leaflets sticking out of our pockets and our credentials and books in our hands, and there was such an activity as the Pacific Coast has never seen before, and it has not ceased or diminished, and we have now gained such a membership and such a foothold in Los Angeles County that we can never be dislodged.

### An International Audience

The audience on Liberty Hill was as attentive and inspiring as any speaker wants to face or has faced.

Hundreds of women and children, hundreds of Spaniards and Mexicans, Italians, Bulgarians, Croatians, Greeks, colored and Japanese fellow workers, were there.

Men of the Merchant Marine, in their natty uniforms, dock workers in their overalls, and others in their Sunday best, fishermen, carpenters, clerks, cooks, waiters and waitresses, business men, lawyers, and doctors—they all were there, and listened for three hours to what us "pesky-go-abouts" had to say.

The peculiar thing about this meeting, and which characterized most meetings and a good portion of the whole movement here, was that out of the five wobbly speakers three of them came from the twenty-seven now on trial and one was the "man who conspired with himself," who is now out on bond pending appeal, having been convicted on May 15, in Court 19.

There was no holding back and no concealment. Industrial unionism was taught straight from the shoulder; our ultimate aim—the abolition of wage slavery—was openly proclaimed.

New converts were given their little red cards in sight of thousands and of the police.

The Chamber of Commerce was plainly charged with the foul murder of Fellow Worker Paul Borgen.

The speaking lasted for over three hours; all listened attentatively; almost none left during this long meeting, and there were no interruptions except by volleys of applause.

### A Singing Movement

And the singing!

When the words rang from two thousand throats "We know that every wobbly true will carry on the fight," you knew that the singers meant it. And when we finished with the song of the "Red Flag" and came to the words "With hats uncovered swear we all to fight beneath it till we fall," without any suggestion every man's hat came off, the audience rose as one man, and when you looked at their solemn determined faces, you knew that at least here in San Pedro there are thousands of men and women who, no matter what comes, no matter in what way the viciousness of the master class may manifest tself, will live and die for the workers' cause.

### Well Named!

LIBERTY HILL!—it is well named, for the spirit which created it, the spirit which manifests itself on it, is spreading all over the county and farther, like wild fire.

It is a spirit not created by sentiment or emotionalism but an outcome of the greatest educational campaign ever waged anywhere among the workers.

It is a spirit which will not and cannot be quenched. It is the spirit which, before many more years have passed, will sweep away the profit system, and the sin, misery and degradation which are a part of it, and which will usher in the Workers' Co-operative Commonwealth.

### Inspiration for All

If you need inspiration, if your faith in the victorious onward sweep of the advancing proletariat needs to be strengthened, if your mind and heart needs to be filled with the certainty of coming victory, come on to Liberty Hill in San Pedro.

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### Sinclair Case Dismissed

CALIFORNIA. The case against Sinclair, Kimbrough, Hopkins and Hardyman, arrested on May 15th for attempting to hold an open-air free speech meeting in San Pedro, have been dismissed in the Los Angeles police court.

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Gee! If William Jennings Bryan would only say with HIS Creator: "Let there be light—"

# Cartoons from I. W. W. Press

**A Profitable Transfusion.**

From Tie Vapauteen

**Aesop Up-to-date.**

From Industrial Solidarity

**MUST SOON CLIMB OFF**

From Industrial Worker

## THE I. W. W. PRESS

The I. W. W. is an institution that every reader of Industrial Pioneer should get acquainted with more fully. It was the first to tell the true story of the so-called Herrin "massacre" and to expose the murder of Martin Tabert in the lumber camps of Florida. For news of the labor movement and criticism of capitalism, it can't be beat.

The I. W. W. press consists of the following 12 publications in nine different languages:

**Industrialisti** (Finnish), daily, subscription per year, $4.50. Address Box 464, Duluth, Minn.

**Industrial Worker,** twice a week, per year, $4. Box 1857, Seattle, Wash.

**Industrial Solidarity,** weekly, per year, $2.00.

**Industrial Pioneer,** monthly, per year, $2.00.

**Solidaridad** (Spanish), twice a month, per year, $1.

**Golos Truzenika,** (Russian), twice a month, per year, $1.50.

**A Felszabadulas,** (Hungarian), weekly, per year, $2.

**Il Proletario, (Italian),** weekly, per year, $2.00.

**Tie Vapauteen,** (Finnish), monthly, per year, $1.75.

**Rabotnicheska Mysl,** (Bulgarian) monthly, per year, $2.00.

**Jedna Velka Unie,** (Czecko-Slovak), monthly, per year, $1.00.

Address all above nine publications at 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Send subscriptions there.

**Muncitorul,** (Roumanian), weekly, per year, $1.00. Address 13492 Orleans St., Detroit, Mich.

Drop a postal for sample copies.

# Harken to the Hammers

By LAWRENCE BENYON

HARKEN to the hammers, endlessly hammering,
The din of wheels, the drone of wheels, the furnaces
Panting, where man as in a demon-palace toils
To forge the giant creatures of his brain.

He has banished the spring and the innocence of leaves
From the blackened waste he has made; the infected sky
Glooms with a sun aghast, and the murk of the night
Is peopled with tall flames like spirits insane.

He strips himself to the heat, not of the jovial sun,
But of the scorch of furnaces; with naked breast
Sweating beneath the iron and blear glass, amid
The hammers' hammering and the wheels' roar.

Not with the grapes of October trodden underfoot
Spurting juices of ripeness in runnels, his vats
Brim, but with gushes flickered-over and blinding,
Unshapen spilth and blaze of molten ore.

With a finger he lifts the weight of mountain-sides
Poised; the metal mass he shears red-hot in a trice;
He gives to the animate iron thews of force,
A Titan's pulse, and breath of fiery draught.

Monsters mightier far than himself he creates
To swim storming seas, and to mount in miles of air,
To deride Space and the old opposition of Time:
Their speed is like strong drink that he has quaffed.

He has the tamed lightning to do his bidding, draws
Energies out of the veins of earth; he is armed
From all elements, woven as in a magic web;
He has stolen seeds of Death, wherewith to fight.

He holds fabled terrors of the ancient gods in his hand—
In a handful of dust, earthquake and pestilence;
He exults to destroy, to obliterate, to be
Lord of the powers of the engulfing night.

Deafened with the hammers, inebriate with the sound
Of the powers he has raised out of their jealous lair,
He has fever within him, he becomes dizzy,
And craves, and knows not whither he is bound.

Shall he attain god-like felicity of ease,
Supreme articulate voice of nature's striving,
Or builds he a vast prison for himself, a slave
With iron of his own strong forging crowned?

O where is now the dew-dropt radiance of morning,
That sistered with him rock and reed and rippling stream,
When simple of heart in the sun with a free body
He accepted all the boundaries of his mind?

Full of fears he was then, shadowed with helpless need
To propitiate Powers that threatened each footstep.
Has he escaped from those old terrors, to be prey
Of fears more terrible because less blind?

# An Oliver Twist

CHICAGO, Ill.—Please give us more of the articles by Pasquale Russo. His article, "Revolutionary History of The Workers," appearing in the July issue of the Industrial Pioneer was a masterpiece.

Mr. Russo shows he has ability as a historian and he presents facts to the readers about the origin of past revolutions that cannot be found in the average history.

I have also read several of his poems and articles in, "Industrial Solidarity" and I like his style of writing very much.

I wish to congratulate you on having such able writers on your staff.

Yours sincerely,

**Louis Wilhelm Rauckman.**

# Wages, Prosperity, Depression

## A REVIEW BY PHILLIP TAFT

OUR wages is the foundation of our well-being and culture, the determing force of the health, comfort, leisure and education of the wage earner under our present industrial system, and whether we can appreciably raise the present standards depends on our ability to increase the contents of our pay envelope,—such is the keynote of the first chapter of "The Control of Wages," by Walton Hamilton and Stacy May.

The authors examine and dispose of the iron law of wages theory, i. e., that the terms of demand for labor meet the supply at a price which allows the laborer a bare subsistence. For, if perchance the rate of wages was higher the increase in reproduction would bring about an increase in the number of laborers, and beat it down. If it were lower, its inability to sustain life would remove the laborers to a brighter world and allow the rate to attain its normal level.

### The Wage Fund

Another wage theory examined by the authors is the wage fund. According to this theory there exists in society a separate fund, set aside by business enterprises for the payment of wages, and an increase to any certain set of workers must be at the expense of another group; for the real wages, consisting of particular goods, cannot be substantially increased, as the goods are not available. But the authors point out that, in time, it is possible to divert the fabrication of articles from the leisure class to that of necessities. We can also consider exports. The large surplus of food products that is wasted, through being allowed to rot and the possibility that an increase in the nominal wage would add to the workers' buying power, making it possible to utilize the productive powers of the unemployed, prove the inaccuracy of the theory that wages are governed by a special fund, set aside for the purpose.

### Making the Consumer Pay

In analyzing the methods by which the laborers' wages can be increased, the authors warn the worker that wage raises often shift the burden on the unorganized consumer. In other words, the manufacturer can very often shift the wage increase onto the back of the consumer. The bitter opposition exhibited by the employers against any attempt at a wage increase by the workers—the expenditure of thousands of dollars through the hiring of strike-breakers and guards at relatively exorbitant wages, as in the last railroad and coal strikes, for instance —is conclusive proof of the fallacy of that theory. In order for a condition of that kind to be possible, it would necessitate the control of the entire industrial system in fewer hands than at present exists. It would not only necessitate monopoly in one industry, but the control of the entire industrial resources of the country in so few hands as to eliminate idle capital, and all outsiders looking for an investment opportunity, by taking advantage of the high charges of existing organization to enter into competition with it.

### The Iron Man

That the morale of the workers is not a great factor in machine production is contended by the authors. Where work has been reduced to routine, the machine sets the pace; and the laborer must accommodate his efforts to the iron man he obeys. Where quantity production prevails and the various operations have been fitted into a mechanism that moves like clockwork, the laborers' will is just as mute as the machine.

We have raised our wage standards immensely in the last century; and if the wages are still too low, in comparison with the high productivity of the laborers, it is due to the ignorance and lack of strength of the laborers, who have allowed the huge progress in invention and technique to be diverted to the extravagance and splendor of their exploiters.

### The Business Cycle

One of the sources of wage increase, the authors suggest, is the elimination of the business cycle, or periodic depression—a period of industrial prosperity, followed by increased unemployment, more stringent finances, and misery and suffering generally. The so-called business cycles are primarily due to the large surplus produced by the workers and a lack of foreign markets in which to dispose of it. One of the best ways to eliminate them is to raise wages to a point where it will be possible for the workers, through their increased purchasing power, to absorb surplus production.

### Increased Efficiency

The authors, though recognizing the opposition of organized labor to increased efficiency propaganda, speculate on the possibility of increased efficiency enabling the workers to augment their real wages without engendering opposition, an attempt to separate some of the rent, interest and profit from some of the groups drawing incomes from investments.

The fact that real wages, or the buying power of wages, have decreased in the last twenty years, in spite of the tremendous increase in productivity of labor, would seem to vitiate such speculation.

### Wasted Resources

A source of increased industrial output—an increase devolving on labor—is the utilization of all human resources. Involuntary idleness, i. e., unemployment, which exists even in times of great industrial prosperity and becomes acute in times of industrial depression, is recognized as an inestimable waste of potential productivity by the authors. Of course, these problems touch the very roots of

# Industrialist vs. Statist

SOCIALISTS and communists insist that the powers of government must first be captured before a new era in society can be inaugurated by and for the workers. They claim that the workers must either vote or force, via a coup d'etat, men and women into office, there to legislate a new and beneficial system into existence. Those who do not share this viewpoint are condemned as lacking in fundamental wisdom.

This is but natural; nay, even logical. There is a glamor about politics that makes it both fascinating and absorbing. Politics is restless manouvering, action, excitement. In addition, history has been written and stressed from the political and biographical rather than the economic standpoint. What wonder then, that politics seem most important. What wonder then that it seems to offer the easiest road to victory, both for class and individual ambitions.

Nevertheless, behind politics are economic forces more powerful than parties in office and more domineering than great personalities at the political helm. The policies of a Bolshevist party and a Lenin, deflected by a primitive peasant development, is a modern case in point.

The socialists and communists fail to see that something more than votes and something more than the capture of state is required before the inauguration of a new era is possible. They have yet to learn in a truly practical way what they teach in a soundly theoretical manner, that social epochs are not superimposed or created from without, but slowly developed or grown from within.

The socialists and communists have yet to learn practically, though they proclaim it theoretically, that majorities and coup d'etats do not make revolutions.

Revolutions come as a result of economic or industrial action or development primarily. New inventions, new modes of producing, distributing and owning wealth—or the breakdown of the old—are the factors —not votes—that primarily cause great changes. An industrial economic system grows or is destroyed by its own inherent conditions. It can neither be voted in or out of existence, unless these conditions favor such a course.

Economic figs do not grow on political thistles. Leninistic communism cannot grow on primitive Russian agriculture. Attempts to make it do so end with Bolshevism in the arms of peasant reaction and the camp of French imperialism. Nor can Marxian socialism thrive on German industrialist-capitalist property. The result is to make social democracy the ally of Stinnes and Co. and the special defender of their interests. Neither Russian Bolshevists, nor German Republicans can change basic conditions, whether by coup d'etats or majority votes.

In this country, the conditions are equally impossible. The same socialists and communists who urge us to capture Washington also tell us that the real government of the country exists in Wall St. and that it consists primarily of the Morgan-Rockefeller alliance with their tremendous industrial and financial ownership and control. Congress talks; while the Morgan-Rockefeller group grows all-powerful.

It follows from the above that if a revolution is ever to occur in society, it must begin at the economic base, that is, within industry. With industry revolutionized, all else will be revolutionized, too. To the superficial, this proposition seems hopeless. The prospects for an industrial revolution seem dark, indeed.

Nevertheless, the industrial revolution is already here . It is already under way. It consists not only in the formation of giant combinations of capital, but also in the giant combinations of labor that is born of them. A million workers on strike in this country is but one of many indications of this industrial revolution. Such a thing was impossible 30 years ago, in the age of small production.

Accordingly, it is on the industrial field that the crucial battles of civilization are being fought and will be determined. This is evident in the many-sided efforts to suppress the industrial conflicts and its increasing intensity despite them. Also in the attempts made to divert the energy and

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the social and industrial order, and any attempt to greatly eliminate these chronic conditions will mean radical changes in economic relationships.

The authors conclude their study with an analysis of the meaning of higher wages to the workers. If we wish to see a rise in culture, refinement, enjoyment and education, the wages must first reach levels enabling the workers to obtain and retain all of these things.

There are many things in "The Control of Wages" to agree with and few to disagree with. But in all, its reading will not hurt and may do some good.

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The enormously powerful electric locomotives that haul "The Olympian" through the western mountains pioneer a new era in railway operation.

The Revolutionist.

thought of the workers away from the determination of the real issues involved in it, via company unions and similar devices.

With industry, society rises or falls; for without industry none of the functions of society can be performed and all will be chaos and ruin. An industrially organized working class, conscious of its historic mission in society and alive to every opportunity to fulfill it, is, accordingly, the first requisite to modern revolution. Politics and political parties are of secondary importance.

Already are the workers in industry coming to grasp these most essential facts. This is shown in their persistent endeavors to make organized labor an element of social reconstruction as well as of immediate benefit. To this end they are proposing various plans requiring their managerial and technological participation, either in part or in whole. In brief, through economic organization the workers are striving to ward off social disaster and ruin—they are striving to influence social development through economic means.

The socialists and communists belittle the importance of economic action in favor of political action. They delight in shouting about "the great political victories of labor," a la the British Labor Party. But to the industrialist, the tendencies noted above are the most vital of modern happenings. They work from the inward outward, from the base upward; constitute, in fact, the rudimentary beginnings of an inherent evolution that will end ultimately in a victory for the workers.

To help these tendencies along via the organization of more efficient forms of industrial unionism is the duty of every open-eyed open-minded member of the working class.

## The Farmer is Going

THE workers in this country who are uniting on the political field with the farming class, in the hope of establishing communism in that manner, are attempting the impossible.

The farming class is going, if it has not already gone, both as an economic and political power. It is being crushed between the growing use of machinery and the imperialistic policies of the financial overlords of the country. The latter require the export of capital and the import of foodstuffs in return, as interest. The history of England, in which the farmer is eliminated, is the history being repeated in this country. Under the circumstances, why waste time with the farmer? His present activities are dying gasps; not virile growth.

Better put the working class movement on a sound economic basis, via the industrial unionism of the I. W. W.

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Metal Miners 210 is actively at work in iron mines of Michigan and Minnesota, as well as New Jersey. English and Italian speakers are working in the former fields and Finns in the latter.

# Talking American

ELSEWHERE in this issue readers of Industrial Pioneer will find an article by Upton Sinclair dealing with the struggle for civil liberties in Los Angeles. The article shows that Sinclair and his co-workers are worthy of both emulation and commendation. They are efficient and thorough in everything.

However, in his opening words, Upton Sinclair expresses some criticisms of the I. W. W., which though answered often before, need, for the benefit of new readers, to be answered again. The I. W. W. is gently admonished to "talk American," "use American forms of protest," cease "dual unionism" and "one leggedness." All of which is amusing, to say the least.

It reflects the fact that Upton Sinclair himself is essentially unaware of what Americanism is. Americanism is essentially industrialism. It consists in recognizing what Henry D. Lloyd recognized years ago in his book, "The Lords of Industry," wherein he said, "The time has come to face the fact that the forces of capital and industry have outgrown the forces of our government." Frank L. McVey, in his "Modern Industrialism" says the same thing in a more positive way when he declares "The result (of American industrial development) is what might have been expected: an overwhelming organization of industry standing side by side with a state that is puny when compared with it."

These men are talking American. They are echoing the sentiments of "the man in the street" who says, "Ah, you can't do anything against the corporations and trusts and the big fellows who have all the money."

Under the circumstances, what avails it to talk politics and unionism, when both are under a domination that renders them futile? To talk of a combination of politics and unionism in the face of American industrialism is to talk, not American, but English, a la the British Labor Party and conservative unionism. To talk "boring from within," is to talk, not American, but France, the France of which Wm. L. Foster has built up historic falsehoods; as the "boring from within" that he pictures as existing there is non-existent. In other words, to indulge in the language of Upton Sinclair is to argue from conditions that exist abroad where labor is less under capitalist domination and less in the shadow of an overtowering industrialism than in this country.

The I. W. W. is the most typical product of American industrialism and when it talks American it talks, not conventionalities, but essentials. It contends that the American working class must strike at American industrialism through industrial union organization. It must capture the basic factor in American life from within, through the thorough organization of the economic power of the workers employed therein. To this end, the American working class should concentrate all its energies, as that embraces the whole situation. To continue to promote impotent politics or fool around with a capitalist-dominated unionism is misleading and futile. It misses the bull's eye, because it never aims at it.

Further, the I. W. W. talks American in many other ways. The citation of constitutional law in defense of its civil liberties is resorted to on all occasions. It not only cites constitutional law, but the I. W. W., in its free speech fight, goes to jail to enforce it. In going to prison at Los Angeles in favor of free speech, and then quoting the constitution in his own behalf, Upton Sinclair follows a fashion set long ago by the I. W. W.

A perusal of I. W. W. literature would do Upton Sinclair good. Therein he will find that the I. W. W. traces the beginnings of the philosophy of the class struggle, not to Marx and Engels, but to Hamilton and Madison (see chapter 2, "The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice"). And it joins with Marx in crediting Benjamin Franklin with being one of the first to discover the source of value when he says, for instance: "The first price that was ever paid for a commodity was the labor necessary to produce it."

"Talk American;"—! And that, too, when Upton Sinclair stutters, figuratively speaking, in a European dialect.

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The discussion in Industrial Solidarity, "What's Wrong With The I. W. W., If Anything?" should prove helpful to further progress in the organization. It should result in some constructive legislation at the approaching annual convention.

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A Croatian twice-a-month magazine is the latest projected addition to the I. W. W. press. It is not named yet. Our September issue will have more to say about it.

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The bond assessment stamps are selling well. Have you got yours? In one, two and five dollar denominations.

# The Triumph of Christian Civilization

By R. F. PETTIGREW

ONE hundred years ago a colony of English farm laborers, one hundred in number, composed of men, women and children—old and young—chartered a ship and started for Australia. They were inspired to go by the promise of free land—they and their ancestors having been tenants upon an English estate.

The ship was a sailing ship, and they loaded it with their second-hand furniture and second-hand bedding and second-hand farm implements; for that is about all the laborers who produced all the wealth at that time in England were permitted to possess. They also obtained some seed to plant, from a charitable person who was willing to await the success of the colony for the return of his investment; and, with the seeds and agricultural implements, they started from England for Australia around Cape Horn, and crossing the Atlantic and the Equator successfully, they reached out into the broad Pacific. They knew little of sailing routes and, by mistake, got off from the ordinary track of vessels and, when well out in the Pacific Ocean, their ship ran aground upon a reef which stove a hole in the bottom and placed it beyond repair.

Of course, great consternation took place among the passengers, for they never had been at sea before. Some fainted and some went nearly insane, while most of them began at once to prepare to save what they could out of the wreck—caring for those who had fainted and responding to the needs of the general welfare.

There were two young men—healthy and strong—who seemed to take no interest in matters, but busied themselves with trying to release from its lashings the only life-boat upon the ship—a very small boat because the colonists had not been able to equip their ship with the necessary life-boats.

Land was visible about ten miles souh of the wreck, and as there was but little wind and the waves were not high, and as the one life-boat they had was small, they concluded they would build a raft out of the ship and try to reach the land south of them. So, they all started to work—excepting the two young men—and constructed the raft on the leward side of the ship and began loading all their belongings. But, when they had partially finished the loading, they found out that the raft would not carry over one-half of the colony. So they took the old and helpless and the children, and half of the most able-bodied, and proceeded to propel the raft to the land, while the others were picking up and putting in shape the rest of the material.

They landed upon the island without difficulty and found that apparently it was a complete and absolute desert, so far as they could see. They had noticed, before they left the ship, that the two young men, who had been hanging around the life-boat, had disappeared, and that the life-boat had disappeared with them. They had rendered no assistance whatever in rescuing their fellow-beings from the wreck.

They returned with the raft to the ship and loaded on their implements and the remainder of the food and, taking aboard the rest of the colony, returned to the island.

For the next day or two, they gave their attention to stripping the ship, taking such parts as they could detach to the island, and constructing temporary shelter and after all that could be moved was taken to the resting place they selected, three of their number were chosen to explore the island; others were detailed to manufacture a temporary boat in order to see if there were eatable fish in the waters surrounding the island.

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Within a day or two, those who had been sent to explore the island returned and reported that they had found a body of very fertile land several miles into the interior of the island, but that this land appeared to be the only cultivable land upon the whole island, and was about three thousand acres in area, and near the center of it was a

large spring of fresh water. That the two young men, who had abandoned their fellows, were there in possession of it, and that, when they proposed to bring all the other people up to the spring of fresh water and the fertile land, the two young men said that they, having discovered it, were the owners and they should stand upon their right to retain it; and, when the committee insisted that the land should not be privately owned but should be the common property of all—as man was a land animal and fertile soil was absolutely essential to his existence—the two young men who had taken possession of all the arms on the ship, as well as the boat, first argued that they must not undertake to discourage individual initiative—that it would be ruinous to civilization not to encourage individual enterprise and that the land belonged to them by right of discovery. But, when the committee pressed the point and urged the rights of man, the two young men said: "We are in possession of all the arms and ammunition that are in the colony and, if you undertake to force possession of this land, we shall fire upon you."

So, the colonists held a meeting and they decided that it would be a great mistake to discourage individual enterprise or to in any way throttle individual ambition, and, as they and their ancestors had always paid rent and had always had a landlord, they were imbued with the idea that it was the rights of property that were sacred and not the rights of man, and they resolved to move up on to the fertile three thousand acres and pay rent. And so they gathered together the old and the helpless and the little children and moved them first, and then they moved all of their belongings, including their supply of food and seed and implements, without any help whatever from the two young men who were busily guarding the result of their enterprise.

Of course, they immediately planted a crop and began cultivating the same, and the two young men married the two most likely young women on the island, and the two young women and their relatives esteemed it a great catch.

After the first crop was harvested, the lords of the island, by promising a little reduction in rent, put the whole laboring population at work building them a palace and they hewed, with their rough tools, the coral rock out of the barren portion of the island and built a very splendid residence for their rulers. After the palace was finished and they had manufactured as best they could, out of the wood obtained from the ship, furniture with which to stock the residence, they began to construct hovels of stone and earth for themselves, and their children, and their aged and their sick.

* * *

And so matters went on for several years and most of the two thousand acres of the land had been brought under cultivation and the population had increased and their labor had made a beautiful park out of one thousand acres which surrounded the residence of their lords, and a heavy wall had been built around the thousand acres so as to protect it from encroachment, and the population had increased both inside the wall and outside.

They desired to resume their journey to Australia and they decided to explore the island upon which they were situated. Upon further exploration, they found a deep and rugged ravine which contained some scrubby vegetation, coming down from a considerable elevation indicating volcanic origin, and in the ravine they discovered gold in great quantities and immediately began to extract it from the soil. It was placer gold and came out in nuggets big and small.

After gold was discovered, the oldest of the two colonists, who had appropriated all of the fertile land upon the island, took the title of Lord Goldfield, and the whole population turned out for a holiday on that grand occasion. They celebrated in their churches and were taught by their spiritual advisers that it was a great providence of God's which had bestowed upon them so kind and beneficient a ruler as the lord of the province; that, in fact, their lord had received his title direct from God; that it was of divine origin and was sent especially

to them by the great Ruler of the universe because of his loving care.

While they were digging the gold, some of the laborers explored the head-waters of the stream upon the banks of which the gold was found, and, among the scant vegetation which was growing between the rocks, they found a very small band of very wild goats. The goats were very thin and their hair was not of the finest quality; but immediately upon the discovery of the goats the lords of the palace had them removed to the one thousand acres which they had walled in as a park around their mansion, and great care was exercised in breeding the goats so as only to reproduce those of the highest quality in order to produce beasts of burden and to produce a sufficiently woolly coat so it could be used for making garments. And they had great success. The inferior goats were sterilized and only those allowed to reproduce who were of the very best quality, and the animals became strong and large and covered with a woolly coat, and were thus suitable for beasts of burden, and to furnish wool for cloth and milk for the children of the rich.

As a result of this achievement, the other young man took a title—the title of Lord Angora, in honor of the discovery of the goats. And again ceremonies were held and a holiday proclaimed and the population instructed in the divine origin of this title.

But, while birth control was exercised with regard to the goats, and great care taken to see that they were properly fed, the common people of the province were taught that it was wicked to interfere with the processes of nature, and as the population had brought with them the usual diseases common to the sexes in Great Britain, there were increasing numbers constantly among the inhabitants of those who were diseased and of those who were mentally defective; in fact, a very large number of dependents had grown up and the slums had appeared, and as they took no care with regard to sanitary affairs, epidemic diseases—the result of the poisoning of the population by their own filth—spread among them and reduced the population from time to time. And the people were taught that this was a visitation by Providence to punish them for their failure to appreciate the glory and goodness of God; that they should read the Bible every day and observe Sunday and attend Church and, above all, contribute to the support of the Church and God's representative—the preacher, who had ordered a day of fasting and prayer to appease the anger of the Deity. And the preacher chanted—"God is great and God is good; He provideth our daily food; by His hand we are all fed; give us now our daily bread." And the people cried "Hallelujah, Glory to God." But God's wrath was so great that He would not hear, and the epidemic ran its full course. The preacher then told the people that the only way to prevent future epidemics was to be more devout and that God, above all things, loved a cheerful giver.

The rulers of the island, who had already had their serfs build large warehouses, were the owners, of course, of all of the gold, and the large warehouses which they had had constructed were used to store the products of the land, for many of the colonists were improvident—they would sell off what they produced so that they would not have enough to last them until the next crop doubled and trebled in number—and all of the two thousand acres was under cultivation, for they could raise three crops per year; and the ruling classes, knowing that the value of money depended upon its quantity, decided that the nuggets of gold should have a value in proportion to their weight or size and, of course, they decreed that the unit should be pounds, pence and shillings. And they manipulated the money so that, when the crop was harvested, the money was very scarce and, therefore, the prices were very low, and they would buy the products of the land and store them in these warehouses and, when the next crop was fairly in the ground and the improvident members of the community were entirely out of food, they would make the volume of money exceedingly abundant, and charge several times

what they paid for the products of the laborer of the land. They soon found that this was unnecessary for, as they were the only owners of money and had the only warehouses that were, they could arbitrarily fix the price and thus exploit the population to the full extent of their desire, through their trust control.

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But a new problem had arisen. Malthus's theory that population would outrun subsistence had come true. The two thousand acres would no longer produce food enough to supply the population and the serfs began to wonder how they could overcome the difficulty. They never thought of encroaching upon the park because that was private property belonging to God and the descendants of the two young men who had, by their private enterprise, discovered and taken possession of it; and the descendants of these young men never, for a moment, thought of plowing up the park, and they insisted that the miserable population would have enough if they would exercise frugality and industry and would educate themselves; but they were ignorant and many of them were idle and of but little consequence.

So a committee was appointed to explore the adjoining islands and see if they could find land. Their first expedition had produced gold. All of the original colonists were dead, and numerous children and grand children had taken their places.

In exploring the adjacent islands, while they found them entirely barren, discovered a human being, clothed in palm leaves, who fled upon their approach; but they called to him and, lo and behold! he responded in the English tongue. He had been upon the island for ten years, the only survivor of a shipwreck and had subsisted upon roots, scant vegetation, and the products of the sea, clothing himself with palm leaves.

Of course he went home with the colonists and, after he had fully recovered, to preach the doctrine of socialism. He said the rights of man were sacred and not the rights of property. He said that every man should have all that his labor produces—that man was a land animal and that the land was essential to his very existence, and that no person should own more land than he could use and that, for the idle to demand rent for the use of the land—the common inheritence of all—was immoral and dishonest, and that they should immediately take possession of the thousand acres in the park and put those acres into crops. And many of the people endorsed his views.

But the ruling classes were not idle. They had watched his movements; they sent their paid retainers, their lawyers, among the people and argued that to take the park and not pay for it would be confiscation and robbery; that the present owner had inherited it from ancestors who had acquired it by thrift and industry and enterprise. That if the public appropriated it to the good of all it would destroy all incentive to individual enterprise and stop the wheels of progress and discourage ambition and return the world to barbarism; and they also wanted to know if they proposed to rob widows and orphans.

The ruler had also organized a standing army of trained men under the plea that the colony might be invaded by savages from some unknown island in the sea, and that an army was needed for protection. The army was officered by men who had been brought up from childhood as trained soldiers and taught that they must obey their superior officers even unto shooting their own brothers and sisters, if commanded to do so by the officer over them. And, as the commander-in-chief of their standing army was by law the oldest son of the oldest two men who had discovered the fertile land, the army was ordered out, and they captured the socialist, in the interest of law and order, and stood him up against the wall which surrounded the one thousand acres, and fired a volley into him and threw his body into the moat.

Civil war once commenced; the population divided almost equally on the great question of the sacred rights of property, and they began killing each other until half

# Editorial

## WHAT CONFRONTS US

JOHN ALFRED, organizer for Mine Workers' Industrial Union, No. 220, was arrested at the Taplin mine near Bannock, O. His offense was such as to make plutocracy tremble; namely, he wanted to speak on "I. W. W. vs The American Federation of Labor." The sheriff, without giving him a chance to be heard, arrested him and charged him with "inciting to riot, sabotage, and advocating a political revolution by violent means."

The United Mine Workers' officials and the authorities work together with the coal operators in this district; and Alfred's arrest is undoubtedly traceable to the opposition of this combination. This is a typical instance of such arrests. It justifies the statements made by Roger E. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, before the conference of the League for Industrial Democracy at Camp Taminent, Pa., as follows:—

"We are confronted with the unconscious but disgraceful union of the federal secret service, the employing interests, and the heirarchy of the American Federation of Labor in a common effort to kill off radical ideas and movements. There is no other English-speaking country on earth, and few others of any sort, where such alignment exists today."

Nevertheless, some persons contend that the workers should not organize in an industrial way in defiance of "this disgraceful union." And they call themselves "friends of labor." Count them in with the things that confront us, too.

## EXTRAORDINARY UNIONISM

EXTRAORDINARY are the ways of the A. F. of L. unions. Here's the mine workers' union, for instance. Its official organ, The United Mine Workers' Journal, in its issue of June 1, 1923, calls on the coal operators to perform "a real service to the American public" by closing down "4,000 unnecessary coal mines that are now open and operating spasmodically" and thereby "put 200,000 miners **out** of the industry."

How's that for naivete, operating in the employers' behalf? "Put 200,00 out of the industry!" Depressions put millions out of industry and yet they are very much in it. They are the reserve army of the unemployed that employers use to cut down wages and destroy unionism. That's what the United Mine Workers' journal practically asks, namely, the creation of a reserve army of unemployed that will cut wages and destroy unionism.

But what else could be expected? The A. F. of L. is not a constructive, working class organization, but a protective, capitalist bulwark. This is reflected particularly in the United Mine Workers' official opposition to the 6-hour day, the nationaliaztion of mines, and other measures condemned by the coal operators as detrimental to their interests. Also in the official opposition to every working class element with constructive ideals. No wonder the A. F. of L. wars on them—to their honor, be it said.

## ORGANIZING THE EAST

A RECENT contributor to Ind. Solidarity contends that the East lacks gumption in organizing the I. W. W. The argument looks plausible until one reads of the attempts being made in Chicago to develop organization there. And then, as Industrial Pioneer goes to press, there's the mass conference of the metal-machinery workers at Toledo, O. Consider also the work begun at Buffalo by members of the Building Construction Workers and the Marine Transport Workers acting conjointly. In Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois and central Ohio there is also some activity among the general construction workers, as there is among the iron miners of Michigan. Signs of coal miners' activity come from eastern Ohio, too. From this it looks as if the East has enough gumption, but is lacking in numbers. The Wobblies are most numerous west of Chicago.

---

of the people was killed. But, as the trained men with the guns were on the side of the owner of the property, the people that remained alive stopped the unequal contest, and right and might prevailed—law and order triumphed—the congestion was relieved—the park was saved—the people agreed to continue to pay rent. Christian civilization pursued its peaceful and solemn course.

### THE WAR ON EVOLUTION

THE Survey for June 15, declares, "A visitor from the West gave it as his opinion that large business interests are supporting and encouraging the fundamentalist movement within the churches because it turns its back to, and even denounces at times, movements for social reform."

There appears to be other reasons as well. Big business finds the idea of evolution dangerous, as it likes to have the workers believe there is no such thing. It reasons that, if the workers are convinced that there is no evolution they will come to regard capitalism as unchangable and so oppose its abolition or overthrow. But once they (the workers) believe that institutions are ever-changing growths, they will come to regard capitalism as but a stage in economic development and so prepare to end it. It is for this reason that big business favors special and unalterable creation.

This latter idea is also becoming a feature of many other current discussions; discussions not at all theological. Take the treasures found in the tomb of King Tut. The newspapers describe them in a way that is intended to make readers believe "there is nothing new under the sun." The inference conveyed is, "why change capitalism then?" Of course, the evolutionists make such inferences impossible. They show that life is change,—a continuous outgrowth of what has gone before. Hence the encouragement that big capitalism is giving to all fundamentalists so-called, whether in or out of the church, in their war on evolution.

# Ten New Leaflets

THE I. W. W. Educational Bureau has produced, during the last month or so, the following leaflets for free distribution:

1. RAILROAD WORKERS—YOU ARE SOLD OUT. A description of Stone's coal mine experiences. The president of a great railroad brotherhood is a capitalist and hires scabs.

2. VERMIN. A smash at the employment "shark" evil.

3. CUT DOWN THE HOURS OF WORK. Facts and figures on the evils of a long workday.

4. CONTRACT WORK. An expose of the clever tricks used by the capitalists to make every man his own slave driver.

5. GO SLOW. Which appeals to the working class to follow the example of the capitalists and give nothing for nothing.

6. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS. This leaflet, issued for 310, points out the necessities for the dirt movers to join the I. W. W.

7. SPINNERS! WEAVERS! An argument for all textile workers to unite in one big union.

8. WHAT ABOUT THE WOMAN WHO WORKS? Addressed to women, and tries to show them their interests are with the working class.

9. NEGROES, DEFEND YOURSELVES! Why the most exploited section of the American working class should be revolutionary.

10. STEEL WORKERS. A leaflet for 440, which tells the slave of Gary and Grace a few salutary truths.

All these are four-page leaflets, with the exception of the "Railroad Workers," which is two pages. They run about 2,500 word apiece on the average, and are printed in good large type. Just the thing to educate the unorganized with.

In addition to these general leaflets prepared by the Educational Bureau, there are a number of new translations. There are now pamphlets issued in Italian, Greek, Croatian and Spanish, all new matter, off the press within the last thirty days.

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers
Industrial Union No. 450, I. W. W.

## "As a Man Thinketh in His Heart, So Is He."

Slavery is as much of the mind as it is of the body. Ignorance is the greatest enemy of the advancing proletariat. Do you want to acquaint your friend or fellow man with the principles of Industrial Unionism?

# For 50 cents we will send

# The Industrial Pioneer

**For Three Months to Any Address in the United States or Canada.**

**This extraordinary offer expires on August 1st. We will publish in the July and August issues the names of the five fellow workers who will have sent in each month the greatest number of 50 cent subscriptions.**

**REMEMBER, SEND IN SOMEBODY ELSE'S NAME, NOT YOUR OWN.**

## Join the Pioneer Half Dollar Army

**THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.**

Enclosed please find 50 cents for which send PIONEER for 3 months to

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....

Shall we send you a subscription book?

SEPTEMBER, 1923 20 CENTS

# INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

*AN ILLUSTRATED LABOR MAGAZINE*

## Features In This Issue:

Steel Workers Awakening
When Workwomen Organize
Ford Wades in Gold
Magnus Johnson
Whither Russia?
Italy's White Terror
The General Strike

Current Events
Poetry
Wobbly Humor
Reviews

# Rally to the Defense!

The seventh Christmas many of our fellow workers in Leavenworth have spent in prison is approaching.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended since 1917 in an effort to get them out.

It has been a hard fight and a long one. The federal cases in the beginning represented the storm-center of the class struggle in America. War prejudice prevailed, the newspapers were against us, feeling ran high, the political prisoner issue was generally misunderstood and it seemed almost impossible to get the facts before the people. Now, however, all this has changed. All indications now point to an early release.

## Victory Is In Sight!

A large body of intelligent public opinion favors immediate and unconditional amnesty. Hundreds of big newspapers and magazines have declared themselves against the further imprisonment of our fellow workers. Prominent statesmen, churchmen, lawyers and publicists have come out openly in favor of release for political prisoners.

Friends of amnesty have multiplied by the thousands. All are willing and eager to work for the cause of amnesty. Organized Labor is beginning to learn that these cases are of vital concern to every man and woman who works for a living. The time was never more propitious for an effective amnesty drive than at present. The General Defense Committee has arranged for such a drive on a huge scale. The slogan is:

## Free Political Prisoners by Christmas!

We must get out publicity on a bigger scale than ever before. We must organize and co-ordinate all the forces in America that favor amnesty. Defense pamphlets, leaflets, letters, and articles must be circulated in large numbers to reach all classes of people. Meetings all over the country, some of them at least as large as the Borah meetings, must be arranged for and advertised. All possible pressure must be brought to bear upon the administration in Washington between now and Christmas.

Let's all put our shoulders to the wheel and get the federal cases out of the way so we can concentrate upon the state cases and wipe the slate clean. Let's get all of our imprisoned members on the street so we can buckle down to the work of organizing and educating the millions of workers in America and the World. LET'S MAKE THIS THE LAST DRIVE THAT WILL BE NECESSARY TO SECURE THE RELEASE OF THE MEN IN LEAVENWORTH!

Funds are needed as never before. Fellow workers, kick in with the defense stamps and donations at once. All together now, in deadly earnest

# Rally to the Defense!

SEPTEMBER 1923

Vol. I.

# The Industrial Pioneer

No. 5

Edited by JUSTUS EBERT

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# CURRENT EVENTS

I.W.W. HALL
BIG BIZ INCITES HOODLUMS TO ATTACK UPON TRANSPORT WORKERS IN HOBOKEN. LOCAL AMERICAN LEGION EXPRESSES ITSELF.
COME ON! THEY'VE GOT A RED FLAG!
GWAN! YOU'RE TOO DIRTY!
RAH! RAH! RAH!
PROF. LESCOHIER ECONOMICS U. of W.
CAPITAL
SLOPPING THE HOGS
WISCONSIN "U." PROFESSOR WRITES SLOPPY ARTICLE ABOUT I.W.W. IN THE WHEAT FIELDS
SHARPERS MAGAZINE "MIDSUMMER FICTION NUMBER
THERE'S YOUR ENEMY!
FARMER
LABOR
STILL TRYING TO CONVINCE THE FARMER THAT LABOR IS TO BLAME FOR DOLLAR WHEAT!

*AS SEEN BY THE PIONEER'S CARTOONIST*

## *Where We Are Standing*

**"We are standing on the threshold of an unpolitical age. Politics has fallen from its high estate . . . The preeminence of the state politically conceived has been called into question . . Other forms of corporate organization are pressing for recognition. We may in turn see arising before our eyes a new, great social organization in its essence unpolitical . . . 'Industrialism,' which may serve to denominate this new institution, is a social and economic system, only indirectly political. Such would appear to be the trend of history."—WM. KAY WALLACE, in his book, "The Trend of History."**

The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. I. SEPTEMBER, 1923 No. 5

BLAST FURNACES, NEW CASTLE, PA., AT NIGHT

# The Steel Workers Awakening

By FRED W. BOWERMAN

A STEEL worker, begrimed from smoke and grease, tired from the twelve hour grind, passes through the mill gates toward the place he calls home. A drink to help fight off that constant tired feeling, a hurried supper to fill that emptiness which plays around his belt and to throw himself into a sagging bed for some rest, are the things uppermost in his mind.

A soiled coat is carried over one arm, which in turn is shoved thru the handle of a dented dinner bucket. As he moves along his pace quickens with the realization that there is no time to lose if he is to snatch some sleep during the cooler morning hours. The August sun will soon be high and the torrid heat of the summer day will soon be upon him. He must be asleep before that, if he is to sleep at all. Mother Nature has provided that he sleep with the quiet coolness of night, but the mill instead demands he be in front of a roaring furnace. He must sleep, if at all, with the noise of moving traffic, cussing teamsters and the yelling of the urchins whose only playground is the space before his shack. Eat, work sleep; Saturday, Sunday, Monday, day after day, night after night, and every day in the year, that is his program, for he is one of the cogs in the great human machinery, which keeps the mill and hundreds of other mills in the valley in motion. He is but one among thousands of others whose lives are poured into the molten metal which flows in a never ending stream from the steel mill to the auto plants, railroad shops, etc.

MEN, M E N, MEN; big and little, fresh and worn, black, white, brown and yellow. Old men and young boys, Poles, Slavs, Mexicans, Negros, and Americans. These pour out of the mill gates every night and morning. Men, smoke, and stacks; all for STEEL. Steel for whom and what might we ask? Why; steel for the JUDGE of course. And might we further inquire who is the Judge? Why, certainly; he is the master of men and money, the master of smelters, ore mines, ore boats, railroads and steel mills. Hundreds of workers in each mill and hundreds of mills throughout the Valley and the Calumet. Steel workers, ore boat and railroad workers, and miners on the Mesaba all keeping time with a given beat. Long hours, low wages, unbearable conditions is the lot of all. A master of thousands and thousands of men that is who the Judge is. An iron master; a tyrant master; a cruel master. He personifies giant capitalism, for whose profit the steel workers labor.

And what are the tons and tons of steel which are produced every twenty-four hours used for? What becomes of it? Where does it go? To ten thousand places for ten thousand uses is the answer. For railroads, and their engines; street cars, bridges, boats, flying machines, cannon, shells, looms, lathes, steam hammers, automobiles, steam shovels, mowing machines, reapers, dishes, stoves, nails, screws, scales, typewriters, tin, cans, jails, locks, printing presses, and we might add, etc., etc., etc., for the service to which steel is put in our present

society is beyond the estimation of any one or a dozen men. Everything that man uses today is the result of steel. The workers in the ore mine, on the ore boats and railroads and in the steel mills are the builders of industry,—of society; for this is the age of metal—of steel.

Today, the workers, upon leaving or entering the mill are thinking about something besides food, sleep and work. They are realizing that twelve hours of hard labor out of every twenty-four should bring them somethng more than cheap food, cheap clothes and a cheap room. They are beginning to understand that as individuals they are the victims of a system which looks upon them with contempt. Alone, each man for himself, the twelve hour day and the rule of Gary will be handed on to their children and their children's children.

They have come to know that their only hope lies in organization. That organized together, in the mills, on the great lakes, on the railroads, in the mines, they are in important part of industrial society. The whole world depends upon the commodity they produce. Industry cannot go along without steel and there must be tons and tons of it produced every day. The whole manufacturing industry must have steel from which to make its products. If so, then let the steel workers receive a decent standard of living while producing steel. This is what is becoming the uppermost thought in the steel worker's mind. He is important, when organized with his fellow workers. He is nothing, while he remains unorganized. He is sick of empty promises. He is overfed on what will be done after-while or next year. HE WANTS SOMETHING NOW, and he is not going to wait for someone to give it to him.

The steel workers are answering the call of the One Big Union. They sense in the I. W. W. idea of organization the real way that results can be obtained. They are responding to the Industrial Union program and are going to smash the twelve hour day. Three years back and the twelve hour day was stable, sound, good business, according to the captains of industry. For three years the steel workers have been working twelve hours and reading I. W. W. literature. For three years they have been preparing for organization, industrial organization and the industrial strike. The steel workers are now lining up in the One Big Union of the I. W. W., together with their fellow workers on the Great Lakes, on the railroads and in the mines. Lining up for what: To smash the twelve hour day, Garyism, and all that goes with it.

The steel industry is the open wedge to Eastern Industry. Upon the success of the steel drive depends the success of the O. B. U. Th steel masters may have their millions, their lackeys, their past success in smashing craft unions, but with the workers in the steel mills lining up in the I. W. W. their power is doomed. The I. W. W. is moving, and moving ahead in the proper direction. Let the tramp of their marching feet be heard around the world. The tables will be turned and the slaves of steel shall be the masters of themselves. Let the slogan be "Smash the twelve hour day." On with Industrial Organization.

# The I. W. W. Steel Drive

ONE of the most important campaigns ever undertaken by the I. W. W. is the campaign of organization among the steel workers, launched at an enthusiastic mass conference of the members of Metal-Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440 at Toledo, Ohio, on July 22. All of the members of 440's General Organization Committee, headed by Chairman Alfred Anderson, as well as General Secretary-Treasurer, Wm. H. Thompson, were present. So were delegates from many steel towns, such as Detroit, Bethlehem, McKeesport, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Warren, Niles, Youngstown, Canton, Middleton, Cincinnati, Newport, Wheeling, Martin's Ferry, South Chicago, Gary, Chicago Heights, Waukegan and Joliet.

**The slogan resulting from the conference is: "Smash the twelve hour day, abolish the 7 day week, and make $5 the minimum wage for the unskilled steel worker."**

The conference was marked by the directness with which the delegates attacked the task in hand. There was no digging up of ancient grievances or criticism of what might have been. Instead plans to make the campaign effective were immediately taken up and considered, with good results. This was due to the fact that the Toledo conference was demanded by the membership and because it was held amid conditions that made decisive action both opportune and necessary.

**Steel Workers' Shack, Gary, Ind.**

Among the many things done was the raising of money. This, the first necessity, was met by the pledges of those present, to raise a fund sufficient to initiate the campaign. A committee of four on ways and means was also elected. Other committees of equal importance are a committee of three on finance, a committee of three on perfecting or-

**Copulas at Bethlehem.**

ganization, a committee of five on publicity and a committee of three on steel workers' organization.

The last two committees have been actively at work since the conference adjourned. In fact, the main headquarters of Metal-Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440, at 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill., where they meet, has been greatly transformed. The rooms have been doubled in capacity and the office force has been greatly increased. General-Secretary Treasurer, Wm. H. Thompson, is kept busy answering the phone and giving newspapermen information regarding the conference and its plans. The Federated Press and Associated Press have both given considerable space to the I. W. W. campaign among the steel workers. More importance is attached to I. W. W. activities in the steel industry, apparently, than to any other factor there.

The newspaper announcements of the holding of the Toledo conference caused considerable stir in that city. The headlines were of large type and the effect was instantaneous. The Director of Public Safety announced that as Toledo was a city of wage workers and manufacturers who desired peace, no conference of the I. W. W. would be tolerated. The Rotary Club at a special meeting held on Friday evening, July 20, passed resolutions affirming their determination to stand by this violator of constitutional rights of free assemblage.

**However, when July 22 came, the conference was held, with the record-breaking attendance already noted.**

It required some strategy on the part of the local members and the delegates, but it was accomplished, nevertheless, in a manner complimentary to the brain work of the I. W. W. There was no clash, no free speech fight, no compromise. But the director of safety and his "sleuths" were outwitted by men who consider him, not a protector of industrial peace, but industrial slavery, as embodied in the 12 hour day of the steel trust, which has been condemned by the religious and engineering societies of the land as degrading and unnecessary.

The conference lasted 7 hours and was held in one of the best known halls in Toledo. No one was permitted to leave during the conference. Conductors were stationed at the door, and cards had to be shown. Many local members of other industrial unions than 440 were present also. And all this while the "sleuths" were trying to locate those "terrible I. W. W.'s."

The delegates to the Toledo conference began to arrive in that city on Saturday, July 21. They came mostly in autos, as the most economical and appropriate means of travel for steel workers. They were in earnest and intent on doing good organization work. They had plenty of thrills and excitement, thanks to the press, but never lost their heads once.

Street meetings by all organizations are permitted in Toledo. But the I. W. W. was forbidden to hold one on Saturday evening, July 21. This by a policeman who, when questioned about the constitution of the United States and free speech, replied that he knew nothing about the constitution—except to violate it, most likely. However, as Glenn B. Fortney, the chairman, and another speaker had already spoken about an hour, explaining the coming I. W. W. drive in the steel industry to about 500 people, it was felt that the object of the meeting was already accomplished; and so nothing further was done. The desire to keep the conference intact also prevailed.

But on Sunday evening, July 22, with the conference over and good results accomplished, a free speech meeting was opened at the same place. M. Raddock, the speaker who wes stopped the evening before, opened up. He talked a considerable time on the decisions of the conferences, regarding the drive in the steel industry. He also took up a good collection as a beginner to support the drive. Noth-

(Continued on page 32)

HARVEST TIME
—From Tie Vapauteen.

# Big Gains for I. U. No. 110

A GAIN of over 60 per cent in membership for July, 1923, as compared with July, 1922, such is the success of the membership drive of Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, I. W. W. August returns, incomplete as they are in the opening weeks, indicate a continuance of this greater growth. To make this increase permanent is the present endeavor of 110.

The most remarkable part of this increase is that it has been obtained in the face of an opposition that practically resorted to slavery in order to beat the I. W. W. In some towns in the Dakotas, the commercial clubs and common councils have combined to send to jail harvest workers refusing to accept the wages and conditions proffered. There is no economic freedom in these districts; and yet the I. W. W. grows despite it—or is it, because of it?

110 is interested in general strike. A program for same has been outlined by the general organization committee. It leaves date of same to latter; and advocates preliminary job organization primarily.

A conference to be held at Stockton, California, has been called for Sept. 1st. California is regarded as the key to the I. W. W. With the surrender of California the barriers to organization will disappear everywhere. The best efforts of the organization will be devoted towards getting as many courageous delegates and members as possible to make the drive to organize California agricultural workers this summer.

Like the other industrial unions, 110 is trying to organize unorganized territory. A traveling delegate will be sent to the northwest section; and also one will be placed in Canada, if conditions develop.

110 is pushing the bail and bond stamp, with good results.

# Coming Conferences

A General Construction Workers' Conference will be held at Portland, Orc., on October 1st, to elect delegates to the convention from District No. 1, which includes Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana.

District No. 3, including Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, North and South Dakota and Minnesota, will also meet in conference at Casper, Wyoming, on October 1st.

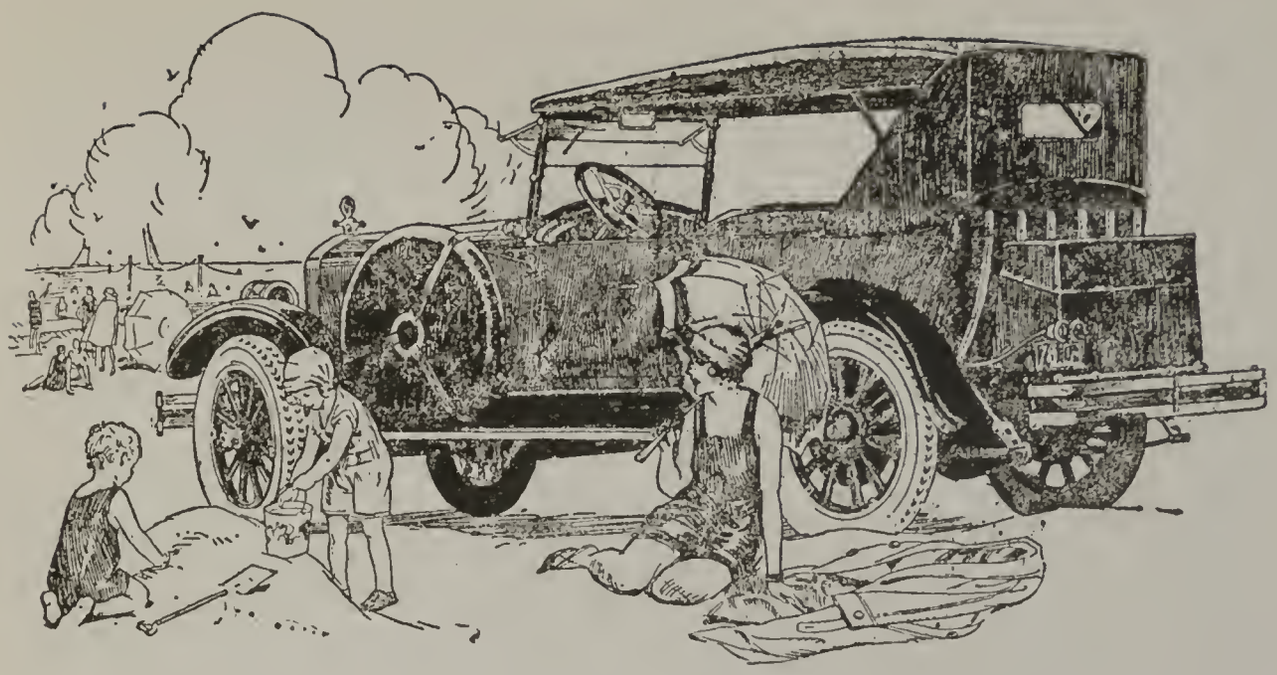
Another conference at Stockton, Calif., will include Nevada, California, Arizona and New Mexico.

The Industrial Worker, western organ of the I. W. W., is to get new presses and move into new quarters. It has been a financial success for two years, and since the first of February has been printed twice a week. It is now conducting a campaign for 10,000 new subscribers.

**WHEN THE HARVESTER IS NOT A-HARVESTING**

**This chart shows the "customary" occupations of 32,000 wheat harvesters. One-third of them gave farm work as their regular job, one-third were laborers, and one-third skilled workers from cities. The percentages are not absolutely accurate, for the relative proportion of harvesters of the several types varies from season to season. Data collected in 1919, 1920 and 1921 indicates that the distribution as given in this chart is substantially correct.**

**—The Survey.**



# When Work Women Organize

## There will be More Autos, Wives and Kiddies at the Beaches and Less Starvation and Misery in the Tenements

IN France, before the world war, the General Confederation of Labor, was busy inaugurating a campaign of education among working class women. It was recognized that the wives, daughters and sweethearts of the men workers are great factors in settling working class issues. The conservatism of the working class housewife has broken many a working class strike. So also has the conservatism of many a woman working in the factory or shop. Hence, the French idea, which was to promote a better understanding of labor organization and its ideals, by means of lectures, illustrated, principally, by movies. But the world war interferred; and nothing has been heard of the idea since.

No doubt, though, it is a good, a necessary idea, not only in France, but here in the U. S. A. as well. In this country the working class women lag behind the working class men, in a lack of understanding regarding Labor and its problems; though, it might be added, the lead held by the men is not much to boast about, especially out loud. Nevertheless, it exists; as shown in the more extensive organization among the men. There are about 18,000,000 housewives in this country. No doubt they are most largely working class. There are also between eight and nine millions of women wage workers. This is twice the membership of all the labor organizations. Very few of these women wage workers are organized; hence the imperative need of educating and organizing them, as well.

It will not do to start off with a negative argument, saying "Woman is instinctively conservative." This is not proven by the ex-

tremely rebellious attitude of women in times of great strikes. The textile workers', shirtwaist, shoeworkers', and other strikes have shown women workers in a light that refutes "the inherent-conservatism" argument. And then think of the splendid fight of the miners' wives in the recent Kansas and other great strikes! The women workers, too, have great leaders in Mother Jones, Alexandra Kollantay, Rosa Luxemborg, Maria Spiridonova, and others too numerous to mention. Women are as good material for agitation, education and organization as are the men; so let us go to it!

There is further encouragement in the fact that some of the women themselves are taking a hold of the task and are organizing women's trade union leagues. Though such leagues are not to be encouraged, as they create sex divisions among the workers, they are at least noteworthy, as they exist contrary to general conceptions regarding woman's ability and willingness to organize economically. Where women do not constitute the bulk of wage workers—and, in some industries they do—it is better that they organize on industrial lines together with the men; thus making their own forces and the forces of all concerned that much stronger.

Women are also taking an active part in forming auxiliaries to the trade unions. These auxiliaries include the wives, daughters and sweethearts of members. They are very useful in times of strikes. Then they visit the wives of weak-kneed members; and through them strengthen the strike line. Or they help a male member to convert his wife to the need for continued resistance. They also act as the union's intelligence bureau, ferreting out cases requiring aid, running down sources of scab supplies, etc., etc. In boycotts, they organize the family purchasing power, in a way that will do the most good. At entertainments, in relief work, and in a thousand and one ways, are the working class women a factor in the trade union auxiliaries. The I. W. W., in wrestling with the question, where to place the wives of members, will find their problem solved in the women's' auxiliary.

However, these are only beginnings. The work of educating and organizing women workers must be pushed further. And, it seems it can be done without any great changes in tactics. There is much in the labor movement that commends itself to working class housewives. The effort to bring wages somewhere up to the cost of living is one of them. Every housewife can appreciate the need for such measures. So also can she grasp the need for less hours, so that husband can spend more time in the bosom of his family. And then labor's opposition to child-labor, woman-labor under detrimental conditions, prostitution, war, capitalism—this opposition also commends itself to the housewife in a way that she appreciates and understands, once it is presented to her in an intelligent manner. The trouble is that the capitalist side reaches her most, through church, press and movie and impresses her most on that account. To get labor's side before her more often and more attractively than heretofore is the problem that the French idea of education via the movie would help to overcome.

As for the woman wage-workers, she is turning towards labor organization, sometimes only to be repulsed, as there are some labor unions, like the barbers, that are still adverse to women in their ranks; while still others admit them only to snub and discourage them as much as possible. There are still plenty of men who hold women responsible for the competition created by the introduction of machinery and the consequent destruction of skill. There is also considerable sex-prejudice extant.

But there is no such discrinination to be found in progressive trade-unionism, nor in real industrial unionism. They both recognize that woman is a factor in industry, to be organized in order to promote the interests of all the workers employed therein. Especially is this true of industrial unionism, which makes no distinctions of either race, color, creed or sex; and *organizes all the workers just as they work for their employers into industrial unions reflecting their industrial, or technical, unity.*

In industrial unionism, the women have exactly the same standing as the men. They are eligible to all the offices; and have the same rights, duties and privileges. No attempt is made to discourage them. On the contrary, they are urged forward with all the speed possible, sometimes, too much so. But that's the case with the men, too, quite often.

The intense persecution to which industrial unionism has been subjected since the American entrance into the world war could not have been successfully resisted had it not been for the steadfast adherence of its women members. The rebel girl has stuck to the rebel boy without faltering. She has been a source of cheer and inspiration, raising funds, securing publicity, organizing prison comfort clubs, going out on strike, and assisting in every way possible to make the ideals of industrial unionism come true.

May her numbers increase. Every addition to them is sure of a hearty welcome.

# Internationalism at Detroit

CAPITALISM is international. It knows no boundaries. In Europe, the aeroplane is commercialized and flies over the whole continent, regardless of the warring nationalities below. The commercial aeroplane, no doubt, foreshadows and symbolizes, in a practical manner, the internationalism that is yet to be.

Here in Detroit, we are also making for internationalism, but in a different way. Opposite, on the other side of the Detroit River, once known as the St. Claire, lies the city of Windsor, Ontario, Canada. This district is becoming the Canadian adjunct of American capitalism. Two hundred and five factories are now located in the Windsor district. Fifty-five are American. It is said that they have located there in order to save preferential trade taxes and to develop their export trade in a manner that will enable them to share in the tariff advantages with the British Empire. But there is another reason in the cheap, unorganized, raw labor supplies to be found across the border.

Seventy additional American firms are now negotiating with the Border Chamber of Commerce, Windsor Ontario, for factory sites on which to construct manufacturing establishments.

Consider the following partial list of big American corporations now located in the Windsor district:—Studebaker Corporation, Fisher Body Co., Maxwell Motor Co., Motor Products Co., Wilt Twist Drill Co., Kerr Engine Works, Berry Bros Varnish Co., Grinnell Piano Co., D. M. Ferry Co., Burroughs Adding Machine Co., Champion Spark Plug Co., Bayer Co., Devilbis Mfg. Co., Barton-Netting Co., General Motors Corporation, Ford Motor Co., Remington Arms Co., Trussed Concrete Steel Corp., United States Playing Card Co., Parke-Davis Co., Coca-Cola Co., Buhl Stamping Co., Hayes Wheel Co., Hupp Motor Co., Postum Cereal Co., Stearn Drug Co., Toledo Comp. Scale Co. and Standard Paint & Varnish Co.

### "A Second Pittsburgh"

This reads like a roster of big American capitalism. But there is another interesting addition, not listed as American, yet an extension of the United States Steel Corporation. This is known as the Canadian Steel Corporation. This company has bought 2,500 acres of land in this section and is building a city that is heralded as "The Second Pittsburgh" and "The Magic Steel City," as it is going up in the same thorough and rapid manner as characterized Gary, Indiana.

The Detroit Free Press says, "The estimated initial expenditure will be forty millions of dollars, while the estimated ultimate expenditure will be **Two Hundred Million Dollars.**"

Ojibway, as "America's New Steel Center" is called, is situated midway between the country's great coal and iron ore mines, with water transportation to all parts of the world. It will sure prove a factor in world competition. Fortunes have already been spent building streets, immense sewer and water mains, steam and electric railroad extensions and connections. Hundreds of men are

employed constructing wire nail mills, machine shops, docks and blast furnaces.

Much is made of the fact that American money is going into Canada for investment at the rate of one hundred and fifty millions annually. As Canada is largely an agricultural country most likely the interest on this immense amount will be paid in foodstuffs or products of the soil. Anyway, this Canadian ramification of American capitalism will do much, undoubtedly, to further strengthen the peace relations that have existed for a century or more between the Dominion and the U. S. A. And, on the other hand, they tend to further make the U. S. A. a British ally in all world imperialistic tangles. Who says "we" are not international?

### Great International Bridge

However, there is still another and more important link actually binding the two countries together, now in course of construction: namely, the $30,000,000 Detroit-Windsor Suspension Bridge. This will create a great commercial highway between Mid-Western United States and Canada, and will take its place among the world's greatest bridges.

The total weight of the bridge and approaches is 107,000 tons, and the span—1803 feet—will be, so it is claimed, the longest in the world.

There will be eight parallel wire cables to carry the highway and railway decks. Two cables will be 18 inches in diameter with a total of 59,280 wires of Number 6 gauge supporting a pulley of 146,000,000 pounds. The highway deck will be 97 feet wide with two trolley tracks, two side walks and two roadways that will carry 6 lanes of traffic or a capacity of 30,000,000 automobiles per year.

The lower deck will have four railway tracks to carry electrically operated trains, and a 20 ft. space for public utilities, such as wires and pipes.

The towers of the bridge will rise to a height of 380 feet above the water and will be made up of plates of nickel steel of a thickness of two inches, having a cross section of 6 inches by 17 feet.

Experts estimate that the bridge will increase the business between Detroit and the Windsor district from $150,000,000 to $300,000,000 annually and increase the population 300,000 practically overnight.

Some things that the experts do not estimate include the following: The interchange of places of employment that the new bridge will make possible. Americans will go into Canada looking for work; and Canadians will come to the U. S. A. more easily than they do now. The result will be a completer recognition of their common interests against their common exploiters. It will soon become evident to both Americans and Canadians that when it comes to fleecing the workers, the big corporations know neither race nor boundary lines. All workers look alike to them; and so will all exploiters look alike to the workers, some day.

The star of the American capitalist empire is going northward as well as southward. Canada as well as Mexico knows its invasion; the first in a reciprocal manner; the second, aggressively. Both methods, however, conduce to a greater intermingling and understanding—a greater internationalism among the workers. So we rejoice in the results of both.

## PUBLIC OPINION

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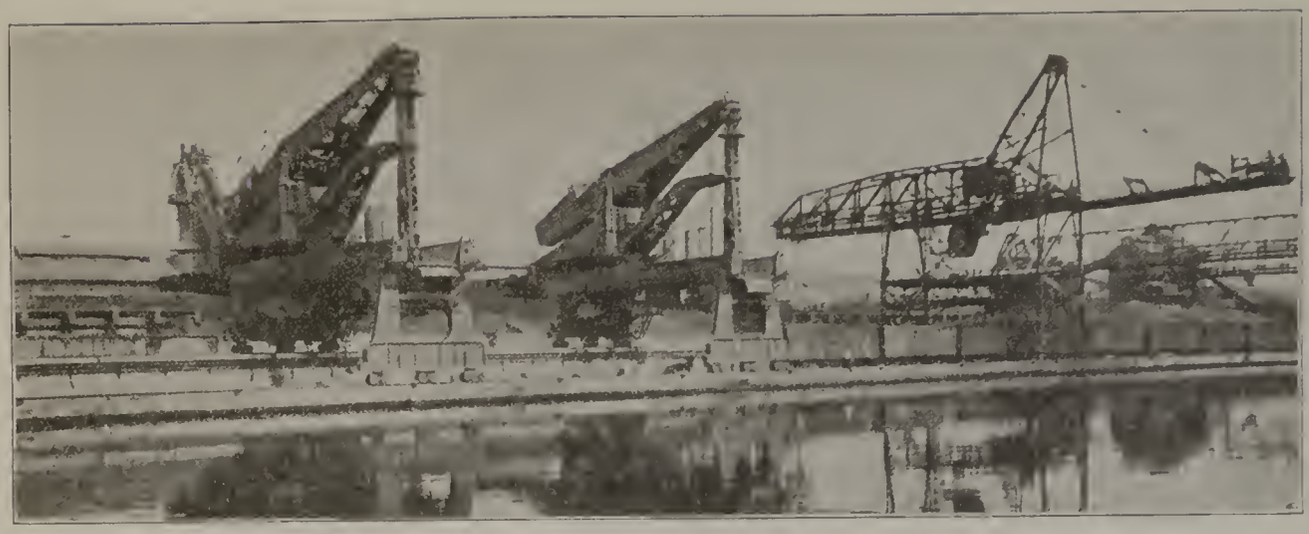


A Glimpse of River Rouge, Mich., Ford Plant

# Ford Wades in Gold and Grabs Ever New Enterprises

By S. ALMAZOV, In New York Daily Freedom.
[Translated by J. D. C.]

The Ford Motor Company celebrates its 20th Anniversary Jubilee and tells of its wealth. Henry Ford—the richest man in the world. The Ford factories put out one million and a half cars yearly. Ford is not only an auto manufacturer, he also owns many other enterprises, such as iron mines, coal mines, glass and rubber factories and is now preparing to go into the clothing and tailoring business.

HENRY FORD, founder and owner of the Ford Motor Company of Detroit, Mich., has had within the past few days somewhat of a festival—on the occasion of the celebration of the establishment of his auto business.

### His First Factory

In 1903, Ford started his first auto factory. At that time he invested in the venture 27,000 dollars. Within 20 years, Ford has become not only the largest auto manufacturer in the world, but also the richest among the rich of the earth.

Ford went into business at a favorable time. He has been successful.

There was a great demand for cheap autos. Ford's auto was the cheapest in the market. In spite of this fact, Ford made enormous profits on his auto sales. The workers in his factories, diligently and submissively contributed their energy and helped Ford create, within a short period of time, a colossal fortune.

It goes without saying that the workers in his factories were unable to save for themselves any more than a bare subsistence, at the time when Ford was literally able to shovel money.

About January, 1922, the net profits of the Ford auto factories amounted to Four Hundred Thirty-Two Millions, Four Hundred Forty-Three Thousand, Eight Hundred Eighty-Three Dollars ($432,443,883).

But let us rather allow the Ford Motor Company to speak for itself.

### Increase of Yearly Output

Because of the Jubilee the company decided to delight our hearts by assuring us that Ford's business is progressing nicely. For that purpose the company made public a report from which we learn that the first Ford auto was completed in June, 1903. From year to year Ford has enlarged his factories and perfected his system of production to such an extent that the number of automobiles produced is ever growing. In 1903 the number of Ford autos produced was 1708, at this writing the Ford Company has an output of 1,500,000 cars yearly.

Each four seconds a new Ford is born,—a truck or a tractor. Each hour 900 new Ford cars, trucks or tractors are put out. In the one day of May 9th the Ford factories put on the market 6,615 cars and the week ending May 15 they finished 39,303 cars.

The Ford auto business has become one of the largest industrial ventures in the world. The Highland Park plant in Detroit stretches out over an area of 300 acres of land, of which 123 acres are under one roof. In River Rouge the Ford Company occupies 1,200 acres of land. Here we find Ford's own smelter (which is the largest in the world), his own machine shops, cement factory, a locomotive repair shop and the Fordson tractor factory.

The little factory, which Ford named in honor of his son "Fordson," is only six years old; the Fordson tractor factory was first established in the year 1917 and produced, within the first year of its existence, 254 tractors. Now the factory has "slightly" grown and the little factory now turns out a sum total of 500 tractors a day, which amounts to more than 150,000 tractors the year.

**His 24,000 Agencies**

All through the country there are dealers in "Fords" to the number of 9,000; 15,000 authorized Ford service stations. Altogether 24,000 points of contact with auto dealers and owners. The Ford Company has a factory in Canada, where a new city has grown up around the Ford factory and which is called "Ford." In the Canada factory 75,000 Fords the year are produced. In 1922 Ford purchased the Lincoln Motor Company, paying for it the sum of 8,000,000 dollars.

The above are the facts according to the information furnished by the Ford Motor Company on the occasion of its jubilee.

It is understood that the above report dwells little on the way the workers have become machinized and stupified, thanks to the "scientific" distribution of labor, which Ford introduced in his factories in order to multiply the production of his workers. The report talks of the wonderful condition of the Ford automobile factories only.

But that is not all; Ford is not only represented in the auto business. His fortunes have grown to such colossal proportions that he is obliged to seek ever new enterprises. Special experts are now engaged for the purpose of discovering where to invest the large sums of money owned by Ford and his kind. And the more money one has the greater profit returns he is entitled to. It is their belief that money must go to money and ever new business ventures are unearthed.

**His Cash Balance**

Ford's cash balance, exclusive of investments, now totals 200 million dollars. This is more cash money than any one else in the world owns today.

It is, therefore, worth while to acquaint ourselves with some of the other business that this auto king does, and of course, also earns, some small change withal.

First of all, it is Ford's aim to get under his control all the industries upon which his auto factories are depending. For that purpose he has begun to provide himself with coal and metal mines, with his own railroads and his own water power.

For the state of Michigan alone Ford has prepared a program for water power development that will cost about One Hundred Million dollars

The state of Nebraska is familiar with the immense plans and accomplishments of Ford in the development of water power; the Nebraska legislature, therefore, extended an invitation to Ford to take over the entire state system of water power.

Ford is the head of a company in Michigan that owns 32,000 acres of forest and metal mines.

Ford also organized a 15,000,000 dollar coal company, and has lately bought 120,000 acres of land in West Virginia, upon which are found the best oak trees in America. It is estimated that on it abounds about 500,000,000 feet of timber. All told Ford owns about 200,000 acres of land.

Ford has rented for a period of 75 years the "Detroit, Toledo and Ironton" railroad, which extends over an area of 500 miles.

Ford also owns large glass factories; he is now working upon a project to expend $50,000,000 in developing the rubber industry in Mexico. He has also invested large sums of money in barge-canals and as a by-issue he often takes a leap into banking. In that way he recently made a loan to the administration of the city of Detroit, of a half million dollars and charged interest at only 4 per cent while the Wall Street bankers charged 4½ per cent. The above sum to the city of Detroit may possibly be increased to 8,000,000. He has also built a hospital at the expense of 5,000,000 dollars.

**Goes Into Retailing**

Lately, he opened up large retail stores for the use of his tens of thousands of employes; the stores also retail to other persons and no profits are lost there either, as Ford is not in business for heaven's sake, but for business and profits. In order to get an idea of the extent of business Ford does in the above-mentioned retail stores it is enough to mention the fact that in one of the stores the monthly sale of meat amounts to 250,000 lbs.

Our Auto King also sells groceries, shoes, and piece goods for clothing. It is now rumored that he is preparing to go into the tailoring business. He will presumably establish large clothing factories for his own employes and for the retail trade generally. We venture the belief that in the new undertakings Ford will hardly be the loser.

As it appears from the above Ford is about provided with a livelihood, the only thing missing is glory (honor), because of that some of his friends are now pushing him for president of the United States. Their wish is that he be as much of a gourmand in glory and honor as he is in money.

His friends approve of the motto that he who has the cash should also have the say.

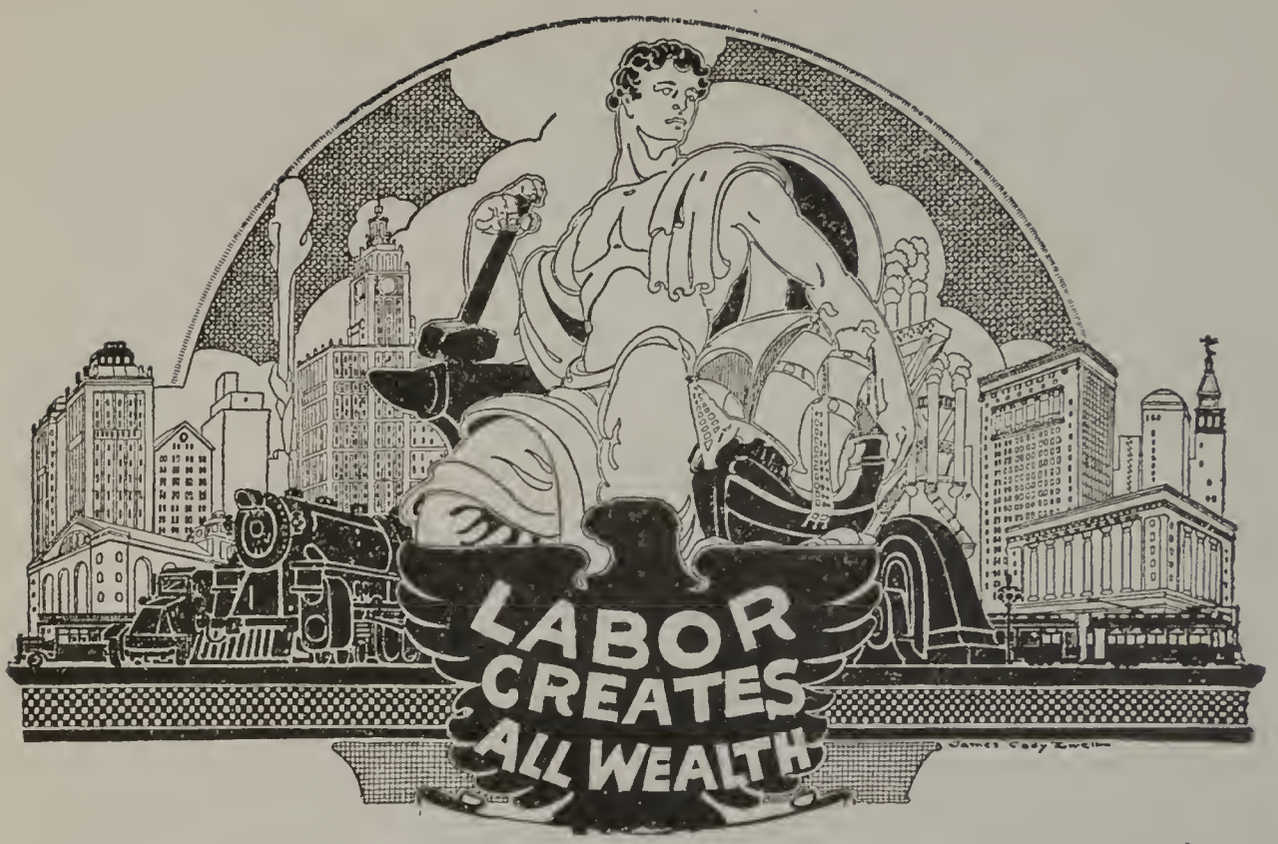
No matter what the outcome will be as to Ford becoming the president of the U. S. he already is, the king of industry and the largest one to boot.

## More New Pamphlets

"STARVING Amidst Too Much," is the title of a new I. W. W. pamphlet, published by Food Workers' Industrial Union No. 460. The author is the well-known I. W. W. poet and song writer, T-Bone Slim. Watch for review in October Pioneer.

*

Another new I. W. W. pamphlet is "Craft Unionism, Why It Fails." Analyzes recent big fiascos in A. F. of L. strikes. Contains much valuable historical data and is up-to-date in its facts and figures. Advocates I. W. W.




**Labour is the sole parent of all property—the land yieldeth nothing without it, and there is no food, clothing, shelter, vessel, or any necessary of life but what costs Labour and is generally esteemed valuable according to the Labour it costs. Therefore, no person can possess property without labouring, unless he gets it by force or craft, fraud or fortune out of the earnings of others.—From The Key of Liberty, written in 1798 by William Manning of Massachusetts.**

# Treasonable Thoughts

THE WORKER—You say that it is your capital that creates all wealth?

The Capitalist—You've stated my contention correctly.

The Worker—How comes it then that, when I strike, your capital is idle and unproductive; while you call on press, government and courts to drive me back to work in order to revive its creative power and produce profits with it for you?

The Capitalist—Oh—ah—I beg your pardon! You fail to grasp my meaning! I—er—I mean that if I didn't provide you at the beginning, with raw material, machinery, management, cash and credit, your efforts would be futile.

The Worker—Ha, ha, ha!!! That's the best yet. First, you say it is your capital that creates all wealth. Then when I show that without my labor your capital is useless you take a new tack! Now you appear as the great provider. Ha, ha, ha!!! But, in all seriousness, let me ask you, where did you get that raw material? Out of the earth, eh? And the earth, did you create it? Who dug that raw material? Did you? Who invented and fashioned that machinery? Did you? Who manages your enterprises? Do you? Who evolved your cash and credit systems? You? Is not the earth dug, machinery invented and made, enterprises managed, credit and banking systems evolved, operated and maintained by the physique and brain of generations of wage workers and salaried subordinates? You take the results of labor's co-operative toil and genius and call it all your own. And then when labor strikes—stands from under your fiction—you shout "Help! police!! Help, government!! Help! courts!!!" You may not have a sense of justice and decency! But you surely must have a sense of humor!

The Capitalist—Stop! Stop! Ding blast you! I shall apply for an injunction against such treasonable thoughts. You are an enemy to God, the ocuntry and the flag.

# Who Constitute the Working Class?

By ALOIS SENNEFELDER, JR.

THIS is a question oftenest asked by those who should find it easiest to answer: namely, the members of the working class themselves! They are so little given to analysis and reflection as to be unable to recognize and classify themselves without the aid of others. However, their characteristics are most pronounced, and can never be erased, once they are properly impressed upon the human mind.

Naturally, one is inclined to believe that the working class consists of ALL THOSE WHO WORK, or who take part in or help to maintain the production and distribution of wealth in some way or other. Under this definition, many professional people, like doctors, dentists, lawyers, etc., and many middle class persons, like delicatessen stores and cobbling shop keepers, not to mention farmers, would constitute the working class. For do they not work? Are they not assisting in the modern production and distribution of wealth?

That may all be apparently true; but, nevertheless, all these professional, middle and farming class persons are not of the working class. Their very classifications in the language of the day implies something distinct and different from the working class. And we may rely on it, these classifications are correct. We also may rely on it that doctors, dentists, lawyers, delicatessen store keepers and cobblers generally would feel insulted and deprived of eclat and prestige if reduced to the working class; for it would appear as social degeneracy to them, as we shall make clear later on, to have such a thing befall them.

A few glances at the working class in general will reveal economic contrasts with the professional, middle and farming classes, that make it a class apart from all these. In the first place, the working class is a capital-less class. It does not own the land, machinery, raw material, funds and credit with which it operates. In the second place, it is an employed class. It works directly for wages for the profit of others: namely, employers and capitalists, i. e.' the owners of the machinery, etc., which it uses. In the third place, the working class is an exploited class, giving up in return for wages received all that it produces. In the factory, workshop, mill and mine; on the railroads, steamships, aeroplanes; on the land, and sea, in banks, hotels,—everywhere—will men and women be found producing and distributing wealth by means of capital owned by others, for the profit of the latter,—all for wages received. They constitute the armies of workers, the great working class.

Doctors, dentists, lawyers, delicatessen store keepers, cobblers, farmers, et al., own their own capital and equipment. They are not employed by others. Nor are they exploited for all that they produce in return for wages received. Factories know them not. Nor do any of the other places of exploitation in industry, transportation and finance. Generally, they are neither employers nor employes. But they aspire to become the former as opposed to the latter, as they know that that is the road to greater enrichment and social advance. Not a few of them are former workers; hence their peculiar aspirations and desires.

It is only when doctors, dentists, lawyers, etc., are employed at salaries and commissions for the profit of insurance companies, railroad companies, company hospitals, hospital and health corporations, and similar institutions, do they become members of the working class. The same holds true of farmers who are farming farms directly for wages for the profit of others. All are then employes, working the capital of others for the profit of the latter in return for wages received.

Whenever one is employed to work the capital of another for the profit of the latter, in return for wages or salary received, he's a worker and belongs to the working class. And there are some thirty millions of them in "little U. S. A." Are you one of them?

# Labor Banks Not Enough

Apparently, the labor bank is not all-satisfying. "The Chief's Page," i. e., Warren Stone's page, in the July Locomotive Engineers' Journal, is illustrative of the fact. In the first paragraph the stocks of "The Brotherhood Investment Company" are boomed. But in paragraph 3, headed "Wage Increases," "Warren Stone, Labor Banker," gives way to "Warren Stone, Labor Leader," and as such, is being prodded into securing more wages for locomotive engineers in a way that he, great financier that he is, quite obviously does not relish.

Says "Warren Stone, Labor Leader": "A number of resolutions are coming in from different Divisions criticizing the Grand office, and insisting that a wage movement be put into effect at once . . . Your interests are being looked after, and the Organization will come out of this as well as any of the rest in the final analysis, so do not be carried away by a few soap-box orators, or a few One Big Union men, who are carrying out their instructions to 'bore from within.' "

From which it is safe to conclude that "Warren Stone, Labor Leader" is arrogant and given to insulting his membership. Also that a few dollars annual bank dividends to a few stockholders is no substitute for the tens of dollars that should be in the weekly pay envelopes of all of the 90,000 locomotive engineers enrolled in Stone's Brotherhood.

# Where Wealth Accumulates

By ROBERT GRAYSON

BY securing work in a bowling alley it had become possible for me to complete the common school grades. We were very poor people, dwelling in a rear hovel whose entrance was through an alley which communicated on one side to our "home," and on the opposite to a stable. To this day the strong odors peculiar to livery stables assailing my nostrils bring back that rare retreat as an ugly souvenir of a life that was all but bestial.

When Father Dominick understood my ambition —to finish the grades of his parochial school—he used his kind offices to establish me at the receiving end of the bowling alleys. At this station I gyrated up and down, setting pins and returning the huge balls from eight until twelve each night. For this violence they paid me thirty cents a night. The alleys were in the Parish Hall basement, and were controlled and used by societies connected with the Church.

However, even this sinecure failed to make sure the educational journey, and it was terminated after a very brief glimpse of the freshman life at high school. My entire time must be devoted to gainful occupation. There were several children younger than myself in our family, and my father had displayed the ill grace to go seeking "if God improves on better acquaintance." What ever conclusions he reached as to the Deity, our mundane affairs did not improve with his quest.

### Squeezing Through Life

Some of the sensations impressed on us as we squeeze through life are not to be erased. Of such an indelible character are those which were my own on that first February morning that I entered the labor market in earnest. It was six o'clock and still dark, but the streets were filled with workers either homeward bound after the night shift or going to their labors. My small lunch was under my arm against the possibility of finding work at once. And I shivered with a double discomfort, first because the wind did not respect my coat, and then with a deeper chill a little like that of childish fears on being taken to school for the first time. Only now, with work as a definite objective, where I should find it was not so definite. So I timidly approached one factory gate after another with a halting appeal that seemed to become frozen and changeless. For some unfortunate reason thirteen year old boys of small size did not seem in demand that morning. And while no reasons were advanced for refusing me at the outset the same were supplied when my search continued after all the whistles had blown. I was told to come earlier, or asked if I thought these factories were banks.

### A Prison Without Bars

At Noon, when the day was not as cold, I munched my sandwich on the tow-path of a canal. Across this waterway lay a damp meadow, and immediately beyond this the State Prison. I meditated this dull pile silently. There men and women were serving sentences of varying lengths. With pity for those behind its bars and walls I did not know that with them I had much in common, for without knowing it I had been sentenced to hard labor for life in penal institutions having a superior economy, being minus bars. This is the sentence pronounced for the crime of entering the world poor. Moreover it is the judgment heaped upon all workers for the crime of lacking solidarity.

Leaving this gloomy landscape my search was renewed. At about four o'clock, with darkness gathering again, I found the Precious Job! In that factory district, with all its blending of productive smells, I had sniffed out from afar what was to be my first real lesson in that course with which most of us are familiar. The watchmen had been instructed to hire someone. I came at the opportune moment, and was told to come back at seven that same evening to work on the night shift. It was a linoleum factory and the paints used for the prints when being dried gave off an odor which dominated all others nearby.

Having received and punched a card at a time-clock I found my foreman and was given a wheelbarrow. As the long strips of linoleum were run through the machinery which printed them, their edges were trimmed by revolving cutters, and these fragments I was to gather into bundles and wheel to a "mill" through the yards where they were again ground up. For twelve hours a night this was a very hard job, but where the bowling alley paid seven and one-half cents hourly, this labor gained me fifteen cents. So, when morning came I was richer by one dollar and eighty cents!

### Sympathy, Nearest Kin To Solidarity

Sometimes—to my great joy—the machinery would jam and I was reprieved mercifully while the machinist repaired the fault. At such times I used to go out to the "mill" and watch the old man there at his work. Soon we were friends, and I gained

much from knowing him. His name was Harrison and he had been born in England. Two of his fingers were gone, and when I observed the loss sympathetically he divined my thoughts and said abruptly:

"Lucky it wasn't my arm!"

He was one of those thin, wiry old fellows who seemed able to thrive on privation, if merely continuing existence is any sort of thrift. When he discovered that I used my ears and eyes more than my tongue he indorsed this reticence by many confidences. I learned that when one of his fingers had been caught under a "cutter" the management had ordered the machinery to be again started, rather than lose the time of lifting the heavy wheels. Thus was the second finger amputated. Indeed, it is by practising such economies that foremen are advanced and rewarded.

Harrison had been in America since he was a small boy. His mother had recently died at a great age, but his father had been dead for many years. Harrison had once been a skilled mechanic in printing linoleum. It was he who told me how the machines came in to do with a crew of six laborers the work previously done by fifty mechanics. This led us around to mechanical progress generally. The old man working alone in the twilight of his life at a task which called for no mental effort employed his mind on many matters, and as a result of his skill having been superseded by a machine this subject was prominent. I had been denied higher academic training, but Harrison was a man who had read much and well. In the infrequent visits I paid him during the dead of night while the machinery was being repaired, my mind was given some good exercise, and a consciousness was born therein which might never have had a being elsewhere.

### An Important Span of Existence

One night he was telling me about his mother: "She lived through this kind of a life, that knocks them out usually at forty or so, until she was ninety. My father died at thirty-eight of the 'con.' But, son, what always seems to me as important about my mother's life is the time it was lived in. I guess that a ninety year life a thousand years ago wasn't much different from another ninety year stretch two thousand years past. But with my mother and those others there was a big difference.

"When she was a girl they used candles for lights, when they had the price. She lived to see the electric light. When she was a kid horses and oxen pulled the carriages and carts on bad roads. Before she died she saw airplanes buzzing around the clouds. And news that in her youth traveled at a snail's pace was flashed around the world by wireless in her old age.

"And these factories. When she was born they were just starting. They were weavers at home. She saw that kind of thing broken up, and the family forced to the factories. What the inventions do to skilled workers I know! Why, son, fifty of us used to do the work by hand that these machines turn out now with half a dozen hunkies and farmers!"

He was out of breath. I had to push my wheelbarrow back to the machine, but he had done something to me that could never be undone. My curiosity was aroused, and I began to try to understand all about the progress of these machines. And thus I learned that the farmers in colonial days were just about as far advanced in agricultural methods as were the ancients. In manufacture, simple, inexpensive tools worked by footpower at home did the spinning and weaving in the 18th Century A. D. in a manner not much different than it was performed a thousand years earlier.

One night I asked Harrison if he thought we were better off now than workers were before the machines were invented.

"Well, son," he said. "With all these machines ripping out products about a hundred times as fast as they used to I suppose the workingman is just a little better off when he has a job. But if you mean has he as much share of the stuff he makes I'll say 'No.' Between the rich and poor of this day and the rich and poor of a hundred years ago there is a big difference. The rich now have a bigger share than the rich did then. If it was twenty-five for the worker before and seventy-five for the boss, it's about five for the worker now and ninety-five for his boss."

"Then we're getting poorer all the time!" I exclaimed.

"Yes, and the others are getting richer," he ended.

It is nearly twenty years since old Harrison started me on the real road of education. The old man has long since quit feeding the "mill" with the trimmings fetched by my barrow. Eternal shadows are around him. He was poor, mangled and twisted by the toils and violence of this ogre, the Machine. But his head was straight.

### Fire the Boss!

Seeing that life was all wrong for the workers I remember asking him at last what he thought could be done to make our lives better. And he looked sraight into my heart as he replied:

"It's up to the workers to get together and 'fire' the boss."

Twenty years of study and observation have served to convince me that this simple expedient,—so difficult of effecting!—holds the solution of all economic injustice and the hope of a happier and more enlightened human race.

This little story is substantially true, and contains a lesson for us all. It is not by "uplifters" and "saviors" that the workingclass will win to its freedom. Salvation not self-achieved is worthless. Our emancipation is timed by the blows we beat ourselves against the bars of our own prison, this vast economic system. It is the Harrisons who forever smash at this citadel of wage slavery. Each one has

## THE ORIGINAL CENTRALIA DEFENDANTS

**Top Row—Loren Roberts, James McInerny, Britt Smith, O. E. Bland, Bert Faulkner (released), Ray Becker.**
**Bottom Row—Mike Sheehan (released), John Lamb, Eugene Barnett, Bert Bland, Elmer Smith (released).**

ARMISTICE DAY, 1919, was used by lumber trust interests at Centralia, Wash., to turn a peaceful parade celebrating the end of the world war into a mob raid on the I. W. W. hall there. The raid was successfully repulsed by the I. W. W. Some of the mob were killed.

Instead of holding F. B. Hubbard, lumber magnate, fomentor of the raid, and his criminal associates responsible, 11 I. W. W.'s were arrested for murder. Three were released. Eight are now buried alive in prison, the victims of rank injustice.

**Even the jurors have revolted against the crime FORCED on THEM. Six of them confess that, such was the atmosphere of terror surrounding the trial, that they dared not acquit the I. W. W.'s What a confession! What a shame!!**

A state-wide agitation is now being conducted in Washington against this conspiracy to imprison workmen for manfully defending themselves and their rights. A movement is now afoot to secure a reversal and re-trial. Archie Sinclair and Elmer Smith, the fighting lawyer, are addressing large mass meetings demanding release. The good work will continue until this end is achieved.

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a duty to perform. A word here, and a deed there, and a leaflet somewhere else—these are the deadly weapons endlessly at work to eternally damn human slavery.

### An Unsung Educator

Under somewhat better financial circumstances I suppose I should have gone to college, there, to secure knowledge and contempt. Who knows? I might have become a figure in the business world! In such an event I should have lived always with the moneybags bucking big and human life small. How many first-class possibilities of how many potential skinners are side-tracked by such as a wheelbarraw and linoleum trimmings! And how many mediocre minds twisted by our patriotic school training receive the light from unknown, unsung and at last unwept educators such as the Harrisons!

He had a light and he did not hide it under a bushel. In the dark night I went in covered with sweat and filth pushing the great weight. And when at last I came out again there was a light in my brain, and a flame in my heart. The miracle was done. Never more would I bow before industrial piracy contentedly, for I was a rebel.

# The Ballad of the Fifty-Five

[Dedicated to the San Quentin Strikers]

By HENRY GEO. WEISS.

Fifty-five men on hunger diet,
Rotting in solitary,
Some in the dungeon dank and black,
Oh, but the night is dreary!
Fifty-five men on hunger diet,
Rotting in solitary.

Fifty-five men on hunger diet,
God! but the days are long!
Fifty-five men in solitary
Trying to mouth a song,
Fifty-five men on bread and water—
Christ! but the hours are long!

Fifty-five men—and what have they done
That they should be treated so?
Did they murder and rape or rob the poor
In the land where the oranges grow?
Say! what is the crime of the fifty-five
That they should be treated so?

Oh, some of them said that they ought to be free
Of hunger and dirt and filth,
And some of them pointed out the fact
That the workers produced the wealth,
And some of them POINTED OUT THE MEN
WHO ROBBED THEM OF THAT WEALTH

For since the days of Jesus, the Christ,
And this all men do know,
To scourge the moneychangers forth,
And strike at Profit a blow,
Is to invite the doom of him
Who did it long ago.

And some of them preached that war was hell
And exposed the profiteer,
The pious fraud who mouthed "MY flag"
And sat in a swivel chair,
And tried to hide the million he made
Behind ONE DOLLAR a year.

And some of them helped to organize
The men in the O. B. U.,
And some of them spoke from the old soap-box
That Labor must have its due,
And some of them said, IF ANY ARE FED,
BY GOD! IT OUGHT TO BE YOU!

YOU mine the COAL, YOU drive the TRAINS,
YOU man the SHIPS AT SEA,
YOU cut the LUMBER, reap the GRAINS,
YOU LABOR MIGHTILY—
YET YOU, THE WORKER, TOILER, DWELL
In DIREST POVERTY.

And all of them preached of a better day
When want should be unknown,
When gold and greed should lose their sway
And hate be overthrown—
AND ALL OF THEM PINE TODAY BEHIND
GRIM WALLS OF STEEL AND STONE.

Fifty-five men on hunger diet,
And this their only crime:
They tried to lift the workingman
Out of the muck and slime,
Fifty-five men on bread and water—
Men's saviours!—DOING TIME!

# Hell: Sensational Verse Drama

A Review by RALPH CHAPLIN

HELL is the name of this sensational verse drama by Upton Sinclair. The reason it is called "Hell" is because it is a picture of the awful mess that capitalism has made of the affairs of this world.

The scene opens up in the throne-room of hell. The court jester comes in with the astounding news that he has succeeded in stealing the key to heaven after having locked the pearly gate upon all the angels. The imps and devils rejoice with his Satanic Majesty. Plans are made to organize the universe upon a business basis. Mammon and his efficiency experts are placed in charge. The fun begins.

The people of earth are divided into two groups —the Verticals and Horizontals. War is precipitated. An attorney general with a Quaker countenance and a spiked tail gets on the job. A lot of I. W. W.'s and other rebels are thrown into hell. They start kicking, as usual. As a result of their agitation Satan finds himself without a throne and the Wobblies have job control. An attempt is made to extend the strike. Condemned souls are organized, the campaign waxes furious. The rule of Mammon on earth and Satan in hell seems doomed to permanent extinction. Victory is at hand. The gates of heaven are opened and Fellow Worker Jesus makes a last plea for brotherhood. Then all the scissor-bill actors in the play go on strike and . . . . but read the rest of it yourself!

"Hell" is as beautifully written as Romain Rolland's "Liluli," but it is more popular in tone and more modern in spirit. It is full of breathless incidents, subtle contrasts and touches of real poetry. "Hell' sparkles with wit and bubbles with Rabelaisian laughter, and yet its general tone is as sober as a sermon. "Hell" is imagination run riot—a phantasmagoria of uncarthly imps, angels and persons. It is distorted, weird, exaggerated, impossible; and yet it portrays the spirit of the jumbled age in which we live more accurately than a photograph.

("Hell," published by Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, Calif. Price, 25c.)

# Magnus Johnson

MAGNUS JOHNSON, newly elected U. S. Senator from Minnesota, has already filled a useful purpose in raising the cry of revolution in one of the worst periods of reaction the country has ever experienced. It is indeed refreshing to see at least one conspicuous personage in the U. S. get up and threaten this event, so terrible to the ruling classes of all ages, "if conditions confronting the laboring man and the farmer are not changed;" when too many others are so supine that it seems as if manhood had departed this life for ever and aye.

Magnus Johnson's words have accordingly received extended editorial notice, while he himself has become the object of many journalistic write-ups. It is freely predicted by some of "our" greatest newspapers that another wave of radicalism will sweep the country as it did in the days of Bryan and free silver,—a wave of radicalism that will have to be combatted by the same means as was its alarming predecessor. All of which is good news to thinking men, who will rejoice over the prospect of the country being shaken out of its dangerous conservatism to face modern world-economic problems once more.

But, otherwise, it is hard to believe that there is anything really serious to be feared in the situation personified by Magnus Johnson. It is true that the farmers in the wheat growing states of the Northwest are suffering bankruptcy and ruin. Prices do not cover the cost of production; nor do they provide for taxes and interest. But the farmers, despite their varied ancestry and pioneer qualities, are not of a revolutionary breed. Their environment has not caused them to be revolutionarily inclined. Nor is there any likelihood that, in conditions as they are, they will ever be revolutionary.

It must be apparent to all, that it is characteristic of the farmers to abjectly worship the system that destroys them as a class. They have sacrificed themselves to the Molochs of private property, personal gain and individual shrewdness, so-called, and will, apparently, continue to do so to the end of their days. This is evident in all of the farmers' measures, such as price guarantees, excess profits and other corporation taxation, governmental regulation, ownership and credit, etc.

There isn't a suggestion of revolution in all this. On the contrary, these measures aim merely to extend the capitalist principles of state aid to include the farming class. They are an attempt to make the farmer more thoroughly capitalistic. It is only ultra-capitalist imperialism — the policy of exporting capital in return for products imported—that causes ultra-capitalist opposition to such an extension of state aid; and that makes political resentment on the part of the farmers possible. Otherwise, the farmer as a revolutionist is nothing more nor less than a figment of the successful politician's brain;—a scarecrow wherewith to compel concessions and recognition.

This becomes all the more apparent when we recall the fact that 1,700,000 farmers were recently forced off the farms without any manifestation of revolt whatever. Further, the farmers have been warned that within the next two years, 1,500,000 more of them will also be compelled to travel the same route. This means that the holdovers from the deflation of 1920, i. e., the farmers of small capital who now find themselves completely exhausted, will augment the ranks of the evicted. Still, there is no farmer revolution; no violent upheaval; nor a radical psychological or economic break with capitalism. Only a non-essential political revolt; a relapse into populism and grangerism, with Johnson as its most pronounced personification.

Surely, there must be a reason for this extraordinary phenomenon of a class destroyed practically without resistance. The reason is not far to seek. As already indicated it is to be found in the essentially capitalist character of the farmers' mind. It is also to be found in another and more vital reason: viz., the transformation of the nation from an agricultural into a manufacturing entity. This has enabled industry

to absorb the one-time farmer and to keep alive his devotion to capitalism. The millions driven from the farms have found refuge from hunger and starvation in auto-plants, chemical works, steel mills, movie studios, etc., where they have preserved their essentially capitalist minds and proven themselves staunch upholders of the capitalist system, indeed. Had there been no expanding industry to receive them, had there been a prostrated industrialism, a wide-spread panic, the story would have been different. But as it is, recent contemporaneous events make very glaring, the significant fact that agriculture is no longer the basic factor in American culture, on whose prosperity the latter rises or falls. It has simply become another source of labor supply for capitalism to be reckoned with, as such, by the working class.

Under these varied psychological and economic conditions who believes in a farmers' revolution? Revolutions are made by an increasingly important class in the functions of society. This is true of the working, but not of the farming, class in the U. S. today. Accordingly we can only hope for a revolution when, under the unjust exploitation and oppression of capitalism, the one-time farmer is thoroughly rendered class-conscious as a wageworker. As now constituted, a farmers' revolution will prove a reactionary futility; that is, provided such a revolution is even thinkable.

# The Big Bout

Date and Time—Thursday, July 12th, 1923, at 7 P. M.
Place—Front of "The Times," Eureka, California.

WHILE walking along opposite side of street my attention is called to the large crowd of men congregated in front of the "Humboldt Times" offices.

What is holding them? Ah, I see—it's a bulletin of the fight—Firpo vs. Willard,—that attracts the crowd.

And on closer examination I find workingmen in overalls predominating. On my side of the street are several women, some holding on to baby-buggies too, who no doubt are awaiting (not the fight decision) but for their husbands. On mingling with the crowd an acquaintance of mine asks me, "What do you think of it, who's going to win?

And Oh, Workers—Hosts of Us—Industrial Workers of the World—dues-paying members or soon to be, I could not refrain (under a rising inspiration) from delivering the following answer:

"Fight? What fight? Friend, you've got me wrong, I am very little interested as to the outcome of this little fight.

"I am interested in the Big Fight. What one is that? Why, the biggest Pug on earth versus the only Giant on earth. Fellow Workers—the Pug I am interested in seeing licked—by the way his name is Plute.—delivers a wallop that knocks out millions of us at one blow! And he hits below the belt, too, don't you see? He cares not for any rules.

"Oh, Men! Get wised up—why, in order to win the decision he hits women and babes too!

"It's all right men, we like and want diversion in the shape of clean, honest sports—can't we do without them, sure. But say, if we workers altogether will interest ourselves only half as much in the outcome of the Real Big Fight, it wouldn't last one round.

"And we wouldn't need the seconds, sponge men—towel manipulators—viz., (Salvationists—Sky Pilots), we'd win hands down!

"Oh, You Men with Wives and Babes waiting for you, Men and Women, there's a message written for You!

"Think of your economic condition! How to better it!

"There's the fight—the Real Big Fight—right before Us every hour, awake or sleeping, and from cradle to grave! Interested in this Real Big Fight? Bet on it?

"Why yes! There are thousands upon thousands of men and women good and true who are betting on this Real Big Fight!

"Money?

"No! No! No!

Betting their freedom, their very lives!!

"Oh say! Men, can you not see, what so broadly is writ in the skies?

"Let's get interested in THE BIG FIGHT!"

A Painter (Card 27,824)

# The Parlor Provocateur

Book Review By J. D. C.

THE other night," says a Los Angeles newspaper, "5,000 strikers and their wives and children down at San Pedro harbor, cheered" —a woman, a millionairess, one who is described as having a "beautiful home behind a fringe of tall, restful evergreen trees. There are servants in that home. There is ease and comfort and even luxury there."

Who is this woman? What has she done that she should win the applause of strikers led by the I. W. W.,—for that was an I. W. W., M. T. W. strike —an organization of the exploited and enslaved of the present social order—and she a member of the oppressor class?

The answer is given in a little book, just sent out for review; a book that is neither fiction, romance, nor history, but which combines them all and is epoch making in that it portrays the truth and idealism of present day, pulsating, real life—the life and struggles of the great advancing working-class, the vanguard of the Industrial Republic.

This little book is entitled, "The Parlor Provocateur, or From Salon to Soap Box." With the subtitle, "The Letters of Kate Crane Gartz." Mrs. Gartz is the woman cheered by the I. W. W.

It is difficult to review the book without reviewing the subject it discusses. As a matter of fact there is no book. It is just a compilation of a number of brief, pointed and quite well composed letters of protest to the rulers and dignitaries of our day on behalf of the disinherited and discontented of our day—and in which the compiler, Mary Craig Sinclair, very modestly and properly, keeps herself in the background.

Instead, therefore, of reviewing the book we shall proceed to cull a number of excerpts from "The Parlor Provocateur" for the benefit of Pioneer readers, allowing them an opportunity to judge for themselves as to whether or not the writer of these excerpts, Kate Crane Gartz, is the one and only 100 per cent American of the American capitalist class: a woman who is championing the cause of labor and permits her house to be the haven of working class apostles.

### Pleads for Magon

The first letter in the book is herewith reproduced in full. It is addressed to Margaret Wilson, the daughter of the ex-president of now unenvied memory. It reads as follows:

"Because I am the sister of Charles R. Crane who is a close friend of yours and your father's and having met you in Chicago, I am venturing to enlist your sympathy and love of justice in behalf of this high-minded man—Ricardo Magon—whom the Department of Justice has seen fit to put behind iron bars as a 'common criminal.'

"I am enclosing one of his letters to his adored wife, whom I saw yesterday, living in squalor, but on

KATE CRANE GARTZ

a plane as far above her surroundings as either you or I could hold ourselves. She too has spent eight months in our filthy Los Angeles jail, ruining her health by the degrading work she was given to do—and all because she dreamed of a kinder, juster world, where all human beings may dwell in peace and happiness.

"And while I am appealing to you to intercede with your father in behalf of this man, the George Washington of his country, Mexico, I wish to raise my voice in behalf of all our conscientious objectors. Such men have been released automatically in all other countries, even the most benighted, since the signing of the armistice. How can we think to stifle all the voices crying out for freedom and justice, by putting them in dungeons, and otherwise mistreating them?

"America, once the beacon star of all the world's oppressed, is now lagging far behind in leadership. What has become of the lofty words that spurred us on toward a realization of our ideals? Every man who utters them now is clapped into jail—even Debs, the most Christlike man in our country, for uttering the very words your father uttered. Our government, by its blindness, is driving the people toward a violent revolution. Please try to awaken

your father before it is too late and we are face to face with inevitable chaos. And please, in my case, let me send you some of the facts about this man, Magon, who is going blind in jail, and will never see his loved ones again.

Yours for more humanity in our public officials."

### An Outraged Soul

This next one is a gem of pathos and a monument of social justice. It is addressed to Mr. Thomas Lee Woolwine, District Attorney of Los Angeles, in behalf of Raoul Palma, Mexican, and reads in part:

"We are acquainted with this boy and the work in which he has been engaged, and the reputation which he has established in the movement for social justice. These things mean something to us, and are the basis for our belief that the boy is unjustly accused.

"We have attended his trial, and listened to all the evidence which the state has been able to produce against him, and we are more than ever convinced that the accusation is baseless . We implore you to think of the endless burden of injustice which is heaped upon the weak and helpless by the strong and powerful; and the protests which they inevitably engender; the bitterness aroused in the hearts of social protestors by cases of police persecution such as this.

"I tell you my soul has been outraged by the daily evidence of prejudice and injustice which I have seen in the conduct of this case. The persecution of a fine type, so high above the average that those charged with enforcing the law cannot understand him, or the idealism which he is preaching.

"We should go to courts of justice as to a church, knowing that we shall be defended rather than persecuted. The whole system is bad enough, even when dealing with the guilty; when dealing with the innocent it is intolerable. Does it not occur to you that there should be a defender as relentless in protecting the poor and despised, as the public prosecutor is in seeking for legal points against him?

"I am so wrought up by this case of Palma that I cannot sleep nights, and am even now writing in the wee small hours of the morning with aching heart and streaming eyes. I am not sure that I would feel so about it if it were an ordinary man unjustly accused. But Palma has a message we must hear, a message such as Tolstoi taught, which is nothing more or less than the Brotherhood of Man."

### "Parlor Bolshevik"

This bit is from a letter to the editor of the Los Angeles Times: "I may be 'a parlor Bolshevik' simply because I am not capable of being the real thing. But I know that I am ashamed of myself for it. Until all have bread and plenty of it, I resent eating cake, and shall fight with the fighters until no man must ask another man for a job and until religion and education stop justifying war, and until profiteers are ashamed to face their victims."

Very satirical is this excerpt to Professor Ira Cross: "I admire you so much and feel so humble in your presence, you being a college professor, and I only a sympathizer with the dispossessed, not a real student of economics as you are. But I note that you wish merely to reconcile Capital and Labor, admitting the necessity of two classes of human beings, workers and drones forever. To perpetuate such a system is your idea of a just and happy society! For employers to be kind is to you the only solution for a distraught world. The employer can still go on piling up millions of profit, made from the broken lives of men, women and children toilers. Why should not the workers reap the benefit of their own toil, and not just make parasites of the rest of us? How can it be right for them to create all the good things of life, but never enjoy these things for themselves?

"No, the system is wrong, it must be changed. We must get rid of poverty, and you a learned professor, ought to find out the way and tell the rest of us."

### The I. W. W. Trials

Read this one, to the editor of the Pasadena Press: "An American woman, the mother of two American soldiers, wishes to submit to you a few reflections upon the I. W. W. trials now going on, and which she attended continuously.

"I noticed that at the beginning of the first trial men were admitted to the jury box who confessed to intense prejudice against the organization of which the persecuted man was accused of being a member. The judge would cajole the prospective jurors into a reluctant statement that they might possibly be able to change their point of view, and then he would force their acceptance as jurors.

"In the midst of the trial I saw a man arrested, charged with perjury, his crime having been that he dared to appear and testify in favor of the defendant. At the conclusion of the trial I heard the prosecuting attorney justify and practically incite to tarring and feathering of the defendant's attorney.

"If these things do not result in the conviction being reversed by a higher court, what shall we think of justice in Southern California? I wish to ask also—why did the morning newspapers both give the prosecutor's speech and ignore completely the truly noble words of Ryckman and Pandit?

"Bear in mind that this man Steelink has committed no overt act; he is simply charged with being secretary of an organization of persecuted men. The judge instructed the jury to find him not guilty unless it was proven beyond a reasonable doubt that an overt act had been committed. But the jury disregarded this instruction, and gave preference to the bitter and furious prejudice of District Attorney Woolwine. Never in my life have I listened to a more unfair, a more inhuman and cruel speech than this; the speech of a man who had absolutely no sense of the social wrongs of our time.

"District Attorney Woolwine says I. W. W.'s are thinking only of their selfish ambition. What he means is that they want some of the fruits of their labor. Is this such a base ambition—considering

the ambition of some people to take all that labor produces, leaving the laborer a bare existence?

"I tell you, Mr. Editor, that the questions brought up by this I. W. W. trial are deeper than Mr. Woolwine's vision ever carried; they are not to be settled by putting men into jail. It is an old and wise saying that there is no agitator but injustice; and it is this agitator we must seek to drive from our midst. What a just government has to do is to answer the complaints of the oppressed, and to bring them justice. A government which fails to do this cannot survive—not by all the cruel force it can summon. If revolution comes in America, it will be because of such exhibitions of criminal tyranny as were given in the courtroom by District Attorney Woolwine."

### In the Court Room

Part of a letter to Judge Frank Willis of Los Angeles after attending a trial in his court: "I entered the sanctuary, and gazed upward to the stained glass dome, upon which were inscribed four words: Peace, Justice, Truth, Law—and I felt hopeful. Before me were men who had violated no constitutional right, who had not the slightest criminal tendency, who were opposed to violence of every kind, knowing that it retards their cause.

"The trial proceeded. I looked again at the beautiful stained glass dome, and whispered to myself those majestic-sounding words: 'Peace, Justice, Truth, Law.' I listened to the prosecutors; the law in their hands was a hard, sharp, cruel, blade, seeking insistently, relentlessly for a weak spot in the armor of its victims. I listened to their Truth, and it was Falsehood; their Peace was a cruel, and bloody war; their Justice was a net to catch the victims at any cost—at the cost of all things but the glory of the Prosecutor's office."

Another letter to Mr. Woolwine: "Why should your office be associated with such a low-down character as Dymond—a man who has turned traitor to his class for money? How can you trust him, and what right have you to take $350 a month of the people's money and hand it over to such as he, and send him back and forth over the state to testify against workingmen, whose only crime is that they are members of the Industrial Workers of the World? You allow Dymond to arrest a witness, simply because he was defending his cause. The business of your office seems to be not to prosecute but to persecute. Why not inject a little humanism and a little mercy? I know that many of the men your office sent up are idealists not criminals."

### Letter to Harding

The following are a few lines from an appeal to President Harding for the release of men "in jail because of conscientious scruples": "Three years have passed since the armistice was signed, and other countries released their prisoners. Why do you not live to your high words, spoken on the first day of the distarmament conference: 'How can Humanity justify or God forgive a war.'"

Part of a letter to Woodworth Clum of the Better America Federation: "I did not bail out the Industrial Workers of the World in January, as you say; not because I would not but because I was not asked to. There are a few others besides myself willing to come to the aid of men who are being railroaded to the penitentiary, simply because they belong to an organization, never having committed an overt act."

From another letter to President Harding: "For the second time, I ask you to live up to your high-flung phrases, 'Expend your power in righteousness.' You believe in God; I do not, but I do try to believe in man, and find it is most difficult many times. You let those children who are now picketing your front door plead in vain for 'righteousness' for their fathers, who have been languishing in jail for five years for absolutely nothing! Not only should they be released now, but an attempt at an atonement should be made to them for the five years stolen from their lives—if such were possible."

### Arraigns Scabs

In another letter to the editor of the Los Angeles Times, Mrs. Gartz says: "You speak of the courage and the loyalty of the scab—your sympathy for some inexplicable reason is always with him, and against the man who is making the fight for better living conditions for all workers." And further: "The principle you stand so valiantly for in your editorial today—that a man must be free to work when and where he pleases—sounds very well to the unthinking person, but you know that such a man is keeping Negroes down below the American standard of living. The five thousand strikers in Los Angeles today are starving for principle. Are you? Are the scabs?"

To the Rev. John M. Dean, Pasadena, Calif., she writes in part: "Let the 'Wrath of God' come down upon your head if you suggest more war."

The above is the ample reason why the San Pedro I. W. W. strikers cheered the wealthy woman, Mrs. Kate Crane Gartz.

"The Parlor Provocateur" contains scores of other letters that are very valuable from other angles, letters from friends and relatives some of them denouncing her and others praising her efforts. Several from her son, whom she has succeeded in winning over to her way of thinking; and from her sisters who are also somewhat interested in labor struggles.

Reluctant as the reviewer is to give credit to a member of the enemy class, one who is a legatee to perhaps millions of dollars of unearned increment,—we cannot but concede that here at least is one woman who has suffered ostracism by the capitalist class; one who is sincere, is truly not a fadist or notoriety seeker, but a humanitarian, who is sacrificing position and risking persecution on behalf of freedom, truth, justice and the labor movement.

(Published by Mary Craig Sinclair, Pasadena, California.)

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**Push Industrial Pioneer!**

# Whither Russia?

By NEIL GORDON

SOME facts have reeently come out of Russia, by way of communist sources, that are worthy of working class consideration. They raise the question, whither is Russia tending? And what of the international working elass?

Take a glance at the following item. It is from "The Labor Digest," a weekly organ of the proletarian party, connected with the communist international:—

**"Trotzky Sees American Capital Buying up Europe"**

"Moscow.—In the newspaper 'Pravda,' Leon Trotzky, war minister of Soviet Russia, says, 'America emerged from the war, not weakened, but strengthened. The internal power of the American bourgeoisie is still very great. The revolution in America therefore, is in the distant future.'

"He sees the economic ruin of the European nations and the purchasing of European industries by Ameriean eapital at its own priee, as in the ease of Austria.

**"He argues that the only force that will be effective against America, the last stronghold of capitalism, is a 'United Proletarian States of Europe.' "**

(Bold faee ours.)

From another Communist International weekly, The Glasgow Worker, of July 7, we also take the following, in their entirety, from under "Russian Notes":

**"Russia and France**

"Referring to the official appointment of Mr. Kawakami, former Japanese Minister in Warsaw, as plenipotentiary for the Russo-Japanese negotiations, 'Izvestia,' remarks that it is satisfaetory that the choice has fallen on a Japanese delegate, who on many oecasions has made statements in the press in favour of a Russo-Japanese rapprochement. Ineidentally he has published a book about Soviet Russia, based on his recent journey, and filled with a sincere friendly spirit towards Russia."

**"Russia and France"**

"In conversation with representatives of the press M. Duverget, Chairman of the French Commercial Mission, stated that he is returning to Paris with a number of draft agreements for the export of Russian grain and timber. He hopes that the business circles he represents will succeed in inducing the French Government to reeommence first economic and later political relations with Russia. He is confident of being able to persuade the Government to recognize Russia de faeto, and send a permanent official representative to Moscow. He thinks the negotiations for oil concessions are of immense importance for France, and will further the achievement of the above ends, to which wide eircles are working in Franee. Diseussing his impressions of Russia, Duverget said that a eountry capable of restoring its economic strueture so rapidly after the erisis it has undergone shows that it has a vast reserve of energy and a great economic future. A member of the delegation is leaving for Baku to inspect the oil wells. Duverget has written a letter to the Director of the State Bank expressing his admiration at Soviet Russia's financial organization."

What do these faets portend? Let's see.

The International Press Correspondence, organ of the Communist International, issues of June 28 and July 5th successively, contains the speeches of Trotzky and Radek on the Ruhr situation and the English ultimatum to Soviet Russia. Both these speeches are significant. That of Radek is espeeially noteworthy.

**Fear America and England**

From both of them it is apparent that Russia no longer stands in fear of France, Japan and Poland; as mueh as of America and England. Especially does Radek's attempt to analyze the formations of the various national groups in the struggles of international eapitalism reveal this. This is more particularly seen in his analysis of the situation in the Far East. Says Radek:—

"The Washington Treaty was intended to be the basis for the relations of power there. Russia was not recognized as a Great Power and was not invited because it was not interested in the Far East. Since then we have marched into Vladivostok. Meanwhile, the Washington Treaty was concluded. It fixed a certain number of dreadnoughts for each of the participating powers, England, America and Japan. Japan understood that this was meant to crush her and although she submitted she changed her strategic plan and counted upon the construetion of fast eruisers and submarines. This provoked counter measures on the part of America and England. America responded by an extensive scheme for the construetion of fast eruisers and submarines, while England, who saw her base in Hongkong menaced, built a great harbour in Singapore. **This situation renders Japan to a great extent dependent upon Soviet Russia. She absolutely requires peace and good relations with Soviet Russia in order to leave her hands free against America."** (Bold face ours.)

**Some Recollections**

Reeall the words of Trotzky on the necessity for a "United Proletarian States of Europe" to war on Ameriea. Now recall also Radek's statement of Japan's dependenee on Russia and the good opinion of the Japanese negotiator with Russia expressed in The Glasgow Worker Russian note. Recall further the words of the Chairman of the French Commereial Mission, also from the same paper. Having digested that, turn to Trotzky's speech in The International Press Correspondence. Therein he says of conditions in France: "The next elections, in about 11 or 12 months, will probably bring vietory to the left bloc, and this will lead to some form of understanding with Soviet Russia."

# Injunction Cloaks Failure

FORMERLY, not so very long ago, the injunction was regarded as a powerful weapon, as a legal document intended to force Labor's submission to certain policies, ostensibly for "the public good"; but really for the good, i. e., the profits, of employers at war with their employes. As such the injunction generally exerted an awe-inspiring influence over the workers, that contributed greatly to the successful accomplishment of the purposes of its issuance.

But the injunction is now coming to lose its caste as a powerful weapon. It is coming to be regarded as a cloak wherewith to cover defeat and to be laughed at accordingly. This was the case in the Kansas state injunction restraining the I. W. W. from committing crimes that it had no intention of committing—after trying in vain to drive it out of the state by means of unsuccessful criminal syndicalism persecutions. Of course, the Kansas state injunction against the I. W. W. is a joke. It does not stop any legitimate I. W. W. activity,

King Canute Webb Is Impotent
(From Industrial Worker)

such as has always been pursued in Kansas. It simply hides official discomfiture, that's all, to the amusement of those in possession of a knowledge of the real state of affairs.

Now comes the injunction of the state of California. Identical in every detail with that of Kansas, it serves the same purpose and achieves the same results. It marks the anti-climax of bitter working class persecution and is laughed at accordingly. California is going the way Kansas went.

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This, and the trade agreements already described, which precede the elections.

Radek evidently has no fear of England, when Russia is leagued with France. Says he: "Speaking militarily, England has ceased to be an island. It consists of nothing but Achilles' heels owing to the overwhelming superiority of French aerial forces."

All of the foregoing should make plain the trend of Russian development. It is nationalistic and, in common with other nationals, imperialistic. Russia must develop her own economy—her own capitalism and imperialism—with such outside aid as she through force of circumstances, can command. In so doing she must sacrifice that complete working class internationalism for which she, through her spokesmen, is alleged to stand; for there can be no such internationalism where such a development is under way, as her case proves.

### Developing Nationalism

Radek declares in the speech already quoted: "In Russia, where the working class is in power, **national consciousness is a part of the dictatorship.**" (Bold face ours.) And it was Lenin, who, preceding a certain historic occasion, declared, "We go to Genoa, not as communists, but as merchants." They evidently went to Lausanne also with the same policy and found the French and Japanese more advisable and better customers than the English; for it is at Lausanne that Curzon and Tchitcherin parted company and the subsequent national groupings arose. As for America, her fortunes are bound up with those of England.

**The question now arises, shall working class internationalism continue to be the tail of Russian or other state politics? Or shall they be divorced? Apparently, the day when the Third International will split, as did the second, on the basis of national groupings, arrayed in economic and physical warfare, is already in sight.**

What the world's workers need is an economic international that is not the appendage of the world-politics of any state, whether in process of modern development, or otherwise. That's the key to the workers' control of the international situation and not adherence to any international run by politicians in alliance with national groups intent on war.

In this connection, the following Federated Press dispatch, from London, England, is worthy of deep reflection:—

"The Transport and General Workers' Union Conference passed a resolution against international war, and pointed out in the resolution that a world-wide transport workers' union could prevent such war. One of the delegates stated, 'It is better, I think, that you give all your money for peace than give your lives in war.'"

# The General Strike

By JOHN GRIFFITHS

THE general strike is a theme of great interest to the working class. As a means of liberation it looms large among the workers. It implies a Solidarity such as will eventually make the lock-out of the capitalist class possible.

It used to be the fashion to refer to the general strike as "general nonsense." That was before it was used with such good effect in saving the German republic from the Kapp "putsch." Now it is referred to with more respect, as its history requires. Now, the general strike is generally useful.

The general strike in this country is seemingly impossible. With the working class divided into 110 A. F. of L. international unions, each with trade and local autonomy, no basis for the solidarity that is its first essential seems near. They are a barrier, against which working class unity apparently dashes in vain.

However, all this notwithstanding, strikes tend in this country to take on such immense scope as to become practically general in character. This is due to the general nature of industry and the general conditions that arise from it as a whole. It is only where these circumstances abound that the tendency towards general strikes increases.

General strikes result from general industry and general conditions. They are impossible in isolated industry and isolated conditions.

It is in this sense and for these reasons that the great steel strike of 1919 and the great coal miners', shopmen's and textile workers' strikes of 1922 take on the nature of general strikes and may be justly characterized as such. Here were armies of workmen —200,000 steel workers, 600,000 coal miners, 400,-000 shopmen, and 100,000 textile workers—fighting over a wide expanse of territory against general conditions for general improvements. They were all fighting essentially general industrial strikes, i. e., a general strike of a single industry—one including all the trades and establishments in their respective industries, wherever located.

Especially were the great strikes of 1922 more general in character than any other preceding strikes. They all practically occurred together, at one time; and so included simultaneously, more industries, territory ,workers and institutions than had ever been affected before in this country. Their effects were more nearly revolutionary and more portentous—nay, prophetic of future strikes—than any other series of strikes in American industrial history.

They, further, resulted from the open shop drive that threatened the organized workers, not in isolated trades or districts, but in general. They aimed more specifically to prevent the destruction of unionism by the organized capitalist class, in order to prevent the general "deflation of labor," i. e., wage cuts, increase of hours, abolition of overtime rates, etc. They were, in brief, general reflexes of general underlying, basic conditions, without which general strikes cannot exist.

General strikes, be it stated again, are not made; they are born of general conditions, of which general industry is the biggest of them all. And so general strikes are likely to occur despite the A. F. of L. which, because it is organized according to craft, is no match for general industry or the conditions born of it.

* * *

Some time the American labor historian will give general strikes in this country his special attention. He will devote a monograph to them. Early American strikes seem to have been general strikes. That is, they often were "walk-outs" of all the trades involved in a given industry. This may have been due to the lack of marked technical development at that time, in which, accordingly, craft divisions were not as distinct as they became later on.

The first general strike of any great magnitude that struck this country, seems to have occurred in 1877. Then all the railroad systems were tied up by spontaneous revolt against repeated wage reductions and managerial arrogance. Beginning at Baltimore, Md., it spread northward and westward; with Pittsburgh, Pa., as its storm center. It came like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. State militias went over to it en masse. Other industries joined it; some through sympathy, others because of the stoppage which it entailed. Its general effect was one of consternation and paralysis; of great indutsrial agitation and rebellion. Big mass meetings, for and against, marked its course. Riots and federal military suppression were among its features. It was a volcanic upheaval and a test of Republican institutions during the month or so that it lasted . Its reverberations were heard for a decade or more.

The 8-hour movement in 1886 also developed some general strike features, in that it embraced all trades and industries in its sweep. Chicago was the storm center of this movement and the hanging of the so-called anarchists (one of the most damnable frame-ups against workers ever perpetrated, as Gov. Altgeld subsequently showed), was its most historic episode. It accomplished much indirect good, as did the railroad strikes of 1877.

Next comes the general strike at Lawrence, Mass., to free Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso. This was a local general strike, confined to Lawrence and called to resent the imprisonment of the leaders of a successful strike. Its slogan, "Open the prison gates, or we'll close the gates of the mills," was literally put into effect. The Lawrence general strike was a great factor in the subsequent release of three prisoners of the class war.

Th recent May Day general strikes of the I. W. W.

# The Passing of a Great Union!

By HARRY FISHER

JUST 23 months ago, Kern River Local, of the Oil-field, Gas well and Refinery Workers, was in the zenith of its power. Yesterday, July 23, 1923, spelled the final 23 for Local No. 19.

The Kern River fields are less than five miles from Bakersfield, California. For this reason, the local established its offices in the Labor Temple of this city. For a time the local was the strongest, numerically, of any craft affiliated with the central council. Naturally the local had a great deal of influence in the council, especially on the date of the council's annual election. The membership of Local No. 19 was around the thousand mark, hence an official seeking re-election, could not overlook such a local, and be a good ward heeler.

### The Last Sad Rites

Yesterday the last sad rites were enacted over all that remained of the oil workers' union Then the remaining furniture and office fixtures were sold for $110.00. There were no formal ceremonies attending the obsequies; it was like the dying flicker of a wasted candle.

As a contrast to the enthusiastic meetings, overflowing the large meeting hall, we have it from the lips of one of the faithful die-hards, that the membership had stopped paying dues. Only seven members remained to hold the charter and if one of these was absent, there could be no quorum for a meeting.

Some of the proceeds from the sale of fixtures will go to pay outstanding bills and the rest given to a charitable institution or thrown into the waste basket. The latter most likely is only meant as a figure of speech, to show the disgust of the last of the rank and file, for OFFICIALDOM HAD LONG AGO MIGRATED SOUTHWARD TOWARD LONG BEACH, where the International president appealed to the city council for funds "with which to stamp out the I. W. W."

At Long Beach, to its everlasting disgrace may it be added, a "convention" passed a resolution opposing the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism laws. In this the oilworkers of that local distinguished themselves as being the only labor (?) organization in the state, to rise in the defense of a law that was only applied to the working class. Whether this was a gesture to gain the plaudits of the M. & M., who were then waging a relentless warfare on all organized labor and more particularly on the organization of the Industrial Workers, remains a moot question, yet there is no gainsaying the fact that its conception was rooted in mercenary avarice of the most venal type. Else why appeal to the representatives of big business for funds "to stamp out" a rival labor organization?

### The Fiasco of 20 Months Ago

It is indeed with ill grace that these oil workers should now feel so cocky toward others, after the ignominious sequel of their own, ill-advised fiasco of over twenty months ago.

While in their hearts members of organized labor generally, may have disapproved the calling of that strike just before the winter months, yet not a voice was raised against giving the fullest support after the die was cast. FOR LABOR WAS NOW ON TRIAL and if this strike was lost, it would only encourage those forces whose lust was bent on complete annihilation of every union in the state.

What part the defeat of the oil workers played in subsequent struggles may be problematical, though it also may have been the vital factor.

**Hardly had the oil workers called in the picket lines, when the Industrial Association hurled defiance and established the "American Plan" in "the largest and best organized community west of Chicago," when they bluntly told the building trades of San Francisco, that the "American Plan" had come to stay.**

On the surface it would appear that no strike was ever launched under more favorable auspices.

The pickets were nearly all ex-service men. Unlike other strikes, these patrols were schooled in army discipline. Furthermore they had been deputized by constable, as peace officers. On the highways one found huge signs informing the traveler that: "You are now entering the strike zone. I. W. W. and bootleggers stay out." All day and night automobiles containing pickets watched the railway

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are well known. They affected two industries mainly: viz., lumber and marine transportation. General construction and oil were also partly affected. 100,000 workers participated in this movement in favor of the release of war-time prisoners and for immediate economic demands. The results were highly beneficial, as much was gained through them.

From this it will be seen that general strikes are becoming more general. They increase, despite barriers, with the expansion of big industry. Their spontaneous character makes it likely that they will flourish even where unionism is wiped off the earth.

General strikes are the working class reaction to general capitalism and its general policies.

stations. At the entrance to terminal yards other groups held the fort. Passengers on the stages had to be able to give a good account of themselves. The writer himself, known for years in the state, did not happen to be known to a particular squad that halted the stage on which he happened to be going to a union meeting and came very near being held for "investigation" or to be returned on a returning stage. Luckily the stage driver was able to vouch for him and he was allowed to pass, only to meet another squad a few miles further on. As the driver had the O. K. from the first squad, we were allowed to proceed to our destination. This is only an illustration, showing how ever ydetail of post-duty in warfare was carried out. Just imagine seeing campfires ahead and then suddenly hearing the command to "HALT" and then seeing patrols, armed with rifles and with cartridge belts and holsters strapped to their sides as you rode along the different roads at night. It was a cinch that no strike-breakers got past these cordons of armed patrols, whom no policeman dared to interrupt. All along the railway for thirty miles either way, in any direction, the patrols kept vigil, to see that no train stopped and that no srike-breaker jumped off.

**Under these circumstances it would seem that the strike could not be lost. Yet the strike, which was called on September 11th, was ended before the month of November had been fairly started.**

A $250,000 defense fund and over $50,000 donated by labor organizations, represented a pretty fair war-chest and besides this the West Side fields, extending from Maricopa through Taft, Fellows, McKittrick, Belridge and on to Lost Hills, were separate divisions, with their own headquarters and their own finances. Then at Coalinga, in Fresno county, the banner local of the entire San Joaquin valley held the lines.

Well-stocked commissaries and canteens, must have made the patrols think of the "Y" huts over in France. Beds were placed in the labor temple for the patrols to rest and sleep until the "officer of the day" called them to go on post duty.

Then came notices for the strikers who were living on the leases, to vacate the cottages. Lawyers took the matter into court and the strikers got the advantage of a thirty day notice requirement in all eviction cases.

Surely, if ever strikers had favorable conditions, the oil workers did. Yet after eleven weeks the general staff declared a truce, the patrols disbanded and everyone who could get back to his job was welcome to do so, for there was no hope of winning.

The operators were in a position to dictate the terms on which they would take a limited number back. The best conducted and best disciplined and most formidable strike of the age culminated in an abject surrender in eleven weeks. Why?

Because the operators understood the psychology of the membership better than did the membership itself. If it needed anything to substantiate this assertion, then the need is eloquently expressed in a statement made by the "advisor" for the oil workers' union at an open session of the central council in Bakersfield, when he reported, though it may seem ludicrous, it was nevertheless a fact, that there were operatives employed by the companies whose duties consisted of examining discarded tobacco cans, cigarette packages, wearing apparel and everything that the workers buy, to enable the offices to keep a tabulated record of just how strong the union sentiment really was among the employes. In passing, he also found that on one large lease, he learned that everything that the workers bought was the product of scab labor. So when we reflect that among several hundred "union men" there could not be found a single article that bore the union label, it is no surprise to find that the companies felt a scornful contempt for a unionism that patronizes only scab labor itself. They had nothing to fear from such unionism.

Then came the Santa Barbara "conference" between the government and the operators and the employes, at which the Standard Oil Company was conspicuous by its absence. The outcome of this "conference" was not conducive to the enthusiasm of the membership, when their leaders practically accepted the "open shop" by the waiver of a closed shop clause in the agreements, yclept "the memorandum of terms."

During the following summer the oil workers' unions levied an assessment on the entire memberssip for the purpose of creating a "defense fund," with the particulars of which no doubt every superintendent was more familiar than the average wage-earner on the lease.

So when the time arrived for the renewal of the "memorandum of terms," the employes appeared on the defensive. The operators dictated "the terms." A wage cut of a dollar per day all round was agreed to, in fact every point of the operators was conceded with the exception of the continuation of the tripartite arrangement of conferences, which the operators refused to accede.

So a strike call was issued to commence when the old agreement expired, about September 1st. For "strategic" reasons this call was rescinded but a fortnight later the members were called off the jobs. A majority of the higher officials of the union were natives of Great Britain and, by a strange coincidence, the only large operating company declared to be "fair," was the British Dutch Shell Company, while the Union Oil Company, which used the American shield as its trade-mark, was the center of attack. Strange to say, after the strike was over, the newspapers published a story of what purported to be a kind of merger between the Dutch Shell and the Union Oil companies.

Though the writer does not now remember the details of the "merger," it seems a stange cozenage in view of previous estrangement (?) of these concerns.

A few minor companies, anticipating a temporary spurt of business for themselves, evidently felt that

it would redound to their profit, to be on the "fair" list, with no stoppage of production. But these may have been reckoning without the host if they figured on a monopoly of trade. The other companies had been preparing for just such a contingency.

When all the storage tanks and reservoirs were full and no strike was called, the operating companies began laying off men. This was the cue for calling a strike and many fell for it, little realizing that the companies were more prepared for a long siege than was the average employe.

Another thing, which may have disgusted the rank and file, was the fact that the refinery men were permitted to distill and rectify the contents of the well-stocked tanks for shipment. While the union made a pretense of calling these men out, it is nevertheless true that the refineries kept on refining. The Standard Oil Company continued producing oil and refining it, as though there was no union, while the few union members working for this company were not called out so as to enable them to continue to pay their pro rata of the assessments. Had they been called out, it would have made no difference to the company anyway, for they knew the men liked their jobs only too well.

So, in summing up, what was there at stake in this controversy? We are told that it was principle. When the closed shop was waived and a wage-cut accepted, in fact when every point was yielded there could not be much principle involved, in view of the purchases of non-union tobacco, cigarettes, shoes, hats and clothing, previously referred to, which fact the operators no doubt were keen to sense.

If it was expected that capital would be more considerate, because so many members of the union were ex-service men, the remark of Mr. Zeehandelaar, secretary of the Los Angeles Merchants and Manufacturers Association, when he said to the editor of "The Dugout"—"To hell with you as a returned soldier!" may be illuminating.

Do not expect capital to respect you more when you come with hat in hand, seeking alms to be used toward the destruction of your fellow man. Do not let history mark you with a brand of Cain for passing resolutions, conniving at the unjust imprisonment of fellow workingmen. Do not add to the infamy of barbarism by assuming the role of a stool. There is no honor in it, when even Judas "went out and hanged himself." Don't be cravens.

While the modern Pilates are passing sentences of twenty-eight years, do not shout "Crucify Him!" All are our brothers' keepers. Capital will take good care of itself.

It was a California bard, Joaquin Miller, "the poet of the Sierras," that wrote

"In men, whom men condemn as ill,
I see so much of goodness still:
While in men whom men pronounce divine,
I see so much of sin and blot,
I hesitate to draw a line
Between the two—where God has not."

—For yesterday the curtain was rung down on the final act on the last vestige of a tragedy where only a little while ago, the Oil Workers' Union felt invincible. Verily the proud and haughty could be no more humbled than when they asked a city council for funds to crush a militant union.

# An Outline of the Labor Movement

Reviewed by PHILIPP TAFT.

BOOKS and pamphlets giving an outline of the currents, tendencies and history of the labor movement serve a more genuine need than do the large and voluminous treatises on abstract philosophy typical of the radical wing of the movement.

The lessons that one can gain by reading the history of labor in America, its pitfalls and methods, its policies and forms, are far more lasting and less open to argument than conclusions deduced from purely philosophical speculation.

It is that factor that makes "An Outline of the American Labor Movement," a syllabus for study classes, by Leo Woltman, an interesting as well as an important contribution to labor's literature.

Briefly outlining the factors that lead to and from labor organization, the author refers the reader to a number of works dealing with particular phases of the movement.

Writing, as he does, for the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, it is to be expected that the author of this study would minimize the influence and importance of organizations like the I. W. W., who, he says, are small in numbers, but vigorous in methods; and, after spectacular strikes in lumber and textile industries, survived to see their influence wane and their numbers dwindle.

To all of which the I. W. W. answers: Our numbers may have dwindled on account of fierce persecution but the permanency of the I. W. W. in peace times is manifested by recent growth and the splendid battles of its membership in California, Washington and Oregon; not to mention the marine workers' strikes on the East coast.

As a whole, readers will find this pamphlet helpful and instructive, an aid toward finding larger volumes dealing with the labor movement in a more elaborate manner.

[Workers' Education Bureau of America, Publishers, New York City.]

# Ford as Labor Historian

When it came to writing the Origin of Species Darwin did a big job. But when it comes to writing The Origin of Labor Unions, Ford is doing a bigger job still. The labor union, according to the much-advertised auto maker, was organized by the Jew financiers as a means to get their hands on industry. Shades of trade union history! What was it Marx said about the capitalist being great because he is a capitalist and not a capitallist because he's great?

# The I. W. W. Flag Flies in Hoboken

HOBOKEN, N. J., is a part of the port of New York. It is the terminal of great German-American transatlantic lines, that enjoy the paternal patronage of the U. S. Shipping Board. This, to the great profit of their financial owners and loss to the U. S. Treasury.

Hoboken is also a stronghold of the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510, I. W. W.

A strike has been raging in Hoboken. It was a strike of longshoremen, unorganized and organized. During the strike the I. W. W. hall at 316 River St. was raided and its flag torn down.

The story of the raid is told in the following telegram of protest sent to Governor Silzer of New Jersey demanding the arrest and prosecution of Shipping Board officials in Hoboken, who are charged with acts of mob violence in raiding their hall. The telegram quoted a statement inciting trouble given to newspapers by officials of a Shipping Board line. This statement said:

"If Hoboken had any pride whatsoever it would chase out the undesirable I. W. W. It has been done in other places."

The telegram in part follows:

"In spite of the knowledge that we were lawful in our acts, these Shipping Board officials tried to incite the American Legion to violence against us, on the charge that we were flying a red flag over our hall.

"The American Legion refused to be the tool of the Shipping Board.

"Unable to use the legion in unlawful acts, a mob, under the leadership of Thomas Dunn, a foreman on the Shipping Board docks, wrecked our Hoboken hall Saturday. Our property was destroyed and our branch secretary, John Gunlach, was assaulted.

"We demand that you live up to your oath of office and investigate and prosecute these Shipping Board officials for their illegal actions."

The flag has been replaced and is still flying.

## Argentine Labor Slaves

Labor recruiters penetrate to remote villages of Northern Argentine and with the promise of high wages induce Indians and their families to leave home. The laborers are transported on flat cars with accomodations worse than those provided for live stock . They are herded on estates under the open sky without sufficient food. They are hard workers, and their pay is practically nothing, their wages being in the form of orders, valid only at the plantation store, where they are charged exorbitant prices for the poorest quality of goods. If any balance is left at the end of the accounting, the workers are induced to spend it for liquors, of which they are very fond. The national department of labor of Argentina is authority for this information.

## Be a Cork -- Be an I. W. W.

A little cork fell in the path of a whale,
Who lashed it down with his angry tail;
But in spite of his blows
It quickly arose
And floated serenely before his nose.

Said the cork, "You may flap and sputter and rap,
But you never can keep me down,
For I'm made of the stuff
That is buoyant enough
To float instead of to drown."

—Selected.

The Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120, I. W. W., has more than trebled its membership in the past year. It has a G. O. C. man in Michigan,, organizing unorganized territory. A stationary delegate has been elected at Bangor, Maine.

# Frank Lindroos

**DEAD COMPOSER**

IT is one of the indietments of eapitalist soeiety that too often it drives sensitive men of genius to despair and suieide; espeeially those who look forward to a new soeiety. Sueh a man is the well-known musieian and eomposer, Frank Lindroos, whose portrait is herewith reprodueed. Lindroos on July 10 committed self-destruetion at his home in Duluth, Minn., the victim, so it is believed, of sorrow and overwork. He was mueh beloved and his end is deeply regretted.

Born in Petrograd in 1874, he supported himself and family by playing the violin on the streets of that eity when only 10 years of age. Later, at Viborg, Finland, and Petrograd, Russia, he was eonneeted, as a musician, with military bands. He came to this eountry in 1904.

During this and following years, there was a boom in the Soeialist movement among the Finns in the United States. Lindroos got in contaet with this movement and joined. With sueeess, he also conduеted bands and orchestras in eastern eities; and, in 1913, settled, together with his family, at Duluth, Minn. Here, in the eontroversy between the politieal soeialists and the industrial unionists, Frank Lindroos lined up with the "wobblies." Ever since then he has been eonneeted with the local Finnish Association at Duluth. At all entertainments in behalf of the cause, Frank Lindroos did his share, supplying the music.

Lindroos' first composition, a mareh, was written in Petrograd, when he was 24 years of age. But most of his work in this line was done in his later years. The revolutionary struggles in Europe brought mueh inspiration and material to him. Numerous are the compositions that he wrote from them. When the white terror swept Finland, Lindroos expressed its horrors in musie. And so appeared "The Coneentration Camp at Viborg" "This Land" and many others. His last eomposition was ealled "The Deaths on the Gravel Hills." This is eonsidered one of Lindroos' best works; and its composer has stated that it contains his heart aehes and tears.

Many are the works of Frank Lindroos. When the Revolution took plaee in Russia and the Czar was overthrown then "New Russia" was also eomposed. Therein one eould feel the rising power of labor. Numerous also are the songs of Joe Hill that Fellow Worker Lindroos has arranged for orehestra and ehorus. These songs, of course, are heard wherever there is a working class in existance.

Among Amerieans and non-working elass elements Lindroos was a noted musieian. Time and time again had he been offered good plaees in large orehestras, only to turn them down. He wanted to do his duty among his own elass. Only last Spring, Lindroos arranged the musie for "Creation," given at the Duluth Summer Festival. The

general opinion was that this was the best musie the festival ever had. Only after Lindroos had died, was it given out that "Creation" was his work.

Frank Lindroos is dead. In the words of Joe Hill "Don't mourn; Organize!" to end capitalism.

## Science and Nationalism

The city of Gothenburg in Sweden is celebrating the third eentennial anniversary of its founding. In eonnection with the eelebration the country has opened an industrial exposition.

During the summer, quite a few eongresses have been held there by different assoeiations. At the eongress of scientists reeently held, a number of seientists lectured on a lot of seientifie subjeets.

Among them was Professor Einstein, who spoke on "The Theory of Relativity." After the lecture he was interviewed by a bourgeois reporter. The latter asked Einstein: "What is your opinion, Professor, of Swedish seienee?"

To this Einstein answered: "There is no Swedish nor English nor French nor German seienee. Seience is International."

Let us add, so is industry; and so are the Wobblies and their organization.—C. G. ANDERSON, Stoekholm, Sweden.

# The I. W. W. Steel Strike

(Continued from page 4)

ing was done by the director of public safety to prevent this meeting. Evidently, he had already begun to realize that his bluff had been successfully called. All the literature on hand was sold. The crowd at both street meetings was practically the same.

**One of the features of the steel campaign will be educational. Field headquarters with literature stations are now being established as a result of the conference's decisions.**

Great quantities of literature have been shipped to the many points during the past two years, but the amount has been much increased during the last few weeks and just previous to the conference one hundred thousand new leaflets were sent out from the Chicago Main Office. Additional material will be forwarded to the field forces as fast as needed to carry on the work of organization and education. Several hundred additional job delegates throughout the steel industry will also be appointed as a result of the conference's actions. Headquarters will be added wherever necessary in the steel centers. General organizers will be added, as conditions require.

**Special efforts will be made to explain industrial unionism to uninformed workers that are now entering the steel industry, such as the Mexican workers who have been imported recently, and the Negro laborers from the South, who are now being brought in in large shipments.**

Without doubt, the steel campaign will also give renewed impetus to I. W. W. organization in other parts of the metal and machinery industry. Branches already established feel the impetus which the new drive giving. Especially is this true of the large metal and machinery centers of Ohio. This is felt to be the biggest campaign that was ever undertaken by the I. W. W. in the key industries of the country.

"Wake up, metal-machinery workers! Get behind the steel drive!" is the cry now heard. Old timers are getting active again and a new lease of life is apparent on all sides.

**Close co-operation and financial assistance is expected by the Metal Workers' Main Office from all the branches of the union and subordinate parts of the organization as a whole, and, no doubt , it ought to be forthcoming.**

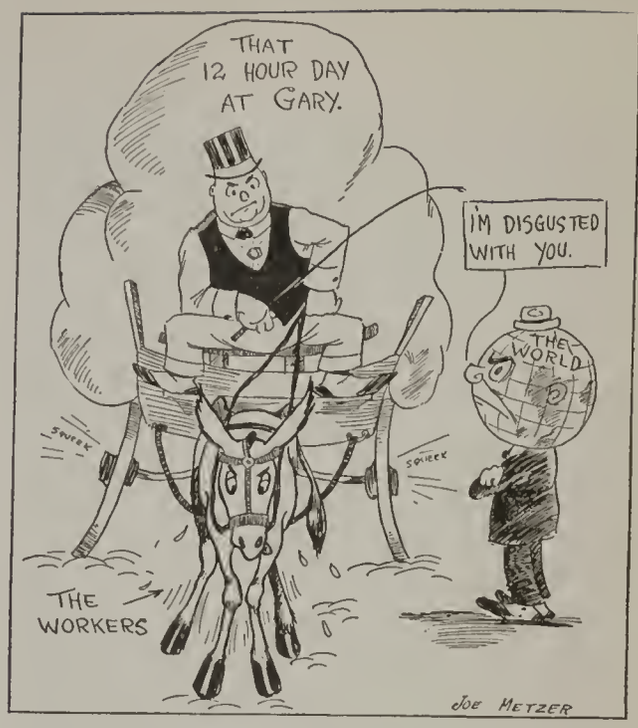
All the members and sympathizers can also help in this work. Agitate I. W. W. organization among the metal and machinery workers in your city. You'll find them in machine shops, foundries, auto works, etc., etc. Go after them! Line them up to back this steel drive!

Already is 440 feeling an increase in membership.

The Toledo conference took up and adopted the following recommendations to 440 branches:

(1) The issuing of Steel Drive Contribution Lists at once, (2) the issuing of a $1 Steel Drive special assessment stamp, (3) that each branch and group of I. U. 440 should hold three affairs for financing of the steel drive, one in July, one in August and one in September, the full proceeds to go to the steel drive, (4) every delegate at the conference to pledge himself to a certain amount to be raised prior to September 1st.

All aboard for the steel drive. It's now or never!




**He Said a Mouthful!.**

# Convention Draws Near

THE I. W. W. convention is drawing near. General Secretary Harry Clark has already addressed the industrial unions and branches on matters relating to it. The suggestions contained therein are worth considering. They deal with the improvement and expansion of the I. W. W. as a whole.

There is no doubt that the I. W. W. is confronted with a great opportunity and that it will endeavor to rise equal to it. Great numbers of unorganized await organization, both among migratories and homeguards. Revolt is in the trade union air. Organizations are tearing away from the A. F. of L. with nowhere to go.

It is up to the I. W. W. to get out of the rut and meet these facts bodily. It must raise ways and means wherewith to solve the problems thrust upon it by economic conditions generally. It must secure the money and the ability to organize the working class, or else disappoint the latter at a crucial period during its existence. It must improve and expand or shrivel and disappear.

The I. W. W. has all else, namely, correct principles, philosophy and spirit. It needs better and more organization.

# The White Terror in Italy

By M. De CIAMPIS

THE war fought on the European battlefields from 1914 to 1918 that was to outlaw war and bring about a new era of democracy and good will among the people of the whole world, left in every country a marked sentiment of revolt and discontent. This particularly applied to Italy, which, in such a war shamefully spent all its economic resources to further the imperialistic aims of its bourgeois class. The working classes who unwillingly had fought in the bloody conflict for so many years found themselves, at the end of the war, much more impoverished, overtaxed, without work, and with the ruling class without any constructive plan that would adequately meet the unusual situation and build, on the widespread ruin and chaos, the welfare of the people. Oppressed under the iron heel of a ruthless military machine, that in the war had poorly showed itself, the Italian workers, notwithstanding the rosy war promises of the politicians and the government, began ot think over and take matters into their own hands, trying to work out their own salvation.

### War's Bitter Lessons

The war had taught many a bitter lesson. It showed its own utter uselessness and stupidity. Thousands and thousands of soldiers in the trenches, so thinking, aequired a radical mental attitude and, kindled by the fire of socialist teachings, soon became revolutionists in body and soul. Seeing that the powers that be had no concern at all about the rights of man and the welfare of the people, they took a keen interest in the problem of the hour, namely, that of the nation's economic reconstruction on a more equitable basis.

That the ruling class did not care to concern itself much about the very needs of the working masses was soon plainly felt and seen. The government dumped the idle soldiers on the labor market and the captains of industry did not arrange any comprehensive plan that would give work, bread and comfort to the workers and appease their discontent. The breakdown of the capitalist system of the nation could not be more eloquently seen. Italy, in the last year of the war was doomed to go down as a bourgeois regiment; and, in 1919 and 1920, was a country hopelessly lost for the dominant system of society and held on mostly by the sheer force of its old decayed remains of vitality. Only now, after the bloody defeat of the proletariat, we can see how and why the Italian bourgeoisie was saved from inevitable collapse. No better man than Ludovico D' Aragona, the Gompers of Italy and yellow socialist, secretary of the Italian Confederation of Labor, can testify to this. Last year, this man, in one of his speeches, remarkable for its brazen frankness and affrontery on the heroic sacrifices and prowess of the fighting working class, said: **"It is praise and honor to us** (meaning all his reformist following in the G. C. of L. and in the Socialist Party) **to have stood firmly against the extremists and hindered the outbreaking of the impending revolution. We are those most responsible for having listened too much to them; but our conscience is clear and tells us that we have done all that could possibly have been expected to restrain the impatient masses."** No wonder that only the other day, Mussolini, the Fascist chieftain and practical dictator of the country, we read in a press dispatch, embraced and kissed D'Aragona in the Chamber of Deputies, when the latter went to congratulate him, after having finished one of the many stupid and tactless speeches in behalf of the new electoral reform, which is to give more electoral power to the Fascisti Party and assure it a stable and trustworthy support in the Chamber.

### Working Class Rise to Power Feared

With the industries disorganized and prostrate; with a monetary system becoming every day more worthless; with the workers lying idle, incapacitated even from buying the most necessary things to sustain life; with no foreign markets for the products of whatever little was produced; with a military machine that sucked the life blood of all, and a rapacious dominant class bent to despoil its victims; without any human thought and no thoughts nor plans to rise above all this collapse, the Italian bourgeoisie saw the only chance of salvation in the arming of the White Guards. So it came about that Mussolini and his followers, the Fascisti, were armed and financed by the captains of industries and the lords of the land bent on destroying the conquests of the workers. Because amid much capitalistic disorder and ruin the working class had succeeded finally in coming to a power of its own.

Most of the American fellow workers know too well what has taken place in Italy during the years 1921-23. During these years a bitter and bloody struggle has been waged against the economically organized working class, continuing even now. Labor organizations that in 1920 were in a commanding position and full of ardor and zeal in the ever rising power of the workers throughout the land, in the last two years have been crushed, and if surviving, stripped of their rights. A reign of terror, the white heartless, ferocious, beastly terror of panicky masters, took hold of the Italian peninsula and every freedom-loving man was either beaten or killed. The Fascist's butcheries greatly resemble those of Mannerheim in Finland; Horthy in Hungary; Noske in Germany—done in the name of the social-pluto-democracy of Hugo Stinnes and Company. More than that, all these butcheries taken together grow pale in comparison with those

ordered by Mussolini and acquiesced in by a demoralized capitalist class.

### Fascismo Worst Rule Ever

Often has it been said that the Fascisti dictatorship so far has been worse than the Austrian, Papal or Bourbonic rule that more than 50 years ago unhappily . . . blessed Italy. Bad as each one of them was from every conceivable viewpoint, Fascismo has done much more in stiffling free thought and initiative. In fact, if Lord Gladstone, appalled by the trocity of the Bourbonic rule in Southern Italy, once said, that King Bomba of Naples was **"the negation of God"** because he shot, imprisoned and exiled men of talent and genius; Mussolini is the reincarnation of King Bomba.

Literally tens of thousands of Italian workers have been either killed, imprisoned or exiled. We know too well of the hardships that our fellow workers in other countries suffered, namely, those who have repaired to France, Switzerland, Vienna, Berlin, Spain, Greece, Egypt and South America. If they would have remained in Italy, they would certainly have been cooly murdered by the Vandalic hordes of Mussolini. And yet, some American citizens, in speaking of the Fascisti rule, have much praised it! In answer to them we appeal to the freedom-loving spirit, to the keen interest in justice and liberty of the makers of America!

### Seizing Power

After wrecking and crushing almost every revolutionary labor organization, especially the Italian Sindicalist Union that had fought so many gallant battles in behalf of the working class, up to the very last of its breath, Fascismo, (the reader should read **fessismo**) felt safe enough to seize power. So in the fall of 1922, it, on advice of the predatory financial and industrial interests of the nation, directed its marauding bands of cowardly hooligans, assassins and outlaws towards Rome, where an impotent government, the one headed by Factas, was earnestly waiting for the last stroke in order to fall. Fascismo, being a movement wholeheartedly supported and encouraged by the **ultra**-reactionary elements of the master's class, it follows that all those that parasitically make a living from the exploitation of Labor, are in favor of it. The army, the police, most of the white collar slaves were jubilant over every Fascismo-mad triumph. Seizing the reins of State, it became apparent that Fascismo had no other object and aim than that of installing iteslf in power and leaving the laboring people more than ever before in the hands of a ruthless cliquc of exploiters. In fact, Fascismo had no program whatever on which to work out its aims in the government chairs of the nation; and its policy merely had to follow the **dictum** and the program of the exploiters of Labor.

### Fascismo Impossible

Many rosy-cheeked promises have been made to the people by the Fascisti chiefs on occasions in order to secure some worthwhile support; but none of them have been kept. Fascisti oratory could not cure the ills afflicting such a nation as Italy—mostly economic ills that could be readjusted only through a rearrangement of the social system whereby the workers, and the workers alone, should manage the industries and control the wealth of the nation, through their industrially organized labor organzations.

That Fascismo has failed, is a well known fact. It could only be an element of destruction against the working class institutions created by the workers during 50 years of tireless effort. It maintains itself in the saddle of power by force and violence only. Resting on the support of a couple of hundred thousands hot- and sore-heads, the emptiness of which is an assured fact beyond any cavil, it is most hated and cursed by the thinking people who long for the return of sanity and decency in the affairs of state and country. Even the bourgeois opposition of Fascismo is becoming daily more and more noticeable. No less a paper than the **"Corriere della Sera"** of Milan, edited by Senator Albertini, chief spokesman for the intelligent conservative bourgeoisie of northern Italy, is bitterly opposing Fascismo and pleads for the return to the methods of constitutional government and an ultimate attempt to save the nation from ruin, which will happen if Mussolini will have his way any longer.

It goes without saying that the tired and bleeding working class is most decidedly opposed to Fascismo.. It is recuperating from the blows that so far have been experienced. Another significant fact is the many dissensions that have lately broken out in the Fascist's camps and rent asunder part of the organization. All in all, history will tell in the future of the dastardly accomplishments of Fascismo, just as similar phenomena has been judged in the past by the progressive forces of mankind. No right-thinking man or woman can ever condone the affront made to civilization by the handful of followers of "the brigand of Predappio," as Mussolini is referred to by his enemies.

### Rays of Hope

Out of the dark cloud that at present hangs over Italy, come bright rays of hope and faith. The workng class, though broken and beaten, is not doomed. Every bourgeois scoundrel should know that! Its revolutionary soul is still in the hearts of many valiant fighters for the advancement of Labor, and the mighty songs of our poets, still in the bosom of the unbeaten workers, are chanted with a bit of melancholy but fiery determination. Cleansed of the lurid elements of speculative opportunism that came among the working class in the hour of success and triumph, the workers, left alone, are silently, patiently, fearlessly preparing themselves for the solemn hour of reckoning. Let Fascismo beware! The working class will soon come to its own!

# The Negro in the Sacramento Woodpile

By RALPH CHAPLIN

MANY people wondered why President Harding did not include the Sacramento I. W. W. group in the commutations he issued just before starting on his trip to Alaska. At the eleventh hour, the President was induced to grant conditional release to the Chicago and Wichita groups. But the Sacramento men were almost entirely ignored.

It was expected at this time that the long-delayed release of political prisoners would be general and include all three groups. Many had been led to expect such action by Mr. Harding's statement that he, "would be glad when the contention over these prisoners becomes a closed question." The conditional commutations which he granted grudgingly as a sop to public sentiment did very little to make the question a closed one. On the contrary, it made this already vexatious problem more difficult of solution than ever before.

### A Political Blunder

Men and women who favor release look upon his action as a political blunder. They feel that the President's indecisive action is unsatisfactory to everyone concerned and that, particularly, the inclusion of drastic and misleading conditions on the commutations was anything but just and wise. Be that as it may, the problem is not solved; it is merely complicated.

There is no fundamental difference between the Sacramento cases and other cases. Senator Pepper and numerous other capable and conservative lawyers who have examined the facts thoroughly are emphatic on this point, insisting that these federal I. W. W. cases should be considered as a whole and that political prisoners are all worthy of immediate and unconditional release.

Senator Pepper, on June 16th made the following statement regarding this case:

"The Sacramento case, like the others, was appealed, but the court sustained all the counts. This fact has been cited by Department of Justice officials as cancelling the claim that the Sacramento prisoners are 'political' prisoners confined only for expression of opinion. They have sometimes been referred to vaguely as 'murderers' and 'dynamiters,' though neither the charge of murder nor dynamiting figures in the 'overt acts' alleged against them.

"To say merely that the Court of Appeals affirmed the conviction of the Sacramento defendants leaves out the equally important fact that the court, owing to a delay in the filing of the bill of exceptions, did not have the evidence before it. The decision, therefore, was merely on the validity of the indictment." This fact has previously been noted, and Senator Pepper emphasized it again in his discussion of the case.

It is Senator Pepper's opinion that, when the appellate courts in the Wichita and Chicago cases, in the latter of which the full trial record was reviewed, reversed the conviction of the defendants on the "sabotage" counts, they established a "controlling precedent" which would have governed in the Sacramento case if the evidence had been reviewed.

The "sabotage" charge was the same in all three cases. Pepper holds, therefore, that, while there is a technical difference between the legal status of the Wichita and Chicago cases on the one hand and the Sacramento case on the other, there is no moral difference.

But Mr. Harding, for some reason, insists on making a distinction. He has stubbornly refused to consider the question of commutation for the Sacramento group. It is insisted that the men remain in prison but when reasons are asked for they are not forthcoming. There is a report, purporting to come from Mr. Christian, Secretary to the President, that the Sacramento prisoners, "believe in the overthrow of the government by force." But this charge is too absurd to be taken seriously. Nothing of the sort was charged against them at their trial. So it must be some other reason that persuades the President to keep these men locked up.

The recent references to the "vicious crimes" of this group has created the impression that they are in reality guilty of doing other things besides expressing their opinions. What are these crimes? When and where were they committed? Would the evidence have convinced the jury of guilt in peace times? And if so, why were the prisons of the land not filled with such miscreants before the war sent the first batch of them behind the bars?

### Disagrees With Pepper

The President evidently has not asked himself these questions and is therefore in serious disagreement with Senator Pepper who has. It would seem that the judgment of such an able and distinguished constitutional lawyer would impress Mr. Harding somewhat. But it does not appear to have done so. Apparently some sinister and powerful influence has reached him and he has simply hardened his heart. The appeal to his Anglo-Saxon sense of fair play and to his often-expressed devotion to the tradition of American justice leave him equally unmoved. As do the examples of Lincoln and Grant in regards to amnesty. They do not inspire him in the least. He is even unmoved by the opinions of his own best legal advisers. Whose voice then has reached him that he is so implacably unyielding? These are questions asked by thousands who are puzzled by his incomprehensible stubbornness on the subject of amnesty.

The question arises in the minds of many, is there really a difference between the Sacramento and other cases? Are the men more culpable than the German spies and dynamiters whom he has released uncondi-

tionally or the other political prisoners whose cases he at least consented to consider?

This is the impression the President and his amiable Attorney General have seemingly sought to convey to the public. But it is not borne out by the facts. In the opinion of Senators Pepper, Borah and a host of other disinterested investigators this viewpoint is utterly erroneous. Evidently then we must probe deeper for the hidden reason that prompts the President to pursue his inexorably unyielding attitude.

As far as comparative "guilt" is concerned the Sacramento case does not in reality stand apart from the other cases. It is part and parcel of the labor cases prosecuted during the war under the convenient provisions of the espionage law. The conviction took place at the height of the war-hysteria. The indictment was practically the same and the same charges of violence and destruction were used. Diamond and Coutts, it is true, added their unwholesome weight to the prosecution, but these government stool-pigeons have since been so discredited by their own lies that intelligent juries on the West coast refuse longer to be swayed by them.

### The Silent Defense

The Sacramento case differs from the other cases in one respect only. The story of the "silent defense" adopted by these men and adhered to throughout their lengthy trial is too well-known to need retelling here. The "silent defense" was unique in the history of American courts. It was at once a challenge and an accusation. And no doubt this "silent defense" held against the Sacramento group to a degree by the conservative gentlemen who are keeping them in prison today. Such a defense with these gentlemen is no doubt anathema. It horrifies them to think that American workingmen refused to spend money for a mockery of a trial in court when they were convinced in advance that conviction was certain.

But the "silent defense" put the Sacramento group in an unusual position which at present works to their disadvantage. No record was made in court of the evidence and no exceptions were taken as to the admissibility of evidence or the rulings of the judge. They were not represented by counsel and so it was impossible for the defendants to appeal their case to the higher courts. Had they been able to do this the obnoxious and unsustainable counts in their indictments, charging violence, etc., would no doubt have been dropped as was done in the Chicago and Wichita cases.

### No Exception

But do these largely unfounded charges and the irregularity in the trial proceedings account for the fact that the men are still in prison? Unquestionably not. Senator Pepper, Senator Borah, Captain Lanier and the other experts no doubt took these facts into consideration when, after exhaustive study they stated that ALL political prisoners should be released—WITH NO EXCEPTIONS. But why is the President so immovable? And why does he hold out even in the face of political expediency, against the liberation of these workingmen?

There is a reason and a very real and obvious one which forces itself upon the attention of anyone studying these cases in their broader aspects. There MUST be a reason why Mr. Harding has singled these cases out for special severity. One guess is as good as another. This is mine:

### California to Blame

These men are being punished not for being members of the I. W. W., but for being members of the I. W. W. convicted in the militantly anti-labor state of California. California—the Golden State, the home of reaction, the frame-up, the open-shop and many other manifestations of unremitting labor persecution. Her corporations and land owners are prosperous, determined, vindictive and very influential. And politicians of the reactionary stripe in Washington (and some of her local ones who pretend to be progressive) are notoriously eager to give ear to their counselings. Beyond the shadow of a doubt it is the arrogant, unchecked and unreprimanded business interests of California that are instrumental in keeping the Sacramento men in prison? They have done the same thing with Tom Mooney and others for years when the whole world knows them to be innocent.

It remains now for the labor movement and the liberals of America to force the issue or to share the shame of the consequences. The President should be asked bluntly and in unmistakable terms whom he intends to listen to,—the voice of intelligent public opinion backed up, as it is, by the judgement of his own legal advisers, or the still, small, machiavellian voice from the state of orange groves and jails.

If it is not the insidious allurements of California's financial sirens that has charmed his ear perhaps he will be willing to tell us what has.

At all events it is time that he laid his cards on the table!

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A new revised and enlarged edition of the pamphlet, "The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice" is now off the press. This is the best I. W. W. seller. Fifty-five thousand copies have been printed in English. It can also be had in Finnish, Italian, Portuguese and Croatian. Price, 15 cents.

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**Subscribe for The Industrial Pioneer. One year, $2; 6 months, $1. Address, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.**

# WOBBLES

TANK BUILDING

Picture of a riveter
Apoundin' on a pin;
Picture of a bucker-up
Aholdin' rivets in;
Picture of a bossman,
Awalkin' all aroun',
Tellin' to the rivcter,
"Poun' 'em clear down";
Many men aworking
And workin' damn'd hard;
Many men aworkin'
That ain't got a card—
- - - - - - -
Damn this piece work job
And my hurry-up pard.

E. A. Arnold, WP188

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Say, Pioneer, how in hell do you manipulate this 20,000 phantom I. W. W. Army, that have been advancing lately across the front columns of some of our best newspapers? Being General of Gizitsky's famous cavalry, I would like to command a few swift brigades of your "foot-loose" grenadiers.

Respectfully yours,
**General Painsky P. Scrapovich.**

Now that the communists have succeeded in confederating new **"feather-weighted"** Farmer-Labor Party minus both ingredients, will you kindly inform me just how many years have elapsed since Wm. Bouck left his plough in the mustard fields of Sedro-Woolley?

Charles De Rotenberg of the Barker's Party, is now champion of the **"Feather-weighted"** Toreadors of the Working M—asses. Address all soft cushions to The Politicus hindquarters, New York.

**Famous Toreadors of America:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bill Bryan | Judge Gary |
| Arthur Brisbane | Bill Burns |
| Sammy Gompers | Woodrow Wilson |

Supreme Court

Why not give scopolamine test to the co-operatives before they establish any more banks for organized toilets—or toilers.

---

Kind old lady who meets little boy coming from school asks:

"And my little man, could you tell me what class you are in?"

"Yes, Ma'am; the working class."

**Card 796073.**

# Health Note: "Take the Air", a la Eden

By Dr. CUREM AHL

Well, well, wonders never cease! That scientist (?!) out in Frisco who's got an electronic theory that cures all diseases—beg pardon—I should say who's got an electronic machine (it don't matter much, however, it's pretty nearly the same thing), is behind the age apparently; in fact, he has arrived a decade and a half too late! Here's a natureman who writes to inform the Pioneer that he's got him beaten to a frazzle. For 15 years he's been getting electric air currents directly from the atmosphere—taking the air, as it were—without—shall we blush to say it?—the interference of any personal adornment whatsoever, except, of course, a smile of pure and undefiled satisfaction; not to mention gratification.

He calls it, "Clothless clothing" and "Ozoning the body." He says, "Go thou and do likewise." As he lives out in the redwoods of California that's all right. But consider what would happen here in Chicago, if any great portion of its 2,500,000 inhabitants should ever become enamoured with the advice and go around in garments designed, not in accordance with the latest Parisian models, but those in style in the most primitive days of the Garden of Eden. Why—but what's the use to try to picture the situation that would probably ensue. It taxes our prophetic powers just as it would, most likely tax the powers of police, should it ever come to pass. We must, therefore, rely on the scientific imagination of the reader to help us out.

Says he—now remember, he's dead in earnest about this—says he:—

"Customarily clothing hides a multitude of sins and mounds of filth." (Heavens, is it as bad as all that? How did you happen to find it out?)

"Medical men, clothing dealers, and other knowing

ones are slow in owning up to the unnaturalness of customary clothing for business reasons. (Righto, old boy. That accounts for the lack of confession in all capitalist enterprises.) "Plants by the wayside, when covered with dust, will not grow. Eggs will not hatch when dirty; and man expects to live eternally when covered with clothing and the filth that it accumulates." (Oh, the d——n fool man!)

"Dr. Abrams is curing any and all diseases by electricity" (Go slow, old man; consult Dr. Liber first; see July Pioneer); "while I have proved to my own satisfaction in the last 15 years the same results can be achieved by using the electric air currents of the atmosphere direct. This, in combination with oxygen produces the elixir of life, the so-called Ozone, which, when taken in properly, prevents any and all diseases.

"People have been made to believe that, in order to live, all that is necessary is to inhale pure air through the nose or mouth; while the proper way is to absorb the free-for-all ozone through the pores of the naked body." (We repeat again, this is impossible in Chicago. First, there is no free-for-all ozone here. We have a gefillte atmosphere, stuffed with smoke clouds and bituminous cinders. Second, the police and our own innate modesty won't let us.) "Experiments of scientists have shown that the encasing of the human body in plaster of paris has caused death in a few hours." (We believe this without any difficulty whatever. We used to wear starched collars and boiled shirts one time. After that, we can easily imagine what a plaster paris uniform would do to us.)

"In 1915, a newspaperman told me that my experiments are kept out of print, because they would revolutionize the world. Other newspapermen think highly of my experiments as a natureman. I hope you will give me the much desired publicity that capitalist sheets will not give."

Sure, old boy; sure! You have a good deal of truth behind you! We do not live as naturally as we should! Also you go Dr. Abrams one better in that you would prevent, rather than cure disease. But here we must part company, as we live, not in the Redwoods of California, but on the west side of Chicago. Au revoir.

# Oh Horrors!

By WOODBY SIANTIFIC

I awoke with a terrific start. The room was flooded with light, and I knew it must be about five or six o'clock. It was remarkable that I could have noted these conditions, for I was in a most heart gripping panic of fear. Some uncanny presence was in that room. A fearful thing was about to happen. My salivary glands became paralyzed with the result that my tongue stuck to the palate. The vaso-constrictor nerves had functioned promptly and shut off the blood supply to several parts of my body. My toes were tingling, and every hair was standing erect. It seemed that my heart had migrated to the cranium and was trying to push the eardrums out beyond the periphery of my body.

Lying there in that terrible state of apprehension I took account of all the familiar noises and objects within my vicinity, and noted how unusually dear to me they now seemed. Surely these things had been present for the last six or seven months that I had been a resident in this room, but they had never made the particular appeal that they now possessed. As impending tragedy stalked farther into my consciousness and set awhirl anticipation of the probable outcome I affectionately watched the little canary hop from perch to perch, the while trilling his early morning carol. How softly he sang! He had done that on previous mornings and I thought it was intended to wake me gently, but now I knew his notes contained warning.

Even the pictures on the wall seemed to sense the danger. They had a startled expression. I fancied they signaled me to remain quiet for a moment. All about the room was that grating, shrieking silence that omens imminent catastrophe. This suspense could not last long; it was maddening. And just as I would have turned my head in the direction from whence I expected the attack to come the dripping water from the refrigerator seemed to pause and warn me to hold for a moment.

How precious life was just then! I reviewed the many vicissitudes of my experiences:—Cold nights spent in box-cars; miserable nights in lousy ten-cent flop houses; weary days in filthy prisons and slave pens, called factories; nerve-deadening, back-breaking, monotonous slavery for a mere pittance. Why should that monster, Fate, have spared me through all those harrowing experiences and come now when I am comparatively happy to snuff out my life? For six months I have worked steadily (the longest period in my life), and have been going to school every night. Delving into those text-books at night and contemplating them by day has served, to some extent, to ameliorate the master's brutality. Cruel gods! Why, oh why should this abrupt ending come now!

At least I must not go down without an effort at defense. Arouse ye, said the Urge, and grapple with this intruder! Clinch him and try to choke his life out. Be quick, for there is no time to spare. Tensing every muscle—I was now quite alert—I prepared for the supreme struggle of my life. Until now I had been merely intuitively aware of his presence and location. Slowly, lest he note my consciousness, I turned my head to the right and beheld his ghastly face. Quick, action! Out went my right hand. Firmly grasping the lever on the alarm clock I pushed it against the clapper. It was all over.

# Building the I. W. W.

## An Outline of Its Forms and Practical Organization

TO begin with, the I. W. W. is built on the wage-working class. Unlike the A. F. of L., it is a labor organization; not a capitalist protective association. Consequently, none but wage-workers are admitted to membership in its ranks. These wage-workers may be of any size, shape, creed, color or sex. All that is required is that they work at wages for the profit of some employer. The latter may be an individual, a firm, a corporation, or a trust. They are all labor exploiters and, on that account, look alike to the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. organizes wage-workers only because it is fully convinced, in the words of the opening clause of its preamble, "that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common." This their opposing organizations and continued increasing warfare eloquently testify. Further, the I. W. W. is fully convinced that employers' associations and chambers of commerce are impotent unless aided by the workers. Hence it refuses to render any aid to them or to assist them to blur the class lines through the admission of any but wage-workers or by espousing any other principles than those of the working class.

### Industry the Basis

Next, the I. W. W. is built according to industry instead of trades. Employers nowadays take trades and unite them into industries. They also unite the industries into ever fewer hands. This centering of management makes the trade unions unable to cope with modern capitalism; as they present a divided organization against a compact one.

The I. W. W., in organizing the working class, pursues the same plan as the industrial magnates. It unites all the workers in an industry into a workers' industrial union and combines all the industrial unions thus organized into one big union of the industrial workers of the world, hence its name. The workers in the railroad industry, for instance, are organized into a railroad workers' industrial union, textile workers into a textile workers industrial unon, and so on down the whole gamut of all the industries. And all the industrial unions thus organized form part, wherever they exist, of the Industrial Workers of the World, more popularly known as the I. W. W.

This method of organizing the workers JUST AS THEY WORK is pursued with the idea of ultimately enabling the workers to take over the industries in behalf of themselves and society, when the present system is either overthrown or collapses through its own inherent class conflicts and economic contradictions.

The I. W. W. calls this "building the new society within the shell of the old."

### Present Industrial Unions

At present, the I. W. W. is composed of workers organized in the following industrial unions:

Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110; Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120; Fishermen's Industrial Union No. 130; Floriculture Workers' Industrial Union No. 140; Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 210; Coal Miners' and Coke Oven Workers' Industrial Union No. 220; Oil, Gas and Petroleum Workers' Industrial Union No. 230; General Construction Workers' (Railroad, Road, Canal, Tunnel and Bridge Construction) Industrial Union No. 310; Ship Builders' Industrial Union No. 320; House and Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330; Textile and Clothing Workers' Industrial Union No. 410; Woodworkers' Industrial Union No. 420; Chemical Workers' Industrial Union No. 430; Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440; Printing and Publishing House Workers' Industrial Union No. 450; Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 460; Leather Workers' Industrial Union No. 470; Glass and Pottery Workers' Industrial Union No. 480; Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510; Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520; Telegraph, Telephone and Wireless

Workers' Industrial Union No. 530; Municipal Transportation Workers' Industrial Union No. 540; Aerial Navigation Workers' Industrial Union No. 550; Health and Sanitation Workers' Industrial Union No. 610; Park and Highway Maintenance Workers' Industrial Union No. 620; Educational Workers' Industrial Union No. 630 and General Utilities Workers' Industrial Union No. 650.

In addition to these, there is the General Executive Board and General Secretary-Treasurer, who represent the general organization.

### Not A Mass Organization

It should be observed right now that the I. W. W. is not a mass organization, that is, it does not take the workers en masse and organize them regardless of modern industrial formation. As already shown above, it follows industrial lines in organizing the working class. Within these lines it has many subdivisions. They are known as Job branches, Industrial Union branches, Industrial District Councils, General District Councils, Industrial Departments and the General Industrial organization, comprising them all.

The I. W. W. is a growth from the bottom up. Let us follow it accordingly, starting from the beginning with the unorganized worker.

The latter is approached to join the organization in various ways. Appeals are addressed to him through the press and public meetings, leaflets and literature of various kinds. But mainly, at present, through the job delegate.

### The Job Delegate

The job delegate is a member of the I. W. W. who is credentialed to organize workers "on the job"; that is, the place where he and they are employed. The job delegate is instructed by the organization on the procedure to be followed in initiating members and reporting on their activities. For these latter purposes many blank forms aree issued, covering all the details, such as occupation, industry, applicant's name, industrial union and number, dues and initiations paid, supplies received and distributed, etc. Job delegates are expected to familiarize themselves with the instructions, as given in the constitution and by-laws. This will do away with a lot of confusion and misunderstanding.

Job delegates' credentials are initialed, showing the industrial unions for which they are organizing and the cities in which the industrial unions' headquarters are located. Those for 1923 are as follows:

"AG," Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, Chicago, Ill.; "LU," Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120, Chicago, Ill.; "MM," Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 210, Butte, Montana; "CM," Coal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220, Butte, Montana; "WP," Oil Workers' Industrial Union No. 230,, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; "GC," General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310, Chicago, Ill.; "BC," Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330, Chicago, Ill.; "3S," Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440, Chicago, Ill.; "FS," Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 460, Chicago, Ill.; "TR," Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510, New York City; "RR," Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520, Chicago, Ill.; "SU," all small unions, Chicago, Ill.

### Organizing the Unorganized

The job delegates, thus credentialed and instructed, approach the unorganized to join the industrial union of the industry in which they are employed. Sometimes this work is rendered easy by bad conditions. Strikes ensue and the enrollment is very rapid and big, as a result. So often is the subsequent drop of membership, when the strike excitement has subsided. Job delegates, under any and all circumstances, must acquaint the unorganized with the principles, forms and tactics of the organization. The unorganized, upon expressing a willingness to join, are required to fill out applications for membership.

The application for membership consists of two questions, which the applicant signs; the remainder is filled out by the job delegate, as follows:

**APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP**

Appl. No.....

Do you agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization?.....

Will you study its principles and make yourself acquainted with its purpose?.....

Name .....

Occupation..... Industry.....

Address..... Street

City..... State.....

Date..... I. U. No..... Card No.....

Initiation..... Dues..... Ass'mt..... Total.....

Del. Name.....

ON THE JOB WITH THE DIRT MOVERS

### Job Branch

The job delegate issues membership books, constitutions, etc., to the new members. Further, he organizes them into a job branch. This consists of 7 or more members working on that job. They are organized for the purpose of holding regular job meetings and discussing job problems. They elect their own job delegate, secretary, treasurer, grievance, strike, auditing, publicity, lecture, entertainment, trial, and other committees. The job delegate opens meetings and acts as chairman; the secretary records the proceedings, the grievance committee formulates and presents grievances to the employer, the strike committee conducts strikes, the auditing committee audits books, and so on; each and every committee functioning within certain well defined parliamentary and practical limits.

Of course, the job branch is affiliated with the industrial union in which it is operating. A job branch in general construction is located in the general construction workers' union; one in the lumber industry, with the lumber workers' industrial union; and so on throughout the entire list of industries. Its affiliation is expressed through its own elected job delegate, acting in co-operation with the industrial union.

### Committees Representative

The job branch makes it a point to have representatives of all the trades working in any place of employment, whether on a construction job on a highway, a lumber camp in the woods, or a factory or plant in the city, on all important committees, such as wage scale, grievance, strike and other committees. There are no distinct trade lines; yet all the trades are equally well looked after. Harmony is provided by all working together for their mutual industrial and class interests. This process is helped along by standardization and the destruction of trades by automatic machinery.

In general, the job branch, with all of its modifications, leads up practically to the workers' council and shop stewards' movement; for job is united to job, factory to factory and plant to plant by way of the industrial union and its system of representative bodies, such as the industrial district council and the general district councils. But of this more anon. Let us consider in our next article, the industrial union branch.

# To Fellow Worker Frank Little

**MURDERED BY THE COPPER TRUST SIX YEARS AGO TODAY**

**WE NEVER FORGET!**

WE'LL remember you, Frank Little!
They couldn't still your voice,
So they strangled it;
They couldn't chill your heart,
So they stopped it;
They couldn't dam your life blood,
So they spilled it.

We'll remember you, Frank Little!
They didn't come in the broad of day
And warn you that in a world
Being made safe for Democracy
There was no safety for you.
In the dead of night they came
And pounced on you,
Dragged you out as if you were an animal
Without daring to let you put your clothes on
Or bind up your broken leg.
They spared you no indignity,
They withheld from you no shame;
Afterward, no doubt, they washed their hands
With the air of men who've done their bit
In the cause of freedom.

We'll remember you, Frank Little!
The papers said: "So far as known,
He made no outery."
No, not you! Half Indian, half white man,
All I. W. W.
You'd have died ten thousand deaths
Before you'd have cried aloud
Or whimpered once to let them
Enjoy your pain.

We'll remember you, Frank Little!
Long after the workers have made the world
Safe for labor,
We'll repeat your name
And remember that you died for us.
The red flag that you dropped
A million hands will carry on;
The cause you loved
A million tongues will voice.
Good bye, Frank Little!
Indian, White man, Wobbly true,
Valiant soldier of the great red army,
We'll remember you!

**Phillips Russell.**

■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

# The Climb to Calvary

J. BERNEDINE TEVIG

FREEDOM! FREEDOM! What is freedom?
This we know:
Man has died for thee and for thy seed to sow.
Far beyond the bridge of history's' span
Freedom was the Light and Goal of man.
When man was little more than brute and beast.
He supped and died at Freedom's feast.
Since man first pinioned man to slavery
Freedom vowed that man should be free.
The noblest hearts of every age
Has in Freedom's name been outraged.
From Freedom's altars, where hopes burn high,
Comes the unending, undying cry:
"If you seek Truth, if you will be free,
Come, come live, labor, die if need be!"
They come, they come to dungeon, rack and beast,
They are the victims of Freedom's bloody feast.
They died for lies that Truth might come;
They died for myths and called them Freedom.
They died that a God might give them joy,
They died that a God they might destroy;
In Freedom's tracks are littered the dead
As each bloody step has upward led.
Upward....Onward....Still slavery....
Service....Pain....Death....But never free!
The path of labor is the path of pain
To the burden-bearer hope was vain;
But beyond the seas of blood and tears
The final Goal dimly appears—
Today man climbs to Calvary
That man may labor and yet be free!

# Our Defense

Vera Moller.

IN the end the loss or triumph of the ease shall not be hung,
On the golden ease and smoothness of a hired lawyer's tongue
Nor ably or how bungling every man shall plead his cause,
Its something beyond the courtroom that makes judge and jury pause.
For they sense the mighty forces in the mutterings of unrest
And the songs of hope and freedom rising in the Workers breast'
And wherever men are willing for their beliefs to do and dare,
There's a cause that stands behind them and they feel its power there.
Over treachery and cunning, thru all darkness and suspense,
'Tis the cause itself shall triumph and in that is our defense.

# Facts for Arguments

The home guards are up against it. They are getting fewer in numbers. A writer in Keith's Magazine says the proportion of home ownership has been falling off at the rate of 10 per cent in each 3 years. Less than 50 per cent of the American people own their homes now. We are beeoming a nation of renters. And even as sueh our hardships are growing. In 1913 the average man spent 20 per eent of his ineome for rent. In 1921, he spent 40.

Fifteen billion person rode on the electrie railways of the United States last year, according to the Pennsylvania Publie Service Commission. This was an inerease of 15,000,000 over the previous year.

Heart disease is inereasing in frequency. From 1910 to 1920, the inerease amounted to 18.3 per eent in Chieago, 25.3 per eent in New York, 40.9 per eent in Boston and 47.6 per cent in Syracuse. Sehool ehildren, industrial workers and young men as a body are among those showing a eomparatively large number of heart defeets. The strain of preparing for life under eapitalism, is becoming no less dangerous than that imposed when hustling for a livelihood.

Roger Babson has issued an interesting chart showing the periods of prosperity and depression in terms of eommodity priees from 1790, at the end of the Ameriean Revolution, to 1920, after the end of the World War. Under the title "History Repeats Itself" the following explanation of the chart is given. "It will be noticed that after the Napoleonic Wars and after the Civil War in 1865, there was a rapid downward movement, sueh as took plaee in 1920-1921. After these downward movements, in 1815, and 1867, the ehart shows there was an upward movement, sueh as we have experienced during the past two years. After this temporary upward movement, however, eonditions then set in for another decline whieh further completed the readjustment. Statisties elearly indicate that the United States is now entering a similar deeline."

The Bureau of Labor Statisties of the United States Department of Labor issued on July 19th an interesting statement of the priee movement during the month of June. There was a deerease of 2 per eent in the wholesale prices of all eommodities and a decrease in the wholesale priees of foods amounting to 1½ per cent while for the same month there was an inerease in the retail priees of foods of 1 per eent.

On July 7 a dollar would purehase only 64.8 eents worth of goods, eompared to its value in 1913, aeeording to statisties of Prof. Fisher, money expert, basing his figures upon a compilation of priees of a number of essential commodities.

In January, 1922, the dollar bought 72.6 cents, eompared with prices before the war. The low level of the dollar in purchasing power was reaehed in May, 1920, when it bought only 40.5 eents, eompared to the 100 per cent dollar of 1913.

According to Washington dispateh es, the national wealth of the United States amounts to $3,600 for eaeh resident. That means that each family's share would amount to $18,000 if the total were equitably distributed. This fact appears in the offieial records of the treasury department covering finances for the year ending June 30.

The national income is estimated at about $70,000,000,000 for the year. This should mean a per capita ineome of about $3,180 if ineomes were fairly distributed. In that ease, of course, eaeh family would be able to save some of its ineome eaeh year and the total of these savings would ereate the capital necessary for maintaining and improving the eountry's produetive resourees.

The result, however, would be that the eountry would be owned by all the people instead of by a fraction of 1 per cent of the people.

N. H. Comish, professor of eeonomies and sociology in Oregon Agricultural College, has written a book analyzing the elements of consumption. According to Comish's figures the American standard is nothing to boast of. In 1910 one-sixth of all the families in the eountry were on or below a pauper standard, an additional one-third were just able to sustain a bare subsistence, less than half the families in the country were able to maintain a health and eomfort standard estimated at anything over $800 a year. On the other side of the elass line less than one twenty-fifth of the families in the United States lived in luxury.

During the last year Labor has attempted to collect on pre-election promises of industrial legislation. According to the National Industrial Council in 34 states, 32,599 bills were introduced and 8,340 became laws. In general the agitation to reduee the working day by law has not been suceessful. In Wisconsin the Eight-Hour Day measure was defeated. A similar measure was defeated in New York, Ohio and West Virginia. Bills for a nine-hour day are pending in California, Conneeticut, and Pennsylvania. The eampaign for minimum wage laws was generally unsueeessful. Old-age pension laws were enaeted in Montana, Nevada, and Pennsylvania. In Colorado anti-labor legislation forbidding strikes in publie and semi-publie industries without notiee and a preliminary arbitration effort was passed over the protest of labor. Idaho repealed its State Constabulary law but the bill to repeal the West Virginia State Cossaek law was defeated.

The financial section of the Berliner Tageblatt, (Berlin, Germany), one of the foremost capitalistic newspapers on the European continent, has published a two-column article entitled, American Labor Banks. It gives exhaustive statistics concerning the ownership, capitalization and reserves, location and date of organization of the eleven labor banks already in existence, and of ten banks in process of organization.

The Tageblatt observes that the American labor movement "has always aimed at the immediately practical." It quotes the Index, monthly organ of the New York Trust Co., as authority for the statement that the American banking world "welcomes experiments of this nature for the simple reason that the appreciation of business and financial matters among the workers grows thereby." This utterance of American banking capital the Tageblatt characterizes as "cautious and wise."

The International Typographical Union reports that it has paid out thirteen million dollars in strike benefits for the 44-hour week, and when their report was made some sixty-thousand members were still on strike. These millions were raised mainly by compulsory assessments on the wages of members at work. They are mainly located in Chicago and New York.

The imports of foregn raw material to this country for the fiscal year which ended in June, 1923, aggregated nearly 2½ billion dollars, as against an annual average of less than one billion dollars for the years immediately preceding the war. This illustrates the growing imperialistic, industrial tendencies of the country, which necessitate the import of products in payment of export of capital.

Hay acreage in the United States has increased in eight years by three million acres. In crops other than hay there has been a decrease of almost two-million acres. Here, as in England, sheep and grass are increasing—the regular signs of reversion of land from agricultural to pastoral use. The American farmer is losing out.

At Del Mar, California, Rancho Santa Fe, a 9,000 acre estate, is being developed as a model community for orchardists by the Santa Fe Land Improvement Co., a subsidiary of the Santa Fe Railroad system. The company is working on the theory that a community planned from the beginning and built accordingly will be better than a city that "just grew."

One billion dollars a year are spent in business bribes, according to Howard R. Heydon, president of the Commercial Standards Council. These figures are worth bearing in mind when we are told about the "unimpeachable integrity and honesty of business men." They not only pay bribes but take them, too. They are crookeder than politicians, as the politicians would not be crooked if it wasn't for them. Back of political crookedness is business.

The Louisiana State University library contains a copy each of Karl Marx's Capital and Thorstein Veblen's The Theory of The Leisure Class. The first has been borrowed three times since placed there in January, 1917. The second has never been borrowed, though in the library since Feb., 1918.

# The Co-operative Fallacy

THE members of the working class are constantly being urged to embrace co-operation, that is, organize co-operative societies. This, it is claimed, will provide them with training for industrial control and solve the problems of capitalism.

The workers should be warned against such deceptions. For co-operation is simply a more democratic form of stock-corporation. When successful, it includes more persons in its benefits and experiences, but these only extend to its own membership, who are generally a very small minority of the working class.

The main defect of co-operation is its continuance of the profit and wages system. The profits go to the co-operators—the shareholders, the purchasers—and the wages to the employes. The result is strikes, just as in or against any other corporation of a capitalist nature.

England is the native heath of co-operation. Just now England is the scene of a unique labor struggle. It is the combined strike and boycott waged by The National Union of Distributive Workers against the Co-operative Wholesale Society. The cause is the action by the Society in cutting wages, abolishing wages during sickness, and cutting the yearly holiday in half. The workers claim that the Co-operative wishes "to alter wages how they chose, when they chose, and where they chose" and are "defying the whole trade union movement just like Lord Penryhn of Bethsada, and William Martin Murphy of Dublin." As the Co-operative refuses to arbitrate, this looks true. The capitalist corporations also proclaim "there is nothing to arbitrate."

From this it will appear that co-operation instead of solving capitalism is merely aggravating it.

As for getting training in industrial control, the workers already have it. They are now controlling industry for the capitalists. What they need to do is to control it for themselves, instead. Once they awaken to that fact they will not need to step out of their proper sphere to experiment with modified forms of corporations in order to get the industrial training which is already an accomplished fact.

Co-operation in the last analysis is dislocated experimentation. It's an attempt to fit trained workers into positions where they do not belong. It is to make, for instance, coal miners and overall dealers of railroad men; instead of leaving them on the railroads, there to oust the stock-jobbing, profit-mongering railroad plunderers, the financiers.

# Editorial

## "CANNING" THE TECHNICIAN

THE impression prevails quite generally that workmen of rare technical and mechanical abilities are free and independent; especially of the financial and other restrictive and oppressive policies of corporations.

Just now in railroad circles there is much discussion going on regarding the victimization of certain superintendents:

C. E. Fuller, general superintendent of motive power of the Union Pacific Railroad, has been let out after 13 years of service. Fuller bears the reputation of being one of the most expert mechanical superintendents on American railroads. Some people go so far as to say he is superior to all the rest.

H. N. Curry, after 11 years' faithful service on the Northern Pacific as superintendent of motive power, has also been dismissed.

W. C. Smith, superintendent of motive power of the Missouri Pacific, was also suddenly discharged recently.

Such treatment may account for the increasing tendency among technicians to sympathize with the wage workers and to condemn the present system.

Mortimer E. Cooley, president Federated American Engineering Societies and dean of the engineering schools of the University of Michigan is one of these.

Cooley, like innumerable other engineers, believes the world's industrial machine is going to pieces. "Unless a new point of view is adopted," he says, "which will remove the reasons for the growing distrust and and suspicion in the ranks of the workers, an uncontrolable situation will result."

## FORD CONFIRMS I. W. W.

HENRY FORD is ignorant of many things. His views on the origin of labor unions, for instance, are a joke. So also is his failure to recognize the capitalist class nature of politics and finance. And to these may be added his inability to grasp the necessity for the upward development of the working class in his theory of social evolution. To subvert the workers to Fordian industrial autocracy is to promote social degeneracy and decay. It is to create a few colossal profiteers and armies of slaves.

It is only when he advocates the application of the technological method to the solution of political problems that Henry Ford shines. This enables him to see the international character of industry and to urge free trade and internationalism in conformity with it. It also provides him with a knowledge of the overtowering importance of industrialim in modern life, as evidenced in the interview by Chas. Wood in Colliers.

Therein Ford gives expressions to these half-formed but wholly sound ideas:—

**"The industrial organism is stronger and healthier than the political organism. It has more life flowing through it, more energy. Wouldn't wonder if industry would eventually absorb the political government."**

"We speak in awe of our 'form of government' and even pass laws making it a crime to criticize it. You can't imagine an industry thriving if it considered its form of organization beyond criticism."

Also "Society is evolving toward the industrial idea."

In all this Henry Ford simply confirms the I. W. W.

## A NEW GENERAL STAFF

THERE are many who think that the organization of the working class on industrial union lines is not enough to secure working class emancipation. They argue that industrial unionism, like concrete, must be reinforced, preferably by politics, though co-operation is also thrown in for good measure, occasionally.

They are informed that there is no objection to their joining a political party or a co-operative society, in addition to an industrial union ,if they so choose. But, as for industrial unionism in general, it entertains a far better opinion of itself than they do.

This opinion is based on contemporaneous facts. On all sides the capitalists are virulently opposing the growth of industrial unionism. Note the Brockton Shoe Workers' revolt. Also the Nova Scotian miners' strike in sympathy with the steel workers. Both are recognized as attempts to convert

the A. F. of L. to industrial union principles, forms and tactics. And both are opposed by the capitalists as such.

On all sides the capitalists are also attempting by means of gunmen, injunctions, etc., to destroy even the strike activities of the A. F. of L. In the case of the railroad organizations, for instance, the latter are prevented from doing everything under the sun, except to permit their members to remain alive enough to be exploited for capitalist profit. Despite all this, strikes increase and workingmen insist on organizing.

Now, why these capitalist attempts at the prevention of industrial unionism and the destruction of trades unionism? Are the capitalists engaged in fighting **futilities?** Or do they fear the evolution and development of a unionism that strikes at the very heart of their own system?

Possibly, the capitalists are not as good strategists as are the critics of industrial unionism. They ought to employ the latter as members of their general staff. These critics will tell them what's essential and what's insufficient. They know!

## IN MERRIE ENGLAND

THE British Labor Party is the cause of much enthusiastic imitation in this country. Many workers refer to it as though it is a revolutionary socialist organization, when it is only the left wing of English liberalism. At the annual conference held recently, Mr. Sydney Webb pointed out that the British Labor Party is a parliamentary and not a revolutionary party. He also said that the English labor movement derived its inspiration from Robert Owen and his idea of universal brotherhood and not from Karl Marx and his theory of class warfare.

There is no doubt that, if the British Labor Party ever succeeds to power, as is likely, it will be an exact counterpart of the German Social Democracy. It will be the agent of British capitalism, willing to do its bidding, just as the German Social Democracy is the agent of Stinnes and Co., intent on executing its policies.

Should war ever come between France and England, the workers may rest assured that the British Labor Party will be the "goat" just as the Social Democracy is in Germany.

**Push Industrial Pioneer!**

# Modern Science and Materialism

Reviewed by WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN

WHAT is the meaning of this world of ours? What is it all about? Where did all these ideas I hear or read about come from? What is their value? Is there any purpose in this process we call civilization? Are we getting anywhere? What are the facts and forces with which we have to deal? What can we do, if anything?

Some or all of these questions are asked by every person who awakens to the fact that a human being may be something better than merely a part of the landscape, something higher than a toll for somebody else's convenience or profit.

How many ever ask any worthwhile questions such as these? Very few. Why? Partly because, as some one remarked after the examination of our young men in the draft, "We are a nation of Sixth Graders;" partly because the educational agencies of America could hardly be more futile for the purposes of dynamic citizenship if they had been organized with the set purpose of defeating the hope of national and social progress—this, too, because, in the words of California's foremost educator: "the schooling mechanism for training men to be serfs has been passed down, unchanged by tradition, to become the schooling system of American democracy for the training of free-born, thinking, self-responsible, government-making citizens of the 20th century."

### A Fascinating Book

Is it any wonder that Hugh Elliot, in one of the most fascinating and convincing books yet written in the field of experimental physics—"Modern Science and Materialism"—should say: "Nothing can be more palpably false than the system of ideas now reigning throughout civilization!"

In that one sentence lies the supreme justification and inspiration for such a splendid contribution as he has made to clear thinking and dynamic action. For, as he truly says, "when once we have acquired true habits of thought, the fight is over; true modes of conduct and activity will flow inevitably from them."

What has Mr. Elliot done in this book? This: first, he has shown with resistless logic what the inevitable limitations of the human mind are—the indispensable starting point of all useful or fruitful thinking. Savages and primitive men do not know the meaning of ignorance—never know that they do not know. What do these savage and primitive minds—many of them surviving in civilized society today and occupying places of power and influence in existing commerce and government—do? Why, they simply fill the abysmal gaps in their ignorance, as Elliot says, with superstitions.

Well, what do we know about the way in which knowledge is gained at all by men? The answer is

easy: knowledge of the external universe is gained solely thru sense-impressions. How many senses has man for receiving these impressions? Five. Suppose he had but one—taste, or smell. Well, for one thing he wouldn't be man at all. Suppose he had a hundred or a thousand senses instead of but five. How inconceivably more he could know of the universe, and what an inconceivably different thing it would be to him!

But, using the pitifully few senses he possesses. what does he find to be the forms which sum up all the phenomena of the universe to his consciousness? These: matter, energy, life, consciousness. These cover the whole of human experience.

The task which Mr. Elliot set himself in this fascinating volume was to report in simple language and in most readable form exactly what experimental physics has to say about these four things. If there is in the whole range of human thought one proposition which may be accepted as final, it is this: Science will always say the last word concerning any problem our minds can consider. If any one doubts that, he should read Andrew Dickson White's "History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom." Elliot's work is the latest word of physical science on the subjects discussed.

### Constitution of Matter

Well, what does physics find to be the constitution of matter, and what is the nature of energy? It has found that, as all matter is composed of molecules, all molecules in turn are composed of atoms, and finally that all atoms are composed of **electrons**, or charges of electricity. Most startling of all, it is found that while there are negative electrons and positive electrons, there is absolutely no difference between one electron and another.

It is found, then, that molecules differ from one another because they contain different numbers of atoms, different kinds of atoms, or atoms in different relations to one another in the molecule. But atoms differ one from another solely because of the different number of identical electrons they severally contain. It is seen, further, that matter and energy are not two things, but merely different phases of the same thing. More than that, experimental physics declares that the final unit of existence—all existence—is the electron—that the universe is simply the seat of electrons.

### Life and Consciousness

In the words of Elliot, summing up a part of his discussion: "The electrons are not matter, they are not energy; but from them both matter and energy are born. The electrons combine together in a number of different ways, and we get a corresponding variety of atoms. The atoms combine, and we get molecules. Some of these molecules contain vast numbers of atoms. These complex entities combine again to form the still more inconceivably elaborate substances called proteins. And yet again the protein molecules join together into systems, till we get still another substance, protoplasm, where the incredible degree of chemical elaboration has reached such a state as to have lost all semblance to the simple reactions of the laboratory. The sum total of these reactions is so far beyond the range of chemical analysis that we can do no more than lump them together and call them collectively by a new name—Life. Nor have we yet done. Further elaboration of the molecules of protoplasm gives rise to a new and distinctive set of reactions, which again paralyze the intellect of Man; and he can do no more than invent a name for them—he calls them Consciousness."

But no review and no quotations from this book can begin to do justice to it. It is as fascinating reading as a novel. Besides, to digest this book is almost to add a cubit to one's intellectual stature, to stimulate one's mind, and to afford a starting point for vastly more fruitful thought and action than are possible without such knowledge.

[Publishers, Longmans, Green & Co., New York City.]

# Economic Action Growing

THE importance of the economic weapon in the struggle for a better society is gaining widespread recognition. Its use by the Negroes in the South has already resulted in reforms beneficial to them. The Negro, by withdrawing his labor power from this backward section, has advanced much further than he otherwise would have done.

But, apparently, he has not travelled far enough for he is considering other means of an economic character to achieve still greater gains than are already his. Through his race economic organization, the African Blood Brotherhood, the Negro is urging a general strike in the South itself, as a means wherewith to get rid of the many disabilities imposed on the Negroes still remaining there.

The African Blood Brotherhood sees the overthrow of peonage and the complete emancipation of the Negro race in the South made possible through economic pressure, calling this weapon the greatest of all, greater than prayer or ballot, to both of which the Afro-Americans are strongly addicted. Undoubtedly, such a course would demonstrate the dependence of the South on the Negro, a dependence that, properly employed, can be converted into an agency for independence.

A general strike of the Negroes in the South would be a belated bit of action somewhat similar though less bloody than the general uprising that the Randolphs feared when in their anxious eloquence they pict-

ured the awful possibilities of the chattel slaves' awakening.

A South, in the collapse of a complete labor withdrawal, may then learn the dependence of its institutions on self-respecting workers, such as the Negroes will prove themselves to be once they engage in a general strike in that section. It would then make concessions, as it has already done, to a limited extent.

But the Negroes are not the only persons in this country alive to the importance of economic action. It is a well-known fact that farmers—big farmers especially—advocate economic remedies instead of political devices. They withdraw acreage from cultivation; which is the same thing as withdrawing labor, for it is labor applied to the land that makes acreage.

These farmers recently had a national wheat conference here in Chicago. Alonzo Taylor, food scientist, spoke before them. Says a report of the proceedings:

"All governmental, all political devices for solving the wheat growers' present woes were shattered by Dr. Taylor. The American wheat acreage must be accommodated to American needs, with no more dependence on Europe's needs and demands than was customary before the war. Along with the tendency towards centralization, however, there must at the same time be an opposite tendency toward trying to expand the domestic internal wheat market. Americans are eating less wheat than formerly. The wheat trade and the flour trade and the baking trade must entice them back to their original wheat appetites."

Here, then, we have two typical, though divergent, domestic examples of the growing importance of action via economic agencies. If we went abroad we could find more, as in the passive resistance movement of the Ruhr or the boycott movement of the nationalists of India, for instance. But let these suffice to show the necessity of cultivating economic means for the reform and abolition of capitalism, by the workers industrially organized. Such means strike at the heart of capitalism while, at the same time, developing the agencies that will eventually supplant it.

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More new leaflets are issuing from the I. W. W. press. They are entitled "Does The I. W. W. Preach Violence?" "Destroying the Home," and "Why Not Shorten the Hours?" The second leaflet is especially good for homeguards and city workers.

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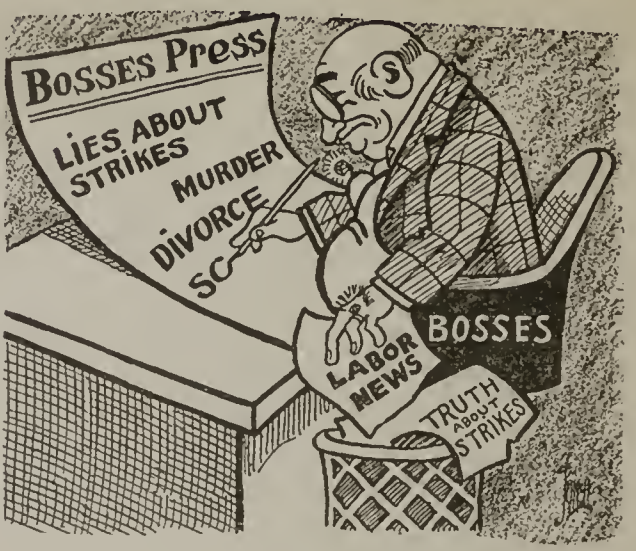
The Textile Workers' Industrial Union No. 410 is not making much noise. But internally it is working hard to perfect and extend organization.




## Buy the Working Class Press

The I. W. W. press consists of the following 13 publications in ten different languages:

**Industrialisti** (Finnish), daily, subscription per year, $4.50. Address Box 464, Duluth, Minn.

**Industrial Worker,** twice a week, per year, $4.00. Box 1857, Seattle, Wash.

**Industrial Solidarity,** weekly, per year, $2.00.

**Industrial Pioneer,** monthly, per year, $2.00.

**Solidaridad** (Spanish), twice a month, per year, $1.00.

**Golos Truzenika,** (Russian), twice a month, per year, $1.50.

**Felszabadulas,** (Hungarian), weekly, per year, $2.00.

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**Rabotnicheska Mysl,** (Bulgarian), monthly, per year, $2.00.

**Jedna Velka Unie,** (Czecho-Slovak), monthly, per year, $1.00.

**Industrijalni Radnik,** (Croatian), twice a month, per year, $2.00.

Address above 10 publications at 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. Send subscriptions there.

**Muncitorul,** (Roumanian), weekly, per year, $1. Address: 13492 Orleans St., Detroit, Mich.

Drop a postal for sample copies.

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### Another I. W. W. Paper

"Industrijalni Radnik" is the name of the latest addition to the I. W. W. press. It is printed in the Croatian language, and means Industrial Worker. It will carry the message of industrial unionism to Croatian workers, of whom there are many in this country, employed in mining, construction and other basic industries. Publication will be twice a month.. The price is $2 per year, $1 for six months; bundle orders, 3 cents per copy. Address, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell fo the old.

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers
Industrial Union, No. 450, I. W. W.

F. A. SCHOENLE
STA. DEL.
1430 HARRISON AVE.
CINCINNATI, OHIO

## Be a Booster of the
# Industrial Pioneer

Get subscribers. Make it a rule to get at least one subscription each week.

Send us names for sample copies and prospective subscribers.

Send in names of workers.

Canvass your news dealers. Ask them to sell the Industrial Pioneer

A reader of the Industrial Pioneer is a friend and a member in embryo of the organization.

A large circulation of our press would indicate a strong organization and a powerful influence among the workers of this land.

Go after subscriptions. Now is the time.

Build your press. Help break down the prejudice against the I. W. W.

The Industrial Pioneer is the safest antidote against the deliberate slanders of the capitalists and their tools. Get us more readers. Pass your Pioneer on to some other worker.

Make your slogan: a million readers for the Pioneer, and soon.

Go to it with a vim, and watch the I. W. W. membership grow.

Keep in touch with the Industrial Pioneer. Send in articles, pictures and items of interest to the labor movement.

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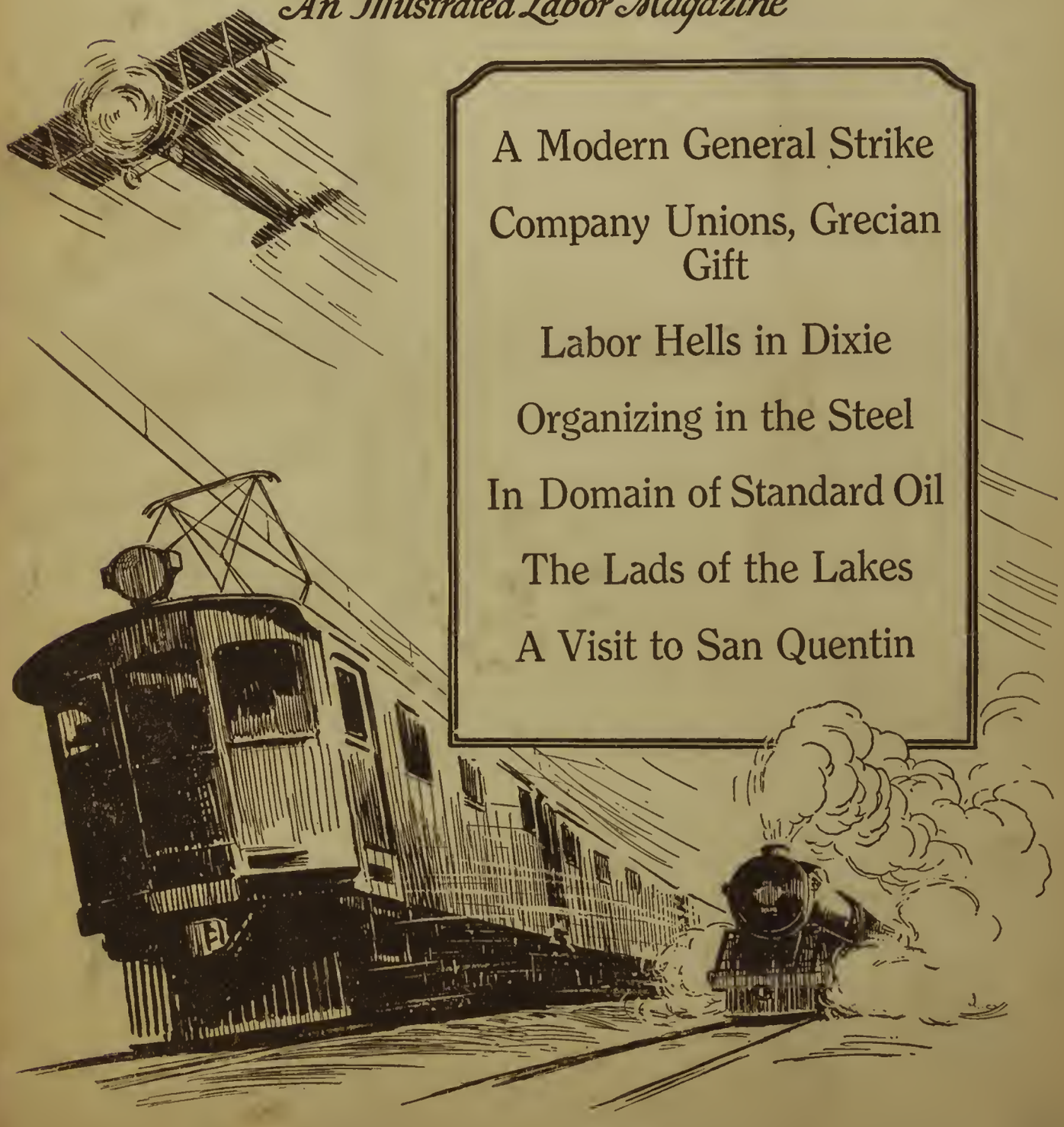
# The Industrial Pioneer

*An Illustrated Labor Magazine*



A Modern General Strike

Company Unions, Grecian Gift

Labor Hells in Dixie

Organizing in the Steel

In Domain of Standard Oil

The Lads of the Lakes

A Visit to San Quentin

UNION MEN ARE BEING IMPRISONED
WITHOUT TRIAL IN CALIFORNIA

# BOYCOTT

# CALIFORNIA FRUIT

## HELP MAKE CALIFORNIA SAFE FOR THE WORKING CLASS

Eighty-seven of our fellow workers have fallen victim to the labor-crushing campaign of California's business interests. These fellow workers are serving from one to twenty-eight years in the California state prisons for having defended the right of the working class to organize. Seventy are at San Quentin, thirteen are at Folsom, one is at the Preston Reform School and three are awaiting the outcome of appeals. A number of other cases are pending in Northern and Southern California. Regardless of what the outcome of these cases will be, the fact remains that the defense office at San Francisco must be supplied with funds. The exploiters of California must be forced to relinquish their prey and their disgraceful and barbaric anti-labor "criminal syndicalism" law wiped off the statute books.

How many of you are willing to donate a day's wages to the defense?

How many of you are willing to boycott California fruit, movies, etc. until our fellow workers are free?

Let's show them that we care.

Send all funds to CALIFORNIA BRANCH GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,

226 Russ Building, San Francisco, California.

The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. I. OCTOBER, 1923 No. 6

# A Modern General Strike

By HENRY HAZARD
(Special to Industrial Pioneer)

AIRPLANE and Auto! The fastest methods were used to rush the strike call through the dim forests of the Columbia River basin.

Nowhere in the great northwest was the walkout for class-war prisoners more effective than "Where Rolls the Oregon." The men who came out for blankets and the freedom of the prisoners last May came out solely for the boys in jail this time. They won their blankets in the May strike.

* * *

It was a sudden strike that swept over the timber lands, construction camps and harvest fields of the northwest this September. It caught camp foremen by surprise in many places and some fellow workers also. The May strike had been announced seven months before. But this strike was different.

No general headquarters started off the movement. First action came from Centralia. The fellow workers of Wesley Everest elected a strike committee in August to grease the wheels for action in their district. August 30 came the strike call and thousands of printed strike notifications began reaching the long log camps of central Washington. Centralia flashed the word to all other branches of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union in the northwest.

**Seattle** took a hurried strike vote and sent runners to the camps in its district.

**Tacoma** organized flying squadrons to sweep the slow comers off the jobs.

**Bellingham** for the north Sound region; **Aberdeen** for the Gray's Harbor timber lands, and other branches showed that Centralia had not counted on them in vain.

### A Thriller

A thrill went through the whole northwest when the Agricultural Workers of the Spokane district ordered a strike of grain harvesters for the class-war prisoners. Workers in the Whitman wheat country had already been on strike for some time, fighting bravely against the efforts of the sheriff to break solidarity by a series of thirteen arrests.

Kelso construction workers went out early in the game, tying up big Long Bell road work leading out of the new "model" industrial city of Longview on the junction of the Columbia and Cowlitz rivers.

All eyes were on Oregon where lumber production is assuming more importance than in the state of Washington itself. What would Oregon do? The success of the strike hung on the fellow workers in the sister state. Rumors were flying that Oregon would not strike.

But the Oregon workers put their critics to shame. Portland and Astoria flung themselves into the strike movement with more enthusiasm than was shown in places where the I. W. W. has been established longer.

### Airplane on Job

They are up to date in the Columbia River Valley. "We can't reach the far away camps!" said some pessimists. It was to laugh. An airplane was chartered and the strike calls dropped like rain on the heads of astonished foremen in the far off reaches of the great timbered basin of northern Oregon. Automobiles carried the messages to other places.

All over Oregon the loggers came tumbling out. Coos Bay had been looked upon as safe for the Lumber Trust but that important nook in southern Oregon backed up the strike also. Some camps could not be reached in the required time because no airplane was chartered there and there was no other way of reaching the outlying logging operations.

Loud cheers in Portland greeted the announcement that the Hurley Mason jobs out of Oregon City had been shut down. Here is where Louisiana lumberjacks had been fetched after the May strike. But the men whom the company looked upon as ignorant "hicks," safe for exploitation, joined forces with the rest of their fellow workers in the great movement.

Last came wires that the short loggers in the Spokane district were affected and that the strike wave was breaking into the British Columbia forests as fast as Vancouver messengers could reach the jobs.

The strike was all over the northwest; complete in some places, only partly effective in others, but demonstrating to the world by curtailment of log production that the I. W. W. was able to hit the profit mongers at the shortest possible notice.

### Problems Faced

Four big problems met the strike committees of the diifferent branches:

**Getting out the strike calls effectively;**

**Stopping scab shipments;**

**Publicity;** putting the real strike facts before the workers who might be misled by the silence or lies of the capitalist dailies;

**Finance,** of which the most important phase was the protection of weaker brothers from the booze and gambling sharks who would fleece them and starve them back to scabbery.

The aiplane method, used by Portland, was found to be the most effective way of getting the strike calls quickly to remote camps. No other way had the necessary speed, for time was short. No time limit was set but it was generally understood that this was to be a short off-the-job strike in line with the in-again-out-again I. W. W. policy. In British Columbia many camps could not possibly be reached. No airplane could be obtained and distant camps could be notified only by irregular water transportation. In the more congested areas on this side of the line automobiles and foot messengers did the trick effectively.

### The Daily Worker

Flying squadrons were used with magnificent success in the Tacoma district as the Boomer dispatches printed in the **Daily Industrial Worker** showed. Where camps were poorly organized and sentiment was weak a flying squadron crystallized strike spirit and took the fear out of individuals who trembled before the local thugs of the boss.

**Scab shipments** were hit by the common sense method of picketing employment offices in the cities. Some of the employment offices were quick to put up strike notices. "I. W. W. Strike" on the boards made it impossible for the scab to plead that he didn't know there was a strike. Where men signed on anyhow pickets notified them at greater length. A few pickets were arrested but the work went on. But still more picketing efforts, in the cities and the camps, would have made the strike still more effective though the pickets on the whole obtained excellent results.

The manager of the public employment office in Portland quit shipping scabs after a visit by the Lumber Workers' I. U. committee.

No attention was paid by strike committees to the employers' announcement in Seattle that all camps would be closed for thirty days. This was a pure and simple publicity bluff to save the faces of bosses who did not like to admit that the I. W. W. was closing them down. As soon as branches called off the strike employers were quick to notify workers by special messengers to get back on the job.

**Publicity:** The **Daily Industrial Worker** was the publicity feature of the strike. It was the first time a full sized daily paper was gotten out by the I. W. W. And it went strong.

### Special Strike Extras

Eighteen thousand copies of the semi-weekly edition of the **Worker** were published during the strike. About 10,000, on an average, of the special strike extras in between. The special strike extras were concentrated in the northwest where the need for them was greatest.

This **Daily Industrial Worker** showed what could be done with a small staff and limited equipment working under pressure. Printed in the old plant, before the installation of the new press, it taxed facilities but it got out on time none the less. An editor and one assistant handled the office end of the editorial work, by sitting up late nights. The business manager worked overtime with his usual smile.

Splendid correspondence work from the field made results possible. A glance at the pages of the **Daily Industrial Worker** showed the debt due to the keen correspondents in the busy strike centres. Take Tacoma, for instance. In one issue there are nearly four columns of readable, informative matter from one individual and more from others. There were humor and dramatic quality in this correspondence and the news, at times, gave such strategic facts as to the extent to which log transportation had been stopped on important railroads.

Short wires from outlying centres kept the paper up to the minute on vital happenings all over the field. The correspondence far exceeded expectations. Not in vain has been the **Industrial Worker's** practise of making up its paper from the contributions of its members. By this means a corps of qualified correspondents has been developed in the I. W. W. ranks of the northwest.

Again the **Industrial Worker** is a semi-weekly but the writer believes it will become a permanent daily before next Summer.

### No Strike Finance Problem

**Finances:** There was no strike finance problem in the ordinary sense. Nearly all the work was volunteered. Branch printing bills were small. What deficit will be found when all the returns are in will be met by the regular **Industrial Worker** treasury which has a surplus ahead at present in spite of the purchase of a new printing press. There was no strike relief except some free coffee and sandwiches in the halls. It was not needed in a short strike.

But right here is where the story of the "dehorn" committees comes in, for the "dehorn" committees saved the weaker strikers from the booze and gambling sharks who would have stripped them clean and made them ripe for the solicitations of the scab herders.

As in the May strike the I. W. W. strike committees in Portland, Seattle, Aberdeen and Centralia formed special squads, popularly known in Seattle as "dehorn" committees, to clean out and close up the peddlers of poison and the card sharks in the working-class districts.

### Smashing "Smilo"

Perhaps the eastern readers of the **Industrial Pioneer** never heard of "smilo," the man-maddening liquid which flows along the Seattle skidroad. I

(Continued on Page 26)

# The R. R. Company Union, a Grecian Gift

By JULIAN DEUTER

SINCE the walkout of the Railroad shopmen last summer, a number of important railroads have organized company "unions" for the workers in the shops. When big transcontinental railroads send their vice-presidents over the entire system to organize "unions" for the workers, such a solicitude for the workers in their employ is remarkable. There has been a lot of talk of the open shop, or the so-called "American plan", and now we find that this is not quite suitable to the big employers. They fear the entrance of an industrial union like the I. W. W. into the unorganized field so they put over a union of their own, or a company-dominated association. Through it they try to give a semblance of protection to the workers' interest,—security, redress in grievances, equitable adjustment of differences, etc., but in practice it is found that the company decides the matter any way they see fit.

Even among the most recent recruits made during the shopmen's strike, few are found who are "hoosierfied" enough to believe that a railway corporation would organize any "association of workers" that would have the workers' interests at heart. After all the bitter experiences of the RR workers in past years, in the many clashes and struggles for better conditions, shorter hours, and more pay, it would seem scarcely necessary to remind them of the ancient adage "beware the Greeks bearing gifts". So the railroads, in order to prevent industrial unionism, resort to company unionism.

The roads not included in the separate "settlement", i. e., the abortive Willard-Warfield-Jewell agreement were quick to take advantage of the situation on the unsettled roads. After several months of fruitless dickering, all negotiations were broken off by the railroads. Then instead of the open, the closed shop,—company-union closed shop—ultimatum was delivered and enforced by many of the roads, among them the Pa., C. & A., L. & W., U. P., Southern Pacific, Great Northern, Mo. Pac. and others. Some of the above roads, in the endeavor to lure back the required number of the old timers, the majority of whom still remained off the job, announced at first that it would be optional with the employees whether they wanted to become members of the "union" or not.

**Repairing a Crossing**

In a few weeks, however, the solidarity in the ranks of the strikers having been broken, mainly thru the connivance of the officials of the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L. in the "Baltimore agreement", announcement was made, ostensibly by the mere nominal officials of the company unions, but really at the dictation of the railway executives, that the shops were to be 100 per cent closed shop—"Company-union". The RR companies were prompt in making the most of job control, and it was a case of signing the application, submitting to the arbitrarily fixed dues and assessments together with the check-off system of collection—or get out. Many of the shop employees refused to sign and were immediately dismissed, the majority were coerced into the membership. It was made plain that "no further nonsense would be tolerated" from any independent organization.

How generous these suddenly paternalistic railway corporations can be when it comes to railroading thru a subsidized association for flim-flamming was shown last summer. They invited, or rather requested the hastily "elected" shop workers' representatives to a "conference" with the RR executives at the main office headquarters of the road. All expenses were paid by the RR and when they all got together an "agreement" already prepared and print-

**A Suburban Stop**

ed was put before them. "Sign on the dotted line, gentlemen," and "how about taking in a show tonight after the banquet." It was a farce as a conference, and if there were a few simpletons who went thru the procedure gravely, the most of them realized that their feeble individual protests were ineffectual to alter materially the made-to-order program, and if they did not use the soft pedal, they were sure to lose their newly found sinecure mighty pronto.

By observing how the "benevolent" employers want the workers to be organized, the way they sort them out themselves in little separate groups, the plainest demonstration is given of how the workers should not be organized, or encouraged to organize. Full well do the big employers realize the truth of the old axiom "divide and conquer". The first thing noticeable about the company-union lineup is the retention of the crafts division among the railway shop workers' organization. The machinists, blacksmiths, sheet-metal workers, electricians, boilermakers, stationary engineers, car repairers, etc., all have a separate "union", altho they all work in the same shops on railway equipment, repairs, etc.

The railway companies prefer to force the obsolete craft form of organization on the shop employees rather than to allow them to remain unorganized, thus showing plainly, the intention to "head off" organization of the workers in other, to the employers, undesirable unions. They know that the tendency of most of the railroad workers is to organization, mostly closed union shop organization, and, lately, industrial organization; so that it was deemed politic to rig up a dummy "union" for them to play with. By retaining the old craft form in the new counterfeit, camouflaged outfit, it became clear that the railway companies desired to perpetuate as long as they could this ancient, outworn, inadequate system of organization, in preference to suggesting or making possible, a better one.

What the railroad companies objected to was being "shaken down" and "held up" by a lot of craft union officials, who were regarded as outsiders and jobbers in the commodity of railroad shop labor power. Eminently satisfactory as the craft union form is to the employers in many ways, they make it plain that there is a certain point in the adjustment of claims for the delivery of a required lot of RR labor, supplied by the labor fakirs, beyond which they will not "go".

When the time is deemed opportune to take another slice off the pay check of the RR workers next in line, a great hue and cry is raised about the excessive wages paid these workers compared to the "going wage" for labor in other industries. A proposed wage reduction is announced generally affecting only a portion of the workers in the industry at one time. A lot of hot air about arbitration on an equitable basis is vented, and if the Brotherhood officials are not tractable in acquiescing to the cut, a walk out results, with the majority of the RR workers remaining on the job "carrying on" and in the end contributing most to the defeat of their "union brothers".

How beautifully the method of division among the railroad workers works to the benefit of the employers, and the detriment of the workers themselves.

How absurd for the union officials to boast of their "sixteen recognized Brotherhoods"! How many are still "recognized", and by whom, since the switchmen's and yardmen's strike of several years ago, since the "federated shop men's" strike of last summer?

The fact is the boasted RR brotherhoods have been for years permitted to exist, an obstacle in the path of true Industrial Uionism, only on the sufferance of the railway companies. Any time the combined railway interests choose to dissolve and remove them, they'll "blow up in the pinch". The "grand presidents" of the craft unions know this very well, and in order to hang on to their handsome "pie-card" will go great lengths to render service to the railway corporations and propitiate the all-powerful big interests.

There is "Brother Bill Lee", grand president of the B. of R. T. The chief mogul of the "stingers" has the gall to brazenly state, in effect, that the so-called "Big 4 transportation brotherhoods" are too strong ,and must divide and diffuse their strength and forces. Economic action, the only really effective weapon Labor has, this willing tool of the RR corporations denounces as something Labor must let alone. The capitalistic employers use economic action every day, right along, always concentrating their forces, and then this traitor to the cause of Labor advocates still more division among the railway workers, instead of greater unity, and SOLIDARITY in the railway workers' organization.

"Brother" Warren S. Stone, grand president of the B. of L. E. is too much occupied with his banks and scab-manned coal mines, to work for the advancement and improvement of the standard of living of the RR workers. His motto is"Me first, to hell with the rest".

One of these days, when they feel like it, the RR corporations are going to force the much coddled transportation brotherhoods to go out on strike, like they did the switchmen and the shopmen, counting on the willing organized and unorganized scabbery of the rest of the workers.

Have the costly lessons taught in past struggles with the One Big Union of the railroad companies been thoroughly appreciated and learned by the workers? The signs are not wanting that indicate that thousands of the "rails" realize that only a One Big Union of ALL the railroad workers, Industrial Unionism, not craft unionism, is the only means of obtaining more of the good things in life that they help to produce.

When all the railway workers determine to organize industrially, the company union will be no more, the railroad companies to the contrary notwithstanding.

# The "Boomer Rails" Have a Heart to Heart Talk

TWO "rails," a hogger and a shack, were taking a little nourishment in the beanery at Kelly Lake after bringing a train of iron ore empties up thru the fog-shrouded night from the Allovez docks, when the tallow-pot who had been "spading the fogstones" on the trip up, wabbled in with a look of complete exhaustion on his map and collapsed on a stool.

"I'm cured," he gasped, "never again; for years I've heard of this 'iron ore rush' and always wanted to see just what it was like, but I'll tell the world that I've now got the desired info.

"I've nursed leaky old hogs over Tennessee Pass on the D. & R. G., made steam out of pine-knots on broken-down mills on the Y. & M. V. during the sugar cane rush down in Louisiana, fought zero weather on the Canadian Northern during the wheat rush and roasted myself on Mallets on the Santa Fe when the canteloupes were coming east in the month of June, but never in all my extra-board-bucking existence have I endured the grief which is indigenous to this pike. Great Northern, hell! it ought to be called the Great Grief!"

"Listen to him rave," said the hogger, between bites of one of the doughnuts that have made Fogg Bro's beaneries notorious wherever boomer rails congegrate. "The boy has an overdose of undernourishment from trying to live on the hog-feed they dish out up here, also he's had a little too much of that crap which Jim Hill wishes on us under the alias of coal. That 3205 is a bad actor anyway."

"Cheer up, buddy; maybe the M. M. has looked your record up and you won't have to go back down to Allovez."

"I should worry," rasped the tallow. "Record or no record I'm not going thru any more of this misery for Father Jim. My back is broke, enough is sufficient, and I've reached the last mile-post of my run on this pike.

"We're all nuts anyway. If we had a brain in the world we'd kick over the traces. I'd like to see Stone and Carter trying to nurse these old 'pigs' along and keep them hot with the tankfuls of slack I've been getting lately.

"I'll bet that stuff came from those scab mines of Stone's and was sent up here as a curse on us guys for allowing such a fink-loving rat as he is to run our union."

### Unfraternal Fraternal Societies

"Union, hell!" spoke up the shack. "Every one knows our organizations are insurance companies pure and simple. There's only one way of beating the game. We have to die to collect. Me, I'm about fed up with them too. There surely must be some way for us guys to make these jobs fit for humans, and I'm going to look for it."

"Well, well, well," piped up an individual who had been sitting at the end of the counter, getting an earful; "is it possible that you birds in the train and engine service are disatisfied. Why, I thought you were as happy as bugs in a rug. You seemed contented enough last summer when we shopmen were on strike. I saw you taking engines out of the house that scabs had been repairing (?). I mean you Mr. Hogger and Tallow; and as for you John Stinger, you put in lots of time on the road brassing hot-boxes which would not have been hot if the shopmen and car-tinks had been at work. They couldn't get enough 'scaleys' to fix them up in the terminal so you fixed them up on the road. Yes, and I saw whole 'crummy' loads of scabs come in here with you good union men. You birds didn't feel very discontented then, did you? Oh, no, the contracts you are cursing now, were 'sacred' then."

Firing an Engine

"Who the hell are you?" asked the tallow.

### A Disappointed Shopman

"Me? Why I'm one of those boobs who thot then as you do yet. I felt sure that our craft unions were strong enough to protect us shopmen. 'Sure,' I said, 'they can't get along without us, they can't get enough scabs to keep the rolling-stock from rusting on the rip-tracks and in the backshops when we go out.' Well, I notice they did, with the assistance of you contract protectors, of course.

Now I know better. The fault was all our own, we never had a chance. Think of trying to win a strike with sixteen shop unions instead of one. Why, it was hopeless. Your turn is next. I guess you guys can see the handwriting on the wall now. Carter, Stone, Shepard and Lee are not going to help you. You ought to be wise to that now. They're too busy looking after the investments your money has provided for them. Stone came out in his true colors last spring in his dealings with the miners his company employs. He's a scab at heart. Carter, Shepard and Lee are still under cover, but they're just as bad. Your big four with these piecards for officials will go the way the shop craft unions went just as soon as you put them to the test. They're in just as bad order as our unions were."

"Well," said the hogger, between bites, "what would you reccommend as a remedy?"

### The Right Semaphore

"The answer is as plain as a red light on a semaphore;' answered the ex-shopman. "We are all working together in the transportation industry, all of us are necessary to the operation and maintenance of the railroads, our interests are identical, anything which hurts one of us, is bound sooner or later, to react on the rest of us, we can't get along without each other, so I recommend One Big Union of all rails which will not allow one bunch to scab the others out of existence, but which will tie the whole damn works up so tight that the bosses will forget they ever had any railroads if we don't get what we want."

"He's right," spoke up the shack. "We've been fooling around long enough. Twenty-two unions on the railroads is twenty-one too many. Contracts are not worth the paper they are written on. We've found that out long ago. Seniority is just another club the companies hold over our heads. We must forget all that old-fashioned junk, that went out of style along with the link and pin. What we need is an up-to-date union like those new ten driver Mickeys that can make a whip cracker out of five thousand tons. Old fashioned ideas won't work with new equipment. The companies found that out long ago. You don't see them sending out those little four-wheelers to take a train over the road now-a-days, do you? I should say not. They were scrapped long ago. That's what we need. Send the old wornout insurance policy unions to the rip-track and couple on a new up-to-date industrial union mill to the head end of our interests' train, give the hogger (who won't be Stone) the high-ball and pull out of the yard of contracts and seniority onto the main line of solidarity with rights over everything clear through to the terminal of Victory and then look out the window and see 'em roll.'

"Atta boy," said the shopman, "I'll tell you just the kind of mill to get. Its name is Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520 of the I. W. W. and it was built in the shops of practical labor experience. It's guaranteed to pull any load the draw-bars will hold and to always take the workers interests into the terminal on the 'advertised'."

"I believe you're right," quoth the hogger and tallow in unison. "We've been riding on a bum poor steaming-union mill long enough. We'll take a chance on the new one."

"Me too," said the shack.

And the blonde waitress, who happened to belong to Foodstuff Workers I. U. No. 460 smiled.

# The Onlooker

I STOOD on a busy corner—
In the heart of a modern city,
And watched a group of SLAVES
Fasten mighty chains and cables—
The work of other unseen SLAVES—
To a heavy load of polished stone
Which other SLAVES had chiseled
And blasted out of Mother Earth;
Polished and rubbed it to a shining brightness,
Gave it over to still more SLAVES
That they might transport it over land and sea—
To where these waiting SLAVES were ready—
To lift it high—ten—twenty—thirty stories—
Above the SLAVE-jammed street—
To where more SLAVES were waiting to receive it
And to place it in a SLAVE-picked spot in a
Colossal building—
A building of such passing fairness,
That the eye was dazzled by its beauty;
A million windows pierced its towering sides.
The ends of the Earth had given of their store
To make it what it was—
A monument to SLAVES!
And when I looked and perceived its beauty,
Grandeur, stability and strength—
And knew that SLAVES had stood it there—
With its head among the clouds—
My heart was filled with a great sadness
To think that those who were **so wise and strong**—
Should still be SLAVES!

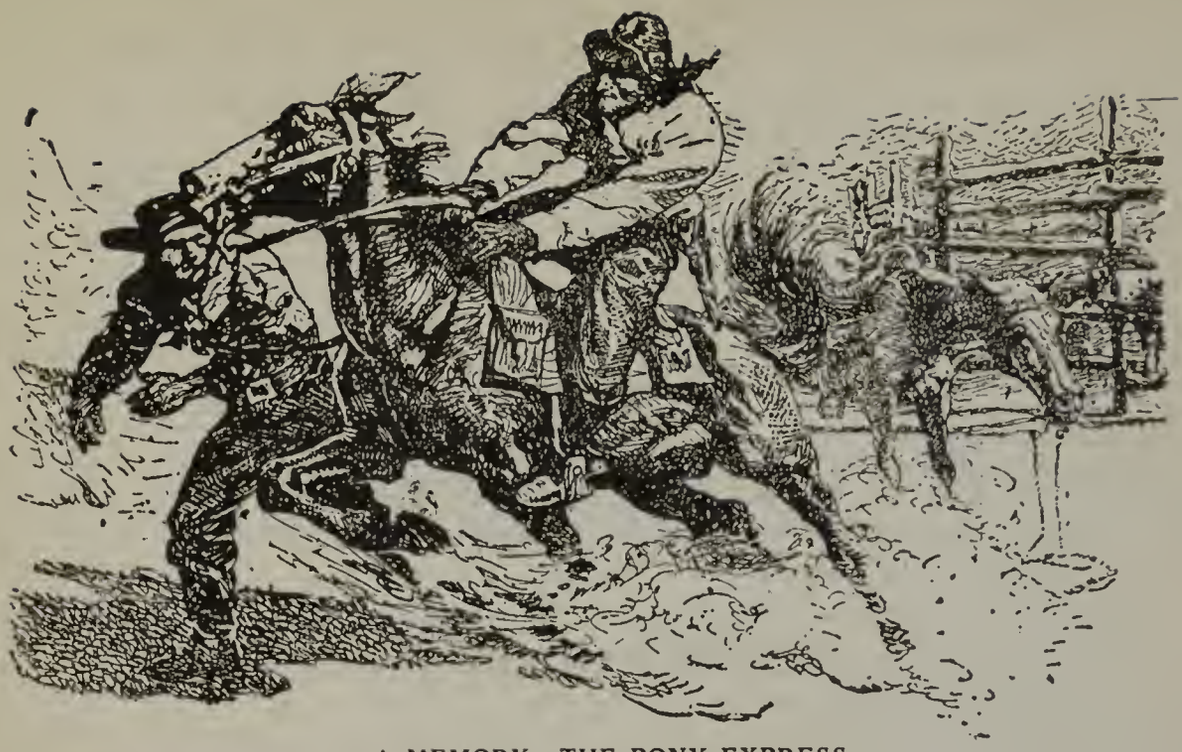
J. J. L.

## CALIFORNIA BOYCOTT IN CANADA

The Swift Current, Sask., Canada, branch of 110, passed a motion to boycott all California-made goods and movies throughout Canada.

From Regina, Sask., come reports that there will be a long run of threshing in Canada this year. If you are looking for new fields try this part of the world. Sentiment was never better and most of the boys will be able to pick up between $200 and $300. Delegates are badly needed.

No. 110 is going into Illinois. At Mattoon there is a demand for men to cut broom corn for a radius of 30 miles.



A MEMORY—THE PONY EXPRESS

# The West is Dead

By RALPH CHAPLIN

WHAT path is left for you to tread
When hunger-wolves are slinking near—
Do you not know the West is dead?

The "blanket-stiff" now packs his bed
Along the trails of yesteryear—
What path is left for you to tread?

Your fathers, golden sunset led
To virgin prairies wide and clear—
Do you not know the West is dead?

Now dismal cities rise instead
And freedom is not there nor here—
What path is left for you to tread?

Your fathers' world, for which they bled,
Is fenced and settled far and near—
Do you not know the West is dead?

Your fathers gained a crust of bread,,
Their bones bleach on the lost frontier;
What path is left for you to tread—
Do you not know the West is dead?

# The New, The Living West!

THE West—the old West—is sure dead. With electric trains crossing the Rockies and 'Frisco looking towards the Orient for the commerce that will make it an even greater port than New York and cause a thousand factories to bloom along the Pacific Coast where only one bloomed before, —with the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company at Pueblo reading the Steel Trust lectures on 8-hour day efficiency and production and St. Louis becoming the great open shop of manufacture for, and commerce into, Mexico,—with the farmers of the great prairies "bumming" the country as "auto tramps" or filling the factories of the Mid-Continent cities with workers by the millions, we'll say the West, as formerly known, is dead—deader, in fact, than a collection of tombstones in a cemetery. The performance that was put on the other day, in which the old pony express was re-enacted, is simply a reminder that a New West has come, and come to stay.

No more will the pioneers of the West cross the plains in "covered wagons," or in "prairie schooners," as they were once more poetically called. The present-day pioneers ride in boxcars, or side-door Pullmans, to use the modern poetic phrase. As their fathers starved and sacrificed to subdue a continent, so do they starve and sacrifice to subdue the expropriators and exploiters of that continent. Where their fathers rallied to the union standard to abolish chattel slavery, they rally to the union standard to abolish wage slavery. And where their fathers labored to build a political democracy, they labor to supplement their work with an industrial democracy.

# Make Whole Continent 110's Jurisdiction

AGRICULTURAL Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 is demonstrating its capacity to adapt itself to changed conditions and thrive. Its harvest drive met a set-back in poor crop conditions in North Dakota. Instead of lying down and permitting the fact to crush it, 110 is now enlarging its perspective and taking in the whole continent as its jurisdiction. It is now seen that expending all efforts practically in the middle west is poor policy.

Accordingly, the organization looks to Montana and Washington, where crops are good and the harvest plentiful, to recover lost ground. At the same time, it is developing organization in Canada, where a good crop and a strong sentiment for the I. W. W. prevail. Two traveling delegates are now in Canada which offers 110 the greatest opportunity since 1915.

The Pacific coast for the winter is also kept in mind. There will be a conference of 110 members at Stockton, California, October 6, 1923.

Bulletin No. 34 says:

**"We must rise to the conception that the only bounds to our activities are the two oceans and the Gulf of Mexico; that wherever men work in field, garden, orchard, threshing or packing shed, there is an opening for us, and a need and a demand for the A. W. I. U. When our members see from this viewpoint and in this manner, we shall move forward to really successful achievement."**

# 1,000,000 Migratory Workers

THERE is considerable attention being paid to the migratory workers just now. This is the season of the year when migratory workers are in demand, which may account for the interest displayed. Labor is always important, when needed. ..**The World Tomorrow** devotes its entire Sept. issue to the migratory workers. From it, the following facts and figures are transcribed:—

There are 1,000,000 migratory workers in this country. They hew forests, build and repair the railroads, tunnel mountains and bridge ravines. They harvest wheat in the fall and cut the ice in the winter. They operate the steamers of the Great Lakes. No great engineering project can be built without their aid. In brief, migratory workers are most prevalent in the lumber, railroad and general construction, agriculture, ice and marine transportation industries. They are drawn from the crowded slave markets of the city.

The migratory worker is a hobo, but he is not a tramp nor a bum. A tramp is a stationary non-worker. The tramp beats his way from place to place without labor. The bum stays in one place, and makes booze his aim in life. The hobo lives on his work mainly; resorting only to charity when down and out. He is the foundation of industry.

Migratory, or mobile labor, is a reserve force, that can be rushed to any point where labor is needed. The army of the hobo is the reserve army of industry; and on its proper treatment depends civilization.

The migratory worker is a manifestation of the desire for change and travel. Working his way from town to town and job to job, he is like the rolling stone that acquires a polish; and the roving bee that brings home the honey—figuratively speaking.

Comparison is made between the drummer and the hobo to the disadvantage of the former. The drummer is a migratory worker, too. He not only produces nothing, but he is a heavy burden on those who do produce. He travels in luxury. For him there are hotels, Pullmans and obsequious porters and clerks. The hobo, tho a producer, rides in box cars, or on the rods and buffers. He is the prey of scissor-bill constables and grafting sheriffs and the convict-lumber camp is often his lot.

## ORGANIZING FARMERS IN I. W. W.

THERE is a healthy self-examination now going on in the I. W. W. It is confined, for one thing, to finding out what's the matter with the I. W. W., if anything. That is, it is intent on improvement and development.

The results can only be beneficial. In fact, they are beneficial already. This is shown in a recent issue of The Industrial Worker, wherein H. Thomas tells how he extended the I. W. W. propaganda to farmers, meaning thereby steady farm hands and working men in the small towns also.

He found them disposed at first to think the I. W. W. is "organized to commit anything from arson to murder". But talks and literature later won them to state that "the principles of the I. W. W. are all right." Thomas says: "I lined up several steady farm hands who at first told me that they would have nothing to do with the I. W. W. but changed their minds after reading our literature."

That's the way to build up the I. W. W. Don't think the "scissorbill" is without brains or ambition for a better society. Do not believe the same of the steady worker, either. Organize all of them.

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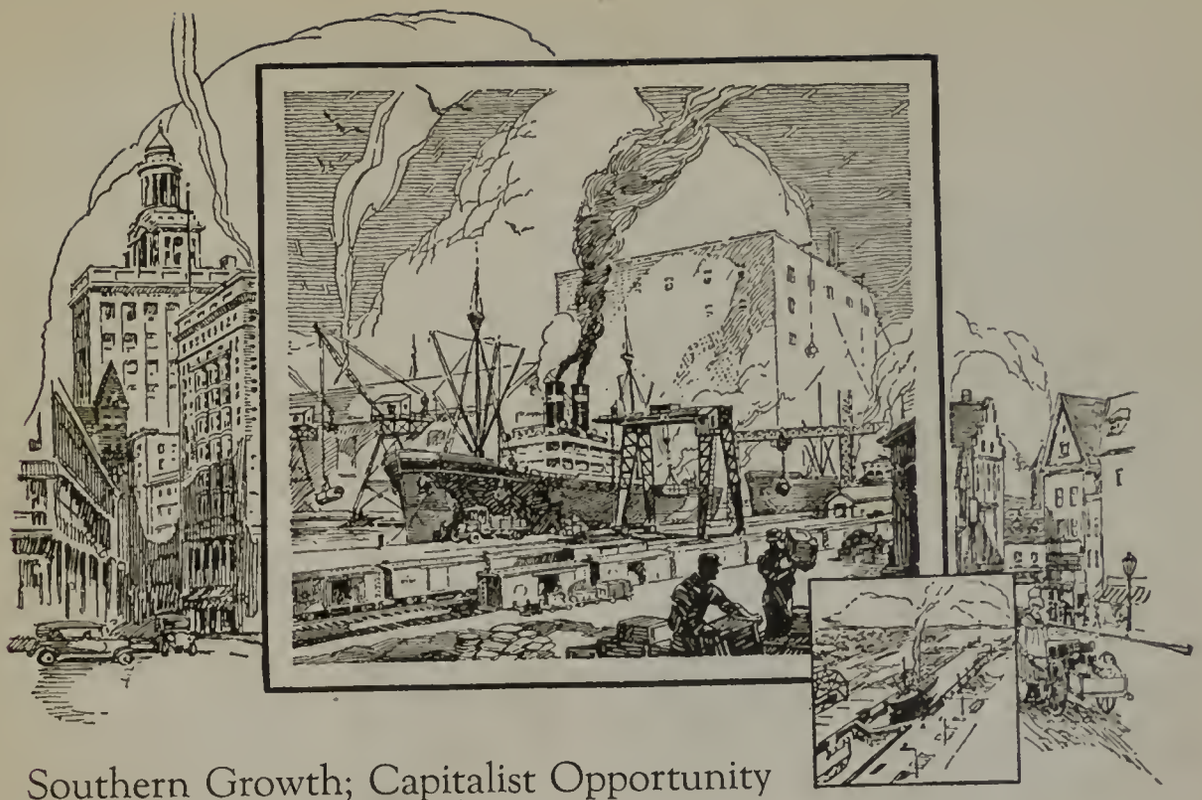
**SUBSCRIBE FOR THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER. $2 A YEAR; $1 SIX MONTHS.**



## Southern Growth; Capitalist Opportunity

THE South is being pushed by mortgage and securities companies as a good field for investment. Especially is the growth of Southern cities put forward as offering great investment opportunities .

New Orleans is particularly represented as a good example. In the last 15 years, exports and imports have increased at the rate of 10 per cent a year, until now New Orleans is America's second port. During the last 10 years, the value of manufactured products has increased 165 per cent. The city has grown to a population of more than 400,000 and is now recognized as a distributing center for Central and South America.

A new era in Southern commerce began May 5, 1923 when the New Orleans Inner Harbor-Navigation Canal was formally opened. This project, costing more than $20,000,000, is proclaimed the forerunner of a great industrial movement and the first step in the construction of a canal from New Orleans to the sea.

What this Southern development of capitalism means to labor may be judged by the negro exodus; also by the article on Labor Hells in Dixie printed elsewhere in this issue. It's not all gold for labor that glitters in mortgage companies' prospectuses, though it means big investment returns for capital. The above picture is reproduced from one of these prospectuses.

# Labor Hells in Dixie

By J. W. LEIGH

TEN thousand bread-winners, men and women, the majority of whom are advocates of the so-called American plan, are walking the streets of New Orleans in a vain quest for bread, while in other sections of the state of Louisiana the condition is more pitiful, which proves conclusively that a labor surplus exists, despite reports to the contrary.

True, many are employed, some at standard wages, due to union conditions, but the great majority of laborers, both skilled and unskilled, have not yet seen the light which points the way to industrial freedom and better living conditions for themselves, their families, and the millions who will live after them. Extensive surveys made from the office of the state labor commissioner show that no labor shortage exists, or has existed for some time past, and that even during the strenuous times of the world war that labor could be obtained in any industry in the state of Louisiana, provided a living wage was paid.

### Imported Labor Failure

Importation of Mexican and Porto Rican labor has proved a failure for many reasons, principal of which being that the foreigner was too light for the heavy work demanded of him, the climate, and last but not least, insanitary quarters and practically a lower rate of wage than that paid in his

native land, when living conditions were taken into consideration.

### Square Deal for Negro

Give the negro a fair, square deal and he is no longer a liability but an asset. He knows the South, and the South knows him; but under the conditions prevailing in Louisiana at the present time he cannot be blamed for the migration to the north and east. On the plantations whole families are employed, and the parents are urged to raise still larger families, and are assisted in many cases by rascally overseers to pay attention to the young female as soon as she reaches the age of child-bearing, for the more children on the place, the smaller the pay-roll, for all must work, from the child to the aged grandmother. Quarters provided for these black humans in the South would be rejected by the swine of a respectable northern farmer.

### The Debt System

Stores are established on the "place", and the help compelled to purchase at prices one hundred per cent above wholesale; at the end of the season they are in debt to the planter, and must remain as none will engage help until they are clear of the debt owed their former employer. They are kept continually in debt. Wages for adults range from eighty cents to one dollar a day, with fifteen cents a day for children and the infirm.

### 100 Per Cent "Americanism"

In the lumber camps, which employ 90 per cent negro labor, and in the Murder City of Bogalusa, wages average $1.50 for ten hours. In this hell hole of the South the Great Southern Lumber Company has 3,000 human beings on its pay roll as laborers, and probably 500 spies and gun men engaged ostensibly in other lines of industry. Workers are forbidden to organize, and at the entrance to the city on either side of the railroad station, these words greet the traveler: "Agitators, Bolsheviks, and I. W. W. do not stop; keep on going. This is a 100 per cent American city".

Here in 1914 six members of organized labor were murdered by the Loyalty League composed of "citizens", and twice has the grand jury refused to indict those accused of complicity, altho 80 witnesses testified that thirteen men, whom they identified were members of the mob. It is also claimed that at the last grand jury hearing two of the murderers sat on the jury, with the consent of the attorney general of the state and the prosecuting attorney of the parish. Today the Mexican consul is investigating a charge of peonage in that city, wherein it is charged that fifty Mexicans were held in a stockade, worked from dawn till dark, fed on spoiled food, and refused any compensation.

### A State of Child Workers

Louisiana is a state of child workers, from the cotton and sugar fields in the rural districts, to the mills, factories and stores in the cities. The working hours in the city factories are 60 a week, while on the farms and plantations, from sun-up till sundown. As a matter of fact, there remains only a few states where chidren are worked as long hours as in Louisiana. No relief can be expected from the legislature, which is controlled by corporate interests and crooked politicians. Many factories, when employing women, girls and children seek to evade the compensation law by compelling each employe to sign a statement absolving the factory from all blame in case of accident, fatal or otherwise.

### State Federation Non-Constructive

Labor conditions in the state of Louisiana are in a deplorable state, due in a measure to the inactive work of the State Federation of Labor of which nothing is heard of only once a year when that body meets in annual session, passes innumerable resolutions, fight among themselves, banquets and adjourns. No constructive work in organizing the workers of the state is on record, while in the city of New Orleans factional fights which are retarding the movement are a common occurrence.

The Central Trades and Labor Council is not a representative body of labor—it is political and is dominated by politicians, who tho carrying cards in their respective crafts, have not done an honest day's work in the past ten years or over, while the Building Trades Council is a separate and independent body functioning for their own benefit exclusively.

### Organizers Lacking

Organizers, devoting their time to the upbuilding of the labor movement in this section are an unknown quantity. Of the forty-eight states Louisiana carries the least resistance when an open shop drive is precipitated, because in cases of adversity, union men of Louisiana will not stand together against the common enemy. I do not mean that they will disregard their obligations, but the agitator in the pay of the corporations advocates laxity and "talks" securing of additional members for the various craft unions in time of peace with the argument that "there is not enough work for us now, without taking in any more."

### Negro Organization Zero.

While no law exists against the organization of the negro into trades unions the percentage is practically the zero mark, owing to propaganda spread by the manufacturers that if the negro is organized he will demand the ballot and equality. Equality is a tender spot in the make-up of the Southerner, and it is used to whip the Southern white workman into subjection. The negro, when organized, makes an admirable union man and very few are the cases reported where he has deliberately "scabbed".

Craft unionism is fast crumbling owing to the fact that one set of workmen scabs on the other in the same factory and one organiaztion is used to whip the other.

Industrial unionism is new in this section and the last strike of the marine transport workers showed the public that destruction of property was not a cardinal principle, but in its stead solidarity brought victory out of pitiable defeat.

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**BOOST THE I. W. W.**

# Why Are We Discontented?

THIS question is asked by the leading Chicago newspaper, which claims to be the world's greatest. It thinks discontent amid the prevailing prosperity paradoxical, and says so. Picturing the country as enjoying unusual well-being it declares:—

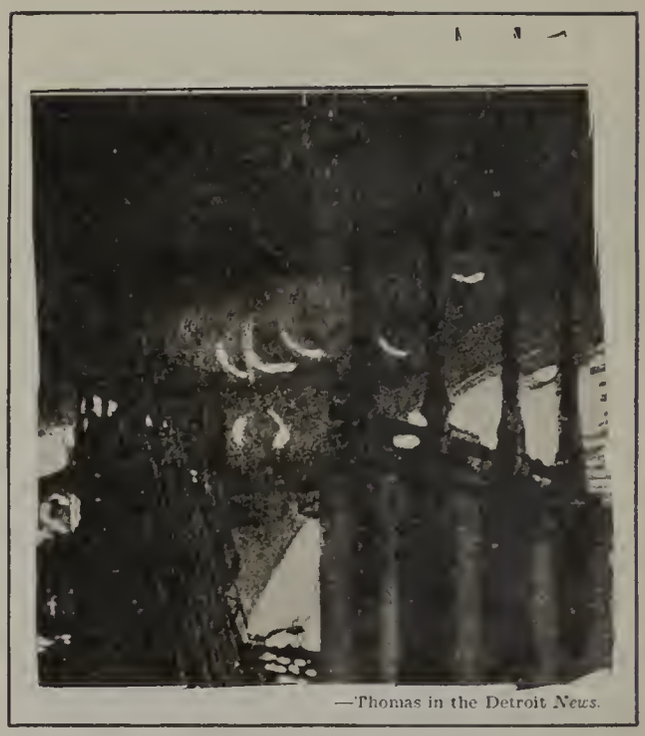
"In spite of all this there runs through American society a current of disquiet and discontent. None seems at peace. None seems satisfied. None seems to have kept the confident optimism that was the outstanding characteristic temperament for generations. There is something radically wrong with us."

This is sure a candid acknowledgment of fact, from quarters where strenuous denial has heretofore been the rule. But, as usual, this acknowledgement is simply made in order to avoid the real significance of the facts that cause it to be made. We are told that the cause of discontent is to be found in the lack of altruism and a want of the spirit of Christ. In other words, we are discontented because we are not spiritual.

Considering the source, which upholds the worst in modern civilization, this preachment sounds sardonic, nay, diabolical. Besides, it's neither new nor original. It's a stock answer to every grave question. And we've been getting it for over two thousand years and its greatest preachers are those who are least guided by it. This preachment, to the unsophisticated, is merely a mystical refuge from practical necessity. To the knaves in control of the country, it's a screen behind which to commit more depredations on mankind. Why are we discontented? The question will not down, despite the hypocritical, sanctimonious answer given by the "world's greatest newspaper".

Before answering the question ourselves, let us admit, only for argument's sake, however, that we are in the midst of a period of material well-being, and that therefore there should be no discontent. But, how long is this period going to last? And what is likely to follow it?

Babson tells us that every upward movement following a war readjustment is succeeded by declines. He also says we are now entering the second decline since the world-war. Will it be followed by another deflation, like that of 1920? Will some two million more farmers be forced to the wall? Will labor suffer another 30 per cent reduction in wages and another 25 to



—Thomas in the Detroit *News*.

30 per cent reduction in employment? (National Bureau of Economic Research figures, depression of 1920). It is this Damocles' sword of business cycles that is hanging over our heads that makes us discontented. It makes prosperity look simply like a "come-on" with which to entrap us and leave us fleeced and "broke" in the long run.

But there are deeper and more profound reasons still than economic insecurity for our disquiet and discontent. We are on the threshold of a new era—an era of giant industrialism and imperialism. As a result, we face new conditions full of threatening possibilities. We are fearful of a vague something, we know not what; plainly, we are frightened. For already, in the late world war, has the steel of industrialism and imperialism entered the American soul. It likes it not. It has grim misgivings as to its ultimate value and outcome.

This, we believe, will account for America's brutal cruelty to political prisoners, its revolutionary nightmares, its loss of optimism, and its ominous undercurrents of disquiet and discontent. The future looks dark and foreboding. So why smile? Merely for the sake of Coueism, Christian Science, or Auld Lang Syne?

Let us review the details of present day conditions as they bear on the subject in hand, and the following facts will be conspicuous:—

1. The co-ordination of industrial capital into a giant combination to exploit the world. This is effected by forming manufacturers' associations according to industry and uniting them all into national bod-

[redacted]

the supreme importance of the workers in all industries, they are deprived of their own organizations and have no voice in the redress of grievances or in constructive management, except such as is permitted to them, or directed for them collectively, by the capitalists and financiers in control of the combinations by which they are both employed and enslaved.

In other words, modern American industrialism demands, not only the uprooting of large numbers of farmers from the soil, but also the complete surrender of every vestige of independence and association by the workers in order that the masters of coordinated capital, may have immense armies of servile slaves—Robots—regimentized and drilled for the successful invasion of the markets. In the light of American tradition, with its extreme individualism, is there any wonder then that there is so much disquiet and discontent and that none are at peace or satisfied? What does Chicago's leading newspaper expect, the erection of such a colossal tyranny, without any manifestations of revolt at all from a traditionally brave and free people?

But let's proceed. We have only been examining the ground work of this new era. Let's now take a look at the superstructure; viz.,

2. The possibilities of war, on a worse scale than ever recorded before. An America embarking on world conquest, economically and commercially, will become involved in world-problems and solutions. That is already the case. It will be more so the case tomorrow and the following day. Shipping hundreds of millions in commodities abroad annually, exporting capital in tens of billions periodically, America will become, willy nilly, a combatant, ever pushing and elbowing its way where others are also pushing and elbowing, too, in the determination to rise supreme and survive.

Once America went abroad to save democracy. Some day it may have to go abroad to save its trade, its billions and itself. Already is there talk of arraying a United States of Europe against the United States of America. America knows all this. It doesn't like the prospects. It fears that the next war may involve, not only its own undoing, but that of so-called Christendom also.

America already has had a disagreeable taste of the whole bloody business in the late world war. That was enough. It has since tried to withdraw into its one-time splendid isolation; but without avail. How can it? It must expand in outlets or else stew in its own economic fat, or else get rid of industrialism as now carried on by paying labor all that it produces and enabling it to buy back the same!

Do you wonder then that America, facing another depression, together with increased loss of independence and association and more war, though wealthy, is unhappy? Do you wonder that, in the face of all this, America, though prosperous, is disquieted and discontented, with none at peace or satisfied? We don't.

But let's go on still another story upward in the superstructure of American industrialism. There we will find the crowning infamy of all, namely, the greatest outrage against traditional American democracy and republicanism ever perpetrated, viz.,

3. The danger of what Glenn Frank so ably calls "the dictatorship of the reactionary". This latter is being boldly advocated in this country. Mr. Julius Barnes, head of the U. S. Chambers of Commerce, Judge Elbert H. Gary, notorious Steel Trust head, and other honorable gentlemen have dined with the Italian dictator, Mussolini, and have extolled his strong arm virtues ever since. They, like the Chicago Tribune, think his "iron hand" is needed to guide democratic and republican America to a place of safety **beyond** giant industrialism and imperialistic wars. They talk Christ, quote the Bible, but bank on the Mussolini type of "Statesman".

But they are not sure about this dictatorship business. They are not sure about

(Continued on Page 25.)

# Organizing in Steel

**What Are the Steel Workers Thinking About, and What Effect Will Their Thoughts Have On The Labor Movement?**

By FRED W. BOWERMAN

WE attempt to sit on the narrow, crowded side seat of a jerky, bob-tailed street car, which carries its pushing and tugging load of humanity from the hill to the mills and back again. By bob-tailed, I mean our car has one small door up front, with one man, who acts as the "crew," motorman conductor and all. The car also acts as a teeter-totter upon its one small truck and gives you a ride up and down as well as ahead and backwards. The "crew" calls out "Twenty-ninth" and your fellow occupants rise as if by command and shoving, pushing, pass out that one single front door. Their places are quickly filled by those waiting to get on and the car is again soon on its way. Those who left and those who have just entered bear the same general appearance as to overalls, dinner-buckets, dress and manners; with the exception that the ones entering look more fatigued than those who left.

I ask my seatmate, "What works was that?" and he answers, "The tube mill," and adds "six thousand working there. They promised us the eight hour day back in August but we 'aint saw it yet." You then begin to understand why those who have just boarded the car after finishing the twelve hour grind look less fresh than those who left.

Out of the window to the right your view meets the muddy Ohio, with its ferry-boats and bridges. On either bank, up and down, as far as the eye can reach, are seen the steel mill stacks, which pour out those great black clouds, darkening the sky, and you know that America is once more suffering from Prosperity. You also know that that prosperity is being made possible, under the black roofs of thousands of steel mills; where the tens of thousands of steel workers are working twelve hours out of every twenty-four.

During the day those clouds, and by night, that huge, red, devilish glare lighting the sky, informs you that thousands are tugging, pulling and sweating for the great Frankenstein, the steel corporation.

Many of your fellow passengers are either sleeping in their seats or on their straps, to which they cling as our car jerks slowly along. I ask my seatmate, "Got the eight hour day here yet?" and he replies, "Not in a damn mill. They claim they can't get the men, but that's the bull. It's the low wages and rotten conditions that's keeping the men away from the mills. There's lots of men to man the mills if they would only offer a decent wage and cut out the seven-day week stuff."

And he, in turn, asks me, "How'd you like to do the twenty-four hour trick every other week??"

I answered with a shake of my head, and further inquire, "Then it's a fact that the steel industry is not being placed on an eight hour basis?"

**"Why, of course it's not; and there's a lot of us that don't want it, if it's going to come over the same route it did in department eight this spring. Over there they used to have four men to the furnace and two to the ashes; but after they got the eight hours, two were taken off the furnace and one off the ashes, and the company wanted the three men to do as much in eight hours as six used to do in twelve. That's the kind of an eight hour day we're not in a hurry for."**

I then realized that the Judge was partly correct when he said that his workers preferred the twelve hour day, the only thing he neglected to mention was the kind of an eight hour day they opposed.

After conversing with a few other steel slaves, I began to realize that the Judge, the Capitalist Press or any one else was not going to fool the workers into the idea that they will get the eight hour day on a silver platter.

If you inquire further among the steel workers

you will also discover that a very respectable number of them know that their only hope lies in organization and also are awake to the fact that it must be the correct kind of organization, the I. W. W. kind. When you talk to them about the eight hour day and better things, as if the steel mill owners were going to give it to them, you are met with a look of contempt. They look at you as if the jokes sprung on them by the steel trust were not enough and you were trying to rub it in. But when you talk about these things from the angle of organization you receive a ready ear and response.

A few days later I was talking to a group of steel workers in a small Ohio steel and coal center, and one, in relating about his search for a job, told of refusing five different jobs at the mills due to the forty-five cents offered, and added, "What's the use of taking a job with them fellows at forty-five cents an hour and take the risk of losing a hand or an eye?"

Upon inquiry, I learned that five had been killed in the mill during the past week, besides the many accidents which took place. The company never allowed a full report of any accidents to leave the mill; and, in many instances when a worker is killed the news is not allowed to get out for several hours later unless it is brought out underground.

**During one accident when four were killed in one day the women folks crowded the mill gates to learn if death had overtaken any of their family. They were held back at the gate and four reporters were arrested by the guards for attempting to ascertain how many and the names of those killed. It was late that evening before the families of those who had been struck by death were informed of the names of those killed. As one of the injured men from his hospital cot said, "You know, we workers are not supposed to give out any news regarding accidents in the mills, and if we do we take the chance of being discharged."**

Only the steel workers realize just what the word CONDITIONS means. So when you talk about wages, hours and conditions to steel workers, it is the issue of conditions they are interested in most of all. It is the CONDITIONS which Gary is attempting to impose on the steel workers that are bringing about new thoughts, thoughts that will lead to action.

It has been the oppression of the steel trust that has forced the workers to take things into their own hands. At many points the workers in the mills have left their jobs in demand for the eight hour day. **There have been at least three hundred walkouts in the steel industry at different points this year and this shows the steel workers have begun to take matters into their own hands.** These strikes usually developed out of the dissatisfaction existing regarding the long hours and small pay. And yet some people think that the Judge is going to give the eight hour day to the steel workers out of the goodness of his heart. The steel trust is modifying its labor program in compliance with the ever-growing demands of the rebellious steel workers, who have lost all faith in **Garyism** and begin to realize that the steel mills are HELL; let loose on earth.

Going further into the investigation of the steel workers' turn toward unonism, I found that they realize that the new unionism in the steel industry must be the One Big Union kind. At the same time, I found the capitalist press carrying notices to the effect that the A. F. of L. would attempt to organize the steel workers and had arranged a series of meetings for that purpose.

Attending one of these meetings which had been well advertised, I found twenty-three people in attendance, being addressed by six labor fakers. This was at Cleveland and I learned that twenty-one of those attending were delegates or officials from the Cleveland Federation locals. Adding this experience to the general expression of disgust I found among the steel workers toward the craft union idea, it could easily be seen that the Federation will not have any sailing at all in organizing the steel industry and they perhaps realize it by now.

At another meeting arranged by the Federation at Gary a worker asked one of the speakers, "How many unions do you intend to organize in this place?" and the speaker, realizing his listeners were smarter than he, answered in disgust, "About a thousand." Loud laughter greeted this rejoinder.

The steel workers have been taught by the hard school of experience and today to effect any organization among them there must be a program that unites them in One Big Union. Whether it be the Mexican, Slav, Italian, Rumanian, Bulgarian or any other steel worker, if he is interested in any labor movement you can make up your mind it is the O. B. U. Many people do not as yet realize the great undercurrent of revolt that is gathering in the ranks of the steel workers. At times, this feeling overflows in an unorganized strike, but, as a whole, the drift is in the right direction, toward industrial unionism. The oppression of the Steel Trust is going to result in something good, from the standpoint of organization. It is like the black cloud just before the sun shines. The steel workers are reading and thinking. Their thoughts, which point straight toward Industrial Organization, are going to turn the tide in the American Labor Movement.

From now on there will be strike after strike in the steel industry. Where the organization work has not been attended to and the union has not been built, of course, failure will result. But there will be many strikes between now and spring that will bring home the bacon. This will occur where there are I. W. W. members or branches to properly handle same. But regardless of the success or failure of these small strikes in the domain of steel, these outbreaks will lead to a general strike in the steel industry at a little later date. This will mean action in the eastern industry and ACTION is what is needed more than anything else now. And who can say that it will not be the opening wedge that will pry open the whole eastern industries for the Industrial Workers of the World?

STANDARD REFINERY AT CASPER, WYO.

# In The Domain of Standard Oil

THE Standard Oil Company of Indiana is not a weakling, or an ugly duckling, though you would conclude that there must be somethng wrong about it to hear its vociferous defense of itself. It reminds one of the lady in the Shakespearian play who was given to too much protesting. It solemnly declares to the world-at-large that in ten years it paid "to its employees in wages and salaries the gigantic sum of $335,000,000, while it paid to stockholders in cash dividends $74,000,000, and to the local and federal government in taxes, $79,-000,000.

Thus it must be apparent that the Standard Oil Co. is operated primarily for the benefit of employees and tax-collectors. Its stockholders are self-sacrificing citizens who live only to do labor and society good.

That Senator "Bob" La Follette claims a disproportionate amount of that $335,000,000 is "pulled down" by stockholding officials in salaries is not in evidence. Nor is there any record going to show stock-dividends paid in addition to cash dividends. As these stock dividends mean a greatly enhanced stock-ownership in the corporation, Standard Oil, of course, values them so lightly as not to mention them. It's only when somebody wants to tax them as income that they shout "Confiscation."

Oil companies always tell the truth. That is they tell as much of it as becomes the argument. They don't lie, but they don't tell all there is to know. Nor are they given to interpreting all the facts. They are a very disingenuous lot, to be sure.

### Real Strategy

Says the Standard Oil Company of Indiana:—"With the great bulk of production in the hands of competitors, and with their refining capacity far in excess of our own, it is apparent that the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) cannot dominate the market as arbitrarily to put the price of petroleum up or down." No; it's cheaper to let the little fellow do the gambling connected with drilling and production. Corral transportation and distribution; and what can the little fellow do? By controlling pipe lines and marketing facilities the Standard Oil can dictate prices to producers and refiners, while driving out the strongest by price wars. Competitors come and competitors go; but Standard Oil goes on stronger than ever.

The Standard Oil Company of Indiana is not a trust. It says so; and that establishes the fact. It says "monopoly is abhorrent to the American mind" and since it is "the American mind," why that settles it. That the Standard Oil Company of Indiana operates in only 10 mid-continent states and has only 27,000 employees, may be due to the fact

Oil Workers' Office, Casper, Wyo.

that it wants to leave some territory for the other Standard Oil Companies to operate in. And it cuts the prices only in order to help out governors intent on price reduction. That some of its competitors disappear in the course of this campaign, simply proves its non-trustified character. It's so small and insignificant that it wins out on that account.

### Paternalism

The Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, says it is not paternalistic in its treatment of employees. Not at all! It's simply despotic, that's all! Of course, it has the industrial relations play with its employees' council, that was forced on Standard Oil employees by John D. after the infamous massacre of miners' wives and children at Ludlow, Colo. "The Iron Heel"—that's the introduction to the employees' council. It's not paternalism; it's just plain hypocrisy and hell!

An employee of the Standard Oil refinery at Whiting, Ind., said to a Pioneer representative:

"No paternalism in the treatment of employees! That's to laugh! Why it's written all over the plant. It's evident from the time you step into its confines. Rules are evident all over the place. You are told what to eat and how to drink. Not too much meat in summer, nor too cold water. All this has its humorous phase, as I will show later on.

"The paternalism begins in the physical examination, after you enter the main gate. Prospective employees are hustled in large numbers into very cramped quarters four at a time, told to strip to the waist, given a hurried examination by a company doctor, mainly to see if the applicants are ruptured, given a slip stating their condition of health and sent back to the employment office for another examination as to their life history, antecedents, former places of employment, family life, relatives, references, etc. They are then hustled out to work with a 'nose-bag,' i. e. a lunch bag, full of stale sandwiches and fruit. Many do not stay, because of the nature of the work and the bad camp conditions.

### Industrial Relations

"The industrial relations plan, also, is one of paternalism. According to this plan employees elect representatives to an employees' council, which pas-

**Casper Oil Workers**

**Ditching Gang for Midwest**

ses on wages, hours, etc. But the results are almost always nil. They are vetoed by the higher ups.

"Recently, the guards employed to police the works, asked for a reduction of hours from twelve to 8 a day at 12 hours' pay. This request was not granted. The management 'felt' it was agreeable to granting the guards 8 hours a day, but the increase of hourly wages involved was flatly refused. The company did not consider them more valuable than fifty cents an hour. The guards were very much dissatisfied at the outcome. But having no union of their own they had no 'come-back'. However, such is their attitude, as a result of the company's refusal to their request, that they are now able to commiserate with the laborers in the company camp although they do not live in it themselves.

"The switchmen employed by the company also requested an increase in wages. They work 8 hours a shift, three shifts a day. This request was also turned down, as the company heads claimed that to grant it would make the cost of haulage too expensive to warrant the increase. The switchmen did not take the arrangement very well; though some of them, evidently familiar with the outcome of all of the council's efforts, did not expect anything else.

"Another petition that was taken up was one for increased bathing facilities. About 900 men in a certain department go off work at every shift. There is only bathing facilities for about 200. As many of the men are married and anxious to get to their families, minus all the grease and muck of the refinery, the delay robs them of considerable time away from home; hence the petition. But it suffered the same fate as the others. It was placed on file; which is practically the same thing.

"The employees' council idea originated in Colorado. As a result of the mine war in that state, young John D. Rockefeller hit on this briliant idea of doing away with labor unions and labor troubles, only to cause the latter to exist in suppressed forms. So that even the employees' council is paternalistic. It's supposed to be a plan beneficial to employees inaugurated by the company. The men did not inaugurate it.

### The Labor Camp

"Another paternalistic feature of the company is the laborers' camp, wherein 500 skilled and un-

skilled men are bedded and boarded by contractors acting directly under company supervision and in co-operation with the company. These 500 men are without any home-life, except such as that which the company provides. They live not in homes of their own, but in shacks provided by the company. These are practically like army barracks, only less favorably so, being, if anything inferior to them.

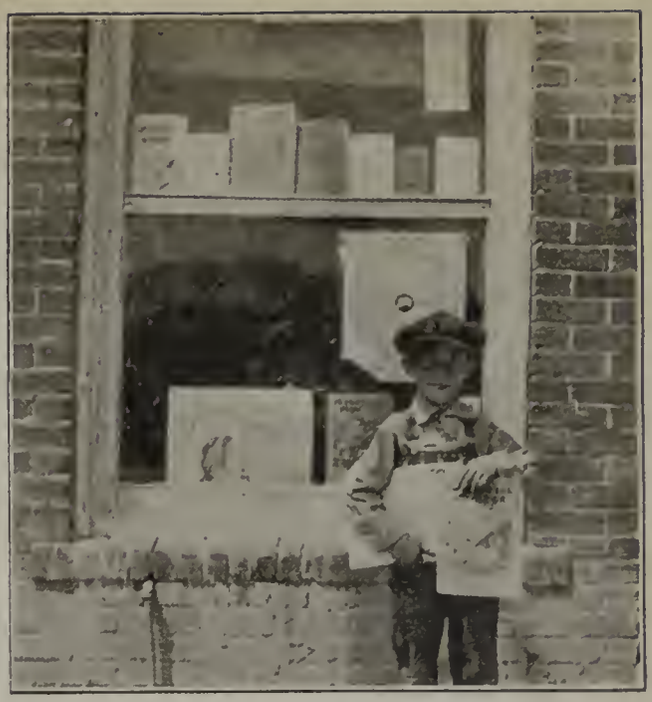
"These company shacks are frame buildings one story high, with concrete flooring and twelve double deck iron-frame bunks; twenty-four inmates to a shack. There is a big stove in each shack. Privacy in them is out of the question; and the method of living in vogue is not conducive to health, to say the least. Large numbers quit every day, making many complaints regarding the rotten food provided by the commissary boarding supply company in charge of the boarding and lodging of the workmen in the camp.

"Another reason for quitting is the general surroundings. Work in a refinery is of a peculiarly dirty nature. It is the dirt of oil and grease and pitch and tar. It is hard to get rid of; and very easy to acquire once you are in and about the works. And so this camp reflects the general surroundings in that it is dirty and greasy, reeking of oil and grime. And another thing about the works are the sharp, cutting acid fumes. These float into the windows and bunks of the camp, and right into the sleeper's lungs, causing sharp pains and making breathing anything but a pleasure. In fact, between a couple of hours a day getting rid of grime and breathing acid fumes at night, life in this Standard Oil camp is far from being an unmitigated joy such as the company organ would lead one to believe it is.

### Why Big Turn-Over?

"It might well be asked why the company goes to such great expense; and why it is content with such a big turn-over of labor annually, due to poor food and housing conditions? The answer is that 'it pays'. This labor employment system, once believed to be peculiarly western and associated with construction work mainly, is now going eastward. Steel, oil, and other corporations are now housing laborers in camps in their plants. They are creating conditions of life and morality that are not generally known. They are not animated by altruistic motives; as the contract labor camp system is one full of jobbery and graft. It also provides a means of guarding labor from unionism and creates caste divisions between the camp employees and the workers living in the cities outside of the plants .

Pipeline Laying in Wyoming



The Pioneer's Newsboy

"The company at Whiting, Ind., employs about 2,500 workers. Practically all of the work is out-of-doors, regardless of weather conditions.

### They Never Die

"Much stress is laid on 'the chances of promotion for the worker with ambition.' But it is mainly stress; for, as in politics, the higher-ups are a long time in migrating to the great land beyond. They stick with the big show, as the actors say. Numerous men walk round with 20 and 30 stars on their sleeves who are still in the very humble classification of laborer. Evidently 'industry and loyalty to the company' has got them nowhere, except a beginning.

"The Standard Oil worker is a company-fed and a company-groomed animal. And he looks it. Stolid, unacquainted with freedom and initiative, he regards the company club house and company enslavement as the height of ambition. Some few are wise to the whole game, which is simply to make suckers of them for the Standard Oil—Standard Oil suckers, that is what they feel is what the Standard Oil is trying to make of its employees. Such is not paternalism; oh, no, but something worse! It's degradation of the many, for the profit of the few."

It is asserted by other oil workers that the conditions at Whiting can be duplicated at Casper, Wyoming, and other points where the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana has a refinery and is a factor.

# The Story of a Proletarian Life

A Review By JUSTUS EBERT

It is always a pleasure to the writer to go back, in rccollection, to the year 1911, when a strike of 10,000 Italian shoeworkers ragcd in Brooklyn, N. Y., where he thcn lived and was acting as the voluntary correspondent for Solidarity. True, there is nothing pleasing about a strikc with its police brutalitics, arrests and imprisonments, its evictions, starvations, blacklists and general hardships. Strikes are a phase of economic war—the result of conflicting class interests in society—the outgrowths of a wrong social system, and to be condemned, together with the system that creates them, as such.

Still this strike had some very pleasing features. One was thc forensic ability of these obscure Italian shoeworkers. They were truly, on the whole, great orators. Though thc writer understood very little that was said, yet he, nevertheless, hung with breathless interest on every syllable uttered. What precision, poise, dignity, cloquence! It was truly superb! The classical orators of ancient Rome seemed to live once more in these humble wage slaves of Brooklyn's shoe hells! At least, such was the charm they threw over the writer he had no difficulty in making the analogy appear real unto himself, no matter how it may have affected others.

It is something of this same charm, this consciousness of a classical heritage, that seems to permeate Bartolomeo Vanzetti's, "The Story of a Proletarian Lifc.' The very first sentence, "My life cannot claim the dignity of an autobiography," possesses a modest, nay, a noble simplicity, that is re-enforced and re-emphasized in the words that immediately follow, to wit, "Nameless, in the crowd of nameless ones, I have merely caught and reflected a little of the light from that dynamic thought or ideal which is drawing humanity to better destinies." Could class-conscious obscurity be more eloquently voiced?

### The Story's The Thing

But the style is not the man, nor the book; it is only the dress that makes the essence of both interesting and absorbing. It is the story of a studious, industrious life in scarch of existence and ideality, ending, through rank injustice, in the shadow of the electric chair—"scheduled," in Vanzetti's own impressive words, "for prison and for dcath"—that counts.

Yct, a well known lawyer, familiar with the case, writes: "The Vanzetti story does not do justice to the man. He is a whole lot bigger than thc story."

Every informed workman knows how, on April 15th, 1920, at 3 p. m. a group of four or five men shot down Alexander Berardelli and

BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI

Frederic Parmenter who werc carrying the payroll of Slater and Morrill, at a point in front of the Rice and Hutchins factory. The attacking party escaped by automobile.

On May 5th, 1920 Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were arrested at Brockton, Mass. They were convicted of first degree murder on July 14, 1921. Five motions for new trial have been filed. They arc at the present time undecided. All of these motions involve alleged ncwly discovered evidence.

Every informed workman knows all of the foregoing. But they do not know what went before. They do not know the antecedents of Vanzetti, so full of privation, disillusionment, suffering and hardship as a worker, and so rich in study and aspiration as an idealist, as to make criminality an impossibility. As Alice Stone Blackwell says, in the Foreword:

"Vanzetti's autobiography****is a remarkable human document. Let the reader consider it with an open mind, and judge for himself whether it indicates a character of the criminal type."

The verdict must be in Vanzetti's favor. And with this we urge the reading of the littlc labor classic.

(Publishers, Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, Boston, Mass., Price 15 cents. Send for a copy.)

Pipelines Play Strategic Part in Oil Industry

# Coming Fuel and Transportation Trust

By EDWARD E. ANDERSEN

THE use of either of the two main fuels of industry, oil and coal, is determined largely by which is the nearer. Transportation charges enter heavily into this consideration. This is a country of great distances. It costs more to transport a ton of coal 500 miles than it costs to mine and load it. Transportation of oil in tank cars is also costly. Pipelines are being constructed to lower the cost of transporting oil.

One such pipeline is now under construction and will when finished connect the Midcontinent oil fields with the refineries near the Great Lakes. Another is surveyed and contracts for its construction have been let. It is to connect the Wyoming fields with the first mentioned pipeline, at Sugar Creek, Mo. Both of these lines are being built by the Standard Oil group.

### The Internal Struggle of Oil

Present competition with coal as a fuel, and within the oil industry for the control of oil demands independence in transportation problems. Although main pipelines are classified as common carriers and as such under the control of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, they are handy instruments in the internal warfare for control of oil.

In the olden days the Standard Oil gained advantage over its competitors by the use of railroad rebates. Today a more subtle method is used.

### The New Transformation

"Oil in storage" is taxable. But, by pumping the oil from one tank farm to another, "oil in storage" is transformed into "oil in transit," which is non-taxable. A fine distinction and a very profitable use of pipelines. It puts the independent producer under a handicap and acts as a lever to pry him loose from his oil. It provides the excuse for the refusal to accept his oil for transportation that "the line is busy," thereby forcing the little fellow to either ship by rail at a greater cost, sell his oil to the large purchasing companies, who own the pipelines or build storage tanks. To build storage tanks is costly, and without the facilities for transferring the oil held, from tank farm to tank farm, means the payment of taxes, that the large companies escape, and is suicidal for the little fellow. Hence he is forced to sell to the large purchasing companies at the current market price, however low, instead of holding his oil for a better price. The large companies, such as the Standard, in this manner gradually gain control of more and more oil.

### Fuel and Its Transportation Interlocked

In coal production, transportation and mining operations are so intertwined as to make it almost impossible to distinguish between mere railroad ownerships and mere mine ownerships. Fuel and the transportation thereof go hand in hand—coal and railways, oil and pipelines.

### Oil Versus Coal

Despite this surface division, railroads touching the oil fields are turning to oil as a fuel. About a year ago the M. K. and T. began to equip its locomotives with oil burners between Denison, Texas, and Parsons, Kansas, and began the use of oil in the shop boilers at Parsons. These changes caused the closing down and dismantling of nearly all mines of the Folsom-Morris Coal Co. at Lehigh, Oklahoma. The Rock Island has made contracts for burning fuel oil on all its lines in Arkansas, south of Little Rock, and in Louisiana, and is now figuring on installing oil burners on the Memphis-Amarillo line, and part of the mainline from Chicago to the Gulf. All these contracts concluded, the Rock Island will temporarily abandon its mines at Hartshorne, Oklahoma. This change from coal to oil has caused many independent mines also to be abandoned and dismantled.

### One Reason for Choosing Oil

The fuel oil taking the place of coal is the heavy residue oil left after the lighter oils, such as gasoline, kerosene and their by-products, have been extracted from the crude by the process of refining. It has lately been a drug upon the market and taxed the storage capacity of the refiners. The miners' strike of last year created a market for it. The railroads, although owning their own mines, were seriously handicapped by the lack of coal and turned wherever possible to oil. Furthermore, the workers in the oil industry are largely unorganized and consequently the possibility of a strike curtailing the supply of fuel looms less threatening in the oil industry than in the highly organized industry of coal mining. So, naturally, oil received the preference.

### Oil, Coal and Transportation Interlocked

This is a battle between coal and oil—but not on the financial side. It is worker against worker, with the miners getting punished for striking last summer. The Rockefeller interests of the Standard Oil own immense coal deposits in Colorado, and are elsewhere interested in railways and coal mines. The Royal Dutch Shell, an oil company considered the Standard Oil's most powerful competitor, is controlled by European capitalists who are also heavily interested in some of our eastern railroads; which again means that they are interested in coal, because railroading in the East goes hand in hand with coal mining.

### Another Reason

But the fact that the coal miners are organized and the oil workers as a whole are not, can hardly be taken as the sole indication for this change from coal to oil. No, the reason that the capitalists are pushing the sale of oil to the apparent detriment of coal is rather that the oil resources of the world are supposed to be limited and will give out before long. Greed demands that they, the large capitalists, get their share while the getting is good.

### The Mad Scramble for Oil

Oil is a fluid drawn from the depths of the Earth. It is found in pools beneath the roofs of so-called domes which appear along certain faults or cleavages of the Earth's crust. Like other fluids, it is constantly seeking its level. These pools are generally very irregularly shaped, often reaching miles one way and only short distances the other, with arms stretching out in this and that direction; no one knows where until found by the drill. It is at present guesswork to outline pools before drilling. Countless "dry holes" testify to that, and geologists are as often as not wrong in their recommendations. This leaves the holding of large tracts of oil lands for speculation and future exploitation a very hazardous investment. Witness governmental experience with the Naval Oil Reserve of California, which the Standard Oil and others are said to have pumped dry without trespassing upon government land; and the Tea Pot Dome Naval Reserve of Wyoming, where operators upon state land found a seepage, forcing the government to either drill or lease.

### Investments—Safe and Unsafe

Once oil is struck it is necesasry to keep on drilling and draining the pool quickly unless assurance is had that the company owning the lease controls all the land covering the pool, in which case the will may be capped and let alone until needed. On the other hand, coal being a solid, may be left in the ground until needed and actually improves with age. Coal offers a field for safe investment where properties may be acquired and held indefinitely without fear of poachers. Therefore, money gained in oil is invested in abandoned coal with an eye on the future.

### The Coming Consolidation

Hydro-electricity is yet in its infancy. Fuel is still basic as the driving force of industry. Today we speak of the Coal Trust, the Oil Trust and the Railroad Trust as separate; tomorrow we shall see the consolidated Fuel and Transportation Trust. It is here now in substance, but as yet not in name. Control of fuel and transportation means control of all industry thru means similar to those used in separating the independent oil producer from his oil. Control of industry means control of the nation with all it infers—a stranglehold upon liberty, upon our very lives.

Can the workers be said to have their weather eye as keenly peeled for the future as have the capitalist? Can the workers be said to be awake and aware of the situation and to the need of organizing in such a manner as to be able to cope with it when occasion demands it? Both answers may well be in the negative. The workers as a whole are apathetic, dormant, sound asleep! Only the few are awake and aware.

### Worker Against Worker

The capitalists are struggling among themselves for strategic positions, using workers' blood and bone in their battles. Oil workers are being used to grind miners into submission. Miners work two days a week, some not at all; oil workers work piecework and overtime. Some of these days we may expect a turn of fortune and see miners used to crush oil workers.

### Organization, Our Only Hope

We, the workers, must organize the One Big Union of all who work for our own immediate protection, for the protection of our fellow workers and for the protection of posterity as well. Only an all-encompassing union can hope to successfully combat an all-encompassing capitalism.

## A LOCOMOTIVE EVERY HOUR

The Baldwin Locomotive Works, in a recent record-breaking output, produced a locomotive every hour. This is characteristic. Production makes ever new records. But how about consumption? Does it increase in the same proportions? It sure does not; and the result will soon be more under-consumption, otherwise wrongly known as overproduction.

PART OF "HARRY COULBY'S TIN-STACK NAVY," SOO LOCKS

# The Lads on the Lakes

By CARD No. 416,897

FOR a number of years the I. W. W. has concerned itself chiefly with the migratory workers. Now, however, there are plans afoot to push the idea of industrial unionism into the big staple industries. As in any other enterprise, breaking new ground means new problems, new obstacles which must be overcome if the project is to be a successful one.

Every industry has problems peculiar to itself; problems not met with elsewhere—even separate departments of the same industry often have problems not to be met with in the others. A case in point is that branch of the marine transportation industry represented by the Great Lakes. Marine transportation taken as a whole has many phases peculiar to itself, but the Great Lakes present a difficulty not to be found in any other division of the marine industry.

### Migratory Type Does Not Predominate

When one looks the entire marine industry over, it becomes apparent that most of the men employed are of the migratory type. This statement may be questioned by those thinking of the dockworkers or longshoremen but as the men on the ships go, it is incontrovertible. The sailor has perhaps less to make him a homeguard than any other member of the world's working force. The great majority of them are without wife or family. His home is the pitching, rolling, swaying foc's'le of a deep water ship, bound today for the torrid ports which lie beneath the blistering sun of the tropics, and tomorrow is headed up the latitudes for some ice-bound, snow-shrouded harbor in the Arctic Circle. Today he may be wandering down the Bund in Shanghai; tomorrow he is sitting in Battery Park watching the transatlantic liners come and go; or perhaps his floating home has carried him in a different direction, and he may be getting his shore legs in Cape Town and wondering how far it is to the top of Table Mountain. Here, there, everywhere, any port and every port, torrid zone and arctic circle; bucking the great West wind around Cape Horn, lolling peacefully on deck beneath the Southern Cross on balmy nights in the South Pacific, or freezing in the crows' nest while his ship picks its way carefully thru the ice bergs in the North Atlantic in the spring months, the deep-sea sailor has always been the true rover. The nature of the marine transportation industry makes him so. When one turns to look at the sailors on the lakes, however, it soon becomes evident that they will not fit into the same category as their deep-sea fellow workers. Here are to be found men with an entirely different psychology. While the ocean sailor from the very nature of his life has a very proletarian outlook, a great many of the men on the lake boats have an entirely different one.

The men who labor on the deep water vessels are, for the most part, men who figure on putting in their entire lives aboard ship. They accept the sea as a life-long mistress (or master). Efforts to organize them in order to obtain shorter hours, better conditions and higher wages meet with their full approval and co-operation. They feel that they are on the sea to stay, and any proposal which will make their lot more agreeable is met with open arms. Many of them are no more class-conscious than other workers, but they can see an immediate betterment of their lives thru organization, so they are in favor of it.

### The Younger Set

This view of the matter is not taken by a great number of the men on the lakes, particularly by the younger ones. These youngsters form two groups which we will take up in turn. The first

group consists of thousands of young men about eighteen or nineteen years old. They are known as "summer sailors." Unlike the salt water sailors, they have no intention of making sailing their life work. They arrive in the lake ports, usually in the months of May and June, work two or three months and then step off the boats, never to return. Next year another bunch comes to take their places.

During the early months of navigation and thru the cold stormy weather of the fall, this group is conspicuous by its absence. These men are not interested in joining a union to better the conditions aboard the boats because they feel that in a short time those conditions will be matters of no importance to them. They will be driving a delivery truck for some grocer, jerking soda in some soft drink emporium, or in a large number of cases will be out on the football field of the school or college from which they came in the spring. Their attitude is "I should worry" about the sailors' conditions; I'll only be here a short time.

The second group of youngsters is just as much a problem as the first. These boys are natives of the towns situated along the Detroit and St. Clair rivers for the most part. From these towns come most of the captains, mates and engineers of the lake boats.

During the long winter months these officers are looked up to as the leading citizens of the towns, and naturally the younger element is filled with a desire to follow in their footsteps and become captains and chief engineers themselves. As these lads offer an unequalled opportunity to secure submissive slaves, the officers take them along in the spring to whatever port their boat has been lying in thru the winter, take them aboard, acquaint them with the various duties, impress on their minds the axiom of "work hard for the company and you will be captain or chief engineer yourself some day," and thus start them off on their maritime career.

When one takes the motives which actuate them into consideration, the unwillingness to organize which this group (almost as a whole) displays is not to be wondered at. These young men intend to make sailing their life work, but their ambition is not to help the men below the licensed grades better their conditions, but to step upwards themselves without any loss of time. They fear that entangling themselves with the sailors and firemen thru joining a union will militate against their advancement and consequently they turn a deaf ear to any efforts to line them up with their fellow workers for an attempt to secure concessions from the boss.

The thought that they are working against their CLASS interests never enters their heads; in fact, many of them never heard of the war of the classes. In this respect they are very much like the first mentioned group, the "summer sailors."

These two groups of young men present the biggest problem the organization must solve before the lakes can be successfully unionized. There are, of course, thousands of older men, many of them originally salt water sailors, but these men are easily organized. In fact, at the present writing the majority of them are carrying the red card of the M. T. W. I. U. No. 510 of the I. W. W. The few older men who are not yet lined up, are men who have carried craft union cards for years, only to be disillusioned thru the failure of this sort of organization and consesequently they are a trifle soured on labor organization. A little patience with them will enroll them with the rest of the older men.

Without the younger men, however, any organization on the lakes is foredoomed to failure and defeat. A way must be found to interest them.

After extensive observation, the writer is inclined to doubt the efficacy of the system used at present. Not because the system is not right, but because it is a trifle too advanced. This is one place where intensive class education is necessary before attempting organization. These youngsters are woefully ignorant of their true positions in society, and any effort to interest them in a working class organization is a good deal like putting a roof on a building before laying the foundation. When a delegate approaches one of them about organization, they are actually bewildered, they don't know what it's all about. They ask the most nonsensical questions and in other ways betray their total ignorance of the subject.

They need class education first—organization only when they have grasped the principles of the upward surge of the labor movement. Putting cards into their pockets, even if it could be done, would mean nothing. In their present state of mind they could not be depended on anyway. Class education then, is the prime requisite. This can be accomplished in two ways: First: thru the I. W. W. press; second, thru educational meetings in every port thru the summer months and in the towns from which the majority of the second mentioned groups come every spring. No great expenditure of money is necessary for the first part. Every week a certain number of newspapers and magazines, pamphlets and leaflets can be sold, or if necesary, given away at the dock gates in the different ports. (It would surprise the average reader how quickly these boys will buy any kind of reading matter). The second part of the program will require more effort and funds. Able speakers are necessary and full co-operation by the membership, in each port.

A few months of this sort of treatment is bound to interest a number of these lads, and when they are once interested it will not be a difficult matter to arrange a series of meetings in their home towns during the winter months.

One thing is certain: they must be educated; without taking preliminary educational steps, efforts to organize them will be futile, and without them any organization on the lakes will be a joke.

Let us educate them to help us defeat the Lake Carriers' Ass'n., as the L. C. A. once used them to defeat the workers. It will be poetic justice.

A PHASE IN THE LONDON DOCK STRIKE

S. S. Siam City, moored at Royal Victoria Dock, has its captain and officers, with clerks from the owners' city office, to discharge her. The picture shows Capt. Thomas and his colleagues at work.

**When the British longshoremen were on strike, captain and officers, members of the "Officers' Guild," donned overalls, and proceeded to scab on the dock workers. This is one more illustration of craft unionism at work. The scabbery of craft unionism in the marine industry must disappear before the One Big Union of all marine workers, the world over. The M. T. W. I. U. 510 is manifesting itself as the real union. Note the absence, in the picture, or any seamen or firemen.**

# Why Are We Discontented

(Continued from Page 14)

anything. Our masters of co-ordinated capital are divided. They can't agree on the League of Nations; or on an imperialist career. Some think America sufficient unto itself. Others don't. They fear immigration—"the revolutionary hordes of Europe" is their great danger. They do not know where future wars may lead, and so some favor disarmament and world's courts instead. They are in doubt, pessimistic. And as we take our national moods from them, through their press and movies, and have the same fears and rejoicing as they do, consequently, do you wonder that optimism has flown? With our great spiritual leaders talking both Christ and Mussolini, while keeping their airplanes tanked up and their eyes on the other fellows, what is there either inspiring or exalting about all this?

Why are we discontented? Why, shouldn't we be? What is there in present day industrialism and imperialism to get enthusiastic about? Its so-called good times alone?

There is only one ray of hope. And that is the organized labor power of the world's workers. With that succeeding the failure of the present social system, as appears inevitable, there will be something to get sanguine over. Otherwise, life is a fraud; a hideous apparition of one damn depression, industrial enslavement and futile war, with their worse dictatorships, after another.

Up with the world's workers!

# A Modern General Strike

(Continued from Page 4)

will explain what it is. It is a common red cider first, into this the bartender, sometimes the bar-lady, cunningly pours a shot of ether. At once the red cider changes to amber colored "smilo". This retails for ten to twenty-five cents and after two or more injections Dr. Jekyll becomes Mr. Hyde. I am not talking of grain alcohol, readers, but of "smilo," a brain crazing liquor peddled openly to migratory workers in the northwest.

The dehorners did good work in Portland, Aberdeen and Centralia. But the greatest excitement occurred in Seattle.

Seattle is ruled politically by one Edwin J. Brown. If you followed Socialist Party news some years ago you would read a lot about the soap boxing and office running of this red-party-card dentist. He was even arrested on one occasion. But the war came and Dr. Brown got behind the President and shone with patriotism and respectability. Some years later as an independent and liberal candidate for the office of mayor he landed on the municipal throne.

Now Seattle's police force, like other police forces, is not in business for its health. It protects "smilo," moonshine and gambling joints for a consideration. A policeman has just been arrested for alleged bootlegging but the **Seattle Union Record** published a long list of other police who ought to be—giving their names. Brown keeps these vice-protecting cops on the force for his own reasons.

### The Dehorn Committee

Came the strike and danger to the working class movement if the joints ran while the walkout was on. The dehorn committee waited on the Chief of Police and notified him that the "smilo" and marked card stuff must be off immediately. If he did not act they would. The chief promised to act but nothing happened.

**Same Old Act**

Then the dehorn committee took direct action. A group of husky lumberjacks, they were, and followed by a crowd estimated at from one to two thousand. I. W. W. traffic officers kept order. The band swept into the "poison area." Into First Avenue, Washington, Occidental and Main Streets, Second Avenue South, Jackson St. and all through the highways and byways of the district south of Yesler Way they marched. Proprietors become good boys when the committee gave its orders.

* * *

"I'll attend to the dehorners," shouted Mayor Brown angrily next day.

Back came the challenge of the chairman of the Seattle strike committee, asking him if he was lined up with the lawbreakers and declaring that the I. W. W. was going ahead with its clean up campaign. This challenge was nailed to the mast head of the **Industrial Worker.**

Brown quickly showed his line-up. Next evening a small army of police met the dehorn squad. Fifteen cops on motorcycles and more in special automobiles. "Dick's Place," next to Our House, the "Jackson Soft Drink Parlor" and other joints got protection and tried to go ahead with a business-as-usual campaign.

Two fellow workers got thirty days but they feel that the work was well done. Business is not as usual. Many workingmen who had been imbibing the poison obeyed the appeal of the dehorn squad and kept out. And the working people of Seattle saw that the much vilified I. W. W. was the only force aggressively fighting for decency.

### Back on the Job

Centralia out ten days transferred its strike to the job but called on other branches to stay out for that same length of time. Seattle followed suit.

Other branches are out as this is written.

The strike on the job, the slow down program is the next move when the strike off the job is over. Both mean punishing the boss for his refusal to release political prisoners. This punishment is most severe at this time because the demand for lumber was never keener, with the Japanese in the market heavily and prices going up.

Both forms of strike require energy, idealism and organization efficiency. This means tireless work on the part of the active members, willingness to be inconvenienced by frequent losses of the individual job and willingness to post themselves on the facts of their industry.

Just watch the northwest!

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**READ THE I. W. W. PRESS.**
**READ THE**
**INDUSTRIAL WORKER**
**INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY**
**INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**
**PUSH THE I. W. W. PRESS.**

THE BURIAL OF ABE SHOCKER

# A Visit to San Quentin Prison

By ARCHIE SINCLAIR

**"The vilest deeds like poison weeds**
**Bloom well in prison-air;**
**It is only what is good in Man**
**That wastes and withers there;**
**Pale Anguish keeps the heavy gate,**
**And the Warder is Despair."**

A NUMBER of fellow workers from San Francisco, visited the boys in Quentin last Saturday. The trip by ferry-boat, train and motor-bus is a pleasant one. It reminds one of a jaunt to a summer camp in the hills, save that on the trip over he sees sad-eyed women and grave-faced men going to see some loved one who has fallen foul of the law. The surrounding country is resplendent in its summer garb beneath the golden California sunshine. The grounds of the prison are kept trim and neat. The guards lounge around the entrance in their spick olive-drab uniforms. A prisoner flits silently by on some errand in conformity with the prison routine. Other prisoners busy themselves with garden and yard work. To the casual eye everything is peaceful and serene, but on closer observation one sees signs of harsh discipline on every hand. Fear is written on the faces of the prisoners; a furtive glance as the guard passes, a quick dropping of the eye-lids, the submissive and resigned air of the prisoners, all tell a tale of a prison system fit only for the dungeons of a Spanish Monastery during the Inquisition.

### In the Visitor's Room!

A guard signaled, and we entered the visitor's room. The prisoners entered by another door. Here loved ones greet each other; mothers embrace their sons, laughing and crying at the same time, wives and husbands cling to one another lovingly. Tom Mooney sits with his arm around his wife, who has visited him regularly thru dreary years of waiting. A Fellow Worker grasped me by the hand and seated himself on one side of a long table while I took a chair on the other side. A striking difference can be seen between the Wobblies and the rest of the prisoners in their attitude towards the guards. Instead of humility and resignation, so noticeable in the other prisoners, one sees in the Wobblies the personification of the indomitable spirit that has kept the I. W. W. alive through the dark days of the modern Inquisition. It is not bombast, it is not defiance to the prison rules. It is self-respect, and an innate sense of justice that commands the respect, not only of their fellow prisoners, but of their keepers.

### Their One Concern

The first question asked on seating yourself at the table, is:

"Well, Fellow Worker, how is the organization progressing?

This is the problem uppermost in the minds of all our men confined in San Quentin. They do not brood over their imprisonment, they do not indulge in self pity. Their only thought is to see the organization they love, live and thrive and flourish.

The conversation drifts to old times, you are asked where is this fellow worker, where that fellow worker has gone? Did you meet so-and-so, in your travels around the country? How is the I. U. 110 getting along in the harvest fields this year? Has I. U. 120 got job control in the lumber camps of the North-west yet? Are the construction "stiffs" lining up in 310? Never a word of complaint, never a thought of their own condition. They would rather talk of the organization in the half hour or so that they have to visit. The visitor must be a prosecuting attorney to get anything out of them relative to themselves.

"Oh! I'm getting along alright," is the inevitable answer, when asked how they manage to live in "Castle Despair".

"The food? Well, it is pretty rotten. The work is not so bad outside the jute mill. The mill is hell."

One gathers from what is said, that the jute mill must be terrible indeed.

### The Jute Mill Strike

In fact, so bad is the mill, that men prefer isolation on bread and water, to having their health wrecked in that iniquitous place. The inhuman conditions existing in the mill caused a strike among the members of the I. W. W. confined in Quentin a short time ago. The prison rules call for twelve months work in the mill by each prisoner before he can be assigned to other work. On several occasions members of the I. W. W. have been refused other work, upon completing their twelve month period in the mill. On such occasions a display of the solidarity of organized labor asserted itself. Several weeks ago a fellow worker upon being denied the change of work that was due him, refused to go into the mill and was thrown into the hole, a strike among the membership of the I. W. W. followed. They were put in isolation and kept there forty-two days on bread and water. This was the only means they had of protesting against the discrimination shown members of the I. W. W. Incidentally, this was an illustration that the slogan "An injury to one, is an injury to all", are not idle words. The strike was won; although some of the boys returned to the mill, the speed-up system was eliminated and has not been again put into effect.

### The Death of Abe Shocker

Among those who went on strike, at that time, was a fellow worker by the name of Abe Shocker. After coming out of solitary confinement, Fellow Worker Shocker was assigned to the dock to shovel coal. In his weakened condition he was unable to perform the task. Instead of sending him to the hospital, the guards in charge of the work had him again put into the hole. But he only stayed there a short time and was taken to the hospital for treatment. This was on Monday, on Wednesday morning he was again assigned to work; this time in the rock quarry. That evening he returned to his cell in a state of physical exhaustion. Not being able to perform the task assigned to him, and not wishing to embroil his fellow workers in another strike on his account, he preferred to take his own life rather than to submit any longer to the intolerable conditions prevailing in the prison. Wednesday night, he committed suicide by hanging himself with his bed clothing. A note explaining his act was found beside his dead body. The death of Fellow Worker Abe Shocker, tells all too plainly the story of life in San Quentin prison.

### Books Are Needed

During the conversation the writer had with Fellow Worker William Baker, the subject of books was discussed, and I found that the boys are in need of reading matter. They have read nearly everything that the prison affords. So, friends, if you can spare a few dimes, send along some good books. They must come direct from the publisher or from a book store and the name of the bookstore must be on the wrapper. This applies to the boys in Leavenworth as well as the ones in 'Quentin. In fact wherever our Class-War prisoners are they can always use some good books. In Leavenworth the books must come direct from the publishers. There are many more articles that the boys need, such as candy, fruit, tobacco, base balls and gloves, fountain pens, tooth brushes and paste, soap and bath towels, etc. It is against the prison rules to send these articles in, but if money is supplied they can procure them. The California Branch of the General Defense are supplying these needs, but must have your co-operation.

An automobile horn sounded, and the guards in charge of the visitors' room informed us that the stage to 'Frisco had arrived. Hurried good-byes were said. The boys turned into the gloomy prison, there to become once more numbers instead of human beings. They belong to the "subterranean brethren", who are forgotten, for the most part, by the great world outside.

### Poet's Words Are Too True

As we left the prison and inhaled the crisp sea air, a feeling of rage against the system that condemns men to penal servitude because they are Soldiers of Freedom welled up in me. How true are the words of the poet:

**"But this I know, that every law**
**That men have made for Man,**
**Since first Man took his brother's life,**
**And the sad world began,**
**But straws the wheat and saves the chaff**
**With a most evil fan.**
**This too I know—and wise it were**
**If each could know the same—**
**That every prison that men build**
**Is built with bricks of shame,**
**And bound with bars lest Christ should see**
**How men their brothers maim."**

On the return trip the sun did not seem to shine so brightly, as the cloud in my heart obscured its radiance. The grim walls of our penal institutions were before my eyes, behind whose shadows men are hidden whose only crime was that they preached the doctrine of industrial brotherhood. A vision arose, of the red brick walls of Leavenworth penitentiary, topped with turrets in which guards, armed with rifles, scowl down on the prisoners within. I could hear the slow stealthy tread of other guards atop of the grey stone walls of Walla Walla, Boise and Folsom. The vision fades; the scene shifts to the court house in Sacramento, where five men are on trial for violation of the Criminal Syndicalism law. The question arises, will they to go manacled to the state prison, to swell the ranks of our entombed fellow workers, who dared to think? Again the scene changes and I see the wan faces of other men, in the county jails, awaiting trial, on the same old charge—Criminal Syndicalism.

In Leavenworth, Kansas, there are approximately thirty-five men, who went to prison during the war hysteria, because they preached a message of industrial unionism to the workers of the United

# Immigration and National Development

By JAMES WILLIAMS, Able Seaman.

MR. ARTHUR BRISBANE, very able and very high salaried editor of the Hearst newspapers, makes the burning subject of immigration the topic of his leading editorial in the August 22nd issue of The Evening Journal.

Mr. Brisbane admits that his mental effusion in this instance has been inspired by a letter recently written by M. L. Vasser, to whom he graciously refers as "an earnest, and doubtless a first class workman."

Mr. Vasser, according to the noted editor, is "excited and annoyed; he thinks that keeping out immigrants will help workers, now here, get better wages."

In our humble opinion, however, it is the mighty corporation editor, not the "earnest, and doubtless very good workman," who is so madly "excited and annoyed" over the present phase of the perennial immigration problem.

At the outset of his astute argument, Mr. Brisbane attempts to floor us with the astounding, and oft-reiterated stock quotation that, at the beginning of our national history, when the population of the United States was four million inhabitants, or even less, that "the average pay was less than fifty cents a day, and only one man in the country was able to earn as much as a dollar a day the year around. That is FACT," exclaims the haughty editor, in accentuated type. "No theory about it."

Now we have some other FACTS of our own, that were not imparted to us at the leading universities where the millionaire dictator of economic theories has spent so much of his time.

In our judgment, Mr. Brisbane's arguments, not to quote him at length, are entirely too far-fetched and illogical, and utterly irrelevent and beside the issue as well.

There can be no logical or practical comparison drawn between the economic conditions existing in these United States at the close of the revolutionary period and those obtaining today.

At that time the exchange value of money was probably more than ten to one against what it is today. The fifty cents per day, therefore, was not so small as the Boss's editor would try to make us believe. Moreover, there was no great corporations, or vast industrial concerns to exploit labor and grind the faces of the poor. Agriculture, fishing and maritime commerce, constituted the principal industries of the country.

### Home Industry

Everybody could have access to the soil, and every houscholder could keep his own cow and pigs and chickens and cultivate his own cabbage patch. Every housewife had her own spinning wheel, and, perhaps, a hand loom, on which the women folks made homespun and sewed it into raiment for the whole family.

The field labor, in those days, was performed mainly by Negro slaves and white bondmen, who were also slaves in fact if not in name. There was, therefore, no pressing need of foreign immigration to develop the fundamental industries then available.

With the development of our railroad systems, the opening of our coal fields and mines, the establishment of immense manufacturing plants, which marked the evolution of the age of iron and steel, and the advancement of our new national era, together with the abolition of slavery, and the statutory inhibitions against white peonage, which resulted from the arbitrament of the sword after the Civil war,—then came the great and growing demand for foreign labor, skilled or unskilled, to man our ever growing national industries, and help develop our unknown natural resources.

### Organized Labor's Stand

It was at this period that, owing to the unlawful and corrupting methods adopted by the industrial barons in their efforts to exploit unsophisticated and illiterate immigrants that Organized Labor throughout the country was compelled, in self defense to institute its crusade for the reasonable restriction of surplus immigration that glutted the labor market, and threatened the country, at times with anarchy and bloodshed.

It is in defense of the poor immigrant, as well as in behalf of the American workman, that organized Labor speaks today in its protests against a reversion to the former status in the labor field when the great corporations were permitted to bring in swarms of helpless foreigners, in direct violation of the "Alien Contract Labor Laws," then extant, thus menacing the lives, health, morals and happiness of American workers, by forcing them to work for European wages, and accede to

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States. Walla Walla, Washington claims seventeen victims of the Class-War. Boise, Idaho has its quota of three Industrial Workers of the World, and four others awaiting trial on a C. S. charge. In California the number of Class-War victims is appalling. There are eighty-three in San Quentin, thirteen in Folsom, one in the reformatory, five on trial at Sacramento at the present time and over one hundred awaiting trial and pending appeal. The total in the earthquake state reaches almost two hundred and fifty. This does not include the many who have gone before, Ford and Suhr, Sacco and Vanzetti, Rangel and Kline, Tom Mooney and a host of others. It includes our so-called political prisoners and victims of this outrageous Criminal Syndicalism law.

Think of it, Fellow Workers! Three hundred men and over in the prison camps of the enemy! What is the answer to the Plutocracy of America? Agitate! Organize! Prepare! for the general strike for the release of all Class-War prisoners.

European conditions of life and labor, or even worse in many instances.

The present attitude of Organized Labor on the question of immigration, is inspired by dread, and not by prejudice, as all the apostles of Mammon are trying to make the world believe.

We are, all of us, either immigrants or the off-spring of older immigrants. Why, then, should we try to exclude our own families and fellow workers? Simply because we realize the conditions existing in the country, and would warn them against the consequences their coming is bound to incur upon themselves as well as others if they are permitted to arrive in overpowering numbers.

### National Greatness

We agree with Mr. Brisbane in his assertion that "A great country needs a great people, a BIG POPULATION," etc. But, we respectfully submit that the greatness of a nation does not consist in population alone, but in the greatness of its industrial opportunities. If we glut the labor market with millions of unemployed, for the sole benefit of the capitalists, we are simply driving the workers into serfdom, and the idlers into starvation, misery, discontent and crime.

We have had too many exhibitions of this kind during the past half century, to allow ourselves to be beguiled by a lot of well paid blatherskites and intellectual prostitutes, who sit in high places and presume to act as the national arbitrators of our national economic and industrial policies.

The man who never did a day's work in his life is hardly the safest one to dictate to Labor what it needs.

Mr. Brisbane refers to the tariff, which, he alleges, "we have been forced to put around our shores in order to protect our highly paid workingmen." It is hard to tell at this point in his essay, whether the great editor is deliberately lying, or trying to test his sense of humor on our credulity.

To the best of our recollection, information and belief, however, the various commercial tariffs existing under the U. S. statutes, were originally erected as barriers against the importation of foreign made goods in open competition with home manufacture. The tariff laws were enacted by Congress at the earnest and anxious behest of the manufacturers, and labor had nothing to say in the matter. But, far from protecting American labor from foreign competition, these laws had, in practice, exactly a contrary result as their promoters intended they should have.

### Foreign Labor

For, as soon as the tariff schedules had been safely established in the Federal Statute Books, the business interests proceeded to import hundreds of thousands of unsuspecting immigrants to enter their factories and produce their goods under practically the same terms and conditions to which they had been accustomed at home—and this to the practical exclusion, likewise, of American Labor.

This was true in all great industries. In factory and foundry, in mine and field, in forest or stream, and in the merchant marine, American labor was almost entirely eliminated, and foreign labor was grossly exploited, degraded and abused. But when the foreign elements had been here long enough to become enlightened, by observation and contact, and had imbibed a smattering or more, of the spirit of American independence, the meaning of American ideals and traditions, they, too, organized, and gave the interests which had so shamefully hoodwinked, and so heartlessly exploited them the fight of their lifetime.

Then, of course, they were denounced as low-lived foreigners, ignorant agitators, dangerous aliens, etc. They were fired quicker than they had been hired; reviled, deported, imprisoned, and otherwise maltreated, and more greenhorns imported to replace them.

Such has been our modus operandi with regard to immigration for the last fifty years, until now it is evident that too much population is apt to be a standing menace to the public order and industrial tranquility of the country, and that it is safer and wiser, in the interests of all concerned, to limit the influx to industrial requirements of the nation at all times, editors and aggressors to the contrary notwithstanding.

### Over-Population

Both India and China are over-populated, not beyond the available resources of the countries mentioned, but far beyond their material development. What is the result? Disorder, misery, starvation, stark anarchy and class ignorance, everywhere. And similar conditions might easily be imposed upon the United States, unless the progress of degradation should be arrested by revolution.

In China, surplus female children are slain, and in India they are fed to the crocodiles to prevent over-production. Such is the result of huge populations without sufficient supporting factors available to keep the people profitably employed. That such horrid methods should ever be resorted to in this country is, of course, unthinkable; but, nevertheless, we would warn all editors, arbitrators and capitalistic aggressors, that "he who sows the wind shall reap the whirlwind." And the most casual perusal of wide world history from the earliest dawn of civilization down to date, emphasizes the truth of this one proverb more than any other. Tyrany always digs its own grave, and financial and political arrogance, run to excess, is tyrany in its grossest and most dangerous form. But while he was about it, the exalted high priest of the Hearst windbags might have informed us what salary the editor of a newspaper received a hundred and forty years ago, and likewise how much he draws today, for placating the interests and blinding the ignorant.

**(See article on Some Anti-Immigration Fallacies, elsewhere in this issue.)**

# Henry Ford, a Peculiar Entity

By GEO. WILLIAMS

HENRY FORD is the most outstanding figure in American industrial life, or in the world, today.

Henry Ford is the most powerful individual (financially) in the world today.

Henry Ford will still acquire more power and influence. The profits from the Ford auto alone are sufficient, at the present rate of profits to make and maintain him as the richest man; and yet he is reaching into other industrial fields, the extent of which will equal his automobile interests.

Ford is a peculiar entity among the modern industrial lords, in that he has acquired enormous riches without encountering the hot-blast antagonism from the radicals that has so justly been laid at the doors of other predatory individuals.. Not that he is escaping some criticism, but what is directed at him is of a different nature. He is debited with no Ludlow or Calumet style of enforcing his proprietorship or of maintaining his power. From all opinions, friendly and hostile, he appears to be a smooth and painless exploiter of labor, and very successful.

### Ford Can Be President

Ford can be president of these United States with no more effort than passing along the word to an admiring mass of scissors and scissorines. He can be anything that they have in their power to give, for he has captured the imagination of the great majority of what is known as the common people, or that portion of the population that is neither radical nor reactionary.

In connection with Ford's popularity with the rank and file on the one hand, he is thoroughly disliked on the other by the big banking and other interests, simply because he is a poor customer to the bankers in Wall Street, and a dangerous competitor to certain large industrial interests. The Ford organization conducts operations seemingly against sound business practice and by all the dope it should have failed. But what is seemingly against sound business practice is not in reality against it at all. The Ford organization has only applied modern ideas of exploitation to its labor force and thereby succeeds in increasing production and profit.

### Ford's Life by Himself

I have been asked by the editor of Industrial Pioneer to read a new book bearing the title MY LIFE AND WORK, By HENRY FORD, In COLLABORATION WITH SAMUEL CROWTHERS, and give my impressions of it. I have found the book very interesting, not that I agree with any part of it, but because it deals with industrial conditions in the Ford plant that in themselves provoke thought.

I am only acquainted with Ford's method of production from second hand information. However, I am acquainted with the knowledge generally prevalent that the Ford auto is assembled by the conveyor method and by reason of such methods of assembling the Ford car, the Ford organization is far ahead of competitors in the automobile industry.

Each part of the car "flows" together, we are told (not unlike small creeks and rivers flowing into and swelling the larger river), through the means of the conveyor, and at regular intervals, as the various parts "flow" together, are human beings who place nuts and bolts and other parts on the "flowing" car that is in the process of formation, until at the end of the conveyor system there emerges a completed car. Nor is this all; each of the component parts of the finished car, the engine, the wheels, chassis, magneto, and whatever goes to make up the finished Ford car, are themselves assembled in the same manner in their respective departments, and the assembling of these parts being completed in their departments, by its own conveyor system, "flows" on uninterruptedly into the main assembling shed and moves into its place in the final operation like converging waters. And yet more: this conveyor system not only assembles the autos rapidly, but it also performs the valuable function, in a figurative sense, of carrying back a steady stream of golden profits.

### Production Methods

Around this method of production, aside from the profits derived, there is much discussion concerning the human element. In the book, Ford, through his collaborator Samuel Crowthers, discusses his production methods.

I am sure that a thoroughbred Marxist could scuttle Ford's economic ideas from a Socialistic viewpoint overwhelmingly and conclusively, but as I am no prodigy on Marxian economics, I can only deal with other phases of his discussions.

Through the medium of the book Ford is giving voice to his philosophy of life and business. He attacks both the radical and reactionary groups in society and lays down a principle of industrialism which he thinks will cure all the evils that now exist. This principle is, briefly: That modern business and manufacturing is conducted not with a view of producing a good servicable article, but of producing in order to grab quick profits while the grabbing is good; whereas manufacturing and production of anything must be based on the service to the users and its utility, and with no thought about profits. In the words of Ford's book, "If we shift the manufacturing from the profit to the service basis, we shall have a real business in which the profits will be all that any one could desire." Chief among Ford's ethics of business is, that lower production costs should always be balanced by lower selling prices, and if present-day business were conducted on that

basis, argues Ford, there would never be a falling market. Thus Ford propounds the great IF, which obviously is a destroying IF; for IF all other manufacturers produced for service and not for profit, Ford's market advantages would disappear. But why predicate an argument on the impossible IF? Capitalism is not going to discard profits for service any more than water is going to flow up hill.

### Labor Increases Own Productivity

Ford confuses service with cheap production made possible by extracting a larger volume of productive labor from the general working force. He has demonstrated in his book that labor scientifically distributed can and will increase its own productiveness. As an instance, the book describes a certain operation in which three men were necessary, until a blind man was put to work. This particular operation required only certain definite movements, viz.:—counting bolts and nuts for shipment to branch establishments. In two days, we are told, the blind man did the work so well that it was necessary to take the other two men (who could see) out of his (the blind man's) way. We are also made acquainted by the book with ways in which men are replaced by new machines or frequently displaced by quicker and finely calculated moves.

There is the example of assembling the chassis, cited in the book. In the early operations it required an average of twelve hours and twenty-eight minutes per chassis. The first crude conveyor method of a rope and windlass reduced the time to five hours fifty minutes per chassis. By experiments and improvements the time of assembling the chassis was finally reduced to one hour thirty-three minutes.

"It must not be imagined, however," says Ford, "that all this worked out as quickly as it sounds. The speed of the moving work had to be carefully tried out; in assembling the magneto we first had a speed of sixty inches (conveyor) per minute. That was too fast. Then we tried eighteen inches per minute. That was too slow. Finally we settled on forty-four inches per minute. The idea is that a man must not be hurried in his work—he must have every second necessary but not a single unnecessary second."

### Principles of Assembling

In describing the principles of assembly, the book says:

"1—Place the tools and the men in the sequence of the operation so that each component part shall travel the least possible distance while in the process of finishing.

"2—Use work slides or some other form of carrier so that when a workman completes his operation, he drops the part always in the same place—which place must always be the most convenient place to his hand—and if possible have gravity carry the part to the next workman for his operation.

"3—Use sliding assembling lines by which the parts to be assembled are delivered at convenient distances."

Ford deals with the question of whether the displacement of labor by machines or improved methods does not stagnate the labor market. He answers substantially as follows: That such displaced labor is absorbed in the increased production of industry, in new industries constantly created by new methods. Thus the motor car industry which destroyed the bicycle gave employment to many times more workers than were employed making bicycles, in addition to which it created other industries and opened up a tremendous amount of road construction work. This I think is in great part true; however, under capitalism, there is always unemployed and the benefits of this process is not returned to labor as it should be, in the form of shorter hours nor in increased quantities of food,clothing, shelter and the articles thus newly created. While more and more things are produced the great majority of the people still remain on the same comparative level of existence, if not lower.

### Little Skill in Ford's

There is very little skill in the Ford factory, we are told, and very little hard work. No expense has been spared to place machines to do the heavy work. Only about 16 per cent of the labor in the Ford plants require physical strength. A full grown child, woman, or a man below the common physical development, can do most of the work required. Nor is the mental effort high. A very large percentage of the work done takes very little skill, only 14 per cent requiring from one month to one year to become proficient, the rest of the operations calling for experience ranging from only a few hours to a few weeks at the higher remuneration, which is a mental palliative. machines."

Now a person might say, in contemplating the labor methods of the Ford organization, that the monotony must be terrible. But Ford says, in substance, that while there is some monotony necessarily in the methods used, there is less than in the old and less intensive methods. There is less monotony in doing a light task over and over again than in doing a heavy thing over and over again, besides the physical exhaustion is eliminated. And, too, the Ford employes receive a higher remuneration, which is a mental palliative. His employes, however, have yet to be heard from on this point.

Ford argues that the vast majority of men do not want to go ahead; "they want to stay put. They want to be led." They are satisfied with the economic security and the slight responsibility that goes with their job.

However, much logic there is in this view—and we must concede there is some—we find out on reading further that the majority of improvements in assembling the cars are due to the employes. To use the words of Ford, "Whatever expertness in fabrication that has developed has

been due to men. I think that if men are unhampered and they know that they are serving, they will always put all of mind and will into even the most trivial of tasks." On reading the foregoing and from other instances cited in the book we become suspicious that the whole vast scheme in the production of Ford cars is the sum total of the thousands of ideas handed in by the rank and file, which ideas finally appear in total on the balance sheet as assets of the Ford Motor Co. Thus the brain and labor of myriads of workers are converged by another invisible conveyor into the legal proprietorship of **Ford, the owner.** Under this system Ford does well to appraise the "help" as mere automatons, because the productivity of such help is then lost behind the magical and symbolic "Ford."

### System Impersonal

That Ford has an impersonal view regarding the human element in his plants is only natural. Ford thinks in terms of production, and humans are only necessary ingredients in fabrication. That they are "Robots" is the best thing that could happen to them, thinks Ford. For one cannot have efficiency unless labor is "Robotized." Efficiency in production means the elimination of waste labor motion as well as wasted material. It must be remembered that the revolutionary Russian government officially installed the "Taylor system" in its factories wherever possible and "efficiency" and "scientific" are terms extensively used in radical programs. Thus the efficiency methods of the Ford plants are not to be condemned as such, but rather because the "Robots" are still robbed of the results of their efficiency. The argument is that the efficiency "Robot" (term Robot mine), in the Ford plants are better off materially and every other way than the non-efficiency "Robots" in other capitalist plants. Now the term "Robot" may not be applicable to the new society; however that may be I am of the opinion that efficiency may be insisted on to a larger degree under a new system of production than under capitalism, because the worker, being in control of production and distribution, will insist on the best possible methods of production in order that he may have more time for recreation. So, I repeat, there is no logical argument against efficiency, but there is in being robbed of the results.

So it is that Fords' citation of efficiency and how it develops from the suggestions of the workers themselves is the strongest corroboration of the I. W. W. argument that the creative minds of the workers is the greatest force existent. Ford, by giving better conditions and wages to his "help," has discovered this himself and has capitalized this very principle. But Ford is limited in the development of the re-creative propensities inherent in the worker by the necessity of selling his cars for profit; he cannot reward his "help" in wages at the full value of the finished car, for Ford must have his profit. Thus is he limited to developing the creative abilities of the workers. Only under a wageless and profitless system of society is the full benefit of this possible.

### Wages

In the chapter on wages Ford makes the usual expressions and covers the same ground. It seems to me that he draws unqualified conclusions. He says that Labor is the productive factor in industry, but distinguishes management and superintendence as separate from Labor. By this method he establishes an argument against manual labor. Wages as such, are created by skilful management molding so-called manual labor into an efficient force. The labor creates a good cheap car; it is then taken out and sold and wages are thus made possible. The better and the cheaper a car created by labor in the shop, the more cars will be sold, and consequently the better wages will be paid to labor. That is in substance Ford's theory.

We read further:

"The wage carries all the workers' obligations outside the shop; it carries all that is necessary in the way of service and management inside the shop. The day's productive work is the most valuable mine of wealth that has ever been opened. Certainly it ought to bear not less than all the worker's outside obligations. And certainly it ought to be made to take care of the worker's sunset days when labor is no longer necessary. And if it is made to do even these, industry will have to be adjusted to a schedule of production, distribution, and reward, which will stop the leaks into the pockets of men who do not assist in production. In order to create a system which shall be as independent of the good-will of benevolent employers as of the ill-will of selfish ones, we shall have to find a basis in the actual facts of life itself."

Ford means by this that the worker who works for wages should establish a cost accounting system similarly used in business houses, and charge to wages all the necessary things that go to make up a worker's life. Then in turn he sells his labor for the amount it takes to maintain and develop his labor power.

This is a naive conception of the wage problem, since Ford forgets that the employer also keeps a cost accounting system in which "labor bought" is charged to the cost of production, so whatever computations are made by labor are nullified by the selling price of the finished product that labor produces. In other words, the workers, like the dog chasing his tail, can never catch up with the margin of profit that is always exacted by the employer regardless of the wages paid. Besides, the worker spends according to what he gets and not what he should have. He doesn't sell his labor, THE EMPLOYER BUYS IT. And even Ford explains to his reader that he conducts his business on that very principle. HE buys labor and charges it to production.

### Railroads

"There is a railroad problem," says Ford. "Everyone is dissatisfied with them. The public because

(Continued on Page 48)

## The Organization of Modern Industry

One of the most striking features of modern industry is the increase in the size of factories and other industrial enterprises. A few years ago a plant employing 1000 men was considered a large concern. Today, factories employing 5000 men are common, factories employing 10,000 men are not unusual, and a few plants have employed as many as 25,000 men within the confines of a single yard. A number of large corporations owning several industrial plants in different localities employ much greater numbers of workers. Statistics show that the number of corporations as compared to privately-owned enterprises and partnerships tends to increase, thus indicating a tendency towards mass financing and constant growth in the size of industrial undertakings.

There is a general tendency, also, toward specialization of industry. A few years ago it was common practice for manufacturing establishments to produce a very great variety of products. Today the general practice is to confine the activities of an industrial plant to a somewhat restricted range and in many of the newer industries a very limited number of products are produced. There are a number of reasons for these noteworthy tendencies.

Industrial enterprises tend to increase in size in one of three ways. The first is by natural growth in size of a single plant or by AGGREGATION as it is sometimes called. The second method is by INTEGRATION; that is, by extending the control over the supply of raw materials or the disposal of finished products by acquiring the methods and processes that are concerned in these operations. The third method is by CONSOLIDATION; that is, by combining industrial undertakings of a similar character under one management whether these undertakings are single plants or integrated industries. The economic reason for this tendency toward growth and expansion may be conveniently divided into two groups: First, economies that lead to reduced cost of production; second, economies that give greater competitive power.—DEXTER S. KIMBALL, Dean College of Engineering, Cornell University, in Management and Administration.

There is still one step not mentioned above. That is called coordination, in which all industrial enterprises are formed into a giant combination to exploit the world.

## On War Propaganda

So apt are mankind to be wrought up into a passion by false reports and slight offenses that it is an easy matter for cunning men to set peaceable families and friends at variance, where there is no grounds for it on either side. In the same manner towns, states and nations may be set at war against each other, and I have no doubt but that it has been the case many a time, that thousands and millions have been slain on both sides equally thinking that they have been fighting in a good cause, when the whole matter in dispute would have made little or no dispute between honest neighbors.

Nor do I dispute but that it has been agreed upon by rulers of nations to make war on each other, only that they might have a pretense to raise and keep up standing armies to deprive their own subjects of their rights and liberties. This is a great object with the few, and when they attain it, it adds so much to their number, strength and importance that they have but little more to fear, and the many have but little reason to expect that they can maintain their liberties long.—The Key to Liberty, WILLIAM MANNING.

# The City and It's Workers

SPEAKING of the city and its workers is to speak of Chicago. Chicago is the second largest city in the country. It is the great metropolis of the West, and the rival of New York. In proportion to its working population, Chicago is poorly organized.

Just now, Chicago is the scene of great activity, intended to make I. W. W.'s of its homeguards. Hotel and restaurant, packing house, building construction, metal and machinery, textile, railroad, agricultural, general construction, lake marine transport, and other workers are being enrolled thru their respective industrial unions.

Chicago has also a district council in which the branches of these unions co-operate.

'Frisco, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, Boston and many other cities are also scenes of I. W. W. activity. The homeguards are being steadily enrolled and will soon be with us in large numbers.

# William Manning's "Key to Liberty"

A Review By PHILLIP TAFT

THE well-paid mouthpieces of class privileges, are wont to charge social radicalism with being a foreign growth, intellectually nourished from abroad.

This gentry evidently does not recognize that knowledge is not the peculiar property of any one nation but that truth is the universal heritage of all mankind. However, as this class of writers is more interested in obscuring an issue by the creation of prejudice than laying its causes bare, they therefore raise the cry of "alien importation," against any attempt to do so; and it therefore becomes necessary to expose their misleading arts.

For instance, the recently discovered series of letters of William Manning, entitled "The Key of Liberty," written in 1798, show that the basic doctrines of Communism and Socialism, instead of being foreign importations, were discovered and enunciated, to a remarkable degree, by an American, 53 years prior to the publication of the Communist Manifesto, or before the writers of that manifesto, Marx and Engels, were even born.

### A Minute Man.

Wm. Manning was a New England farmer, residing at Billerica, Mass. He served in the Continental Army as a lieutenant; a Minute Man who answered the alarms of his country was Manning. This man, who according to his own admissions, had less than 6 months schooling in his life, recognized the existence of the class struggle and the nature of value; while at the same time advocating a world-wide union of farmers and workers for the prevention of wars.

Manning recognized, moreover, the necessity of organization among the laboring classes, urging them to follow the example of the merchants, lawyers, and ministers, who had, even at that early period in American history, associations through which they obtained favorable legislation; so why not the farmers and laborers?

Wm. Manning was aware of the conflict of interest between the few and the many; classifying as the few the merchants, physicians, lawyers, divines, literary persons, public and executive officers and all the rich, who live without bodily labor. The many, of course, were the farmers and laborers.

### Anticipating Marx

As Manning saw it the whole controversy of his times was between those who labor for a living and those who do not. This statement, though lacking the literary nicety of one better educated, is essentially the same as the doctrine of the class struggle, as enunciated by Marx and Engels fifty-three years later.

Manning perceived the true relation of labor to capital; and his views are all the more remarkable when we consider that the United States was at the time primarily an agricultural nation, and was by comparison with England or France a backward nation industrially.

**"Labour is the parent of all property—the land yieldeth nothing without it, and there is no food, clothing, shelter, vessel, or any necessity of life, but what costs labour and is generally esteemed valuable accordng to the labour it costs. Therefore no person can possess property, without labouring, unless he gets it by force or craft, fraud or fortune out of the earnings of others."**

In the above paragraph there is stated several ideas which have become the cornerstone of all the important social revolutionary movements of the world. "Labor produces all wealth" is simply restating the above paragraph in a more epigramatic fashion. The Marxian theory of value, as well as a recognition of profit as the unpaid labor of the worker, or surplus value as it is now termed, are enunciated in this paragraph.

### War on War

Manning, as already stated, believed in a workers' organization for the prevention of war; and, as the following words prove, he had a pretty good conception of the causes and consequences of war:

"And I have often had it impressed on my mind that in some such way as this (speaking of a workers' society), society may be organized throughout the world, as well as government, and by social correspondence and by mutual consent all differences might be settled, so that wars might be banished from the earth; for it is from the pride and ambition of rulers and ignorance of the people that war arises. No nation, as a nation, ever got anything to make war on others; for, whatever the conquests may have been, the plunder always goes to a few individuals and always increases the misery of more than it helps."

Considering the times in which these letters were written, they exhibit an understanding of social forces seldom equalled even now by more learned and scholarly men.

Though Wm. Manning can no longer be classified as entirely mute; yet it is men of his type that are forced into silence by conditions and environment. Man whose crude brain is capable of superior analysis and development. Men of whom Gray in his Elegy, sung: "A mute inglorious Milton here may lay."

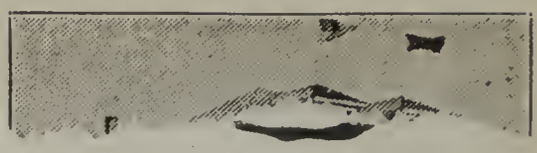
Wm. Manning, at least contributed a little to the ultimate removal of the conditions that make such destruction of brain power possible. His advocacy of education, as the chief agency for the abolition of social inequality and war, reflects the needs of himself and his class.

(Publishers, Manning Association, Billerica, Mass.)

# The Need of Workers' Education

## The Work Peoples' College and its Courses

THE old revolutionary slogan, "agitate, educate, organize," is just as effective to-day as it ever was. The working class needs to be awakened out of its lethargy and indifference, it needs to be agitated and aroused by new ideals, and aspi-



### A JOY REVOLUTION

In years of yore the worker
Was the butt of wit;
But now the capitalist is "it."
He—Superman!—made an awful bull of life,
With his wars and class strife.
Now, none's so small as to
Honor him—
They pass him by and grin!
So, stop giving the worker
The merry ha, ha!—
Give the capitalist the tra-la-la-la!

### TIMELY LOGIC

Office Boy—"I want a little time off to get a hair cut."

Boss—"What! Get your hair cut in company time?"

Office Boy—"Sure; it grew in company time."

### ANOTHER HENRY FORD

Teacher (during visit of the school board): "Robert, who signed Magna Charta?"

Robert: "Please ma'am, 'twasn't me."

Teacher: "Take your seat."

Hiram (business man, school board member): "Call that there boy back. I don't like his manner. I believe he did do it."

### HAY-WIRE FOR FAIR

The uninitiated are puzzled to know where the phrase "hay-wire" comes from. It is derived from the farmer's custom of mending everything with wire from baled hay. It means a miserable, poverty-stricken make-shift.

A story is told of the farmer who wouldn't buy any hay unless it had three wires on it. He explained that, otherwise he could never make his ranch hang together. His was a "hay-wire" ranch.

### A FORD PRODUCT

A story is told of a "machinist" who wanted to get into the aviation corps. The officer in charge investigated his abilities as follows:

Are you a tool and die maker?

No.

Do you run a lathe?

No.

Ah; possibly you operate a drilling machine?

No.

Well, what kind of a machinist are you, anyway?

Oh, I am a Ford No. 14 bolt tightener.

### THEY GENERALLY DO

The Credit Man—Your business seems to be tottering. You must have met with some staggering loss.

The Merchant—I have. My bank failed on me and I lost my balance.

### MODERNITY

Sleepless night; bad food—bad liver: nervous tension. A seat at the window.

The little park across the street is dark and full of clouds. Still there are the stars in the high heavens; no rain is forboding. But the carbon odor in the air tells the tale. It is the smoke of the city.

Light is reflected in the little lake under the stone bridge in that little park. It is not the moon. The sky is moon-less. Search discloses an electric light on the roof of the factory nearby.

Foul desecration of nature's beauties: Soot, smell and camouflage. Such is modernity. J. D. C.

### THE BLESSED PEACEMAKERS

Oh, well! the capitalists who say "the I. W. W. is a failure," will have to demonstrate the success of their own system before we get discouraged.

* * *

The capitalists who mistakenly allege that the I. W. W. favor violence never permit themselves to indulge in a worse infraction of the peace than a world-war.

* * *

While capitalists accuse those "terrible I. W. W.'s" of practicing sabotage they set them a good example of real constructive achievement by wrecking civilization.

### THE LESSER EVIL

It's false to say "The I. W. W. is a menace to society"; but it's within the realms of truth to state that capitalist culture menaces society with cancer, consumption and syphilis. And as between two evils, alleged or otherwise, we always choose the lesser one.

* * *

This here labor shortage goes to prove once more that labor is always short somehow. One thing, it's short of is the wealth it produces. And it's shorts of guts in not resenting the fact.

# William Manning's "Key to Liberty"

A Review By PHILLIP TAFT

THE well-paid mouthpieces of class privileges, are wont to charge social radicalism with [illegible],
Republics,
Empires,
Rest upon my shoulders—
For I am labor!
I sail their ships and planes—
I watch their citadels and towers—
I run their presses—
I drop their bombs—
I spread their gasses—
I starve their enemies—
I furnish the corpses for their faiths and victories—
MY blood is the crimson of their flags—
By ME their glory lives—
From ME their power comes.—
I make them all—
I keep them all—
I guard them all—
**I, the man without a country!**—
I feed the Race—
I clothe the Race—
I house the Race—
I am Agriculture—
Industry—
Transportation—
Commerce—
And Art—
I am fire and steam—
Light and electricity—
Civilization and society—
For I am labor!
The wizard gold producer—
The raw material of wealth—
The exhaustless source of—
Taxes and the parent of all property—the land
The Aladdin's lamp and the Frankenstein of Capital.—
I shoulder the State—
I carry the Church—
I build the Union—
I make them all—
I keep them all—
I guard them all—
**I, the man without a country!**—
I am love and life—
I am bread and liberty—
The womb of thought and truth—
The mother of Democracy—
The father of Freedom—
The nemesis of Slavery—
For I am labor!
All that you hold is **mine**—
But for ME—
Your fields were wilderness—
Your mines dark caverns in the Earth—
Your railways streaks of rust across a silent desert—
Your mills and factories mausoleums of dead and powerless steel—
Your palaces and temples, mints and banks, the home of ghosts and worms—
Your fleets, lost derelicts on portless oceans drifting—
Without ME all is **nothingness**—
I am the Logos—
The Living Soul of the Machine—
The maker, keeper, guarder of them all—
*I, the man without a country!*

## ORGANIZATION BREVITIES

Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120, has trebled its membership during the past year.

Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, increased its membership 60 per cent during August.

General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310, reports an increase of almost 50 per cent in 12 months.

A feature of I. W. W. growth is its extension into Canada and Alaska. The lumberjacks, harvest stiffs and dirt movers are increasing operations in these territories.

Building Construction Workers' 330 and Foodstuff Workers' 460, are two industrial unions that are not making much noise, but are growing, nevertheless.

Eastward the star of the I. W. W. takes its course. General Construction Workers' 310 is now invading Ohio. The lumberjacks are going into Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin. The steel drive is also reaching into Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and other points.

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### Not a Secret Society

No, the I. W. W. is not a diabolical secret society. Now, would you believe it, it's just a labor organization. Instead of organizing on trade lines it organizes on those of industry. And instead of confining itself to the workers in the industries of one country, it seeks to embrace those of all countries. That's where its name, "the Industrial Workers of the World," comes from.

# The Need of Workers' Education

## The Work Peoples' College and its Courses

THE old revolutionary slogan, "agitate, educate, organize," is just as effective to-day as it ever was. The working class needs to be awakened out of its lethargy and indifference, it needs to be agitated and aroused by new ideals and aspirations. And it also needs to be educated and organized in a way that will make those ideals and aspirations capable of realization.

**Sensible workingmen no longer entertain, or take seriously, the theory, that mere contact with production makes revolutionists. If that was a fact the working class, as a whole, would not be so subservient to capitalism; but, on the contrary, would be intent on its overthrow.**

There is no mechanical and automatic creation of a revolutionary working class in modern production. There is, however, on the part of increasing numbers of workers, a conscious recognition of certain duties to be performed to make a revolutionary working class possible. And these include agitation, education and organization, assisted, of course, primarily by economic conditions. Let us agitate, let us educate, let us organize! On this basis may we feel assured of emancipation. And on no other!

Many of us are already sufficiently agitated to become aware of the base nature of capitalism—of its fundamental injustice, viz., its robbery of labor via the profit and wages system. But we need education in the effort to overcome this gross injustice. We need training in order that we may be better fitted to undertake this stupendous task. And right here is where The Work People's College Duluth, Minn., comes in. Read its statement, as follows:—

### INTRODUCTION

The Work People's College is an I. W. W. institution organized for the purpose of teaching students who are seeking proletarian learning. This school recognizes the existence of the class struggle in society, and its courses of study have been prepared so that industrially organized workers, both men and women, dissatisfied with conditions under our capitalist system, can more effectively carry on an organized class struggle for the attainment of industrial demands, and ultimately the realizaton of a new social order.

### DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE.

#### HISTORY.

1. ***History of the Labor Movement in the United States.** The awakening of Class Consciousness in American Labor. The mistakes of the various organizations, and how to avoid them in the future.

** REFERENCE BOOKS.—**Historical Catechism of American Unionism** (I. W. W.), **Labor in American History** (O'Neal), **History of Labor in U. S. A.** (Commons).

**The Work People's College**

*** 4 hours lecture, 1 hour discussion.

2. Same, in Finnish.

3. **Materialistic Conception of History.** General outline history of the human race.

REFERENCE BOOKS:—**Ancient Society** (Morgan), **Evolution of the State, Private Property and the Family** (Engels), **Economic Determinism,** (Parce), **Ancient Lowly** (Ward), **The Eighteenth Brumaire, The Civil War in France, Revolution and Counter Revolution** (Marx), **Physical Basis of Society** (Kelsey).

2 hours lecture, 1 hour discussion.

4. Same, in Finnish.

#### SOCIOLOGY.

1. **The Motives of Social Activity.** The causes of human activity, and why organizations and social machinery are created.

REFERENCE BOOKS:—**Introduction to Sociology** (Lewis), **Dynamic Sociology** (Ward).

2 hours lecture, 1 hour discussion.

2. Same, in Finnish.

#### ECONOMICS

1. **Economic Theory.** Theory of value. Surplus value and its origin and distribution, Capital, Labor, Work-day, Wages.

REFERENCE BOOKS:—**Shop Talks on Economics** (Marcy), **Economic Interpretation of the Job** (I. W. W.), **Students' Marx** (Aveling), **Capital** (Marx),**Theoretical System of Karl Marx** (Boudin).

3 hours lecture, 2 hours discussion.

2. Same, in Finnish.

3. **Modern Industry.** Conditions existing in textile, iron and steel, foodstuff, marine transportation, land transportation, agricultural, oil, coal, electric power industries in the United States, with some reference to world production and commerce.

REFERENCE BOOKS:—**U. S. Documents, Census Reports, Trade Journals, Market Reports, etc.** Pamphlets (I. W. W.).

2 hours lecture, 1 hour discussion.

4. Same, in Finnish.

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* Courses taught in English language unless marked "Finnish".

** Reference books are most of them in the college library. Instructors may add to, or change list, and may select some particular book as a text, requiring the students to secure copies of it.

*** Number of hours per week.

## GEOGRAPHY.

1. **Industrial Geography.** General topography, trade routes, centers of industry, products, peoples and language groups. The object of this course is to provide revolutionists with a knowledge of the physical basis of industry, and of the strategic points for attack on the capitalist system.

REFERENCE BOOKS:—**Geography, Physical, Economic and Regional** (Chamberlain), **Physiography,** (Salisbury), **Environment** (Swaine).

2 hours lecture, 1 hour discussion.

2. Same, in Finnish.

## BIOLOGY.

1. **Evolution.** The proofs of evolution, Mendelism, Darwinism, heredity, artificial evolution of domestic breeds.

REFERENCE BOOKS:—**Evolution of Man** (Boelsche), **Law of Biogenesis, Savage Survivals,** (Moore), **Evolution and Adaptation, Physical Basis of Heredity** (Morgan).

2 hours lecture, 1 hour discussion.

## ARITHMETIC.

1. **Elementary Arithmetic.** Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, Division, Fractions, Decimals, Speed and Accuracy, Short Cuts, Mental Arithmetic.

TEXT BOOKS:—Selected by instructor.

4 hours drill.

2. Same, in Finnish.

3. **Advanced Arithmetic.** A course in arithmetical problems, touching on percentage, proportion, plane and solid geometry, weights and measures, surveying, navigation, monetary systems, interest, exchange and discount.

TEXT BOOKS:—Selected by instructor.

4 hours drill.

4. Same, in Finnish.

# DEPARTMENT OF LABOR PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZATION.

## PROPAGANDA.

1. **Public Speaking.** Students to prepare lectures on subjects of propaganda value. Lecture to be given to class as if to an audience of workers. Class and instructor will criticize material, arrangement, and delivery. 2 hours.

2. Same, in Finnish.

3. **Debating.** A practice course, under the direction of the instructor. Class to be divided into two parts, and important questions in the labor movement argued between them. In the second half of the term the instructor to take the part of an opponent of industrial unionism, and to challenge members of the class in turn to answer his objections. 2 hours.

4. Same, in Finnish.

5. **Reporting and Editing.** Students write news articles on local events, editorials and essays on important matters in the labor movement. Instruction in logic, rhetoric, the right word, unity, coherence, emphasis. Best articles to be submitted to I. W. W. papers for publication.

2 hours lecture, 3 hours criticism of papers.

## ORGANIZATION.

1. **The I. W. W. Structure, Methods, Present Policies and Position.** Careful study of present day operation of branches, councils, boards and committees. Sample minutes, reports, and secretarial work. Practise in making out minutes, and reports. Relations of parts of the organizations to each other, conduct of press, activities of conventions and powers. Duties of officials. Problem of combining efficiency with Democracy.

REFERENCE BOOKS:—**All I. W. W. Literature.**

3 hours discussion.

2. Same, in Finnish.

3. **Delegates' Work.** Practice in the functioning of a job delegate. How to make out cards, reports, and what to say to the prospective member. How to start branches. Practise in lining up men.

1 hour.

4. **Elementary Organization Bookkeeping.** Principles of bookkeeping (Nurmi System). Accounts of committees. How to open, keep and close books of branch secretaries. How to audit books. Balances and financial reports. 5 hours practise.

5. **Advanced Organization Bookkeeping.** How to keep books of Industrial Union and General Headquarters. How to keep books of periodicals, special departments, etc. 5 hours practice.

# DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH.

## ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

1. **Elementary English.** Reading, pronunciation, spelling. Class and instructor will read simple texts from the school library. Conversation between members of the class, and mutual criticism. 5 hours drill.

2. Same, in Finnish. (English Grammar in Finnish.)

3. **Advanced English.** Grammar, composition and literature. Reading of selected works in English literature, especially scientific and radical literature. Paraphrasing. 3 hours drill.

# HOW TO ENTER COLLEGE

Those desiring to become students at the Work People's College should write to WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE, Box 39, Morgan Park Station, and tell the manager what courses they are interested in, what preparation for the studies they have had, if any, how long they have been in the movement, what offices they have held, if any, and how long they will probably be able to remain at the college. This is information useful to the instructors in planning their lectures and arranging courses.

The expenses to the student after arriving at the college will be $39 per month, which covers board, lodging and tuition. If the student desires to board and room elsewhere, the tuition charge will be $10 per month Charges must be paid in advance for each month.

When starting for the college, bring along all your books as you may find them useful for reference.

The school year begins November 1. If you cannot be there by that time, make special arrangements with the manager.

Both men and women may attend the Work People's College.

## STUDENT LIFE.

The students are organized, and have regular business sessions, parties, games and entertainments. These are never allowed to interfere with their studies. Fellow workers in Duluth co-operate with the students in programs and meetings.

There is a gymnasium, and students are required to keep themselves healthy by regular exercise, either indoors or outdoors.

# Motherhood Under Capitalism

By J. D. C.

EARLY last April, a tragedy was enaeted in the eity of Elmira, N. Y., that was not only pathetie in the extreme, but it also points a moral in that it indiets the present soeial order. The latter makes motherhood intolerable, and death for the beloved ehildren preferable to a cursed existenee. It was the attempt made by a woman soon to beeome a mother for the sixth time to sniff out the lives of her two girls—7 and 5—and herself in order to save them and her, from the sufferings of a life like hers.

The papers of that time were full of the story. Pietures of the home of that family aeeompanied the tale. They illustrated, pretty elearly, the faet that the aet was not eommitted beeause the mother was erazed with too much wealth, that she deeided to kill her girls rather than let them live with the ehanees for the future, no better than were hers.

### Poverty The Cause

A look at the pieture of the dilapidated house and at the eap the husband wears reveals the whole story. Poverty, poor wages, unemployment, laek of eomforts in her condition and perhaps an oeeasional ill temper, of the man due to overwork, were too mueh for that poor sufferer to endure. It had to end.

Unlike the woman of wealth who, under similar eireumstanees, would have the best medieal attendance and whose children would be taken eare of without her, this poor worker's wife had to be and do everything herself. Perhaps too, her child bearing was more toturesome than that of the average woman. In that ease she required all the more eare and patient treatment, instead of having to be housemaid and ehildren's nurse while enduring the pangs incidental to child bearing.

Those who have ever loved ehildren, either their own or of a near relative, say a little sister or brother, would bear witness to the horrors of even the thought of killing a ehild. To the writer, the agony of the deed appears beyond description, unthinkable; and yet, here is a mother who finds solaee in the faet that she killed her ehild so that that ehild will escape the ills that were the lot of the mother.

Under the present system of society, the burden of the worker's household falls upon the woman. The man is himself a slave; working and sweating and enduring abuse and inhuman toil; but the wife is not only the vietim of the same eonditions as he is, but also, in addition, she has to endure the ill-temper that he so often brings home with him from over work.. While he is a slave, she is even worse; she is a slave of the slave.

Poverty and starvation is her lot when he works, and starvation and poverty when a period of unemployment sets in. She must find a way to feed the family. She must go to the groeer and the buteher and borrow and often beg for the food of the day. She it is, who must break her fingers in the wee hours of the night to mend and darn and pateh the elothing of the family in order to keep up appearanees and also, very often, to keep the eold of the winter out.

And the worker's wife bears all these and more often with a smile and a word of cheer. But there is a limit beyond which none of us can go. When the limit is reaehed, there must be an end. And that poor woman did reaeh the limit; a sixth ehild was about to come, and that one eoming might also be a girl. The guilt of bringing three women vietims into the world was a blight on her eonscienee that reaehed the test of enduranee.

Just now our deepest pity is with the unfortunate mother. Preaehers may dwell upon the faet that the girls might be fortunate enough to marry rieh ete. Birth controlists may tell us that their eure-all would settle the problem. But the fact, nevertheless remains that the present-day eapitalist system with its mainstay—wage slavery and its attendant evils of mis-edueation, ignoranee, malnutrition, wreeked nerves and a long string of baneful et eeteras,—stunts the ehild before birth and eripples and even kills those grown up.

### The Only Life Belt

The only life belt on the oeean of misery, the only save-all and eure-all, is industrial organization. Edueate the workers for a definite purpose—to do away with capitalism and to establish the workers' industrial eommonwealth. Educate the man, edueate the woman, edueate the child! Organize them all in the one big union of the I. W. W., and murderers of the unborn and grown-ups alike, will eease forever and aye. There will be eomfort, food, ease, shelter and the proper care for all, and in all eonditions of life.

Were it not for the privately-owned eapital of the nation, there would be today more houses than we could oeeupy, and more food than we eould eat, and more elothing than we eould wear. But for the faet that today the few have too much eontrol of eapital for profit, the large mass of workers are robbed of the neeessities of life and death is often preferable to a life of misery.

Let it therefore be our firm deeision to proeeed to organize and edueate the workers of the world, regardless of sex, ereed, eolor or age, and hasten the day for the republic of, for and by the workers, and in that way put an end to murders of all kinds, forever.

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The fall convention of A. W. I. U. No. 110 will be held at Fargo, N. D., Oetober 8th. This will be a mass convention. All members who are interested in the organization should make it a point to attend. Any one having any resolutions or suggestions for the eonvention should send them in to the main office.

# Who Finished the Job Up There?

By COLE J. SNYDER

WHEN we get to heaven beyond the pearly gates
Will there be work for all of us to do;
Will noble mansions, lofty buildings
Await our labor true?
I'm told a life of ease awaits our coming
That there is nothing more to build;
That joy and peace await all humans
Who on earth with toil were killed.
Who will feed the hungry there I ask you,
Who will clothe the human race;
Will shelter be provided any,
Who quit on earth the maddened pace?
Where will all the producers go then,
If everything is built complete;
Where will all progressive workers go,
Who on earth had to toil to eat?
Are there no dams to build up yonder,
No mighty tunnels to be bored;
Has all machinery been completed,
Is there no more Industrial Horde?
No mighty ships to be constructed
That shall sail the oceans o'er;
No trains to drive, no trucks to work on
That carry goods from shore to shore?
Are you sure you need no repairmen
To keep in shape those streets of gold;
Are the gates of pearl fastened safely,
Are the gates of heaven sure to hold?
Then I wonder if you will tell me
Is nothing more to do for its worth;
Why have us die here to go up yonder,
When the work is not finished here on earth.

# The New Trinity

By J. BERNEDINE TEVIG

GREAT ideals whisper not of death,
But with music-laden breath
They a song of hope sing
While truth and mystery cling.
As the sun the darkest cloud defies
So Truth to Mystery replies . . .
The Gods are slain in bold defiance
By the blinding light of science.

Science is not concerned with creeds
Born of superstition and intolerant deeds,
But with that knowledge of nature's laws
Which hold the truth of primal cause.
Like a golden ray thought takes flight
And seeks the farthest star of night,
It pries beneath the earth's deep crust
To learn the secret of her dust.

The mind of man will invent the light
That will rend the veil of ignorant night;
No slave, no classes shall there be
When Science is the Trinity.

# The Last Call

ANONYMOUS

EVER clearer grows and more distinct
The note
Swelling in volume and wider ranged
The sound
We hear the chant the prelude to
The Song.
That from the lips of multitudes
Come tumbling.

This is the song we list for through
The ages
And now it comes upon us like
A storm;
A clash of elements—Of wild discord!
Not all your brass and wind can drown
The song;
Emerges there the song in all
Its clarity
And flung upon the winds by
Voices strong—
The blare of trumpets strife and force
Are silenced,
By this the hymn of love of
Fellowman.

## LATEST NEW PAMPHLETS

AMONG the latest new I. W. W.. pamphlets is "The History of the I. W. W." This is a discussion of its main features, especially its war activities, by a group of workers. 28 pages, 10 cents.

Tom Barker's "The Story of the Sea," is also among the latest new pamphlets. It originally appeared in Industrial Pioneer and has been revised and brought up to date. 25 cents.

A new edition of Jas. Rowan's "The Lumber Industry and Its Workers," is also among the latest productions. It has an attractive cover design in light green, blue and brown. 25 cents.

"The Economic Interpretation of the Job," can now also be had in Greek as well as English. 10 cents. "What Is the I. W. W.?" is now to be had also in Swedish, Lithuanian, Greek and Italian. 10 cents.

"The Immediate Demands of the I. W. W." appears in English, Spanish and Croatian.

Get the handbook on "The Building Construction Industry," 25 cents.. In preparation. So is a handbook on "The Railroad Industry." 25 cents.

We thank you!

# Some Anti-Immigration Fallacies

THE article on "Immigration and National Development" to be found elsewhere in this issue, is well worth reading, not only for the valuable historical analogies that it makes and the motives for capitalist propaganda for unlimited immigration that it discloses, but also for some of the fallacies of working class anti-immigration that it reveals.

This article gives essentially the views of "Organized Labor", that is, of the A. F. of L. on the subject; for they are those of the A. F. of L. to a dot and have all of the A. F. of L. defects of argument accordingly. It is printed in order to give those views a fair hearing and also to point out in some detail, the fallacies referred to, as seen by I. W. W. eyes.

In the first place these views are based on the fallacy of working class reliance on capitalist class legislation in the solution of serious problems. It is the old, old, A. F. of L. dope of making the workers dependent on an institution in the control of its exploiters, in the erroneous belief that some help may be expected from such quarters.

What do we behold as a consequence? We see labor placing faith in laws that are either circumvented or were never intended to be enforced. In the matter of anti-immigration we see the spirit of the law violated in wholesale importation of laborers from Mexico and extensive smuggling from Canada. Also we witness, large numbers of workers entering U. S. ports as seamen and then deserting. All this is systematically encouraged.

One immigration official declares an extensive conspiracy exists to bring laborers into the country in defiance of the law and that his department's staff is too small to successfully combat the evil. It is also claimed that 1,000,000 persons annually enter the United States by these various illegal ways. Under the circumstances, what becomes of the quota law? And under the circumstances why depend on that law at all, especially as the capitalists appear to be using it merely as a camouflage?

In the second place, these views promote the fallacy of nationalism in the face of a growing internationalism. They are, accordingly, not in line with advanced working class development.

There was a time, in the history of America, when trade and intercourse between the original 13 American colonies were restricted. But thanks to railroads, that time is gone never to return. The United States are united. They are one, with trade and intercourse free from coast to coast and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf.

A similar condition is developing among the nations of the earth, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding. Thanks to industrial development, we are tending, willy nilly, towards free trade and free migration. Like tariffs, with their suicidal wars for civilization, anti-immigration will have to go, because it breeds national hatreds and contributes to those cataclysmic upheavals so terribly disastrous to the race.

Third, these views are infused with the most absurd fallacy of the lot, namely, overpopulation and race-destruction through the starvation resulting from it. If there is any theory that the intensive productivity of industrialism has laid to rest it is the fear of starvation through overpopulation.

Right now, with the greatest population this country has ever known, there also goes, hand in hand, the greatest overproduction in food and other products it has ever known. Our farmers are being ruined —are going bankrupt,—because they produce excess products by the hundreds of millions of bushels and the hundreds of millions of bales. And that, too, in the face of the biggest consumption of products the continent has ever known.

The trouble is not one of population, but profit, capitalist profit. Take that out of production and distribution and the world will wax fat on products that now are not permitted to grow, because of restricted acreage, or else are permitted to rot, when not dumped overboard, to keep prices up!

Finally, Labor should cease relying on capitalist laws and fomenting national hatreds. It should get rid of exploded theories. It should be progressive and alive to the facts around it. **In the matter of immigration, Labor should build up an international working class organization for its regulation.** This organization should publish the truth about "labor shortages", expose capitalist advertisements for labor abroad; in brief, it should give publicity on labor conditions wherever found; and thereby tend to develop practical international co-operation and understanding. Otherwise, labor will continue to remain the football of international capitalist exploitation. Otherwise, labor will never develop the international organization so essential to the overthrow of international capitalism.

# Criticism of Russia

CRITICISM of Russia is resented by certain elements in this country. Just on what grounds is not very evident. The critics themselves feel justified in criticizing, condemning and, what is worse, destroying, all opposition to Russia. The British Labor Party, the Indian Nationalist Movement, the German Social Democracy, the Mexican Revolution, the American Socialist Party, and others, are all subject to their vitriolic abuse and destruction. But they themselves are to be held sacred and above reproach, even when their conduct is just as traitorous and as treasonable to the working class as is the conduct of some of those whom they condemn.

What absurdity! Let's have done with it. Let those who criticize accept criticism! Let those who destroy prepare for destruction! That's the only logical, the only manly course. Don't play the baby act, and cry out, "It's not fair to do those things to me that I do to you. I am only a child and you're a big grown-up man." That's the attitude of Russia in a nut-shell.

Now, there is one thing that should be realized by the supporters of Russia and that is, since Russia has abandoned communism for capitalism, it must go "the whole hog or none", to use the vernacular. That is, Russia must pass through the capitalist stage of development in all its completeness before it can attain to full growth as a modern power. There can be no hybrid society in such progress. This, all the great industrial nations of the world already foreshadow in their previous growth. And it is likely to be more true in the case of Russia than in their case, as Russia obviously is going to be developed with the aid of the world's greatest capitalisms, with the result, quite logically, that its working class will suffer the world's greatest abuses.

Under the circumstances, it is silly to expect that Russia's working class can have capitalism with working class control. It is far wiser to organize to anticipate a repetition of capitalist hstory the world over, according to which the bourgeois in every embryonic capitalism has used the working class to climb to power, while brutally exploiting them and oppressing them in every way possible.

It is absurd to think that because Bolshevists are at the helm in Russia this repetition is impossible—these same Bolshevists having already proven themselves opportunists, who trim their sails to every peasant and imperialist wind that blows, while at the same time putting the working class in the straight jacket of conformity, much against its will.

We see practically the same thing being done by the Obregon government in Mexico. And we are supposed to denounce the Obregonian policy, with its concessions to Standard Oil, as a betrayal of the working class, and we are supposed to regard its so-called labor constitution as an ideality rather than a reality, while the same policy, the same concessions and the same documents in Russia, are hailed as working class triumphs! How do they get that way anyway? They get that way by living in the tradition of the revolution of November 1917—a revolution that is already gone—**a revolution that has been replaced by the capitalist revolution, the imperialist revolution on which Russia is now entering.**

It is astounding that workingmen familiar with American conditions and history can be taken in by the Russian glamour. Wasn't "our" American Democracy of, by and for the people, just as Bolshevism is of, by and for the workers? That is, wasn't this American political fetich the empty formula behind which capitalism grew to immense proportions in the exploitation of labor, just as in Russia, the foundations of an immense imperialism are being laid behind another formula whose substance has long departed?

Trotsky told Irving Bush, the big capitalist envoy from the United States, that American history is the key to Russian problems. Let's apply American history then to Russian problems, especially to Russian working class problems. Let's not forget how American capitalism developed. And don't run away with the idea that capitalism on any other soil is going to be any different. The American soil was of the best; and the working class results!—contemplate them, oh, you friends of Russia! And, maybe, after such contemplation you will realize that criticism of Russia is primarily for Russian working class good!

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## THE PRESS IS MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD

Since April 1st, the I. W. W. press has printed, in addition to its regular monthly, weekly and bi-weekly publications, about 4,000,000 leaflets and 650,000 pamphlets.. Also about 1,000,000 pieces of matter were printed for the General Defense; 1,500,000 stickers for the industrial unions, 300,000 industrial union bulletins, 100,000 due books, and 100,000 constitutions and by-laws.

# Editorial

## THE NEXT CONVENTION

NEXT month—November 12—the annual convention of the I. W. W. will take place. This convention will be one of the most important ever held. This belief is based on the new spirit that is pervading the whole organization. This spirit is expressed in a desre for better and bigger organization, for more co-ordination and expansion. It is best put in practical form by the whole-hearted support which the entire I. W. W. is giving to the steel drive of Metal Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440. It is the spirit that realizes that the I. W. W. must organize the workers in more of the big- basic industries and must adapt its plans accordingly, if it is ever to win in the struggle with modern giant industrialism as it aims to do.

The existence of this spirit is a great fact. It refutes the old claim that "the I. W. W. is merely an organization of western migratory workers". And it upsets the efforts of communists and others to make the I. W. W. such exclusively. With this spirit back of it, the I. W. W. should more truly become, to an even greater extent than at present, the Industrial Workers of the World.

The convention will have many practical problems to tackle along the lines of growth above indicated. The small industrial unions are clamoring for more aid in organization work. This is especially true of the Textile Workers' Industrial Union, No. 410, which operates in one of the largest and most promising industries for the I. W. W. in the country. And the textile industry is only one of the many big industries that should claim the convention's attention in any program of expansion. The railroad, building construction and food industries might also be added; but this will do as an indication of some of the work that the convention might tackle, to the greater growth of the I. W. W. and the greater benefit of the working class.

It is hoped that the next convention will not unduly emphasize relatively unimportant internal matters to the exclusion of the really great and important work of devising ways and means to organize the unorganized. This was one of the criticisms levelled at the last convention; this and its long and costly sessions, consuming time and money that would have done more good if spent in other directions. With some one million of migratory workers still to organize and about 25 millions of homeguards, it is hoped that the next convention will have greater scope and considerably more vision.

Probably the most important of the convention's problems will be financial ones. Organization improvement and extension are impossible without funds. How shall they be raised? By dollar dues? Compulsory assessments? The I. W. W. also needs abler and more experienced officers. How is it going to get them? By permitting reelection? By increasing salaries? The I. W. W. needs more intensive local development. How shall it secure the same? By per capita, branch and district council organization? Or by adherence to universalism and centralism? The I. W. W. needs better parliamentary training and more internal co-ordination! How shall they be brought about? The I. W. W. needs more definite immediate demands; more practical literature explaining its functions as an organization. It needs many reforms that the convention will have to consider, if it is intent on improvement and growth. Other matters such as daily newspapers, the Work People's College, new headquarters, relations abroad, and co-operation with other labor organizations, will also be on its order of business, without doubt.

If the convention is wise, however, it will spend most of its time planning an organization drive on a big scale. Relatively picayune internal tinkerings awaken no great enthusiasm. They only remind one of Nero fiddling while Rome burns. Their aftermath is generally one of disgust and discouragement. What is wanted is something to fire the imagination, arouse interest and awaken such activity as will shake the organization out of its ruts, into a realization of its tremendous tasks and responsibilities to the working class.

This is the opportune time for such an organization drive. It has already begun in the 440 Steel campaign. Let's keep it up! Let's study the methods therein pursued!! Let's extend its spirit of organization. With the working class largely unorganized, and with revolt seething in the A. F. of L., let the I. W. W. be up and doing. Let the slogan be:—

Organize the big, basic industries! Organize them into a big, basic I. W. W. All together!

## AUTOS FOR WORKERS

IN four years every auto in this country will be duplicated, such is the rate of auto production just now. That is, 1923 auto production runs over 3,000,000 cars. Where's all of them going to? People sneer at the idea of workers owning autos. But if they don't, who will?

Henry Ford is wise! He's selling autos to workers on the instalment plan. They'll go into hock to him; supply him with an endless stream of cash and at the same time be his main outlet.

Soon production will be so overwhelming in every line, that the only escape will be to make a luxury-consuming class of the working class. It seems a crazy idea, but what other answer is there?

## THE FOUR-HOUR DAY

STEINMENTZ'S declaration that in another century electricity will reduce the workday to four hours, worries the bourgeois press. The later can't conceive of a civilization founded on leisure for all. It believes that man can't be happy unless he works himself to death—for the bourgeois, of course.

However, the ancients had a different idea. They believed that leisure meant time to prepare for the higher social duties. It meant the accumulation of the knowledge so necessary to government and science. Perhaps in the future, even the humblest workers will have time to become industrial managers and statesmen of the best kind. Who doubts it? We don't! And so, we're for Steinmetz's four-hour day.

## THE JAPANESE EARTHQUAKE

ASIDE from its appalling character, which has aroused both the horror and the sympathy of the world, the Japanese earthquake has had two noteworthy effects. First, nobody has, as yet, insisted that it is a visitation of God on a heathen nation. Perhaps, people are getting disgusted with a God that indulges in such terrible pastimes, and, consequently, prefer not to refer to him. Anyway, they seem very much disposed toward the scientific explanation, which gives the slide of the Asiatic continent into the Pacific Ocean as the cause of this stupendous catastrophe. This mental attitude, therefore, seems to denote progress towards the scientific viewpoint.

Second, everybody (at least, in the editorial sanctums), seems to conclude that the earthquake will put Japan out of running as a world-power, for the time being. The loss of wealth, calculated at over three billions of dollars, it is believed, will be more than Japan can repair in a generation, at least. In the meanwhile, the other world-powers will rush into Korea and China, to the detriment of Japanese capitalism. They will thus secure advantages from which it will be hard to dislodge them in the decades to come. The earthquake thus, apparently, changes the course of history. It is not only a colossal geological, but also sociological event.

## WHY NO GERMAN COLLAPSE?

GERMANY presents an amazing study, that defies analysis from any other standpoint than that of modern industrialism. Here is a nation, defeated in war and harrassed, apparently, to the verge of destruction in peace, that refuses to either collapse or turn to "red revolution." What's the secret of this phenomenon?

When Robert Owen speculated upon the extraordinary wealth of Great Britain, despite the immense drains of the Napoleonic wars, he found an explanation in the invention of machinery and the exploitation of labor which it enhanced to hitherto unknown proportions. Multiply Great Britain of the first two decades of the last century many times and you have modern Germany in all the essential similarities, with some additions, to boot.

Germany should not be expected to collapse as Russia did. Russia is the very anthithesis of all that Germany stands for. It is of primitive peasant development primarily; while Germany is the most highly technical and industrial nation on the globe. Excelling in nearly every phase of modern existence, Germany is practically one vast productive and distributive organ, with extensive rammifications, and as such, capable of sustaining a pressure, as events have proven, such as would have broken down any other nation not similarly organized.

In addition, bear in mind that Germany is at once, paradoxical as it may seem, the victim and the object of support of allied capitalism. While the governments of England, France and the U. S. are wrangling over Germany, their financiers are absorbing its industries and effecting combinations with its financiers. Even "red" Russia is in on the deal; as Germany is the bridge that will bind it to French imperialism. Stinnes, with his Russian concessions, Polish mines and German industries, with their French, English and American backing, personifies the international Germany that, in the new modern industrialism, withstands the pressure brought against the national Germany of old. Stinnes' saying, "I'm a businessman, not a German," typifies the new and unbreakable era.

Of course, in all this the German workers are getting the worst of it. They believe they are saving old Germany, when they are simply weapons in the forcing of new international alliances. Accordingly, they are patriotic and political, when they should be economic and industrial. Instead of seeking to capture this new industrialism at its heart, through industrial union organization, they aim to capture the institutions which it has thrown into the discard. They'll get over it some day, in common with their fellow victims of world-capitalism, everywhere.

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**Subscribe for the Pioneer. Popular and sound.**

# How Is Your Health

By WOODBY SIANTIFIC

### Foods

ACCORDING to press diagnosis the late Gamaliel Harding died from at least six or eight causes; all high sounding names — Arterio-sclerosis, Thrombosis, Apoplexy, Cirrhosis, Hyper-cardiac, Leucocytosis, ad infinitum, ad nauseum. In their regular order these symptoms are, in plain United States: Hardening of the arteries, blood clot, blot clot again, diseased liver, enlarged heart, transient increase of the white corpuscles or leucocytes of the blood stream. This is all in addition to the information contained in the slip of some reporter's pen that he might have gotten some ptomaine poisoning from crab meat that was served on the boat. And old fossilized Sawyer quickly rushed in to save the poison food interests by saying that it is a well known fact that Alaskan streams are tainted with "copper salts," and many people are poisoned by eating fresh fish from these streams. Chemists please take note!

The only reason for using this recent example of medical murder in our magazine is because of the prominence of the victim. It is not that we are grieved over the demise of the so-called great president of the United States, more than we would be for any other citizen. The event is spectacular, dramatic, has received world wide publicity, so we seize the opportunity presented in this connection to state a few very important facts pertaining to health.

Harding did not die a natural death, and millions of others who are dying annually are not going the natural way. Once in a great while you read of a man dying of old age. That is natural death. His symptoms were produced by the insane rush of modern life, and the doctors finished the job. Men of high office, usually of mediocre minds, are burdened with a multitude of duties that a corps of alert workers would be unable to perform, and then prevented from attempting the work by being constantly compelled to attend innumerable banquets where huge gobs of devitalized, degerminated, artificial substances mistakenly called food are piled into the belly. Convention requires that one must stuff it down.

### The Workers' Food

The lower strata, industrial workers mostly, though we might include that conglomerate middle class, when they do eat, usually do so with about the same disregard for the laws of nature as the upper bunch. If he owns a consumptive flivver he will insist upon having the best of gasoline and oil to energize it, or if he is a fireman he will growl about having to shovel slate and dirt into the firebox; but never a murmer against the sticks, trash and poisons the food owners push into his body mechanism.

His sticky, starchy, indigestible white bread is made from the poorest by-product of the wheat grain, the grain that was produced and gathered by his miserable hands. He helps to remove the precious alkali and other mineral salts from it. This flour, deenergized as it is, is rendered further harmful by mixing with putrid, rancid old fat and alum. Feel it roll up and stick to your palate as you try to masticate it. You are fortunate if it does not adhere to the oesophagus before it reaches the lunch tank.

But he has been superficially reading current literature that advocates whole wheat bread, bran bread, bran crackers, bran cereal, etc. On the same page he reads advertisments of these products. They are guaranteed to cure everything from Lethargy Encephalitis to plain, everyday constipation. So he buys bran breakfast food, which is nothing but the most ordinary kind of sawdust. (Go to the library and find the chemical process by which sawdust, through distillation, yields alcohol, and the residue mixed with certain sugars is used for cattle food). He buys a brown loaf labelled "whole wheat," which, in most instances, derives its color from black molasses.

That beautiful white frosting on his bakery pie is made of chalk, eggosee, cornstarch and water. The filling is cornstarch and glucose. His jams, jellies and fruit butters are loaded with saccharine, a sweet product that positively has no food value. His rice has been subjected to a polishing process that removed all the vitamines. His fresh vegetables, if he has the money to buy them, have been preserved several days in transit. And his meat has been embalmed so long that the specie from which it was obtained is almost extinct.

### Ignorance, General and Otherwise

The workers' ignorance of food chemistry is more colossal than their ignorance of history, economics and industrial processes. A study of one of these subjects without properly relating it to the others would be of little benefit. Trained as they are to think of disease as a natural condition, an entity, is it to be wondered that they creep on in the self sufficient thought that they may eat whatever they like whenever they like. All sorts of combinations are heaved into the stomach at divers hours, and usually when the mind is in a turbulent state. Meat, potatoes, white bread, sugar, coffee and canned garbage are all piled in with about the same zeal as he later drives into his work. His teeth are falling out, his heart skips a beat now and then, dizzy spells attack him, he has a headache and is constipated, but all of this he seems to regard

as a natural condition, and relief is to be had in swallowing more poisons in the form of medicine.

He ate his weight in artificial sugar last year, never dreaming that this crystally white stuff is so made by bleaching with the fumes of poisonous acids. Nor is he aware that when it combines with other elements in his digestive tract the combustion that occurs, and which produces alcohol, sucks up all the available oxygen, thus leaving the other foods to ferment. You have your choice — fermentation or digestion. In his cellar or clothes closet he sees the terrific explosion occuring in the home brew vessel, but it never occurs to him that the same thing is happening in his food pouch.

### Some Progress

A few idealists in some of the larger cities have undertaken the tremendous task of enlightening the people as to dietary. Some of these have established little places of business where wholesome foods may be bought, but the very nature of such an effort is futile. The primary motive was to aid, but now they are occupied with the thought of maintaining the business. And presently they are selling substitutes. Only a few people ever find them. Their prices, in the very nature of things, must be higher than is charged by big business for substitutes.

There is just one way to assure ourselves of real live food, and consequently normal health: Industrial Organization to the end that we may fully and absolutely control the entire process, from soil to ultimate consumption, of food production, transportation, milling and canning preparation and distribution. This will entail more than a knowledge of operating technique. In the educational departments, and by that I mean the colleges that we should be establishing soon, it is imperative that we have a well trained corps of HEALTH teachers.

(Next article will deal with methods of "cure")

## HENRY FORD

(Concluded from Page 38)

rates are too high, the employes because wages are too low and hours too long, the owners because no adequate returns are realized on money invested."

Ford says that the men who know railroads are not allowed to manage and run them—the idea of service is subordinated to profit. The bankers' groups have control of the railroads and manipulate stock and bond issues. The price of stock is hammered down or up according to the desired end. The book propounds questions concerning railroad methods that might well be termed socialistic. For it seems that Ford has been stealing socialistic ideas and adding it to his thunder. For instance he asks: "Why are live cattle hauled thousands of miles, from Texas to Chicago and then shipped back dead as dressed meat? or why are enormous shipments of wheat sent from Kansas to Minneapolis, over hundreds of miles of roads, entailing tremendous labor and motive power, and then sent back to Kansas as flour?" He answers, "We need instead of mammoth flour mills, a multitude of smaller mills distributed throughout all the sections where grain is grown. Wherever possible, the section that produces the raw material ought to produce also the finished product. The same with food products and other products of manufacture."

### The New Decentralization

This brings to mind that Ford stresses very heavily on DE-CENTRALIZATION of industry. Not on the DE-CENTRALIZATION of the ownership however, but in manufacturing processes.

The Ford organization, we are told, is now carrying out an extensive plan of de-centralization in the production of Ford cars. All parts are to be made as near as possible to the source of raw material. The glass wind shields, wheels, etc., are to be made in different plants and from there shipped to assembling plants according to the amount needed. The big plants in Detroit and River Rouge now make mostly parts and assemble only enough cars for the Detroit and nearby markets. Assembling plants in different large cities like Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, will receive parts and assemble them for their own market and with their own conveyor system.

There is too much waste in the centralized plant. Under the new de-centralized system a part is only shipped once; from the place where it is produced to the point where it is to be assembled and sold. Under the old system of centralized production the parts were shipped into Detroit to be assembled and sent back as a part of the finished automobile.

The book is well written and interesting from end to end. It is the sort of book that can be read twice and still hold your mind. It is certain that Ford did not write the book, but his ideas are there. He furnishes good arguments which will require discerning reason to pick out whatever flaws there may be, for it must be remembered that the book finds much fault with modern business methods, or capitalism, and on this head no one will doubt that Ford has an argument. As the head of a large corporation, Ford views things from the heights. He qualifies himself by discarding the pronoun I and using the plural WE in his discussion, maybe having his own suspicions that some others besides himself had something to do with building up the Ford organization.

Ford's critics are many. His Jewish campaign, "Peace Ship" expedition, the mere fact that he is rich, have brought forth critics of a type. There remains yet to come from an employe of the Ford plants a criticism of the working conditions.

Next month we will deal with some of Ford's critics and discuss what they have to say against Ford and the Ford organization.

**(Publishers, Doubleday, Page and Co., Garden City, New York.)**

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 450, I. W. W.

# Boost the Industrial Pioneer

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# The Industrial Pioneer

*An Illustrated Labor Magazine*

REMEMBER!

## UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE for POLITICAL PRISONERS CHRISTMAS 1923

# PREAMBLE

## OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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DECEMBER 1923

*The*

Vol. I. **Industrial Pioneer** No. 8

Edited by JUSTUS EBERT

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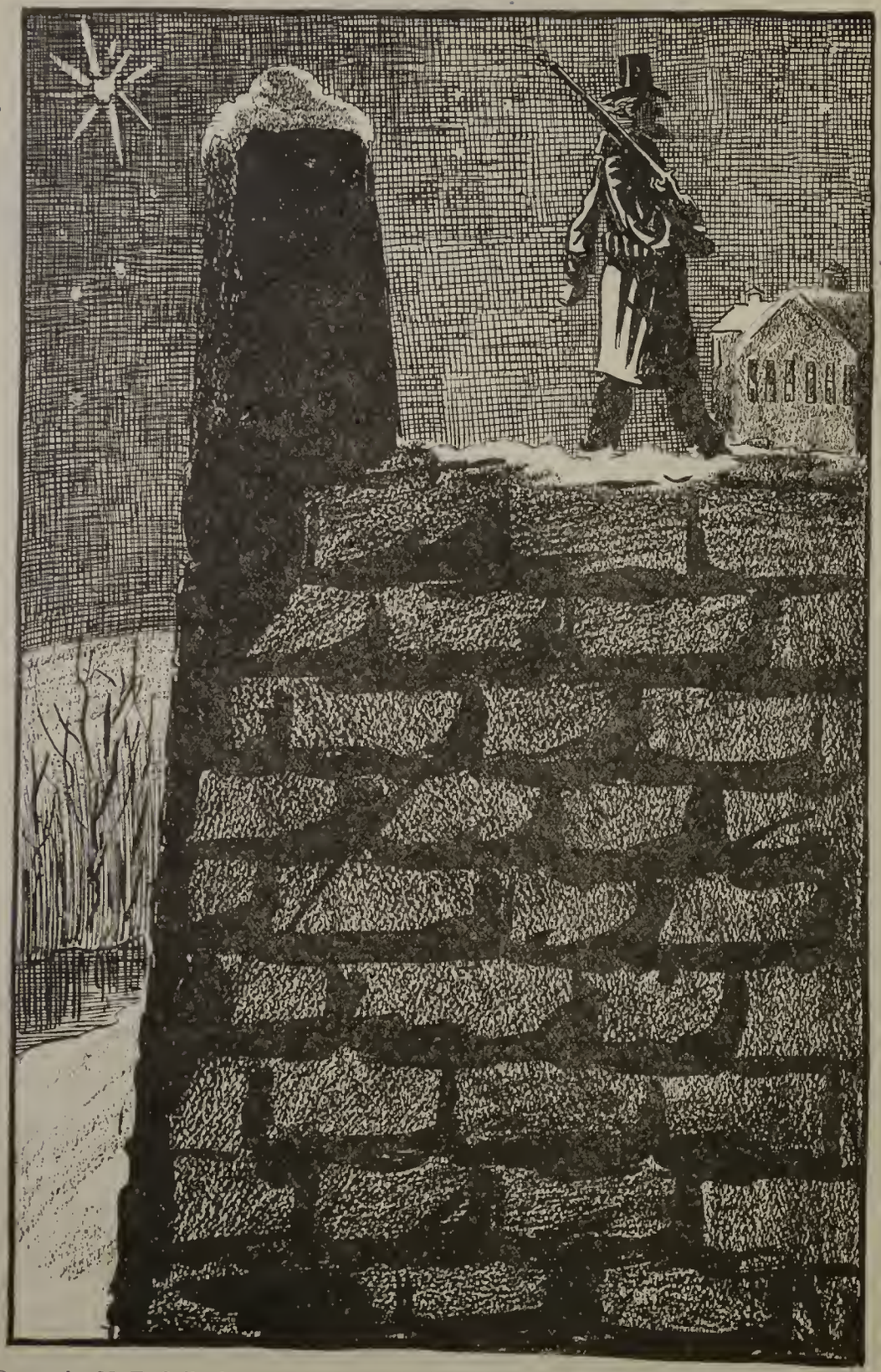


Drawn by M. T. Callaghan

## "PEACE ON EARTH"

IS THIS THE 1923 INTERPRETATION OF THE CHRISTMAS SPIRIT?

# The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. I. DECEMBER, 1923 No. 8


# Amnesty by Christmas!

**Let The Cry Ring Out from Coast to Coast, from the Lakes to the Gulf!**

**All Factions, Liberals And Radicals Alike, Join In Demand That Jails Be Opened And Men Set Free Who Dared To Stand For Free Speech And Industrial Democracy.**

**Sunday, December 23, is Day Set for Giant Demonstrations All Over the Country. Arrange One For Your Section. MakeIt A Rousing One! Begin Arrangements Now!**

THE General Defense Committee of the IWW has issued the following proclamation:

Well into their seventh year of unjust imprisonment our members in federal prisons have failed to win from the government authorities that consideration which has been extended to conscienceless profiteers who grafted upon the government, the spies of other governments, and malefactors who scuttled ships, wrecked warehouses and blew up munitions factories. Evidently, the government holds crime to be less offensive than the holding of opinions that do not accord with those who control it.

Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania, one of the acknowledged legal authorities in the United States, expressed the opinion openly to the late President Harding that the conviction of the IWW prisoners was not warranted by the evidence. He urged their unconditional release as a matter of legal justice without any humanitarian considerations whatever. He spoke as a lawyer, not as a man.

More than ever, then, does it become our duty to stir the consciences of the people of the United States, in whose name the President becomes a party to the legal crime committed by withholding from these men release from cells in which they should never have been incarcerated.

IS THIS TO BE THE STORY OF FREE SPEECH IN AMERICA?

Fellow Workers, wherever you are, try to get in touch with persons of influence in labor unions, civic and religious organizations, women's clubs and fraternal societies. Endeavor to have them arrange for meetings of protest against the inactivity of the government authorities in the cases of these innocent victims of wartime passions and prejudices, who have suffered the tortures of a prison hell for seven years.

Have resolutions demanding the release of these prisoners by Xmas passed. Only if, and when the nation resolves to wipe away this stain upon the reputation of a country that stands preeminently for freedom of opinion will the rulers of the United States attempt to repair this crime which has robbed these honest men of seven useful years.

These men are our fellow workers. They were condemned to living deaths for us. They must be freed. Let us say so with no uncertain voice on Amnesty Day—Sunday, December 23rd. Write in for literature.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,
1001 W. Madison Street.

STILL IN THE DARK AGES
—Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

BARS TO FREEDOM

# Yesterday, Today, the Future

By HAL BROMMELS

TIMES of the kings are gone,
Their days are numbered;
They ruled with bloody hand
While people slumbered.

Lords, dukes and royalists
No longer chain us;
They used to rob and rule,
They've jailed and slain us.

Now we have gods of gold,
Coal, steel and lumber,
Greater than kings of old,
Fewer in number.

Present-day emperors,
Giants in power,
Slave us in industries
Even this hour.

But right today there form
Means for our freeing;
Labor is rising up—
Thinking and seeing.

Someday the end shall come,
Labor will fight free;
Earth then shall bring for all
Gladness and plenty.

## GOLDEN RULE OF MODERN BUSINESS

**Dollars and dimes; dollars and dimes,**
**To be without money is the worst of all crimes:**
**To keep all you get and get all you can**
**Is the first and the last and the whole duty of man.**

**—R. F. Pettigrew.**

# California the Beautiful and Damned

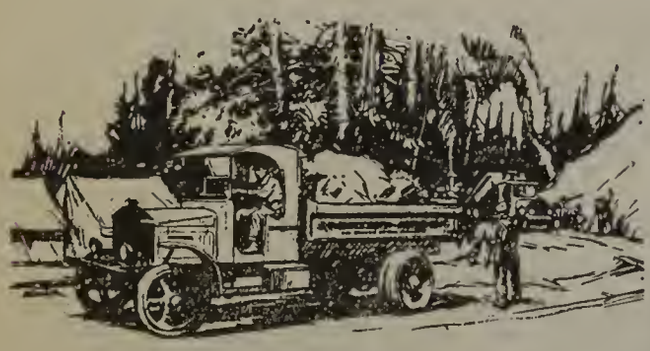
## Sends Workers to Prison for Being Members of a Labor Union

## Destroys Workers' Right to Organize and Strive for Better Conditions and A New Era

In the giant redwoods of California, lumber workers are arrested for organizing against the lumber trust.

At Eureka and other points loggers find their constitutional rights vitiated by pernicious state laws adopted during war hysteria.

The hydro-electric monopolies of California do not want any labor unions to interfere with their profits or powers. They



want unrestricted control, not only of natural resources, but also of human resources. Dirt movers, construction workers, power house employes—all the laborers who make possible their greatest achievements—all these must be without rights to organize and subject only to monopolistic manipulation.

It is these monopolies, in conjunction with lumber and shipping trusts, and manufacturers' associations, that are back of the infamous criminal syndicalism laws and persecutions of labor unionists in California.

Boycott California. Arouse it to the injustices perpetrated in its fair name.

# Nailing Christ to the Cross Again

Poems by HENRY GEORGE WEISE

But they shouted, saying, Crucify, crueify him. Luke, 23rd Chapter, 21st Verse.

THEY have men behind bars in San Quentin today
For dreaming of justice and truth;
They have men behind bars, shut from freedom away,
For talking and telling the truth.
They have men behind bars who dared look on the stars
And follow them upward and on;
They have men in" blaek holes" for the saving of souls
And voicing the coming of dawn.

They have men—do you hear it?—By God, I say men!
Hemmed in by their stone and their steel.
And sweated in jute shop and beaten and starved
Because they WERE men who dared feel
The woe of their fellows, the pain of their brothers,
The hunger, the misery, the viee,
The robbing of ehildren, the selling of mothers,
—The value, the profit, the priee!

Go blazon it wide for the smuggest to hear,
Go shouting it over the earth,
That men are in prison for daring to sing
The song of the world's rebirth!
Go thunder it forth from the mountain tops,
Go spreading it over the plain,
That Jesus the worker, the toiler, the slave,
Is nailed to a eross again!

# Standing Fast!

Written after paying a visit to Fellow Worker Pat Ryan confined in San Quentin penitentiary, California.

SAN Quentin stands in the shade of the mount
And the bay sits at its feet,
And the white road winds thru a landseape fair
Where fragrant blossoms scent the air
Till it comes to the house of dark despair
And bars and beauty meet.

Ah, Christ, I saw my brother there,
And clad in grey was he,
And the look of the chained was in his eyes
And the something of life that never dies;
He smiled, but I heard the thousand sighs
Thru the lips of misery.

They marched him in and they sat him down
One side of a form from me,
And the warder raised in a seat on high
Ran over us all a vigilant eye,
For there was a hundred as he and I
In that pose of infamy.

We did not talk of his tortured nights
Nor his days of endless work;
We did not speak of his longing pain
To walk as a free man onee again;
He spoke no word, for words are vain,
Of cells of deepest murk.

He only asked how goes the fight
This eonvict clad in grey.
He only said I'm standing fast
For truth and justiee till the last.
Tell all the boys—the hours past,
Guards eame, took him away.

San Quentin sits in the shade of the mount
And the sun shines on the bay,
And the gardens green run along the shore
And the riot of blooms are running o'er,
But they blossom outside the prison door
That shuts the damned away.

Ex-U. S. Senator, R. F. Pettigrew, South Dakota, defines capital as "stolen labor and its only funetion is to steal more labor." He also says, "The remedy is simple and plain—the same remedy you apply when a man breaks into your strong box and takes your money. You capture him and take the stolen property away from him."

Tokio press correspondence plaees loss of life by Japanese earthquake at 300,000. These figures are disputed by non-natives, who believe the offieials have "doetored" them for "reasons of state."

# Hypocritical California

By ARCHIE SINCLAIR

GOLDEN sunshine; high blue sky; rolling hills in the distance; the sea singing its sullen, plaintive song near at hand; drab grey walls and steel-barred doors and windows; the "mill" shop, yard and power house—this is San Quentin. Perched atop the wall, in a small box-like tower stands a guard with a ready rifle poised, as if daring the inmates to attempt escape.

Sultry heat; angry sun in the heavens; smiling landscape, dotted with fruit orchards in the distance; four dreary, dirty grey walls; windows and doors steel-barred and fortress-like—this is Folsom. Guards everywhere, atop the walls only too anxious to begin shooting, steal behind the prisoners to hear if they are plotting escape or breaking some petty rule of the prison.

In this highly civilized country, in this land that boasts that it opens its doors to the oppressed of other countries, in California, a commonwealth of that country, men are sent to prison for daring to organize in a labor union for their mutual protection. And yet that does not quite tell the whole story. The men who have gone to prison for violation of the Criminal Syndicalism law are more than Labor union organizers. They are men with a broad social vision. They want more than just a pittance; a share of what they produce. Their philosophy embraces more than the regulation of wages and hours. They want what the seers and sages of all ages demanded for the workers. They want the full social value of the product of their toil. They believe that evolution is pointing the way to a system of society wherein all those who toil shall receive their just reward.

### The Men of Marysville

This brings us to the court room in Marysville where Judge McDaniels presides. The trial is over and two of the prisoners are found guilty of interfering with the profits of the industrial owners. The other defendant, by some queer twist of fate, is acquitted. The names of the men found guilty are Fred W. Thompson and Ed Dawe, Malcolm Fullerton was not found guilty. And in passing I want to say that the report published in a Marysville paper that Fullerton renounced the organization to escape imprisonment is false. He stoutly maintained that his fellow workers were as innocent as he. Perhaps it was a compromise verdict.

Fred Thompson and Ed. Dawe are agricultural workers, sons of the soil who help to fill the world's bread basket, and often times go hungry themselves. (Oh! this paradoxical, insane system, wherein the ones who supply the world with food are forced to hunger, wherein those who make the clothes are clothed in rags, wherein those who build "palaces fairer than dreams" are outcasts.) They are young men, not yet thirty years of age, brawny men filled with a fierce hatred of injustice, intelligent men who know what is wrong and know, too, the remedy.

Malcolm Fullerton is a sailor, a "jolly tar" with sturdy frame and bronzed cheek. He, too, is a young man, about twenty-four. He has seen the vision and become a proselyte of the new freedom.

### Judge Holds Law Is Bad

Judge McDaniels discourses on the Criminal Syndicalism law. He gives it as his opinion that the law is unconstitutional. He believes that everyone has the right to express their opinion whether by spoken or written word. That the law should be repealed. But in view of the fact that the supreme court has ruled it constitutional he is helpless. The judge said that he did not place any faith in the testimony of the star witnesses for the prosecution—Coutts and Townsend. It was his opinion that Coutts was a criminal and unworthy of belief. Townsend, he said, was many times a deserter from the army and navy and that his last discharge was a dishonorable one despite the wording which was "undesir-

able" on account of his previous desertions from the navy. The judge hoped that the jury disregarded the testimony of these two wretches. He also said that had he been on the jury, he might have voted "Not Guilty."

The judge then entered into a long dissertation upon the principles of the IWW organization. He said that if you admit certain premises, to wit: that "labor is entitled to all it produces" the logic of the adherents of the organization is faultless. But that labor does not produce all wealth, Nature produced that. Capital is not stored up labor power. (He did not say what capital is.) He said that although the IWW were wrong in their contention that labor produces all wealth, that people have the right to be wrong.

Let us see whether Labor produces all wealth or not. We will grant that Nature creates all the raw material, but that is not wealth. All the timber in the world will not make a tooth-pick until labor-power has been applied. The whole smiling prairie land from Alberta to Missouri, from the Rockies to the Alleghenies will not produce one loaf of bread until the farmers and wage workers add their social labor to it. Until the grimy hard-working coal miner delves into the bowels of the earth with his pick and drill and powder no coal is forthcoming. Still the coal would be useless unless the railroader hauled the coal and distributed it. My lady's diamonds are bought with the blood of Kaffirs, and the sweat of the sturdy British miner. Iron ore that has made possible the gigantic industrial system, through the manufacture of steel, cannot be mined by Nature or by the wish of any capitalist; labor power must be applied. The clothes the honorable judge wears are made by the tiny, tired hands of children slaving in the cotton mills of the South, the woollen mills of Massachusetts, and the silk mills of New Jersey. His food passes through countless hands before it is served on his table. Every article that the judge uses has been transformed from raw material to a commodity of utility or art by the "magic touch of labor."

Perhaps the judge has a glimmering of the truth, but he is distressingly ignorant of economics. In this respect his education has been sadly neglected. No economist in the world, living or dead, would dare deny that labor produces all wealth. Adam Smith, Ricardo, Karl Marx, Walker, Roger Babson all admit, willingly or unwillingly, that labor produces all wealth

### The Shame of it All

The judge knows in his heart that he is sentencing innocent men. He knows that the men whom he is sending to San Quentin are intelligent, sincere men, whose hatred for injustice and hypocrisy compelled them to unite with their fellow workers in an effort to change conditions. It is very probable that the judge even knows that the predatory masters are the real criminals. But like Pontius Pilate he hearkens to the voice of those who rule. He has not the moral courage to release these men.

It is a far cry from Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," Ricardo's "Iron Law of Wages," and Marx's "Das Kapital" to Castle Despair on the shore of San Francisco Bay; and yet, not so far either. The men in San Quentin and Folsom have studied economics and understand surplus value, they know how wealth is produced, and know that those who produce that wealth are robbed of it by the ones who do no useful work. And knowing this they have gone into the industries and preached their doctrine of Industrial Freedom to the workers in those industries. This is heresy in California. It does not matter that the masters have secured control of the industries through exploitation, intimidation, bribery of state officials. They have got them. That is enough. In California possession is ten points in law. Dare to advocate a change in the economic system, or even ask for better conditions and the prison doors will open to admit you. The Criminal Syndicalism law is an ever present threat to those who want better living conditions for those who do the work of the world.

The smug, hypocritical judges fawn at the feet of Mammon and look with solemn cynicism at the suffering of the wage slaves. Swift and terrible is the punishment meted out to the industrial rebels who dare protest. One would almost think that Goldsmith was a prophet and had in mind this land of witch burners when he wrote:

"When I behold a factious band agree
To call it freedom when themselves are free,
Each wanton judge new penal statutes draw,
Laws grind the poor and rich men rule the law."

The struggle is harsh and stern here in California. The ranks of the men in prison grow larger each month. Ninety-seven of our gallant soldiers of freedom have gone through the portals that lead to the dungeons of the masters. They have gone with the love of freedom in their hearts and songs on their lips Their adherence to the principles of the IWW is sublime, almost fanatical.

If you want to see their spirits unbroken and their faith in their ideals unsullied and unquenched you will fight for their release.

## THE WAY

By COVINGTON HALL

**IF, O toiling millions, you suddenly should cease**
**To labor with your hardened, skillful hands,**
**Folding your arms quietly, deliberately, in peace,**
**Ceasing thus to toil in every land;**
**If you should say to those who rule,**
**"Our best beloved you keep**
**Behind stone walls and locks and iron bars**
**And we shall never work for you**
**While in your dungeons deep**
**They bear for us the marks of prison scars";**
**Then would oppression stand aghast**
**And tyrants quake with fear—**
**Awake! Be conscious, workers, of your power;**
**Organized, united, your demands made strong and clear,**
**The prison doors shall open in that hour.**

**CENTRALIA VICTIMS—Standing: Bert Bland, John Lamb, Britt Smith, and James McInerney. Sitting: O. C. Bland, Ray C. Becker and Eugene Barnett.**

# The Centralia Conspiracy

**How did the Lumber Trust Succeed in convicting men of murder who merely defended their lives and property from a mob? Some of the facts are known; others are coming to light daily.**

By RALPH CHAPLIN

"THERE is lots of justice in the United States—if you have money to pay for it!" This cynical and unadorned remark was hurled in the face of an IWW prisoner in Leavenworth by an admitted and brazenly guilty German spy. It was occasioned by the innocuous statement that, "Some day the IWW cases will receive justice and the country will be ashamed of what it has done." Less than a month afterward the German spy was released unconditionally. He was not even deported. The American workingman to whom the remark was made is still in the tentacles of the law.

It is barely conceivable that money didn't release the spy nor the lack of it keep the wobbly in. But the fact remains that, in a lawsuit, the goddess of Justice is always on the side of the biggest money-bags. A man is arrested, charged with a criminal offense, and taken to court. The far-famed Constitution guarantees him a speedy, fair and impartial trial before a jury of his peers. The profiteers violated the laws flagrantly and under the very nose of the government. Yet very few of them were hailed before "hizzoner." These good citizens misappropriated millions upon millions of the people's money, yet it is safe to say that not a single one of them is in prison at present. Yet workingmen, accused of violation of the war-time laws in 1917 were arrested upon the flimsiest of excuses, held, in some cases, two years and over awaiting trial and then given a speedy, fair and impartial conviction. And thirty-two of them are still behind the bars! Even more significant was the trial of the IWW loggers at Montesano.

Perhaps it is not true that, "justice is a purchasable commodity" and that, "there is one law for the rich and another for the poor." But if these things aren't true then they are lies that are mighty hard to answer. At all events money, in America, is one of the mightiest factors in determining the innocence or guilt of a person accused of crime. Even if justice cannot be purchased at so much per, public opinion can be purchased that way. In the last

analysis the ends of justice are shaped by public opinion, which is only making the purchase at the side door instead of at the front. That is why inconceivably huge sums are spent at election time, that is how the people of this country were stampeded into participation in the late unpleasantness, that is how a considerable number of IWW members found themselves in prison just about that time. Money spent to influence public opinion isn't a direct bribe nor an open purchase. Big business looks upon it as a safe and sane investment; which, no doubt, it is.

### Fear A Factor

At the trial of the intended victims of the Armistice Day mob it is doubtful whether money was used to bribe the jurors. It is still more doubtful whether these jurors would have accepted it. The fact is bribery was not needed. Every juror and every witness was coerced by terror and this terror was paid for out of the swollen coffers of the northwestern lumber barons. And the terror did its work. How would YOU feel, if you were on a jury in a town like Montesano and all your friends and some of your most influential neighbors, their minds inflamed by lurid articles and suggestive editorials in the newspapers, advised you, "give the damned IWW's what's coming to them?" Of course you would want to be fair; but, at the same time, fairly comfortable; and, of course, you would not be particularly anxious to leave your home town—in a hurry. The jury in the Centralia case had a hard job. Doubtless not a single one of them would themselves have acted otherwise than the men they found guilty. Doubtless the majority of them would admit it to you in confidence if you were to ask them. Yet they brought in the verdict that sent six innocent men to prison for from twenty-five to forty years! You can gauge the success of the lumber trust's investment by this one fact.

There were other things purchased besides the deadly publicity that poisoned the minds of the great mass of the citizenry of the northwest. Oh, yes, there were many things bought and paid for by lumber trust money besides the four dollar a day soldiers in uniform who gave color to the courtroom. The machinery of the prosecution ran far smoother than machinery does when it isn't oiled a little! And the Judge, if not subtle was at least stubborn.

### An Invented Legend

The prosecution, in order to cover up the crime of the real culprits, sought to press the absurd charge in court that the loggers had fired into the ranks of peaceful paraders. The evidence was all against them. Thanks to the capitalist papers however, the legend existed. It was a valuable asset to the prosecution—bought and paid for with lumber trust gold. And this legend was used to the limit to produce the passion and prejudice that would assure the unjust conviction. Only two deductions were possible: either the loggers fired in self defense or they fired with the intention of committing wanton murder. It happened that the loggers were members of the IWW. This fact alone, in connection with the gravity of the charge and the atmosphere of hysteria that surrounded the courtroom, made a fair trial impossible. If the "evidence" of the prosecution would not convince, the admitted shooting and the admitted membership in the IWW of the men who did the shooting would be sure to convince. Then there was the terror to be considered, the obvious and determined bias of the Judge and the machinations of the prosecution lawyers who "framed" the trial.

### Framed

Perhaps you think the word "frame" is too strong a word to use in this connection. Perhaps "framing" is not the right word. But if the ends of justice can be thwarted in an American court by powerful interests determined to convict workingmen in spite of evidence and facts, then it is time that someone invented a word to designate the process properly. Whether it is called "framing" or not, the thing smacks of the dark ages. It is medievalism superimposed upon the machinery of justice—the processes that are supposed to determine the guilt or innocence of any of us who ever happen to be charged of committing unsocial acts. It makes the courtroom a place where common men and women are not tried, but found guilty. It makes fair play and justice impossible and places any workingman at the mercy of any group of capitalists who wish to send him to prison. Read the facts and judge for yourself.

The defense admitted that there was shooting on Armistice Day in Centralia, that legionaires were killed and that the union loggers were armed. But the defense claimed—what everyone knew to be a fact—that the loggers had armed themselves as a measure of self-protection against a certain number of men who were bent upon murder and destruction. All things considered, in view of the repeated attacks upon the union hall, there should have been a verdict of "justifiable homicide in self defense." But the trouble is, all things were not considered—in fact, were not permitted to be considered in court. The Judge, subservient to the will of the lumber trust, ruled out, as inadmissable, all evidence that the union hall had been raided in 1918 and that the intention of the leaders of the Armistice Day parade was to raid it again. The Judge sought religiously to keep from the consideration of the jury all evidence of the conspiracy to raid the hall and of the complicity of Warren O. Grimm and others in this conspiracy.

### Jurors' Way of Thinking

After listening to the evidence on both sides, the jury was no doubt in a frame of mind something like this: "For some reason the union loggers fired at the legionaires and killed some of them. The Judge, at the last moment, instructed us to return either a verdict of second degree murder or one of not guilty. We feel that there are lots of facts withheld from us that we would like to know about. The Judge's attitude and the state of public opin-

(Continued on Page 60)

# Apples

By AG-1351

**A SORTING AND PACKING SHED AT WENATCHEE, WASH.**

WENATCHEE, Washington, a main street town of 6,000, lies snugly in a crook of the Columbia River, one hundred and sixty-five miles east of Seattle. It is important only because of being the center of a large apple district—"the world's famous apple orchards." Wenatchee has 3,500 acres of orchard, along the valleys of the Columbia, Wenatchee and Okanogan Rivers, from which to draw its support. This does not include the Yakima district, which has approximately the same acreage of fruit.

The State Horticulture Department's conservative estimate is that 18,000 cars of apples will be shipped from the Wenatchee district this season. Each car contains 756 bushel boxes.

### Big Migratory Employment

Aside from the local people and farmers' work, at least 4,000 migratory workers are required to help harvest the apple crop. The local chamber of commerce looks after the publicity and advertising required and for several weeks prior to the harvest the daily papers of Spokane, Seattle and other nearby towns carry advertisements asking for workers to come to Wenatchee The result is that when the migratory agricultural workers arrive they find about 6,000 men and women workers thrown into a district that cannot furnish jobs for over 4,000.

This is intended and desired by the employers. The Fruit Growers' Assn., which is nothing more than the Orchard Owners' Union, sets the wages and determines the number of hours in a working day.

### The Auto Tramps

Hiring is done through the government free employment office for the propertyless workers. The auto tramps drive over the district until they find a place to work and then make their camp. With more workers than jobs and only a minority organized, they become easy prey to the organized employers, who have previously held a **business** meeting, at which they set wages and hours.

The 3,000 or so auto tramps were given preference since they had their own camp equipment and could live very cheaply. Many stated that they could live on fifty cents per day for each adult. Many of the strictly migratory workers were forced to leave without going to work. This later proved to be very undesirable to the orchard owners, as there was evidence of an early winter and the auto tramps commenced to leave the valley, when the crop was only half gathered. Whether they went east or west, they were forced to cross a mountain pass, which closed early on account of snow.

All work is done on a ten hour day basis for workers employed by the day. But on piece work the pickers pick from daylight to dark and the packers work from ten to fourteen hours. Even the nailing on of the lids and making of boxes is piece work. Picking is mostly paid for at the rate of five cents per bushel box and this proves a great incentive to the unthinking workers, who set a speed that they themselves cannot even maintain. If a worker picking in good sized apples can earn what is considered a living wage, then the ones picking small fruit will be paid at the same rate. The workers who work at the highest rate of speed, for the long-

WENATCHEE VALLEY ORCHARDS

# Out Where Rolls the Oregon

By FRED PUGH

PICTURE to yourself a steep hillside in the forest, a rock crusher, a quarry, trucks coming and going, hauling rock to build a highway for profit.

It is night. Four or five electric lights, such as they use in a ten-cent flop-house, a bonfire, fifty workers sweating, toiling, to load the cars. The roar of the huge crusher. The tit-a-tat of the air drills, the cries of the "Boss": "Come on with the car."

Suddenly a cry, "Look out," from the darkness. Overhead comes upon us a huge mass of rock. A mad scramble. The cries of a wounded fellow worker. "My God, men, pick me up." A huge boulder has rolled over his legs, crushing them! Another is taken from under a car where he was also crushed. Still another comes out, his arm hanging limp, broken in two places. They are all taken away.

The workers gather in groups. Soon the Boss cries, "Come on, men; bring the rock in."

A few minutes later the shift is finished. They come down to the camp. They gather in groups under the stars. From the office come the cries of injured. The call has been sent to the distant town for the ambulance and a doctor fifty miles away.

Hours pass. Finally the ambulance arrives. It is a dilapidated truck with cots, which have to be fastened together with hay wire. The driver is a volunteer from the garage. No doctor, no nurse. They are loaded in. Back they go through fifty miles of darkness.

In the morning, word comes that the fellow worker with crushed legs is dead, a victim of the system. Murdered that a master class may live in plenty.

At the same time, the powers that be are holding a celebration over the building of a railroad, so the timber barons can market the lumber they have robbed the workers of.

What care they about the worker who was murdered. There are plenty more meek and submissive slaves to take his place.

Fellow Workers, will you never wake up and stop this slaughter? You sweat and toil for a few miserable dollars, while the master lives in luxury on the product of your labor.

Remember, there is no compromise; no half-way point. We must force the master himself to become a producer. Do away with the system that murders the worker for private profit and that places the worker in jail for organizing to better his condition.

Don't for the Love of Pete, be just a card packer! Wake up! You have nothing to lose. Everything to gain.

Yours for the I. W. W. and the California Boycott.

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est number of hours act as a plumb bob for the owners when they meet to set the rate of pay for all workers employed by them. Many workers object to doing two men's work, when there are men who cannot find jobs, while others find it impossible to turn out a large amount of work on account of their mind's being bothered about union men being in jail for organization activities.

### Pickers' Average

The pickers average about eighty bushel boxes per day, and while apple picking is not considered dangerous work, much of the picking is done from high ladders, and the piece worker, if he is to make a wage, does not have time to adjust his ladder securely to hillsides and irrigation ditches. Then, too, there is the time lost when it rains, and as most of the jobs are of short duration, this necessitates looking for another boss about every week. The campers, after picking ten hours, and sometimes more, go to their "jungle" home and cook their own meals.

The packing is all piece work. The bench packers pack apples that have been sorted into three grades, but have not been sized. These workers are paid about seven cents for each bushel box, as they have to take time to determine to which of the five or six different sizes the apple belongs. They pack an average of eighty boxes in ten hours . Each apple is wrapped separately. The ones who pack apples sized by a machine are paid five cents per bushel box and pack an average of one hundred and ten boxes.

The sorting is all speed-up work. Machine sorting is especially hard. Ten hours of feeding apples into a machine that never stops except an hour at noon! The bench sorters are always given more than they can do. Then they not only have the foreman driving them but the piece work packers are always crying for more apples since they can pack more boxes if the bins are kept full all the time.

Some of the active job delegates for the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W. are discussing a constructive plan of action for next year. They consider that this is a fertile field for agitation against the piece work system and for an eight hour day. Conditions are bad and they hope to improve them by pointing out these things to the workers alongside of them on the job and combining with them to take better living conditions and shorter hours, the much despised philosophy of misery notwithstanding.

**Subscribe for the INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**
**$2 a Year. 48 Pages.**

# *A Genius Who Was a Real Friend of Labor*

THE working class lost a great friend when the electrical genius, CHAS. PROTEUS STEINMETZ, died. "An unreplaceable superman," he was ever sympathetic to all labor movements. A great technician, he bridged the chasm between men of his type and common labor by practical co-operation and understanding. All this is especially reflected in his support of the much-hated I. W. W., to whose defense and educational funds he was a liberal contributor, as he was also a subscriber to its press, getting two copies of Industrial Solidarity weekly and having his subscription to Industrial Pioneer paid up six years in advance.

CHARLES PROTEUS STEINMETZ Photo by G. E. Co.

Unlike Robert Owen, Karl Marx and Peter Kropotkin, geniuses who were born in the manufacturing, middle and aristocratic classes, Steinmetz seems to have been of working class origin. A poor immigrant, a refuge from Bismarckian tyranny in Germny, he was in danger of exclusion on his arrival in this country. His rise to pre-eminence, apparently, never caused him to overlook his own proletarian beginnings.

Steinmetz was called "the electrical wizard." His achievements made possible the long distance transmission of power, the protection of transmission lines with lightning arresters, the making of small machines which will do the work of larger and more expensive machines; artificial lightning; and the alternating current which makes possible, in turn, the present gigantic power systems which interchange power and have become a copper network across thousands of square miles.

His powerful influence was felt in practically every branch of the intricate and complex electrical industry.

Steinmetz was a many-sided personality. His friend and co-worker, C. M. Ripley, describes him as "draftsman, electrician, inventor, philosopher, engineer, supertest man, trouble shooter, mathematician, astronomer, naturalist, author, lecturer, after-dinner speaker, entertainer, educator, sociologist, economist, socialist,—and at the same time an optimist, kindly friend to the struggling, inspiration to millions of young men, unassuming, patient, simple in tastes and dress."

Other men, well know in the engineering world, also praise Steinmetz.

Walter N. Polakov, another technician, is, like Steinmetz, a socialist also. He pays what is probably the greatest tribute to the latter in The Nation. Therein, under the title, "The Curse of Work," he says:

Charles P. Steinmetz is dead. The big heart in the ill-shaped body has ceased to pulsate. Work killed the brain. Such is the symbol and the last lesson taught us by this engineering genius of the age.

"Work is a curse! The chief aim of society should be to abolish work." Such was the slogan of the "wizard of Schenectady," as the newspapers called him, and it is indeed the aim of every engineer worthy of the title to reduce the drudgery of work, to relegate it to beasts and machines, and to emancipate man, placing him on the dignified level of a human being.

Steinmetz was known and loved far beyond the boundaries of this country. His name carried with it the implication of more than an "engineer." He was a man—therein lay his greatness. Because he was a man, he could not fail to be a socialist, and latterly he freely contributed of the treasure of his knowledge to building up Russia and its promise. Because he was a man and socialist he worked as an engineer. He often stated that the aim of engineering is to control the forces of nature for the well-being of mankind. What are these "forces of nature"? Are they limited to "non-human nature," or do they embrace as well the forces of "human nature" On this point Steinmetz never wavered.

In interviews that were broadcasted across two continents he sharply defined the goal of success

for the engineer—"to find out how human forces work." "For only then," according to Steinmetz, "can we expect any great human progress." That is why he became such a warm supporter of Korzybski's theory of man; that is why he was so persistent in his condemnation of a form of society which "is organized about property instead of human life."

His engineering work was clearly guided by this lucid vision of man liberated from the drudgery of daily toil. It was the system that considered men as "factory hands" that he indefatigably sought to discredit in the popular mind. It was the ideal of man as time-binder, as a creator of the world of ideas, as a director of the incarnate forces of nature which was the compass of his striving.

Mathematics and electricity were his tools. Mathematics, because it is the only natural method of thinking for mankind. It does not depend on fickle emotions and deceiving senses; no potentate or dictator can legislate the laws of mathematics and nature out of human life. Electricity, because its immaterial field so subtly penetrates our life, because its power is so serviceable to mankind, because it replaces with ease the ponderous mass of old, clumsy mechanical devices requiring so much human toil. With these tools he hoped to see the work-day reduced to four hours and to give to the man in the street and the man in the mill time to become truly human.

Steinmetz's achievements are many and mighty. Merely to enumerate them would be beyond the limit of this brief tribute. It may safely be said that at least one-third of the practical attainments in this branch of engineering within the last twenty years was directly or indirectly due to his researches or to his method of reckoning possibilities.

A beast may leave to his children a will: "Do as I did." A man like Steinmetz gives a command: "Do better."

# The Electrical Wizard: A Recollection

SEVERAL years ago, 1916 I think it was, I had the pleasure of working at Schenectady, under the direction of Dr. Steinmetz on one of the experimental transformers in which he was interested at that time. Steinmetz would come around several times each day to see how the work was progressing.

The clearness with which he could see difficulties likely to be encountered and accordingly change plans, was amazing. There were perhaps thirty changes made while the work was going on and each one was for the better. The experiment when completed was successful and the doctor thanked the men in this manner: "It's mechanically perfect and also electrically perfect. Fine job! Now I know what the next step is. Take her down, boys; it has served its purpose." And with a smiling nod he went back to his blueprints.

Steinmetz was not only a great mathemetician and scientific electrical wizard. He was something few scientists are. He was also a thorough-going mechanic. The ease with which he could tell a man a better mechanical way of doing a certain piece of work was uncanny. I remember in the course of that job several occasions on which he demonstrated the right to be termed a crackerjack mechanic. Higher praise than this is not possible from a "working stiff" like the writer. A kindly man, a capable man and withal a real human being, one who could unbend and meet with cordiality the lowest paid worker in the plant, Steinmetz' death is one of the greatest losses the world has suffered recently.

Card No. 416897.

## EDISON APPROVES

Another electrical expert, Thomas A. Edison, has indorsed the opinion of Dr. Charles P. Steinmetz that electrical power applied to industry will reduce the average workday to four hours some time in the future. Following a luncheon given in his honor, Edison said:

"The time will come when full automatic machinery will be so largely introduced that production will not require a man's working more than four hours a day. Some hold that this may not be a good thing; idleness is rather objectionable to the average man. But from the standpoint of the old man it will be a good thing because then old men need never work. The young can work and support the family."

## READ THE I. W. W. PRESS

Consists of 13 publications in 9 different languages. The latter are English (3), Hungarian, Italian, Bulgarian, Roumanian, Czecko-Slovak, Spanish, Finnish (2), Russian and Croatian.

For sample copies and more information, address The Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Sent to any part of the globe. Write at once.

The number of children in industry has increased amazingly. The recent survey, by the Children's Bureau, of 30 cities located in the United States, shows an increase of 36.8 per cent in the first half of 1923 over the latter half of 1922.

# *The Fairy Wand of the Ages*

The city beautiful, no less than the products of the soil—all that symbolizes man's ingenuity, his manufactures, arts and sciences—his marvelous flights of fancy all are impossible without the fairy wand of Labor.

Only with Labor's brain and brawn are all things possible of production and realization.

With Labor dumb (or stupid), denied the right or the opportunity of development, civilization, in its best sense, is impossible and the race stagnates.

More fascinating than the novelist's tale or the historian's record, is the recital of Labor's achievements and struggles throughout the ages Sometimes they rise to the crest of the waves of progress; and now they are in the trough of reaction.

But rise they will again, for Labor is growing conscious of its progress; it is beginning to realize now more than ever before, that it produces all wealth and is entitled to all that it produces.

And with the momentum born of that increasing consciousness will it again sweep the seas of capitalism progressward, that is, towards the realization of its own ideals and the ideals of the race, namely, peace, plenty and happiness for all, instead of a few.

# The I.W.W. in Convention Assembled

SINCE the appearance of the last issue of Industrial Pioneer many of the industrial unions of the Industrial Workers of the World have held their annual conventions. Their deliberations covered a wide range of subjects of interest to the working class, and reflected an intelligent determination to grapple with all the problems affecting the industrial union organization of the latter.

International co-operation and the organization of the unorganized, especially in the giant industries of the East, were among the many problems acted on. So also were the defense of class war prisoners, increased dues and initiations, adjustment of dues and initiations to international conditions, and industrial and branch autonomy. Nor was the California boycott forgotten.

The reports printed below are brief condensations of more detailed reports printed in Industrial Solidarity The reader is referred to the latter for more details.

### 110 CONVENTION

At the October Fargo convention of Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, No. 110, general strikes, greater efficiency in the field, support of halls at Minneapolis and Chicago, and delegate instead of mass conventions, were promoted by the adoption of various motions

Five delegates were elected to the general convention.

**Co-operation with agricultural workers' organizations in other countries, was also voted.**

A sliding scale of initiations and dues, to range from $1 to $5 for initiations, and from 50 cents to $1 for dues, was also favored in the instructions to the general convention's delegates.

**The Fargo convention went on record to concentrate the energies of No. 110 in California during the coming months and to vote in the general convention for a pledge against violence, such pledge to be taken by every new member when joining.**

$2,500 were also voted to the California defense.

### 310 CONVENTION

At the November General Construction Workers' Union, No. 310, convention, held in Chicago, it was decided to place on a referendum ballot various forms of internal organization proposed for the Union, such as branch organization, district form, clearing house, supply stations, etc., for the membership to decide.

Every effort was made to do as much constructive legislation as possible and to push organization.

### 330 CONVENTION

The third annual convention of the Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330, was held in Chicago, November 5th to 7th inclusive. It was judged the most successful held by 330. A referendum for proposed by-laws and the functioning of the industrial union under its own officials, through the election of its own general secretary-treasurer, was adopted.

Two hundred and fifty dollars was voted to fight the California criminal syndicalism cases.

The 330 convention publicity committee emphasizes the fact that:

**"The membership have not overlooked the situation that confronts us in the Eastern states; they sent resolutions and suggestions on the necessity of a great organizing drive in the large Eastern industries and are calling upon the General Organization to use all efforts possible to get organizers and literature for the manufacturing and especially, in the basic industries; they realize that our coming strength lies where the millions of the workers are suffering from capitalistic exploitation, but do not as yet realize that their might is in an organization such as the IWW."**

Other measures adopted provided for a $1 convention stamp, a daily IWW paper, which was left to the GEB, the adjustment of dues and initiations in foreign countries to meet living conditions there and the pushing of the boycott against California products.

### 440 CONVENTION

An enthusiastic convention of Metal and Machinery Workers' I. U. No. 440, was held at Cleveland, Ohio, November 5 to 8 inclusive. The delegates were greatly elated over the progress made since the Toledo conference. (The details are given in last month's Industrial Pioneer.)

**Two scholarships in the Work People's College at Duluth, Minn., were voted by the convention. The latter also favored the enlargement of the IWW Educational Bureau.**

A resolution, extending greetings to all class-war prisoners, and pledging the union to carry on the work for which our members are incarcerated, was heartily endorsed by the delegates. Also, one was passed, its contents calling for making the boycott of California-made products more effective.

**It was decided that the delegates from 440 to the General Convention should confine themselves chiefly to plans for future organization work among the workers, and do their part in helping to shorten the convention. Internal organization matters were regarded by the delegates as secondary to the great problem of how to "Organize the Unorganized," especially in the great manufacturing centers of the East.**

### 510 CONVENTION

One of the largest Chicago conventions was that of the Marine Transprt Workers' Industrial Union No. 510, held October 29th to November 3rd. Delegates were present from New Orleans, Galveston, Norfolk, Philadelphia, New York (Manhattan and Brooklyn), Buffalo, South Chicago, San Francisco, and Portland.

(Continued on Page 50)

A GROUP OF MODERN INDUSTRIAL WORKERS, U. S. A.
—From The Nation's Business

# Modern Industrialism

## Lecture Delivered Before Chicago Open Forum

By JUSTUS EBERT

IT may seem presumptious on the part of the lecturer to talk about Modern Industrialism before an open forum conducted by The Industrial Workers of the World. Industrial workers are believed to know all about modern industry. The very fact that a man works in industry is believed to endow him with an almost canny knowledge of modern industrialism and to cause him to reason in terms of that industrialism exclusively, and also to make him consequently the only one fit to assume its management and control.

It is, of course, true that being a part of modern industry causes a man, consciously or unconsciously, to reflect its existence and operation. It is hard to conceive of an Esquimeau, for instance, with the intelligence of a modern industrial worker. It is also true that many workers, because of their interest in industrial affairs, are aware of the nature and importance of modern industrialism.

But as far as the vast armies of workers are concerned, it is safe to say that they know little of the system which absorbs their mental and physical lives, to the exclusion, almost, of everything else.

Most of them live in a bygone age, mentally and ideologically. They have to be told what modern industrialism is, why it is, how it operates, and with what results and prospects it does so.

This fact has been forced on the lecturer's attention by a wide and varied experience in modern industry. He has found, by means of questions and through arguments, that most workers are unaware of their part in the industrial process. This is evident from their individualistic attitude and their refusal to organize. Both this attitude and this refusal are impossible with workmen possessed of a knowledge and a consciousness of the part they play in modern industrialism.

The lecturer believes that some of these men may be here this evening and, so believing, has undertaken to lecture to even an open forum of The Industrial Workers of the World on "Modern Industrialism."

* * *

So much by way of introduction. Now for the subject proper.

It is always best to begin a lecture on a subject with a definition. Let us begin by defining what we mean by modern industrialism.

### What Modern Industrialism Is

Professor Frank McVey in his book, "Modern Industrialism," defines modern industry as the massing of men, machines and capital in the creating of goods. A simpler definition would be "the massing of labor and capital," for men represent labor and machines capital. What is intended in the McVey definition is to put forth the idea of labor (men, women, and children), fixed capital (land, buildings, machines, etc.), and working capital (cash and credit) as the important elements of modern industry.

The basis of modern industrialism is the corporation. This is a legally authorized organization, composed of men who invest their capital in its ventures. Their ownership is certified by certificates, known as stocks and bonds. Because of their investments and their stock and bond possessions these men are variously known as capitalists, stockholders and bond holders. They hold meetings and

elect a board of directors who, in turn, elect the officers such as president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, etc. These officers, in their turn, are placed in charge of various departments; each and every vice-president, for instance, having charge of a department such as finances, accounting, transportation, sales and so on. Under them are trained technical staffs, who plan, engineer, invent, conduct research, manage and superintend.

### Carrying On

Together with these staffs the officials carry on industry. That is, they purchase land for factory or plant sites, erect buildings, install machinery, secure raw material and employ labor to utilize and convert the whole into commodities for use and exchange. All for the profit of the capitalists, stockholders and bond holders that own the corporation. Such is modern industrialism, viz., an institution operated primarily by many technicians and laborers for the profit of its few owners.

Because the capital invested in modern industry is owned by private individuals called capitalists, and is used by them to exploit labor primarily for their own private profit, modern industry is also known as capitalism. Further, because it gives labor only a part of that which it produces for the capitalists, in the form of wages, and binds the workers through capitalist ownership to the control of the capitalist class, it is also called wage slavery. And thanks to its introduction and extensive use of machinery, driven by power and displacing both labor and skill, modern industry is also called machine production.

Discussing modern industrialism in detail, Dexter S. Kimball, Dean, College of Engineering, Cornell University, declares, in the technological journal "Management and Administration:"

### Many Phases of Modern Industry

"One of the most striking features of modern industry is the increase in the size of factories and other industrial enterprises. A few years ago a plant employing 1000 men was considered a large concern. Today, factories employing 5000 men are common, factories employing 10,000 men are not unusual, and a few plants have employed as many as 25,000 men within the confines of a single yard." (It may be stated, parenthetically, that such a plant exists at Hawthorne, a suburb of Chicago, where the Western Electric Company employs 27,000 men and women "within the confines of a single yard," in the manufacture of telephones and telephone supplies.) "A number of large corporations owning several industrial plants in different localities employ much greater numbers of workers." (The General Electric Co. is an example of this type. It has plants in nine states and 25 cities, with 75,000 employes.) "Statistics show that the number of corporations as compared to privately-owned enterprises and partnerships tends to increase, thus indicating a tendency towards mass financing and constant growth in the size of industrial undertakings.

"There is a general tendency, also, toward specialization of industry. A few years ago it was common practice for manufacturing establishments to produce a very great variety of products. Today the general practice is to confine the activities of an industrial plant to a somewhat restricted range and in many of the newer industries a very limited number of products are produced. There are a number of reasons for these noteworthy tendencies.

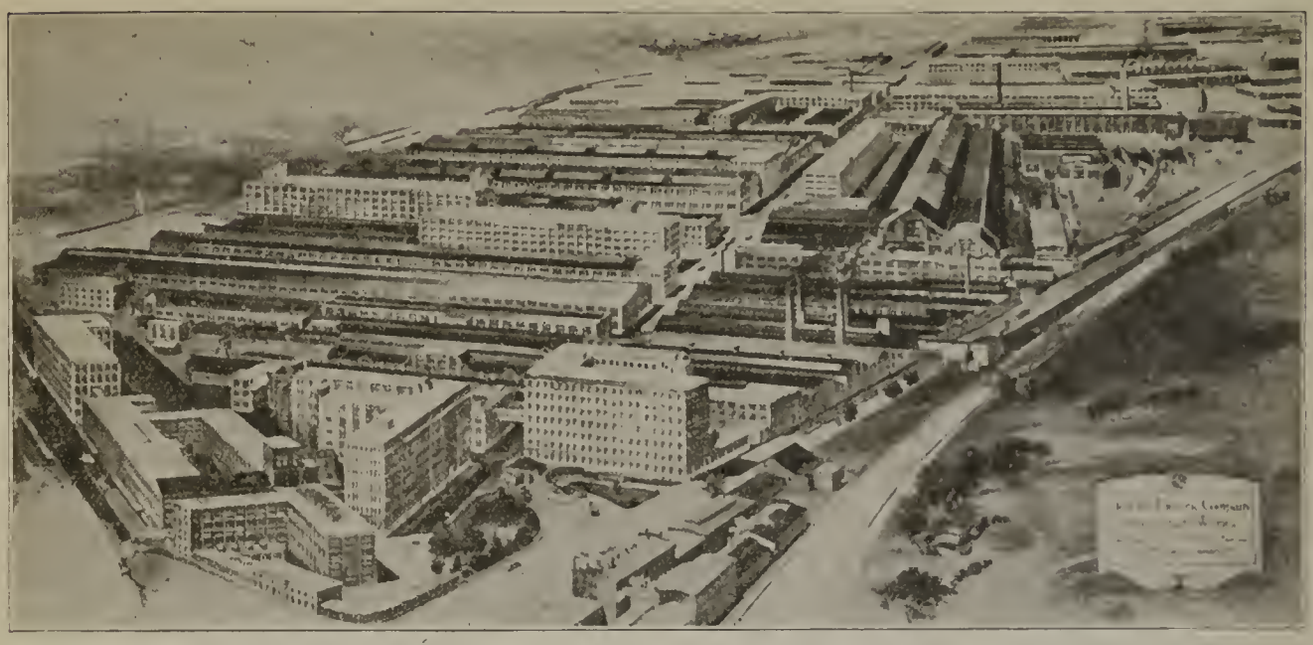
"Industrial enterprises tend to increase in size in one of three ways. The first is by natural growth in size of a single plant or by **aggregation** as it is sometimes called. The second method is by **integration**; that is, by extending the control over the supply of raw materials or the disposal of finished products by acquiring the methods and processess that are concerned in these operations. The third method is by **consolidation**; that is, by combining industrial undertakings of a similar character under one management whether these undertakings are single plants or integrated industries. The economic reason for this tendency toward growth and expansion may be conveniently divided into two groups: First, economies that lead to reduced cost of production; second, economies that give greater competitive power."

There is still one step not mentioned by Dean Kimball in the above. That is called co-ordination, in which all industrial enterprises are formed into a giant combination to exploit the world.

### Illustrations

The growth of single plants by aggregation is noticeable on all sides. Illustrations of integrated plants are to be found in the steel industry. Therein such corporations as the U. S. Steel control ore mines, coal mines, coke ovens, lake steamers, blast furnaces, rolling mills, selling agencies, building construction, export, banking and other companies necessary from the source of raw supplies to the consumer. An example of consolidated industry is the General Motors Company. Therein many types of auto cars, trucks and products are made in many widely divergent and differently located plants, under one corporate ownership and control. Co-ordination is exemplified by such organizations as the American Steel and Iron Institute and the United States Chamber of Commeree. The first is an example of co-ordination within an industry, as it is representative of the combined interests of all the steel and iron corporations. The second unites all of the many varied employers' industrial, commercial and banking corporations and associations into one gigantic whole. Corporations are also made one by means of interlocking directors, of which more later.

There is much discussion as to which is the most essential or basic industry. Some cry out "Agriculture is the basis of prosperity. It feeds the world and without food man is nothing." Others shout, "Steel is the backbone of modern society. Without steel there would be no autos, skyscrapers, machinery, tools, locomotives, railroads, bridges



—From "Life In A Manufacturing Plant"

**A BIT OF MODERN INDUSTRIALISM**
**General Electric Company Works at Schenectady, N. Y.**
**21,000 Employees—Scene of Steinmetz's Achievements.**

and aeroplanes. Even agriculture, in a modern sense, is impossible without steel. Steel rules the world." Then we are told that finance or credit is the prime factor and that he who controls credit controls the life blood of the nations.

We also hear such arguments as this: "Oil is the basic industry. Oil controls civilization, and the nation that dominates oil will dominate the world." Finally, we hear it argued: "Textilers are most necessary. Without them to clothe him, man would freeze to death. Even the blanket stiff would be impossible. For without blankets there could be no blanket stiffs."

### "An Interwoven Fabric"

On the subject of the "basic" industry, Charles Fitzhugh Talman, writing on "The Fabric of the Industries" in "The Nation's Business" for October has this to say:

"The industrial world of today is commonly regarded as a mosaic of distinct though contiguous industries. This conception, though useful for statistical and other purposes, is, to say the least, inadequate. If the industries constitute a mosaic they also constitute an interwoven fabric. The strands of one run far and wide through the others, so that it is impossible to say where one begins and the other ends. Because the industries thus interpenetrate one another, each depends on the other for its prosperity, if not for its very existence."

We might express this same idea more plainly by saying:

In modern industry, raw material is taken from the earth, passed through smelters, mills and factories where it is changed into articles of sale, and then distributed to domestic and foreign markets by way of selling agencies, railroads and steamships. The whole transaction is made possible and facilitated by means of money and credit—by banks and banking. So that modern industry is a working together of agriculture, mining, lumbering, manufacturing, transportation, communication, commerce and finance. Without the constant co-operation of millions of laborers employed in these various sub-divisions there can be no industry in the modern sense.

### Industrial Internationalism

The interwoven and interdependent nature of modern industrialism is further shown in its international ramifications. Raw materials and manufactured articles are shipped from and to all parts of the world. The Standard Oil Co., International Harvester Co., Ford Auto Co., Bethlehem Steel Co., and other big corporations have connections abroad. The Ford Co., for instance, has plants and subsidiary corporations in no less than seven different countries. The Bethlehem Steel Co. owns immense iron ore deposits in Chile.

The international character of modern industrialism was most strikingly shown in the beginning of the world war. In its September, 1914, letter, the National City Bank of New York, the largest in this country and a Standard Oil institution described the havoc caused in these truly impressive words:

"The whole world has tended to become one community with a network of interests and state of interdependence similar to that which exists in a single country. A few weeks ago men were buying and selling, lending and borrowing, contracting and planning, with little attention to national boundaries when suddenly the whole co-operative system was disrupted. Raw materials were cut off from factories accustomed to use them, factories from markets, food supplies from consumers, and millions of men were summoned from mutual helpful indus-

tries to face each other as mortal foes. An outburst of primitive passion in a corner of Europe wrecked the painfully developed structure of modern civilization.

This network of interests the world over is now greater than ever before. American capitalism is invading Europe, via investments, South America via trade and commerce, and Asia Minor via oil concessions.

### Industry an Evolution

All this is a result of evolution—of a slow growth, requiring centuries.

Previous to modern industry, there was no great massing of labor and capital for the profit of capitalists; nor was there extensive machinery. The individual owner and worker, who took all the products, most largely prevailed, and hand tools and skill were the general rule. Gradually firms, copartnerships, corporations and trusts evolved, each absorbing all that labor produced, and consolidating the industrial types that preceded it. All this was due to the invention and introduction of machines that displaced labor and skill, and required more capital than individuals possessed or cared to risk! Hence arose also the need of massing the small capitals of many into large capital. Where at first merchants had supplied the needed capital, now stocks and stock exchanges are required, assisted by banks, trust companies and such fiduciary institutions as the life insurance companies, all dominated by banking groups controlled by a few giant capitalists and financiers, like Morgan and Rockefeller.

This gives rise to the greatest phase of modern industrialism, namely, the financial phase. In this phase, modern industrialism passes under the control of financiers. Louis Brandeis, now U. S. Supreme Court Justice, in his book, "Other People's Money, and How the Banks Use It," shows how finance is concentrated and the total credit of the country is exploited by allied groups of private bankers headed by Morgan-Rockefeller. Woodrow Wilson, when Governor, declared in 1911, "A great industrial nation is controlled by its system of credit."

### The Money Trust

Brandeis quotes the Pujo Committee report on the Money Trust. This committe found that the Morgan-Rockefeller allied groups of private bankers held:

"In all, 341 directorships in 112 corporations, having aggregate resources or capitalizations of $22,245,000,000.

(This includes all of the strategic capital of the country, namely, the railroads, public utilities, "basic" industries, etc.)

"Twenty-two billion dollars," continues Brandeis, "is a large sum—so large that we have difficulty in grasping its significance. The mind realizes size only through comparisons. With what can we compare twenty-two billions of dollars? Twenty-two billions of dollars is more than three times the assessed value of all property, real and personal, in all New England. It is nearly three times the assessed value of all the real estate in the city of New York. It is more than twice the assessed value of all the property in the thirteen southern states. It is more than the assessed value of all the property in the twenty-two states, North and South, lying west of the Mississippi."

These words were written in 1914. Since then the Federal Reserve Bank has been established. But it does not change the actual conditions.. The Money Trust is now more powerful than ever before. Thanks to the war, which caused this country to become a world-financial factor, the American money trust reaches 'round the globe. In co-operation with other national financial groups, it is a factor in Mexico, Central and South America, Middle Europe, Russia and Asia. Thus modern industrialism, in its last analysis, means the dominance and determination of world affairs by organized combinations of finance and financiers.

### Evils of Industrialism

Let us see what this means—that is, what are its results to humanity.

The results, briefly, are two-fold, namely, the creation of class war and international war in human society.

As already indicated in the above quotations, corporations are composed of armies of workers on one hand and a few capitalist owners on the other. Ford, for instance, employs 120,000 persons in his various enterprises which he and his son own absolutely. The U. S. Steel Corporation has 250,000 employees, with a few big bond and stockholders, like the Rockefellers, Fricks, Carnegies, etc., in control. Twenty-five men control 82 per cent of the steam railroad systems operating 211,280 miles and employing the vast majority of the two million railroad employees in this country.

Between these two classes of employees and employers an irrepressible contest is being waged for control and supremacy. The employees want more wages, less hours, better conditions, more control and final emancipation, with themselves as the owners and rulers. The employers want more profits, greater investments, more luxury and sumptuous living, greater economic power and world dominance. And so they lock horns in great strikes, like those of the textile, railroad and mine workers last year, when 1,000,000 men struck and the nation was nearer revolution than at any time in its existence. Unless all tendencies fail these strikes will grow more extensive in the future; or else their place will be taken by wide-spread revolts on the part of the unorganized. The result, in either event, will be a paralysis of society and the precipitation of civil war, with its many-sided horrors.

### World War

But still more threatening than class war is international war; the late world war should leave no doubt of that. Then civil liberties were suppressed and the militarization of the nation took place. And war was engaged in, to the destruction of tens of

(Continued on Page 40)

THE MODERN FLOWER INDUSTRY

# The Boss Florists' Industrial Union

By AARON WEBER

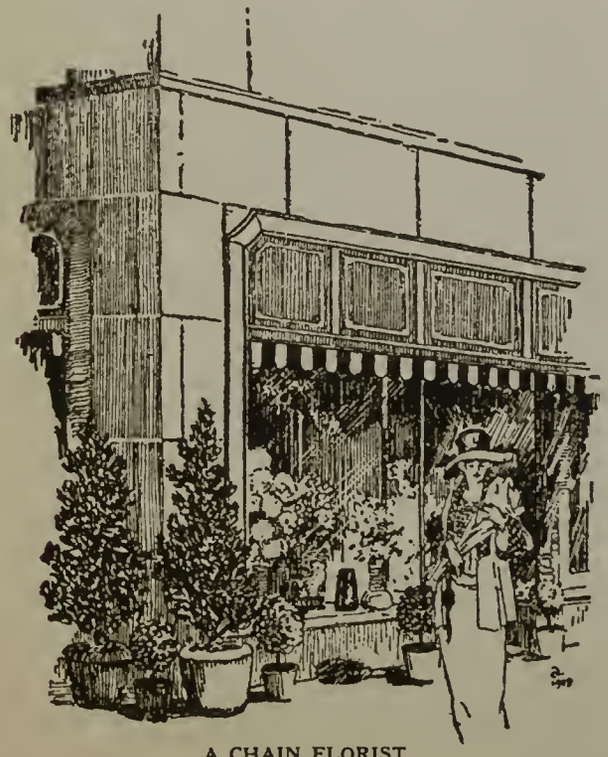
IN Hartford, Connecticut, on August 21, 1923, a meeting was held of the representatives of the Boss Florists' Industrial Union, namely, "The Society of American Florists and Ornamental Horticulturists." To read the list of its members, is to find therein the majority of greenhouse men, wholesalers, retailers, nurserymen, college professors and even their students.

Slowly many colleges are offering courses in floriculture and kindred lines and their graduates are the future owners or superintendents.

Before I complete this article I shall give details of how this union is built up and finally becomes, in turn, a part of the dictator of dictators, the United States Chamber of Commerce.

I believe most all of the florists connected with this organization would very much resent having the organization called a union, but that is all it is.

The slogan, "Say it with flowers," advertised so extensively, has stimulated the buying of flowers to such an extent, that the industry is now doing business to the sum of over a billion dollars and is growing by leaps and bounds.



A CHAIN FLORIST

The florist industry is young compared with many although flowers have been grown since man has become civilized.

The old greenhouse; narrow, low, dark,— a one-man affair—has almost gone. Today we have extensive ranges, such as Pohleman Brothers of Morton Grove, Ill., which employs over 500 men and women.

Florists' chain shops are also rapidly springing up; Breitmeyer of Detroit has almost a dozen in that city alone.

### How Organized Locally

Let me now begin and tell how this Society of American Florists and Ornamental Horticulturists gets its members from all parts of the country. It is composed of units, but all so interwoven that they present a solid front economically.

First we have city organizations, know as clubs. These members are mostly recruited from the retail florists, some growers among them. The Chicago Florist Club, The Cleveland Florist Club, yes, nearly every city has its florist clubs.

Second we have state organizations composed of growers and retailers together, which develop local or state trade. Illinois Florist Association, Ohio Florist Association, in fact, most all states have one.

The city clubs take care of city trade and the state associations do all they can to further state interests in floral production and selling.

Next we have societies that pay attention to some particular flower and develop the interest in its cultivation and sales. Members of these organizations may also through their firm be members of some state group. The Chrysanthemum Society; the Rose Society; the Carnation Society and etc., are paying much attention to special shows of their particular flower.

Then we have a national group known as the Florist Delivery Association. This group does all it can to create more business by having flowers ordered by telegraph.

A purchaser in one state may have flowers delivered to whomever he wishes to receive them—

the same day—though the receiver may be hundreds of miles away in another state.

Now we come to the Florist Hail Association, which shows how deeply they regard the saying, "An injury to one is the concern of all."

This is their effort to protect members from economic losses from the elements. Hail on a greenhouse is always to be feared in time of short and snappy storms, and a florist is soon put out of business when the glass in his greenhouse is broken by the wholesale.

**National Organization**

To continue: we have the National Nurserymen's Association. These are the men who deal in ornamental shrubs and trees and work in perfect harmony with the mother association. Many large greenhouse concerns also have nurseries in connection.

Then we come to the outside men known as the National Association of Gardeners. These are the men who attend to large estates and do landscape gardening.

Do we stop here, no—because we come to one of the most influential of all—the college professors and in some cases their students. Botanists, plant pathologists, entomologists, plant physiologists and those who do experimental work, such as testing fertilizers, improving cultural details and the like.

No convention is complete unless some of these professors are there to help the bosses out of their difficulties or to tell them how they can make a plant produce one more flower, which is "pure velvet," as I heard one of these men say. The students are being continually coached to fit in so that they may become future bosses.

Some Industrial Union—eh?! And they are getting results. They don't wait for the ballot to give them what they want, but their committees get busy and go down to Washington or whatever legislature they want to get at and sit on the legislature's heels.

**Politically Strong**

Right now they are going strong at the agriculture board in Washington, which has placed an embargo on many foreign plants.

Some of these plants can be grown better across the water on account of better soil and atmospheric conditions, but the main reason for sitting on the tail of the agriculture board is to let these plants continue to come in, because labor is so much cheaper and so stock can be bought so much cheaper.

The agriculture board's reason for the embargo is to keep out insects and plant diseases.

Greenhouses are users of hundreds of tons of coal. So we have them keenly interested in the coal situation. Not only do they hound the coal commission, but work effectively through the United States Chamber of Commerce for this end.

And in reference to labor—the United States Chamber of Commerce is the one big union for the open shop, and how florists do love the open shop! Florists pay about the lowest wages of any industry. (Talking about the United States Chamber of Commerce—at present they are building their Washington, D. C., headquarters on the Open Shop plan.)

In conclusion: anyone who has read the preceding will surely see the advantage of an economic organization to remedy the bulk of our social evils, in preference to securing action by the ballot.

Anyone who will take the trouble to read trade papers will soon catch on to how the employers are rapidly approaching a perfect One Big Union, not only nationally—but internationally.

Wherever we turn, we note the importance of economic action.

**Material Things Main Cause**

It is the material things that determine most of our lives and go to make up our environment.

It is unfortunate that the great legion of workers have so little leisure to read and study so that they may understand much of what is going on about them. If they could devote more time to these things, Industrial Democracy would arrive much sooner, and with it one would see the abolition of the wage slave.

The Industrial Workers of the World are aiming for just this, with the aid of industrial unions and the One Big Union of all workers.

# The Strikebreaker

(West Virginia Federationist)

WHENEVER the bitter fight is on
For life against human greed;
When the workers rally ere hope is gone
Which nerves for the valiant deed.

When the price is paid for in silent pain,
In want and nameless dread.
And victory near, then "scabs" sneak in
Like ghouls that rob the dead.

They pluck from a vine they did not prune,
They reap where they have not sown,
With a canting look and a craven heart,
And a soul that is not their own.

In a darker age when the world was young
This jackal human grew,
Skulked in the rear while the fight was on,
And preyed on the valiant few.

They snatched the bone from the woman's hand
And snarled at a hungered child,
Till the heroes were driven from the land,
And earth's garden became a wild.

And ever and ever, where human greed
Holds the human race in thrall,
The fight will be fought by the noble few
And the victory shared by all.

Then falter not while the fight is on;
There are only your fears to dread;
Though cowards skulk and "scabs" sneak in,
Like ghouls that rob the dead.

# The Wreck of the Silk Special

As told by
JAMES LANCE

"THERE you are Tommy," said the third trick dispatcher as he handed the flimsies over to Tommy Moore, better known on the intermountain division of the Transcontinental, as "Shrimp," on account of his diminutive appearance. "You've got rights over everything. Number Four will wait at Red Tower for you, and she's the only thing moving on the division. This damned blizzard's got all the freights frozen up and they're lying on the sidings all the way to Springdale. You've got nothing to worry about except the storm. Beat it!"

"That's enough," said Tommy as he pulled his scotch cap over his ears and picked up his lantern. "This is sure hell; early, too; we don't usually get this kind of a snorter till December," and with that he left the office in a blinding swirl of snow, which had filled the room in the short moment the door had been open. Ten feet from the door he had vanished in the white curtain which the frost king had flung over the scene.

Si Connelly, the dispatcher, reached for his "Bull" and brown papers, cocked his feet on the desk and remarked to the call-boy, "Better load that stove up again, kid, it's getting chilly even in here. I'm sure glad I don't have to take that string of silk down the canyon tonight."

"Me, too," said the kid, "nix on outdoors this weather."

The weather merited all the condemnation the sorely tried rails were heaping upon it.

A sleety rain had fallen during the afternoon, freezing as it fell, and with the coming of darkness had turned to snow. The wind, first merely a querulous undertone, had risen until it now howled in a crescendo of demoniac fury which lashed and tore at everything and shrieked and moaned thru the pines and spruces surrounding the little mountain division point. Down thru the train yard it rattled and shook the long string of box cars which should have gone west over the summit on "first 55" but which had been marooned there because all the wires were down west of Portola.

The silk special had managed to get thru just before the train wire went dead; but now no one could tell how the other trains were faring or what hardships their unfortunate crews were enduring. It was, as Tommy had remarked, "a hell of a night."

Battling his way down the platform to where the 1425 wheezed and panted at the head of the silk special, Tommy was forced to his knees twice and was nearly exhausted when he finally hoisted himself into the gangway, pulled the storm curtains aside and handed the orders to "Big Jeff" Carter, the eagle eye, famous for his genial smile, quick wit and chilled steel nerves.

"Fine night for a ramble, Jeff."

"Yeh, only I don't like the kind of nights you do," drawled Jeff. "If this is a fine night, I'm a Chinaman. Oh, well, you know the mills in the east are waiting for this silk to make fine dresses for the rich women."

Scanning his orders, he said, "Number Four at Red Tower, eh? All right, let's get moving."

Moore climbed down and fought his way back to the caboose which was attached to the ten bag-

gage cars which made up the special, and as the air cleared for a moment, Jeff could see the flicker of the lantern as he highballed him.

Toot! Toot! came the roar from the whistle, scarcely audible above the shriek of the storm and as Jeff opened the throttle the mighty machine strained for a moment and then slowly moved ahead on its journey into the darkness with its precious freight.

Down thru the yard, gaining momentum as the moving side-rods freed themselves from the icy incrustation which had gathered on them during the wait for orders, pausing a moment as Jeff made a test application of the air, then faster again until as the tower at the top of the yard flashed past them they were wheeling thirty, and, as the switch points of the last siding clicked beneath the drivers Jeff 'hooked her up' and shouted across to the tallow, "We're on our way now! Hope this outfit holds together."

"You and me, both," answered the tallow. "Every time I leave here I'm afraid I'll never get back. You know this equipment is all on the pig since the strike. I wish the company would make a settlement with the shopmen."

Behind this feeling of apprehension was a real reason. Since the start of the shop-strike in July the locomotives and cars of the Transcontinental had been deteriorating daily until it was positively unsafe to operate them. The men on other lines had gone back; slick representatives of the companies had succeeded in getting 'company unions' started and strenuous efforts were being made to return to normal operating conditions.

The Transcontinental, however, had not succeeded in fooling its men and the strike was still on. Even the most optimistic of the shopmen realized that their cause was lost, but as a large mining company had furnished jobs for most of the strikers, they cared little. It was just the same to them whether the Transcontinental got thru the winter or not.

Meanwhile the company had made frantic efforts to secure men to take the places of the strikers but without much success. The isolated location of Portola, the lack of conveniences in the little mountain town, together with the dread of the terrible winter months had militated against them.

Daily there were disastrous wrecks caused by defective equipment, daily the strings of 'bad order' cars grew longer, daily more locomotives were forced out of service and daily the fear of 'piling up' on account of defective equipment grew in the hearts of the men who had to take the strings of rattle-trap cars down steep gradients and across high bridges thru the gloomy canyon of the Plume Tail river. Small wonder the fireman on the silk special felt nervous.

On the trip up the canyon a pony truck hanger on the engine had come down and only the greatest of luck coupled with "Big Jeff's" iron nerve had kept them from death.

Hurried repairs had been made on the 1425 in Portola that afternoon but the increasing fury of the storm had lowered the temperature of the shop to such a degree that the "scalies" entrusted with the job had decided that a seat by a red-hot stove beat working and their task had been done very poorly. Under normal weather conditions they might have set the bolts tightly enough to insure their staying but it was too cold for scabs to work, particularly when they were not afraid of discharge.

Then came the word over the wire that the silk special had left Palermo, the division point to the westward and the call-boy awoke Big Jeff and his fireman and they proceeded, after fortifying themselves with a big steak apiece, to take the 1425 out of the roundhouse, and, after a few minutes wait, coupled her onto the silk train.

Jeff had reported the truck hanger on his arrival and when the roundhouse foreman assured him it was O. K. had not given it more than a perfunctory inspection. After they were coupled on he had gone down to have a last look at it, but the snow was blowing so fiercely he had given it up as a bad job. "I'm always lucky," he had said to himself. Later he had mentioned to the fireman his inability to make a thorough inspection and that had added to the latter's gloom.

His heart was filled with a great heaviness. Everything seemed against them. The car knocker, one of the few left who were still working, had told him that the baggage cars were in a terrible shape and the voice of the storm as it howled outside the cab windows made him think that even nature itself was enraged at their actions.

Well he knew, that he or no other fireman or engineer had any business riding on such mills or pulling such trains as those of the Transcontinental. He knew that, he felt it as a matter of personal safety.

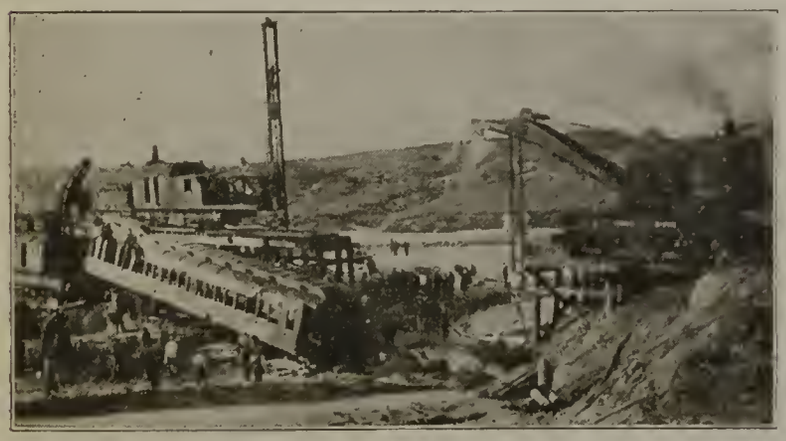
Behind this personal feeling was another one, one that had been growing of late, not only in him but in most of the other men in the train and engine service. He felt, as did they, that he was responsible for the equipment's dangerous condition. He felt that had the road men refused at the start of the strike to operate the trains the company would have been quickly forced to grant the shopmen's demands and that he would not have been going down the canyon on such a terrible night on an engine that should be in the back-shop, with a train that belonged on the rip-track.

"Still," he soliloquized, "everything seems to be holding together all right. Maybe we'll make it, tho it would serve us right if we did have bad luck. That travelling organizer for the wobblies who came up with us last week was right. An injury to one working man must hurt all other workers. Funny I never thought of that before. That solidarity stuff he was telling us about seems to be the right dope. We should all stick together. The companies are smarter than we are, they don't fight amongst themselves; the S. P. and the Transcontinental have made a traffic agreement; they're

Railroad men blame lack of inspection and undue haste in making schedules for such accidents. It is claimed train went through three feet of water before crashing through undermined bridge into swollen river.

**Disastrous Wash-Out at Casper, Wyoming**

Among the many victims were Carl Linn, Portland, Oregon and J. R. Causey, Taft, Calif., I. W. W. members.



It is alleged that railroad officials and police later impressed migratory workers into wrecking crew. It was either work at low wages offered or go to jail. Many went to jail rather than be enslaved in such a manner.

not fighting for this business the way people said they would when this road was built. I guess we're fools alright."

Mile after mile flew along beneath the iron feet of the 1425 as the fireman sat and dreamed, for on the trip down the canyon little attention to the fire was necessary.

Suddenly he sat bolt upright. What was that noise he heard for a moment? Sounded like something dragging—"Damn such a blizzard! A man couldn't be sure what he heard on a night like this. Wouldn't do to say anything to Jeff; he'd think I had a case of nerves. Can't seem to hear it now, oh, well, I guess it was only the wind anyway."

He pulled out his watch and figured that a very few minutes would bring them to Red Tower where Number Four, the crack limited, was waiting for them and even as he returned it to his pocket Jeff shut her off and opening the window for a moment stared ahead into the driving storm.

"Pretty near to Red Tower," he shouted and at that moment the finger of the electric headlight picked up the carhouse at the west end of the siding at Red Tower.

"There she is!" shouted the fireman and Big Jeff, nodding, reached up again and opened the throttle. A moment later they flashed by the engine of the limited and the fireman drew a breath of relief but it was choked in his throat as the 1425 lurched wildly sideways and then rearing up, ripped through the sides of the Pullmans of the luckless train as though they were made of paper. "That pony truck hanger!" was his instant thought and

(Continued on page thirty-six)

# Profits Versus Peggy

By EVA B. PILLSBURY

PEGGY saw the young foreman coming, and lifted an anxious hand to her hair, patting the black marcelled waves into place. Such a slight act was that, but it changed everything.

In the bookbinding plant where Peggy worked, there were no guards on the paper cutters. Just a steel table with a heavy knife that sheared through a thousand sheets when the operator pressed a treadle. Peggy's heart was beating rather quickly as she saw the young foreman turning her way, and when her hand went back to its work it got where the paper should have been. So, when the knife came down, the stump of her hand was on one side of the blade and her fingers were on the other.

Peggy went down in a heap. The fingers—all four—were picked up gingerly and thrown into the furnace; the blood was wiped from the machine and, after an unprofitable delay of twenty minutes or more, the work went on. Some other girl got Peggy's job.

Peggy's hospital expenses for two weeks were magnanimously paid by the bookbinding company. This was really, you understand, quite an act of charity, as the girl was injured through her own carelessness. She had been warned of the danger, The concern had to practice economy in order to make a profit and one of its economies was the omission of guards on the paper cutters. Such things cost money.

Next day at the hospital Peggy signed a paper, with her left hand,—the hand very kindly guided by a man sent over from the book bindery.

She didn't read the paper and couldn't have understood it had she done so. The young foreman sent her some flowers and a box of candy. And when she got home he ran in to visit her one evening.

When Peggy saw him, all the pain left that jagged stump of a hand and she felt that life was good after all. **He** had not deserted her.

You see, the young foreman had been very sweet on Peggy. There had been an indefinite—very indefinite on his part—idea of marriage, and on the strength of this Peggy had allowed him special privileges not supposed to be granted prior to the marriage ceremony.

Peggy felt somehow that it would be all right; he had told her it would.

When an hour later he had gone, Peggy slipped weakly down on the couch and lay there, face hidden, trying to think.

Everything was going round and round. Just one thing stood up clear. He was **not** going to marry her. His reasons ran something like this—"Poor man couldn't afford to marry a girl with one hand. Anyway, had never intended . . . ., had to help folks at home. When he married it would be to some girl of his own religious faith," and so on and so on.

From this hour Peggy did not seem to care so much what happened to her. She couldn't get work. No one wanted a girl with a useless stump where a good right hand should be.

Her parents didn't hesitate to tell her that she was a burden.

Her cheap beauty began to fade. She could no longer have her hair marcelled; couldn't even afford a little rouge to re-enliven the paling lips and cheeks. Tough luck for Peggy.

Worse even than this, Peggy began suffering awful stabbing pains around the severed nerves where the paper cutter had done its work,—agonizing messages went flying to a bewildered and tormented little brain.

Somebody told Peggy that a shot in her arm would ease the pain, and another "somebody," more despicable, helped Peggy to a needle and some dope.

It did what they said it would do. It blotted out the pain, and in its place sent brilliant fantastic pictures through Peggy's sick mind; it gave her hours of semi-conscious drifting on rose-colored clouds, amid soft perfumes and languorous music, and then slowly back to trembling limbs and low hysteric laughter. After that the horrible stabbing pains. So for two years.

Gradually something was happening to Peggy's soul. Perhaps the dope ate it away. She has no beauty left now. The black hair that the young foreman admired is scanty and lustreless. The young body with its voluptuous curves is now thin and scrawny.

That arm that was meant to encircle some lover's neck—that was intended to curl around some baby's soft little body—will never fulfill its mission now. Those fingers became calcined bones, then ashes, in the furnace of the bookbindery company, long ago.

You might meet Peggy on the street any time. Nobody knows where she hangs out by day nor where she sleeps at night. Her parents have washed their hands of her,—thrown her out, disowned her. At home her name is not even mentioned.

Occasionally it appears on the police court blotter. Then Peggy gets "30 days for treatment." At such times she is fed on milk and other nourishing things, and her wasted body is built up a bit, and then she goes back to the dope again.

The bookbindery is showing good profits, because it is very careful about the "overhead" and practices rigid economy in all its departments.

It still finds girls a-plenty who don't mind working around an unguarded paper cutter.

There has to be a certain percentage of accidents anyhow. You can't have progress and machine civilization without some casualties. The wheels must turn and the knives must come down.

# The Revolution In the Air

By C. M. RIPLEY, E. E.

The Harbor of Hamburg, Germany, from Airplane

I HAVE just come from a seven weeks' trip of Europe, which included France, Switzerland, Germany, Holland and England. I travelled over 5,000 miles on the ocean, 2,000 miles in airplanes and less than 1,000 miles by railroad train.

Europe is far ahead of us in the regular airplane service for passengers, freight, newspapers, baggage and mail. Every day thousands of passengers with their baggage fly between scores of European cities at a speed of 80 to 105 miles an hour. The all-metal German airplanes with aluminum wings and bodies are the safest. The Dutch airplanes are the fastest and the English machines are the largest that I travelled in. One of the greatest novelties was the flight over the Alp Mountains between Geneva and Zurich, and I have many photographs taken from airplanes not only showing the Alp Mountains but also fields, villages and cities. In making the flight from Berlin to London it took nine hours. We stopped at Hamburg and Amsterdam and crossed one-half of Germany, all of Holland, every foot of the Belgian coast, where we could see the bathers at Ostend, Belgium and other famous resorts, on down the French coast to Calais and then across the English channel in twelve minutes, and forty minutes later landed at the Croiden airplane field on the outskirts of London.

Airplane travel in Europe is safe, fast, popular and cheap. It only costs $40 from Berlin to London in the planes of the Deutscher Aerolloyd company. To ride an equal distance on the twentieth century limited in America would cost about as much as to fly from London to Berlin. In England they have taxiplanes in addition to the taxicabs. The taxiplane will take you anywhere for two shillings a mile. A shilling is about twenty cents, so forty cents a mile for traveling in the air is cheaper than many taxicabs in America. Although I never rode in an airplane before taking the trips over the Alps, my European experience has converted me into an enthusiastic air passenger. It is the only way to travel long distances.

A map of Europe would show regular airplane routes reaching from Persia to Denmark, from Moscow and St. Petersburg to Berlin and London and from Austria and Italy into Paris, Holland and Belgium. Among the lines are the Trans-Europa Union, the Junker lines, the KLM or Holland national airway and the Daimler airways of England, as well as the Hanly Paige between London and Paris. The Fokker planes, made in Holland, and operated by the KLM, have advertised that they have travelled over a million miles with passengers and freight without a single accident, and the other concerns listed have likewise compiled information as to the tons of freight, the thousands of passengers, the years of service and the distance covered without accidents. America should get busy in running regular aeroplane service between our principal cities. I would like to see Schenectady begin at once the construction of the finest airplane field in the east, brilliantly illuminated at night by the General Electric lighting experts, and so put Schenectady on the map as an airplane center for the New York to Montreal route, the Boston, Buffalo, Chicago route as well as the New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco route.

FRENCH AIRPLANE

# A Farmer Sees America First

WALTER Conlin, writing in "The Llano Colonist" on "Why Radicalism Grows Among the Farmers," give the impressions of a farmer who ventured aboard a flivver out of the South into the North. As a result, he saw at work in the latter section all the remedies for farmer's troubles that are advocated in the former one. Finally, he's impressed with the essential sameness of conditions in both territories.

He finds, for instance, that the farmers of Ohio have not got the "one crop system" and yet "diversified farming" leaves them "in just as bad a condition as the farmers of Dixie." Says he, "the best and most scientific farmers tilling high-priced land, in many instances were unable to sell their crops for enough to cover the cost of production."

"Good roads," another Southern remedy, is regarded by the farmers of Ohio and Indiana "as the climax of all their woes, making the taxes unbearable"; as "many old, substantial farmers are losing their farms."

Conlin writes further, referring to conditions in Ohio:—

**Corporation Farming**

"Thousands of acres of rich farming land near Kenton have drifted into the hands of a great corporation. All farm work is done by hired help under the direction of superintendents. Onions are principally grown, and the company markets its own crops and gets the best possible price. Dotted all along the roads are the shacks in which the hired hands exist. These shacks are not one bit better than the cabins of the negro farm tenants in Dixie. Now and then you see a fine house with beautiful surroundings; this is the superintendent's home. Then you see a long string of shacks again."

Turning from the farms, Conlin investigated the industrial towns. Says he:—

**New Labor Supply**

"Work seems to have been pretty plentiful in the industrial cities for some time, and good roads and Ford cars have made it possible for farmers and men from small country towns to drive fifteen or twenty miles to the cities to work in the factories. These lads have become strike-breakers in many instances, and it offers a new field from which the employers can draw men in times of labor troubles.

"The last few weeks of my stay, Sept. 15 to 30, many men were being laid off in the industrial towns. It looks as if conditions were going to be bad this winter. So much depends on the automobile industry, and if the farmers can't buy autos, how can the work continue in the shops?"

**Back Home**

Farmer Conlin was very badly impressed by what he saw in the industrial towns. The living apartments of the worker looked both shabby and expensive to him. He was glad to get back to the colony at Newllano, Louisiana, after his three months' trip. The conditions there impressed him, by way of contrast, as ideal. Hear him chirp:—

"Newllano looked mighty good to the wife and me when we reached home. The four-room cabin looked almost palatial after a few weeks in 'apartments'; we could get a second helping of sweet potatoes and gravy without a gripe in the pocketbook. When evening came we could hear the people singing and sawing and tooting . . .And when the sun rose over the pine trees in the morning we saw all of our children hurry away to school and all our youths and maidens going to their college classes. It may be 'radicalism' for the workers to want these things in their lives; but, by heck! they do; and, if I am not mistaken, we are going to see some 'radicalism' among the Eastern farmers soon."

That's good news. It is to be hoped that the farmers will get radicalism, so that when they are driven into the cities and factories they will join the industrial union movement, as a consequence. Two millions more of them are due to be driven off the farms in the next two years. There is no place for them elsewhere than in the cities. And there will be no place for their radicalism but in industrial unionism.

It is a hopeless idea, that of believing the farmers can turn to either colonies or politics to remedy their conditions. The tendencies are strongly against them. The industrial financiers have the economic and financial power, and they have decreed that this country, in imitation of England, shall be predominantly industrial, to the sacrifice of agriculture. And there is no political institution in this country that can say them nay; especially one backed by bankrupted farmers.

Augusto Sett, attorney general at Rome, Italy, has taken home a picture of America in which there are 54 million Americans in industrial life and 51 millions in farming. When we recall how, at one time, the proportions were completely reversed, we can see the doom of the farmer as an economic and political factor plainly written on the wall.

He has only one great prospect, namely, to become an industrial worker and join the Industrial Workers of the World. His radicalism will find its best outlet there.

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**Next Month!** **Next Month!**

**ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE KU KLUX KLAN**

**By Hubert Langerock**

**Worth Reading. Subscribe For Industrial Pioneer Now.**

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Alexander Platz, Berlin, from Airplane.

# The Situation In Germany

By LOUIS BARTHA

**MANY articles have been and are being written in an attempt to analyze and interpret the situation in Germany. The following contribution is written by an IWW editor in contact with German workers and well-versed on European questions. It is recommended to the studious perusal of all Pioneer readers.**

THERE is a continuous outcry about a German Revolution. Germany, we are informed, is in a revolutionary ferment. Let us see then how we stand on the question, Is there a revolution brewing in Germany or is it only hearsay?

A loud cry arises from the depths of the starving millions. They want bread and struggle for it. But we must distinguish between the starvation of certain classes and Social Revolution.

By all means, there is no Social Revolution in Germany! There is a capitalist readjustment there, that is causing the workers great suffering.

Revolutions do not start the way the reports from Germany would like to make us believe they do. For instance, these reports state: "The communists gathered near Berlin, in the suburbs of Wandbeck. And the German police surrounded their camp."

And again we read, "Communist armies are marching on Berlin." I presume they are the same armies that "laid down" in the suburb Wandsbeck, and the Berlin police came out from Alexanderplatz in so many auto trucks and moved them around so they'd remain there; for there is more fresh air in the suburb and the "revolutionists" seemed to be very good boys, indeed. Good, law-abiding German revolutionists, in fact.

They may be still camping in Wandsbeck and waiting permission from the police to continue the march on Berlin!

### War Aftermath

The present trouble in Germany is the logical consequence of the world-war. Wilson's fourteen points resulted in a very imperfect and impotent League of Nations. The Versailles treaty did not quench nationalist-capitalist greed; but on the contrary, increased it. The various capitalist interests involved kept up the fight for more power, more territory, more influence; in brief, more of everything that spells profit.

Thus it came that the French capitalist class could not be satisfied by the various German reparations offers. In other words, the booty offered was not enough. And another thing, the French capitalist interests wanted a permanent hold on German industry. As a result, diplomatic manouvers began against Germany—and both sides determined not to understand each other. Therefore, the exorbitant demands of the French capitalists, who knew well that Germany could not provide the many millions of gold marks demanded. And thus came the Ruhr occupation.

### Imitate Ghandi

Now the fight begins in earnest between the two warring national-capitalist interests. Germany selected Ghandi's weapon. But while Ghandi's passive resistance in India against the British was born of religious belief and a desire for sacrifice and martyrdom, attaining the moral height of a Jesus, German passive resistance was born of German capitalist interests and was fed by billions of marks —dirty government money—handed out as unemployment doles to the unemployed and going to the assistance of even the capitalists themselves, in various forms.

In the meantime, the German capitalists were playing another despicable game; they took great joy in inflating the currency and destroying all money values, as well. This was the opportunity to prove to the French national-capitalist group that Germany could not possibly pay the sums demanded by it. Cheap money also created cheap labor and gave the German capitalists competitive advantages in the markets of the world. Further, it enabled

them to bankrupt and squeeze out the middle manufacturing class in their own country.

The fight waxed hotter. One result was that Baron Krupp, the greatest capitalist in the Ruhr, got 15 years in the French "can." Krupp is now out, however.

### Franco-German Combination

Eventually passive resistance died down and was given up. During its height, the national-capitalists groups of both Germany and France negotiated with a view to combining their interests. This having succeeded, to a great degree, passive resistance was no longer necessary. And, as a further consequence, the great Ruhr industries, the subject of French greed and envy, are no longer German. Even Baron Von Krupp has come to terms and agreed to French deliveries of coal from his mines.

The former German industry has become industry pure and simple. As Stinnes, the German Rockefeller said, "I am not a German; I am a business man." He is expected to follow Krupp and surrender to the French also.

The explanation of the German upheaval comes from the fact that the capitalists of all groups can practically change front from day to day; but not so the German people. The German people found themselves suddenly at a loss, when Stinnes called off his dogs, the German government, and ordered a compromise. In order to force quicker and better terms Stinnes laid off thousands of workers and threatened to lay off 1,500,000 more. The Ruhr capitalists' action in suspending work in plants and mines was nothing but coercion in the affected bargaining with both the French and the German governments.

The working class of the Ruhr and Germany also, is the pitiful victim of a high-handed clash of national-capitalist group interests; the tools in the hands of their exploiters, the Krupps and Stinnes. The members of the German working class simply fought their bosses' economic battles.

As things are at this writing, the Ruhr working class and the German working class are starving. The army of occupation is no longer needed to protect French interests but to keep the masses from violence, all in the interests of the corporations headed by the Krupps and Stinnes. And also to have conditions ready for the resumption of work on a capitalist basis in the Ruhr. In this connection, let it be said emphatically that the Ruhr is to Europe what Pennsylvania and Ohio, with their steel and coal trusts, are to the U. S. It is strategic territory.

### Industrialists Most Powerful

The German capitalists who have already come to agreement with their French counterparts, are the chief factory and mine owners. They control 75 per cent of the Ruhr's production, in other words, they control the most essential German production. This means that the German government will have the pleasure, like all other governments, of serving merely as the rubber stamp of the industrial magnates. It will simply O. K. the economic agreements entered into by the Krupps and Stinnes. This too, despite the fact that Stresemann is a representative of medium, or middle class industry, as opposed to big industry. In other words, he represents what we Americans call the anti-trust element as opposed to the trust elements. As we know from experience, they always surrender to big industry, as they invariably must.

Germany's ruling class, i. e., its dominant economic capitalist class, artificially helped to create the present German crisis. Like all ruling classes they are out for big game. What's their present game? Obviously to "shake down" and out the middle class and to more thoroughly enslave the working class? And for this reason, viz., to make more profits, especially in the markets of the world by an extended and expanded industry. To this end are they combining their interests with those of the French, English, aye, and American capitalist class, too. But this latter phase is the subject of another article, so we will not discuss it here for the present.

Naturally, in this international adjustment of Germany's industries, the German working class has had to suffer; as the working class everywhere suffers when capitalist readjustment is the order or disorder of the day. In some parts of Germany, as a result, there are very revolutionary workers and very well organized, too, as far as numbers are concerned; as, for instance, in Saxony. But they are hemmed in with general factors that operate to their detriment.

### German Psychology Against Revolution

Primarily among the latter is the German attitude of mind, or psychology as the high brows prefer to call it. This is largely political and bureaucratic, instead of economic and democratic. The German mind, in other words, is over-centralized, top-heavy as it were.

In Germany, there are about 15,000,000 workers. More than 10,000,000 are organized. Most of the organized workers are enrolled in the Gewerkschaften, i. e., the trade unions. Though the latter have decided industrial union tendencies, they are, like the AFL, in the control of a bureaucracy. And as the AFL is the bulwark of American capitalism, so are they, accordingly, the bulwark of German capitalism.

Even in Saxony, where, until lately, the government was a coalition of communists and social democrats, the trades unions, as a whole, were in the undisputed control of the bureaucrats.

The communists have only succeeded in capturing a few of the unions and getting a majority in some of the branches of others. But the bureaucrats are holding with both hands onto their easy chairs and are not showing the slightest signs of getting out and giving their well-upholstered seats of power over to their communist brethren.

Without the control of the economic organizations of Germany, any attempt to capture political power is bound to become a tragic fiasco, such as the first Spartacus revolution had been; with its

death of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht who were fatally shot and clubbed in the streets of Berlin by the monarchists, as were thousands of workers, too!

Then, too, the Spartacans had no control of the German trade unions; with the result that the Spartacans carried the battle out onto the street, thereby leaving the industries in the hands of the exploiters of labor.

GERMAN AIRPLANE ALIGHTING AT STATION

**The Kapp General Strike.**

How well President Ebert knew the value of the Gewerkschaften during the Kapp monarchist putsch! How quickly the Ebert government called the Gewerkschaften out on general strike that broke the Kapp putsch into atoms. And how quickly the Gewerkschaften responded—no doubt for a good cause—but nevertheless on government orders! With this historical experience to guide them, some of the German working class has grown more cautious and slower to act at the barricades. They now think things over twice before they act once.

Looking at matters from even the foregoing superficial point of view, we find that the German working class is no more ready to seize industry, much less to hold and operate it, than they ever have been heretofore. For without the full co-operation of the Gewerkschaften, every battle is lost in advance.

Again, it must be recalled, further, that the German labor movement is predominantly a parliamentary labor movement, led by the leaders of repudiation, i. e., the socialist representatives. On the other hand, the trade union movement is completely dominated by its great big bureaucracy, who are both representative of political socialism and big capitalism. All in all, the German labor movement, as a whole, was shaped by parliamentarians from its very outset. And in connection with this parliamentarianism, can we quote the language of Faust, "Zwei seelen wohnen auch! in meinen brust." (Two souls also live in my breast)—i. e., the souls of political socialism and economic capitalism.

**Old Methods Unsuited to New Conditions**

The general condition of Germany does not, accordingly, warrant us in reaching such a frenzied assumption as that of social revolution; of a revolution in industry by industrial means. We see in Germany, the employment of an old revolutionary technique—barricades, marches, riots, capture of government, etc.—that does not fit in with modern requirements and consequently leaves modern issues untouched at their very core.

It is true that the German mark has dropped to nil and that food prices have gone aeroplaning. But what has all that got to do with basic conditions? What does that reveal of Germany's real vitality; its industrial resources and gold reserve, if you like? And its controlling class ownership and organization? Nothing!

Work can be resumed in Germany as soon as the French capitalists have satisfied their greed and completely abolished German supremacy in the basic industries of Europe. It is, accordingly, a mistake to believe that Germany is on the eve of a social revolution or that the German working class is in a better position today than it was in the fateful November of 1918. Conditions in Germany cannot be compared with the condition of Russia in 1917.

In Russia, there was a war breakdown— a social collapse resulting in big changes. But there is no sign of a social collapse in Germany, political boundary juggling and changes in office notwithstanding.

Besides conditions in Europe have changed entirely since then. Unlike Russia in 1917, Germany has a powerful peasant class, the largest members of whom are allied with the big industrialists. They form a strong middle class, well-trained and organized; and, together with the industrialists, are the main pillars of the present bourgeois system of society in Germany. Even Russia has become capitalistically inclined.

It is true, the communists are trying to spread their propaganda among the petty bourgeois; in some cases beating even the hated social democrats in their compromises. They accuse the governmental social democrats with not sharing the necessary patriotic feelings of the people; and they want a much bolder stand against "the foreign invaders," the French.

**"Der Tag"**

This is all tactics. They say one thing and mean another. The German communists do not want a Ruhr settlement. They wish for continuous trouble and to capture political power by a daring trick; a la Bolsheviki in Russia, November, 1917. And the Fascist Hittler and Monarchist Ludendorff are aiming at the same thing. In this matter, both extremes have the same object. Both are hoping for "Der Tag," the day when, armed to the teeth,

the French and the Germans will again jump upon each other.

But, as already indicated, there is no likelihood of this occurring, at present. In addition, the overwhelming mass of the German people are behind any government which promises to make peace. For the German people, despite all that is said against them, are a very friendly and peace-loving people, possessed of great culture. This also affords a striking contrast to the situation in Russia in 1917, when the majority of the people were overwhelmingly **against the Kerensky government** and for the same reason, namely, to secure peace.

### Russia No Comparison

Further, as already indicated, there is no revolutionary inclined peasantry in Germany, as was the case in Russia. The German peasant is not starving. He is not land hungry. His man power is not being destroyed by war They are, on the contrary, the hoarders of food. They preserve the foodstuffs that the big cities need and so exert an economic influence on industrial cities like Berlin and states like Saxony.

The German peasant was revolutionary in 1848; but not today. Now he's the most conservative farmer that ever existed. And it is because of his conservatism that the German middle and working classes are starving in the large cities. The German peasants like Stinnes' inflation policy; they are stupendously enriched by it.

How well we know from experience what it means when country is lined against city, peasants against workers. In Hungary, during the commune, the peasants fed wheat to the hogs or hid it in the manure pile; while in Budapest people ate cabbage and then cabbage and then some more cabbage. Cabbage, cabbage, nothing but cabbage!

It is entirely a secondary question whether in Saxony, the federal dictator will remain or the socialists and communists return to executive office. From the standpoint of social revolution, the fight between Saxony and Bavaria doesn't amount to much. Bavaria went through communist experiment and it failed there. Saxony is a great industrial state and Bavaria a great agricultural state.

Nor will the fundamental conditions be affected by the return to monarchy. That will indeed be a deplorable reaction in favor of big capitalism; a constitutional monarchy, at best.

### Part Farmers Play

The conservative farmer corporations do not let very much food accumulate in the big industrial cities. They reason: let the workers have their red meetings; but if they do not conduct things the way we want them to, we will stop their bread. Besides there is a great sectional hatred between Bavarians and Prussians and Bavarians and Saxons; about the same as amongst the Americans and Mexicans. They do not mix well!

By all means, is it correct to say that a shameful famine exists in Germany. German women and children are starving and dying from undernourishment, thanks to their combined industrialists, agrarians and French oppressors. It is the tragic aftermath of the terrible world events since 1914. Did not the French deprive the Germans of 50,000 milch cows since signing the armistice? Yes, there is famine; but on the other hand there is also immense wealth in capitalist depositories and food in the hands of conservative farmers

Ghandi and his followers died by the hundreds; and their hopeless passive resistance against the British was the outcome of conditions in India, inflamed by religious ardor and great altruism. Not so the German passive resistance. It was the most selfish battle in all history; and the chaos it has brought about is in the interest of the capitalist class.

### Hunger Riots Not Social Revolution

Let us repeat, in conclusion, hunger riots in Germany are not social revolution. But it may be said that that process is necessary to alter the system of society. And so with the battles on the barricades; the same claim may be made for them. However, even if there was a chance for armed insurrection to defeat the armies of the ruling class, the final outlook is very foggy, for there are 100,000 federal soldiers and 2,500,000 black militia and about 2,500,000 fascisti to consider.

Armed insurrection would mean a terrible massacre of the working class in an artificially contrived "Social Revolution," just like in Bulgaria. The German capitalists no doubt would welcome this, for they would then get an opportunity to annihilate the revolutionary movement in Germany.

The whole German revolt—outside of some food riots here and there,—as far as the various parties are concerned, is a purely political revolution. None of them want to abolish the wage system. They cannot run industry with bayonets, guns and gallows. There is something else that is needed for that and that is, industrial organization.

A working class that is directly organized in industry with the understanding and object to take over the industries for the workers, would be a revolutionary force, capable of carrying out a real social revolution. Such a highly developed system as the Germans have demands very highly organized industrial organization on the part of the workers in order to make a social revolution in Germany a reality and not a phrase.

It is always most popular to float with the stream, but that will do no good to the long suffering German working class. If we can do anything for them just now it will be to cry out with all our strength, capture the gewerkschaften! Revolutionize them and then the social revolution will be possible of realization. All else is superficial politics.

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UNEMPLOYED—After a carving in wood by Garvens, of Berlin

# Retrenchment Hits Hollywood!

THE capitalists show every indication of enforcing a policy of retrenchment in industry. This policy is being pushed in the building industry in particular. Bankers are curtailing loans and are taking other steps to reduce building operations to the lowest figure possible. The aim is to cut wages and destroy unionism, if possible.

Other industries are following suit. Among them is the movie industry. In this industry the stars are being treated just like the rest of the "hands." They are being **laid off**! Imagine! Laid off!! Movie stars, laid off!!! The ostensible excuse is "to cut down the cost of production," which, in other words, means to create a condition of unemployment that will make a reduction of salaries and wages possible. This is the aim of the whole retrenchment policy, namely, to slash incomes, whether large or small! An attack on unionism will accompany it later, quite naturally!

### "Kept At Work"

The leader in the movie retrenchment policy is the Famous Players corporation. It has stopped all production activities, according to October 26th dispatches from New York. No more pictures will be made by this corporation, so the dispatches say, "until production cost is reduced to a common sense basis," which means a basis that will enable the corporation to reap even more than the present enormous profits. This stoppage of production means that drastic cuts in the working forces have been made in every department at both the Long Island and the Hollywood studios of this corporation.

"At the Long Island studios Thomas Meighan and Gloria Swanson are at work on pictures. These stars will be the only ones kept at work." say the dispatches. Notice the language: "kept at work!" And when speaking of movie stars, too!

"Other leading players who will be affected by this suspension besides Miss Swanson and Meighan are Pola Negri, Charles de Roche, Glenn Hunter, Mary Astor, Jack Holt, Ernest Torrence, May McAvoy, Lois Wilson, Bebe Daniels, William S. Hart and Walter Hiers. Besides 300 lesser players and such directors as James Cruze and Sam Wood, about 2,000 clerical and technical workers will have their work curtailed." So say the dispatches. What do you know about that? As the dispatches say:

"The announcement comes as one of the most drastic in the movie industry in years and means that hundreds of screen actors and actresses, writers and technical men will be forced to seek elsewhere for work."

Heretofore, it has been believed that, thanks to their peculiar talent, movie stars are not subject to the effects of capitalism. But here we see them forced out of employment in a general wage reduction movement. As a result, a repetition of the depression of 1920 is likely. On that occasion, the Rialto—that portion of Broadway, N. Y., fre-

# Russia, Saviour of Capitalist Europe

By NEIL GORDON

SOVIET Russia Pictorial, official organ of The Friends of Soviet Russia for November, makes interesting reading. For one thing its contents confirm the existence of an alliance between Soviet Russia and Imperialistic France. We are told on P. 235, "It is **an open secret in the European capitals** that steps are now taken to pave the way for a complete resumption of political and economic relations between France and Russia. As a matter of fact, many people believe that France will be the first European country to conclude **a practical arrangement** with the Workers' and Peasants' Republic." (Bold face ours.)

Another communist organ, The Workers' Dreadnought, London, England, sheds light on the cause of this alliance, when it says in its No. 31, Oct. 20th:

"Now that the Soviet Government is asking for permanent capitalist investments, and protesting that the capitalist investor will have the protection and support of the Russian Government, the smaller fry of believers in Capitalism, who do not take part in high politics, are all ready to support extended trade with Soviet Russia. They hope that such trade may better the general business of this country, and so improve their own affairs. Therefore, the cry, 'Trade with Russia,' is apt to win their support."

**Important Statements**

These statements are both very important, as they enable one to understand conditions as they effect developments throughout Europe. For one thing, they show that there is no possibility of "red communism" sweeping Europe. For the first thing to be noted is that no such communism exists in Europe today. The communism that was once red communism died when **NEP** (new economic policy) was born.

As a result the communism that we behold today, and that is generally referred to as "red communism" is Russian state communism. This communism is based on Russian state policies and its sole aim is to promote those policies. As we have just seen, these policies are inherently capitalistic. That is, they are formed with an eye to inducing, protecting and supporting capitalist investment in Russia and, at the same time, promoting Russian trade. And they are made in alliance with the dominant national interests in Europe today, viz., those of France and Russia. Under the circumstances to imagine that this "communism" is red and that it will sweep Europe in a revolutionary way, is to imagine something that has no basis in fact and that is, accordingly, impossible.

A couple of years ago, The Nation, liberal weekly organ, characterized Russia as the savior of capitalism, in that it offered opportunities for trade and development such as would safeguard capitalism from the destructive effects of the world-war. What we may expect to see in Europe is The Nation characterization come true! Russia, because of its own necessity for capitalist development, cannot from the very nature of its requirements, be anything else than a saviour of capitalism, especially throughout Europe. Such is the logic of events; such is the iron law of economic determinism.

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quented by actors and stage employes generally —was thronged with unemployed. Benefit performances for their relief was the order of the day. Such is soon likely to be the condition of affairs again.

The men and women in the movie industry are not likely to retain an unalterable love for capitalism under any and all conditions. They may turn against it in time. Especially is this likely if the Players' corporation persists in its intention "not to resume until the salaries as well as the production costs" come down.

LATER—Dispatches from Los Angeles, dated October 28th, say that other companies will follow the lead of the Famous Players and shut down for ten weeks. It is said that 125,000 men and women will be affected; and that the shut-down spells disaster for thousands. Hollywood regards ten weeks of idleness as a tragedy.

## THE PARAMOUNT PROBLEM

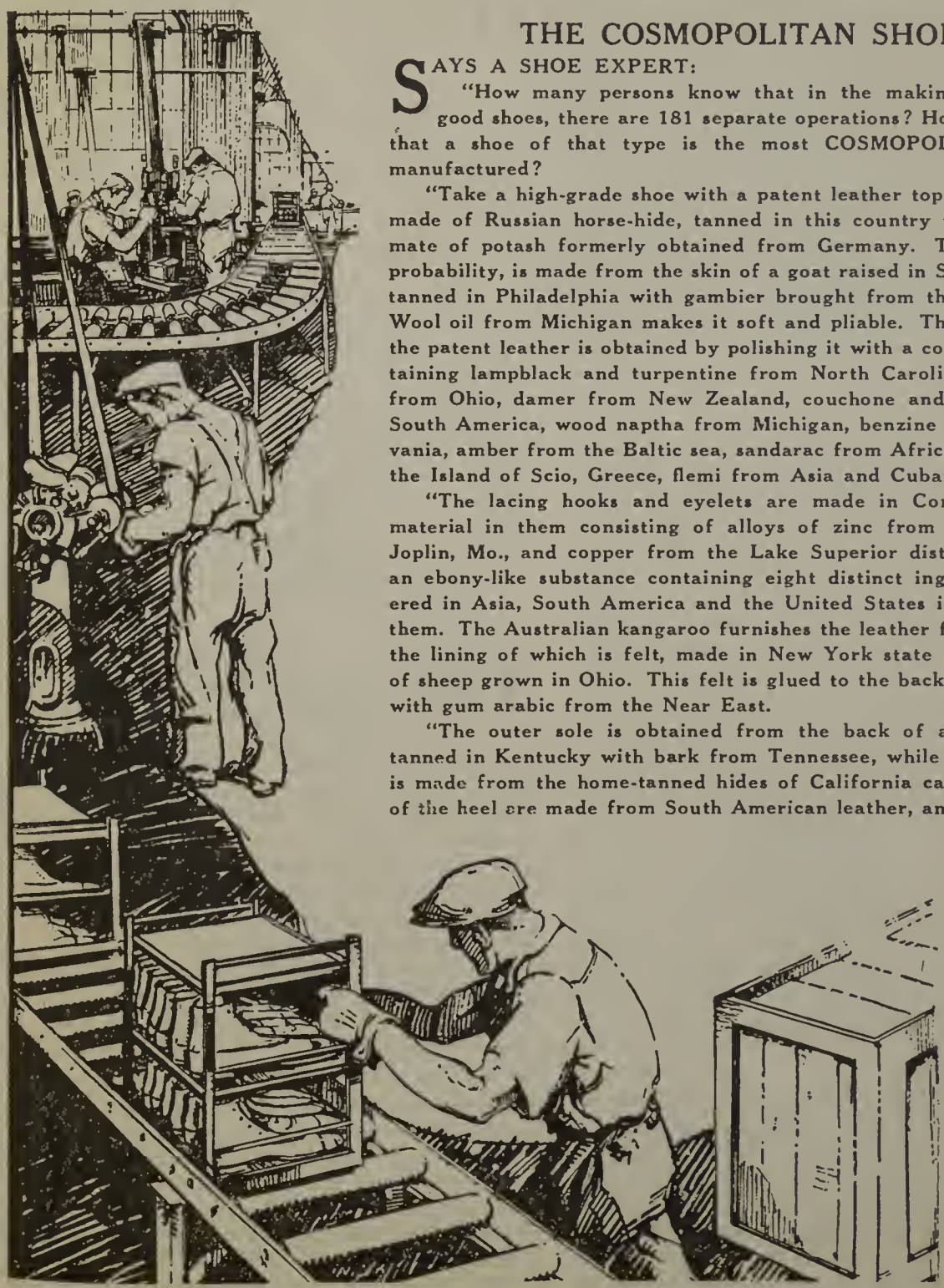
**IN the last thirty years we have watched the balance of power shift from the hands of the public into those of an industro-financial hierarchy composed of a few hundred persons, representing our trusts, railroads, banks and insurance companies. And while these persons are neither better nor worse, nor more intelligent or stupid than the rest of us, they are, nevertheless, for the most part, narrow men, mainly specialists in money making, and actuated by a rather unreflecting instinct of acquisition. For this reason we cannot accept their control of the country as either inevitable or beneficial. To change this control, to relocate power, is the paramount problem of the people of the United States."—Amos Pinchot, "Railroads and the Mechanics of Social Power," The Nation.**

## REVOLT WINS INCREASE

The Brockton, Mass., shoeworkers' revolt was not in vain. Tho the shoeworkers were defeated and driven back into the Boot and Shoeworkers' Union, the bosses have announced a 10 per cent wage increase. This puts wages back to war levels.

# *Conveyor Makes Shoe Worker Appendage*

IT used to take 21 days to make a shoe—now 4½ days. From the time the stock was cut until the finished shoe was packed, it took 21 days. A system of conveying parts and finished products was installed in the modern factory and the time was reduced to four and a half days. As in the Ford plants, the worker was paced by a machine, that is, he was made an appendage to the conveyor and had to work accordingly. The conveyor has other advantages. It eliminates confusion; reduces floor and table space, which is used for more production; and, at the same time, insures a steady flow of goods through a plant with a minimum of interruption.



## THE COSMOPOLITAN SHOE

SAYS A SHOE EXPERT:

"How many persons know that in the making of a man's good shoes, there are 181 separate operations? How many know that a shoe of that type is the most COSMOPOLITAN article manufactured?

"Take a high-grade shoe with a patent leather top. The vamp is made of Russian horse-hide, tanned in this country with a bichromate of potash formerly obtained from Germany. The top, in all probability, is made from the skin of a goat raised in South America, tanned in Philadelphia with gambier brought from the East Indies. Wool oil from Michigan makes it soft and pliable. The brilliance of the patent leather is obtained by polishing it with a composition containing lampblack and turpentine from North Carolina, linseed oil from Ohio, damer from New Zealand, couchone and asphalt from South America, wood naptha from Michigan, benzine from Pennsylvania, amber from the Baltic sea, sandarac from Africa, mastic from the Island of Scio, Greece, flemi from Asia and Cuban lac.

"The lacing hooks and eyelets are made in Connecticut, the material in them consisting of alloys of zinc from the mines of Joplin, Mo., and copper from the Lake Superior district. Agatine, an ebony-like substance containing eight distinct ingredients gathered in Asia, South America and the United States is used to coat them. The Australian kangaroo furnishes the leather for the tongue, the lining of which is felt, made in New York state from the wool of sheep grown in Ohio. This felt is glued to the back of the tongue with gum arabic from the Near East.

"The outer sole is obtained from the back of a Texas steer, tanned in Kentucky with bark from Tennessee, while the inner sole is made from the home-tanned hides of California cattle. The lifts of the heel are made from South American leather, and the dextrine which holds them together comes from Illinois corn fields. Before leaving South America the leather is partially preserved with chenang. The sole of heavy oak is stitched to a welt cut from Texas leather and made into welting in Pennsylvania. The welt is stitched to the insole and upper with linen thread made from flax grown in Belgium and spun in Scotland. This thread is lubricated and strengthened with wax made from resin and tar extracted from the pine trees of North and South Carolina."

# The Wreck of the Silk Special

(Continued from page 25.)

the next moment he found himself crushed beneath a deadening weight, as the 1425 turned sideways and pinned him beneath the boiler.

Outside, pandemonium reigned. Groans, shrieks, prayers and blasphemies were whipped from the mouths of the passengers of the limited and carried into the night by the storm. Flames sprang up in the wreckage and the scene resembled some mad dream of a hashish eater—flame and storm vieing with each other for the lives of those not killed when the 1425 plowed its way thru the sides of the sleepers.

Under the boiler of the 1425 the fireman was suffering the tortures of the damned. Steam from the broken flues was parboiling him as he lay unable to move. "This is the end," he gasped—"serves me right, I had no business scabbing on the shopmen, that wobbly delegate was right, but I've found it out too late."

Big Jeff, he of the iron nerve, had not suffered before he passed out. The first impact had crushed him into a bloody pulp and they found him hours later with his hand glued in a death grip on the throttle. Tommy Moore and the two brakemen miraculously escaped serious injury and made their way with all haste towards the engine to see what had happened to their comrades. But one look sufficed to tell them the sad story and brushing the tears from their eyes, they turned to do what they could for the victims on the limited.

The operator at Red Tower, frantically working his instrument, was sending the news to Portola and a couple of hours later the 'big hook' arrived with doctors and nurses.

Fifty seven persons had been killed on the limited, besides scores of others terribly injured.

The usual investigation followed—but the findings were vague, as the findings of such investigations generally are. They reported that the wreck was the result of the silk special side-swiping the limited—but no mention was made of the cause.

Defective equipment had played such a large part in so many wrecks during the months just passed that it was deemed inadvisable to call attention to the fact that the broken truck hanger had been found lying between the rails at the exact point where the 1425 had made its fatal plunge.

* * *

It was only a contributing factor anyway. The fireman could have told them that something far more important had been broken—broken long before, when the dividing lines of craft unionism had broken the solidarity of labor and had bound the road men with a contract which compelled them to take defective equipment out on the road to murder unsuspecting victims of the railroad companies' greed. With unbroken solidarity the roadmen could have won the strike for the shopmen and the silk special would not have crashed into the limited. The fireman who saw the truth too late need not have roasted under his engine. Big Jeff might have lived a long life of useful service, and the mills in the east would not have waited in vain for that particular load of silk. But when the solidarity of labor is broken dire consequences result—as the world is slowly finding out.

# Martyrs

By VERA MOLLER

(Suggested by Painting by Remington)

"I wish the Indians would kill me first, but they're building me a fire. Therefore I leave this token to tell you I died game." (O. W.)

ONLY a skeleton pinned down with arrows,
Signs of a fire, a word scratched on a spur,
And men with cold horror striking to the marrow,
Behold a comrade's name thru tears that blur.
Only an endless stretch of sun-scorched plain,
What use to rage and curse out to the sky?
Back to the saddle and the trail again,
There's still the fight. Friend past all hope, goodbye.

Only a body hanging to a bridge,
Only a bruised corpse, wrapped in convict clothes;
Only a victim of a brutal mob,
Defiance showing to the last death throes.
WE need no sign to know that THEY died game,
We know what gave courage to each heart.
Give them the earth, The red rose, when we may,
There's still the fight, press on, we'll do our part.

# Civilization

By J. BERNEDINE TEVIG

THE kiss of hate, the smile of deceit,
In the eye the glint of steel.
The laughter of scorn, the friendship of jealousy,
The mingling of repellent units;
Convictions suppressed by lying lips,
Truth killed by insincerity,
A world of guile!
The soul imprisoned by this covenant of sham
Hopelessly beats the bars of hypocrisy
And eats into self to still its insatiable hunger.
Life a mockery—an empty husk.
Ah, if this be civilization
Would that I knew naught but savagery,
For then I, who worship at the shrine of truth,
Am a pagan!

# As Our Enemies See Us

—The wolves of capitalism, with vicious fangs—a freak of the imagination without real analogy, biological or otherwise.

—From Los Angeles Times

—Contributed Cartoon

# As Our Friends See Us

The watchdogs of labor, ever on guard to secure its product.

# As We See Ourselves

An organization of workers determined, with the help of our friends and despite the persecution of our opponents, to prevail.

# What Pioneer Readers Say of It

Wallace, Idaho, Sept. 24, 1923.

I THINK that the young Pioneer is just wonderful and getting better. There is no good reason why the workers could not have the best and most constructive publication in the United States.

Am enclosing $2.40 for a bundle order of 20 October issue.

Yours for smaller jails and bigger public forums.

EMIL SCKROMARS

Banksville, Pa., Sept. 26, 1923.

Sample copy of Pioneer received, and am enclosing one dollar for six months' sub.

**The Pioneer is far better than I expected, and if it keeps up to the Sept. standard, a large circulation should surely be built up.**

I might state that I have been sending each week's issue of Sol for the last two years to my brother in England, who says that of all the radical papers and periodicals he reads, the Sol is the best working class paper of all.

Yours for Industrial Unionism.

FRED MOORE

New York, October 19, 1923.

**Pioneer is fine. It is interesting and extremely instructive as an intellectual guide. There is none in our country like our magazine. Besides it is truly proletarian and yet it is not deprived of artistic value.**

I push it and sell a few copies of it, too. I will endeavor to make some thinking slaves happy by acquainting them with such a splendid piece of revolutionary literature as The Industrial Pioneer. Enclosed find their names; please send them sample copies.

Sincere regards and cheerful greetings,

B. OSUCHOWSKY

Los Angeles, Calif., July 10, 1923.

Editor, Industrial Pioneer:

**The first three numbers of The Industrial Pioneer have reached me and have been read with interest. The magazine is typographically excellent, well edited; the illustrations are good and it is a credit to the labor movement.**

Fraternally yours,

R. H. HORNBECK

1605 Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.
July 15, 1923.

The Industrial Pioneer,
1001 Madison St., Chicago, Ill.
Dear Editor:

Recently I have been reading The Industrial Pioneer and am very much pleased with its appearance and spirit. Such a magazine has a wide field of usefulness. It fills a long felt want. No. 3 is instructive, entertaining and at the same time dignified.

**Most of the articles in the July number are of good quality, two of them at least deserve very special mention. "Savage Survivals in Higher Peoples" is exceptionally good. Quite a number of students, calling on me, have remarked its excellence. Also, they have referred to "Revolutionary History and the Workers." The subject matter of this last, is to my mind, of the greatest importance to the working class. Writings of this description should be sought out and published more frequently than has been customary in the past. Possibly the author, Mr. Pasquale Russo, has some more of the same kind of information in the "back of his head."**

At any rate, Mr. Editor, both articles were all too brief and it seems to me that both Science and History should be featured. Those writers interested in Science and History should be encouraged.

Wishing the Industrial Pioneer every success, I am, respectfully,

SAMUEL W. BALL

South San Francisco, Calif., Oct. 18, 1923.

Editor Industrial Pioneer,
Chicago, Ill.
Dear Sir:

I lately bought a copy of your magazine—October issue—and I like it very much. I think that there is a good field for such a magazine, as we have none now. The Liberator has become Communistic, while the Nation is a newspaper, not a magazine.

With best wishes for the success of your venture, I remain, yours respectfully,

JAMES DEEGAN

Basil Taylor, editor of The Dawn, Leith, Edinburgh, Scotland, writes:

**"I was very pleased with the matter in the Industrial Pioneer; although I do not altogether agree with your opinions, I can admire the fighting spirit of the IWW. I would like to circulate the Pioneer in this country."**

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The above are only a few of many favorable opinions regarding Industrial Pioneer received at the office of the latter. The secretary of the Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330 writes, for instance, from San Francisco, Cal.:

"Please send us 15 more copies of the October Pioneer. The October issue is very good."

The secretary of the New York branch of the same industrial union also writes:

**"The 25 copies of Industrial Pioneer that I received yesterday were sold in ten minutes. Kindly send me another 25 copies at once."**

The Paterson, N. J., Branch of the Textile Workers' Industrial Union No. 400, disposed of its first bundle of October Pioneers so easily that it sent for another one. That is, it doubled its order.

**Libraries, university students, labor writers, social students and others are becoming interested in the Pioneer, subscribing for it and requesting copies and the filling of orders for certain issues.**

# WOBBLES

## FITTING THE FITTER

Plutocratic Diner.—Waiter, you are not fit to serve a pig!

Placid Waiter.—I am doing my best, sir.

* * *

## ARCHEOLOGICAL NOTE

A canoe belonging to the stone age was recently dug out of a farm in Astbury, Cheshire, England. That's nothing. There's lots of workers in this country still floating around in mental canoes originally devised even before the stone age was in existence.

* * *

## A LESSON IN TOLERANCE

We do not like abstract definitions. We prefer concrete illustrations. What, then, for a lesson in tolerance? Well, we would say to have a Knights of Columbus baseball team play the Knights of the Ku Klux team, with a Negro umpire, and the proceeds to go to a Jewish orphan asylum.

That would be good old-fashioned Americanism.

—The Messenger

* * *

## IF SHAKESPEARE ONLY KNEW

By JAMES DEEGAN

OH! Romeo, your time's too slow;
No longer you're an ace!
Your wooing meek against the Sheik,
Would never see first base.
And Juliet, an old-time pet
Fades from the picture, too.
Great gobs of gloom would haunt his tomb,
If Shakespeare only knew!

Now every hack from Los to Sac,
Writes of the passion grand.
Peddle their wares in droves and pairs
Out West in Movieland.
With rambling plot of God knows what,
The same as Macbeth's stew;
I'll bet two bits, he'd throw some fits
If Shakespeare only knew!

Good taste it blunts with strenuous stunts,
The same as Dempsey trains;
With everything science can bring,
Except a little brains.
The product's punk, they can this junk,
And call it art that's new.
In his old grave he couldn't behave,
If Shakespeare only knew!

BARNUM GOMPERS
**Exhibiting The Only Living Dinosaur in Capitalist Captivity.**

## A LITTLE LEMONADE

Back in the good old days before the Eighteenth Amendment took all the joy out of life, a boomer switchman was working for the Santa Fe at Point Richmond. One night when a few drinks had made the world look particularly bright he had occasion to call up the yard-office.

Making the connection, he inquired, "Say, have you got a car of sugar down there?"

The yardmaster answered in the negative and inquired in turn, "What in h—l do you want a car of sugar for?"

"Oh," said our friend, "we just kicked a car of lemons off the car-float into the bay and I thought if you had some sugar up there we might have a little lemonade."

* * *

## ROOM FOR MORE

One night, a number of years ago, a switching crew had some work to do at the Vesta No. 4,, the largest coal mine in the world, situated on the Monongahela river above Pittsburg, Pa.

The next morning the trainmaster received the following wire from the conductor:—

"Twenty-two cars of coal went into the river here last night. There is room for twenty-two more at the same place. Please accept my resignation."

* * *

## NO; A LA CAPITALISM!

"Horse meat is being served in Berlin cafes," says a news item. The service, evidently, is a-la-cart.

# Modern Industrialism

(Continued from page 20.)

thousands of American lives and the injury of tens of thousands more. In his 1919 St. Louis speech, Woodrow Wilson said, "The seed of war is industrial and commercial rivalry. This war is an industrial and commercial war." Rear-Admiral Niblack also says, "No one can, however, make a thorough and impartial inquiry into the causes of war without realizing their roots run deep into the soil of trade rivalry and economic aspirations."

The trade rivalries of the capitalists of this country are bringing them into competition with England, France and Japan; while their economic aspirations cause them to want to dominate Mexico, South America and Russia; in all of which they will meet tremendous opposition, such as will shake the world once it gets into hostile action. In brief, modern industrialism, in its present manifestations and tendencies, is a menace to society and world peace. It threatens a world cataclysm, such as will justify the contention that it is the epitome of insanity; and therefore to be stamped out as one would stamp out a devastating pestilence of extensive scope.

How to prevent this climax of modern industrialism is the serious thought of all men not enamoured with its suicidal tendencies, or insane platitudes. First men must realize the vast scope of modern industrialism, that is, its transcendental character. It overthrows religion, law, state, national boundaries, everything. It is the greatest factor in all society, driving us all, with the sweep of a tornado, into cataclysmic ruin.

### The New Era

Listen to the words of Wm. Kay Wallace, in the preface of his book, "The Trend of History" wherein he says:

"We are standing on the threshold of an unpolitical age. Politics has fallen from its high estate . . . . . The preeminence of the state politically conceived has been called into question . . . Other forms of corporate organization are pressing for recognition. We may in turn see arising before our eyes a new, great social organization . . .in its essence unpolitical . . . 'Industrialism,' which may serve to denominate this new institution, is a social and economic system, only indirectly political. Such would appear to be the trend of history."

Recall, in this connection, the prominence of Stinnes in German affairs, of Schneider in French affairs, of Ford in American affairs, and then grasp the tremendous overpowering character of industrialism; and then realize that only in industrialism can humanity be saved. That only through a unionism of the working class therein, as integrated, consolidated and internationalized as modern industrialism itself, will modern industrialism become democratic and a blessing to mankind, instead of a curse as at present. Then will modern plutocratic industrialism, with its class and world wars, give way to world industrialism by the world's industrial workers, with its peace and happiness for all society.

# The Argonaut Mine

By DOUGLAS ROBSON

MOTHERS, mothers, bury your sons;
Bury the sons you have lost in the strife,
Heroes who died in the battle of life.
Shed the salt tear on the chill,wasted face,
Silently walk to the burying place,
All that you gave
Lies cold in the grave.
Mothers, mothers, bury your sons.

Wives and sweethearts, bury your men.
Ah, what do you think as you droop your head
O'er the face of your unrecognizable dead?
Do you picture them trapped in the poisonous mine,
Gasping, battling for life in each narrow confine,
While strong arms tear the barriers down to behold
Death reigning alone in that prison of gold?
Does your sorrow abate
When you say "It is Fate?"
Wives and sweethearts, bury your men.

Sons and daughters, bury your sires.
Cold and inert is the fatherly hand;
Cold as the earth where you sorrowing stand:
You are young, you are strong, while you stand at the grave
Does your manhood not question the power that gave
Your fathers to death? List, I, who now speak,
Have toiled with the dew of the mine on my cheek,
In the warrens of death I have seen strong men die,
To uphold Mammon's temples resplendent and high.
Is your womanhood true?
Speaks your manhood for you?
Sons and daughters, bury your sires.

Labor! Labor, bury your dead.
Yet pause e'er you turn from the mothering sod;
Think! Think! Shall you always attribute to God
The gaps in your ranks and the sorrows and tears,
The agonies, tortures, the thousands of years
Of hunger, injustice, oppression and pain,
The prison, the scaffold, the inanimate chain
That schackles your manhood and binds you to earth,
That stifles your joy at the moment of birth?
No! No! You must wake, you must ponder and think,
Bid reason no longer from reasoning shrink;
Stand upright; let all the world echo your cry,
The how and wherefore, the thundering WHY?
Labor, Labor, bury your dead.

# The Lynching of Bud Williams

**Coleman Tracy, a Retired Deputy Sheriff, Relates Some of His Most Thrilling Experience in the Cotton Fields of Dixie.**

By ADAM NOIR

Yes, I've seen a lot of strange things done in the name of law and order, and I've taken part in some, but I believe the lynching of Bud Williams was about the rankest piece of injustice I ever had anything to do with.

You see, it was like this:

Cotton picking is paid for by weight picked. An average hand can pick about 250 pounds per day. The autumn before I was twenty-five years old, the price was 35 cents per hundred pounds, about 87 cents per day.

When the cost of living was at its lowest, such a wage would hardly suffice to keep one alive and well. That year there had been a sharp advance in the price of necessities and there was much hunger and discontent among the working people of the South.

Bud Williams, a negro preacher, came from the state of Mississippi. He was picking cotton on one of the larger plantations—and preaching on Sunday at a little church in the woods.

It seems that he did not confine himself to the usual orthodox interpretation of his texts, and a rumor got afloat that he was exhorting his congregation to organize and demand 40 cents per hundred pounds for picking cotton.

I can masquerade as a negro pretty well. So, I was instructed to stain my face to resemble a mulatto, and slip into his congregation to learn the facts.

The preacher's talk was mild enough. But, he did insist that all cotton pickers, white and black, should get together and demand a higher wage.

I noticed quite a sprinkling of white faces in his congregation, and their owners seemed to approve of his proposition. At least, they were eagerly attentive to his words.

Two of these whites, George Anderson and his wife, Tillie, were known to me. Both of them openly voiced their opinion that the two races should quit quarreling about the color of their skin and the texture of their hair and stand together against the rich land owners.

* * *

I reported what I heard and otherwise observed, without addition or subtraction or comment of any kind, but it appeared impossible for the "higher-ups" to interpret it the way I saw it. The story soon got about that Bud Williams was preaching race equality; intermarriage and the like. I denied this as emphatically as I could, but to no avail. The sheriff took my deputy badge and advised me to get out of the country. Uncle Bill then threw down his badge and resigned. This action caused the sheriff to apologize and reinstate both of us.

A few days later we were sent over in the west end of the county. While we were away, a mob was raised—in which, I am certain, the sheriff participated—which burned the church in the woods and chased Bud Williams into the swamp.

About the time the church was burned, George Anderson got a job making cypress shakes, or clapboards, to cover a barn. Tillie, who was chilling anyway, quit working out and stayed home to pick out a little patch of cotton of their own.

George worked about a mile from home, and it was the custom for Tillie to take his noon lunch out to him each day. She rode a white mule, bare-back, and sitting with both legs on one side, as was the style for women in those days.

Some four or five days after Bud Williams disappeared, Tillie failed to arrive with the lunch. Thinking she perhaps had a harder chill than usual, George worked on until three o'clock and then started home. About half way, he found Tillie lying by the road-side, dead.

The neighbors and the coroner were summoned. As a deputy sheriff, I went with the coroner to summon witnesses and the like, and make arrests if it became necessary.

Tillie had quite evidently been killed by striking her head on a "cypress knee," or root growth which protrudes from the ground at irregular intervals around cypress trees, and bears a fancied resemblance to the closely doubled human knee. In fact, her head still rested on the "knee" just as it had first struck. And, there was no other mark of violence about her. The tin lard pail containing lunch was close by. The mule tracks showed plainly that it had "shied" or jumped sideways.

With this evidence, and the common knowledge that mules will, on occasion, shy at anything or nothing, the cause and manner of death seemed plain.

The affair might have ended there had not a strange foot-print been discovered in the road, about one hundred feet from where the body lay. Someone claimed to recognize this as the foot-print of Bud Williams; and some idiot suggested the possibility of rape.

Acting on this foolish suggestion, a re-examination of the body was demanded. The coroner quickly exploded the rape theory with evidence so convincing that no sane person could doubt. Not one there present but admitted the impossibility of such a crime having been attempted.

When I reached town next day, Colonel Caruth-

ers—on whose plantation Williams had been working—was drunk, and telling everyone who would listen that it was a plain case of murder and attempted rape, and that Bud Williams was the guilty party. By noon he had a lot of men believing him, and just drunk enough to do anything he might suggest. As a clincher, he offered a hundred dollars reward to anyone who would bring in Williams, dead or alive.

I wanted to arrest Caruthers, but no justice would issue a warrant; and, I knew I would start trouble if I tried to take him without one. Along in the middle of the afternoon, he, and a party of about twenty, rode out of town with the avowed intention of capturing Bud Williams.

I did not like the looks of things. There was no telling what those drunken hoodlums might do to the negro should they find him there in the swamp, so I swore to a complaint charging him with vagrancy and went out to bring him in for safe-keeping.

I remembered seeing Anderson and his wife at one of Williams' meetings, so I went direct to him.

* * *

When I convinced Anderson that my arrest of Williams would be a friendly act, he volunteered to guide me to his hiding place, which we reached about one o'clock next morning.

After dodging about a lot to avoid contact with Caruthers and his gang, I got my prisoner safely lodged in jail about ten a. m.

* * *

While I was waiting in the office to get a receipt for my prisoner, Uncle Bill was given some warrants to serve, away over in the swamp, a two-day trip, there and back. I was ordered to go along. We started at once.

When we were well out of town, we turned down a side road and talked matters over.

Certain remarks I had accidentally overheard while in the sheriff's office caused me to suspect that there was a plan afoot to lynch Williams, that the sheriff was a party to this plan, and that we had been sent away so there would be no interference. Uncle Bill agreed that I was probably right, but did not see how we could alter circumstances; orders were orders, and he was for going on and serving the warrants he had been entrusted with.

I grew impatient and told him he might go on, or go to hell, if he chose, but I was going back and stay in town until I could feel sure there was not going to be any foul play.

I expected he would take offense at this outbreak and maybe want to fight, but he didn't. When he saw that I was determined to go back, he gave in and said he would go along and see me through. After a long talk, in which we discussed contingencies and developed our plans, we shook hands on it and rode back to town.

We did not ride all the way into town, but picketed our horses in a thick grove in one corner of the cemetery and, by traversing side streets and alleys, made our way to the back room of a saloon which was handling a lot of whiskey that had never paid revenue tax. It did not take long to convince the proprietor that our presence must not be disclosed.

We stayed in this room all afternoon, the proprietor bringing us food and drink, and keeping us posted on current happenings.

Long before dark, we knew positively that the jail would be raided that night.

When darkness fell, we walked to the court house—just across the street from the jail—and took up a position under a large rose bush.

About eight o'clock, shadowy forms began to gather on the corner a half block away. When they began to move up street toward the jail we ran across and entered the jail office.

The sheriff and night jailer were there alone. They were greatly surprised to see us, but said they were glad we came so opportunely, as they expected trouble.

Uncle Bill stopped with the sheriff, while I went upstairs to a window overlooking the jail entrance.

When the mob reached the lower step the sheriff walked out on the landing and asked them what they wanted. They said they wanted Bud Williams. He then told them they could not have Williams; and, that he had Bill Chatterton and Cole Tracy there to back him up.

I know now that he intended his announcement of our presence as a warning to the mob; but I do not think they grasped its significance. For they just laughed and hooted and started up the steps.

Uncle Bill quickly stepped forward and fired into the crowd—dropping his man. They wavered somewhat, and I fired twice, dropping a man each shot.

Uncle Bill was just in the act of firing again when the sheriff, who was behind him, raised his revolver and shot him in the back of the head. I instantly lowered the muzzle of my weapon and shot the sheriff in the top of the head. Then, something—I think it was the jailer's "blackjack" hit me on the head and I went to sleep.

When I became conscious again I was handcuffed and in a cell. I could hear people moving about in the office and called to them. There was hurried talking, in a tone which indicated argument, and a voice which I recognized as that of Colonel Caruthers, said: "No, we can't afford to do anything like that. We would have the whole state up in arms." "Just leave him where he is 'til midnight. Then, turn him loose and see that he gets out of the country and stays out."

I then heard a sound of dragging, and the trampling of many feet. After that, all was still.

Shortly after midnight, four men came and loaded me into a closed carriage. They took me into the country about five miles and told me to "GIT."

On our way, and just at the outskirts of the town, we passed near a little flickering fire under some trees. One of my guards asked me to guess what it meant, but I declined. They then told me, with much boasting, that it was there they had roasted Bud Williams.

They chained him to a tree, brought packing cases and empty barrels, broke them up and built a pyramid around him and poured several gallons of coal oil over all. When all was ready, Colonel Caruthers fired it with his own hand.

* * *

Well, what happened next is a matter of local history.

Uncle Bill was not killed after all. When he felt the muzzle of the gun against his head he "ducked" and received nothing more than a scalp wound, the most painful feature of which was the powder burn.

At the special election, held to choose a new sheriff, he was elected, and I was elevated to the position of chief deputy.

The sequel to the lynching happened a couple of years of years later, and, for cold-blooded fiendishness beats anything I ever heard of. But, perhaps I'd better tell it, it might prove interesting.

* * *

You know, in that part of the country there was, at the time of this story, mile upon mile of unbroken forest. Perhaps half of this timber was oak, beech, hickory, pecan, etc., the nuts and acorns of which make most excellent pig feed.

People living in, or adjacent to these forests did not bother to feed their growing pigs, but turned them loose in the woods and let them rustle for themselves.

At convenient intervals, the owners would round up the young ones and mark, or brand them. Such as were best suited to the purpose, were confined in pens in order to make the flesh more firm than that which had been fed upon "mast" alone. The others were turned back into the woods.

Quite naturally, many escaped the fattening pen from year to year, until they became very old. With increasing age, they became increasingly wild and savage.

It sometimes happened that one's "Wild Hog Claim" did not yield the number of young pigs required and some of the older ones were captured and confined. It takes a pretty good pen to hold these old timers. It must be made of thick logs, and at least six feet high; for they can jump surprisingly, and, on the approach of a human being, will charge at the logs with the fierceness of a tiger.

* * *

Colonel Caruthers had three of these wild pigs in a stout pen. Being naturally of a cruel and barbarous disposition, he frequently amused himself by standing on the side of the pen and jabbing them with a long stick, just to see them rave. Nor would he quit until they dropped from sheer exhaustion.

In that country, people did not keep their chickens confined, but gave them free range of the grounds, and permitted them to nest wherever they could find a suitable place; which was usually somewhere about the barn. Hunting hen's nests was a regular occupation with those who had supervision of the family larder.

Caruthers had a negro cook whose duty it was to gather up the eggs each day. One day this cook came running into the house and reported that Caruthers had fallen into the wild hog pen.

Mrs. Caruthers and an old maid daughter—Lavina—with the cook—Mary Huggins—were the only persons about the premises. There was not a man within a half mile.

They all seized clubs and belabored the pigs vigorously, but to no avail. They may as well have beaten the stout logs of the pen. The pigs only grunted, and continued their maceration of the not yet dead, Colonel. Nor did their work of destruction cease until a half hour later when a passing neighbor shot the pigs and dragged from the pen the dish-pan full of bones and mire covered flesh—all that remained of the victim.

Mary Huggins fought the pigs as vigorously as did the others, and her manifestations of grief and horror appeared to be as genuine. Nevertheless, in his death agony, Caruthers shouted out something which the daughter interpreted as a statement that the cook had pushed him into the pen.

It really did not seem probable that Caruthers had lost his balance and toppled into the pen accidentally, so, acting on the testimony of the daughter, the coroner decided that he came to his death at the hand of Mary Huggins. She was promptly lodged in jail, charged with murder in the first degree.

Justice moves swiftly where negroes are concerned, and in less than ten days Mary Huggins was tried and sentenced to hang. The date of execution being set for the Friday following Thanksgiving—about six weeks away.

To the very last, Mary protested her innocence, and, notwithstanding the verdict, the official conscience was somewhat perturbed over the possibility of executing an innocent person. So the effort to secure a confession was continued with redoubled energy. Because of my exceptional skill at obtaining the confidence of negro prisoners, I was detailed to get this confession.

I visited her in her cell almost every day, and we became very good friends indeed. But it was not until ten days prior to the date of execution that I accomplished my task. The story she told was a corker:

Altho known as Mary Huggins, she was in reality Mary Williams; a sister to Bud Williams. When she learned of the lynching she was cooking for a white family in New Orleans, but gave up her position and came "up river" for the fixed and sworn purpose of revenge.

It was easy for her to fix upon Colonel Caruthers as the prime instigator of her brother's death; and, because of her superior ability as a cook, comparatively easy to secure a position in the Caruthers' household.

She planned to poison Caruthers, but when the wild pigs were brought on the place a more fiendish plan was evolved. (She said: "More FITTING plan"). In passing to and from the barn on her egg gathering trips she frequently saw Caruthers teasing the pigs. Awaiting a time when there was no one near to effect a rescue, she slipped up behind him, grasped his ankles and pushed him into the pen.

She could have waited until he was dead before giving the alarm, and thus have avoided any chance of discovery, but her long brooding over the torture of her brother made her bitter and she deliberately called the wife and daughter out that they might witness the death agony of the husband and father.

I wrote the confession and she signed it. It was given to the newspapers but none of them published it. Most of them contained only the bare statement that Mary Huggins had confessed. One or two hinted at "some fancied wrong" as the motive.

Caruthers deserved death. In my mind there was no question on that point. I could have shot him with pleasure had a plausible excuse presented itself. I could not but regard Mary Huggins as a sort of God-sent avenging angel—though the form of execution was just a trifle more horrible than I could have wished. And, I determined to save her if it was in any way possible.

I thought over the matter all night. There seemed very little chance of a reprieve, and none whatever of a commutation of sentence; to say nothing of a pardon. There was just one way: The prisoner must escape.

* * *

In the old days, there was practically no attempt at segregation of sexes in the jails. True, the two sexes were never confined in the same cell together, but they did occupy adjoining cells with nothing but bars between; and, all cells opened into one common corridor.

In this jail where Mary Huggins was confined there was a suite of rooms, directly over the office, which had formerly been used as living rooms by the jailer and his family. When Uncle Bill took charge he moved the jailer out and remodelled these rooms so they could be used for the detention of female prisoners.

It was in one of these rooms that Mary awaited death. Being the only woman in the jail (the practice of employing a jail matron had not yet been introduced) she was practically isolated.

The next several days I put in perfecting my plans—and quietly borrowing small sums of money, until the total amounted to more than sixteen hundred dollars. A sum which I deemed sufficient for my purpose. However, I did not see the Huggins woman again 'til I had every detail worked out. I then visited her several times and had her rehearse the part she was to play.

* * *

Beginning a few days before execution, it is, or was, customary to place a "Death Watch" over condemned prisoners. That is, a guard would be stationed at the door of the death cell, night and day. Because the official "Death Cell" was in the men's ward, Uncle Bill did not place Mary there but permitted her to remain where she was. He did, however, post the death watch.

I applied for, and received, the appointment as night guard on this death watch. When I asked for it, Uncle Bill smiled in a queer sort of way. I am sure now that he suspected my intent and secretly approved it.

The first night of my watch, I smuggled in to Mary Huggins a complete outfit of men's clothing. She spent nearly all night adjusting them to fit, but in the end achieved success. When I looked in, along about five o'clock next morning, it was a rather chunky, and very husky looking negro man that I saw. Before I went off shift she removed the masquerade and hid the garments in her bunk.

On the evening before the execution, the night jailer and I broached a bottle of port wine. I slipped some chloral into his glass, and when I went on guard he was dead to the world.

As soon as all was quiet, Mary passed out every garment and vestige of women's clothing and I took it down and burned it in the jail furnace. After-

wards stirring the ashes good, and kindling a coal fire over them so they would leave no trace.

At exactly 11 P. M. I opened her door and we slipped downstairs, past the drugged jailer and out into the night.

The court house was a two story building surmounted by a clock tower. This tower was ten feet square, and extended above the roof of the building some twenty-five feet. There were four dials six feet in diameter. Attached to the wall, just below the south dial, was the clock machinery. The floor, or bottom of the clock, was at a height so that a person could stand and look through the key holes in the dials and see the street below. These key holes were merely ornamental, and had been closed with black painted boards to keep out pigeons and other birds. The bell stood on a frame in the center of the floor, and could be sounded by pulling a rope from below, as well as by the striker, or hammer, of the clock.

The room was entered by climbing a ladder from a room on the second floor and crawling through a trap door. The janitor used to climb this ladder once each week to wind the clock, but it was pretty hard on his old joints, and he rigged up a sprocket wheel and chain belt so he could do his winding from below. One result of this innovation was that the clock room was not visited, on an average, once a year.

There was no one on duty in the court house from nine thirty P. M. to four A. M. and uninterrupted access was easy for one as well acquainted with the building as I.

In the several nights between the time Mary Huggins made her confession and that of my taking the night shift on the death watch I had been busy provisioning this room. I carried up a quantity of crackers, cheese, sardines, boiled ham, etc. Enough to last a hungry person eight or ten days.

The weather was pretty cold, so I carried up six heavy quilts, four large lanterns and ten gallons of coal oil. (By chinking the cracks with rags or paper and lighting all four lanterns the room could be kept comfortably warm.)

In addition to the above, I carried up two two-gallon jugs of water, a can opener for the sardines, a butcher knife, a box of matches, a tin funnel for filling the lanterns, and an empty candy pail for garbage.

It required a lot of scheming to procure and assemble all these things without attracting attention, but, a judicious use of funds made it possible.

That afternoon I placed in my pockets a pair of old gloves and a pair of wool socks which I had worn for a week. When we reached the lower step to the jail, I caused Mary to slip on the gloves. I then gave her the socks and had her pull them on over her shoes. When she was quite ready, I took her astride my shoulders and carried her across the street, into the court house and up to the ladder leading to the clock.

Sending her up the ladder ahead of me, I gave her a few words of instruction, told her I would come for her at the end of eight days, closed the trap and hurried back to the jail. By eleven forty-five P. M. I was at my post at the door of the vacant cell.

The sheriff came down at 5 o'clock next morning to prepare for the execution. In the office down stairs he found the night jailer just beginning to recover from the effect of the chloral. Hurrying up stairs, he found me, apparently, in about the same condition as the jailer. The cell door was open and the prisoner gone.

After letting them work over me for a half hour or so, I "revived' 'enough to tell them the last thing I remembered was drinking a glass of port wine with the night jailer. He of course told a similar story.

We were both rather hazy as to where the wine came from, but each expressed the belief that the other had provided it. I looked the jailer straight in the eye and told him that he knew perfectly well where the wine came from, and that I did not provide it.

He was mortally afraid of me, and interpreted that straight look as a threat of bodily harm. So, he admitted ownership of the wine, but said it was some he had procured several weeks before, and, as he patronized ALL the saloons, could not remember where he bought it. Both of us were believed to be officers of sterling integrity and unfailing devotion to duty, so the matter of the drugged wine was dismissed as an unsolvable riddle.

The blood-hounds were brought to the vacant cell and permitted to smell of the sheets and pillow on the bunk. They took up the trail and followed it to the jail steps, but could go no further. No amount of circling could enable them to pick up the trail again.

The country was scoured for miles around for traces of the escaped prisoner. Every negro cabin, and many white homes, were searched. As always happens, many rumors came in to the effect that Mary Huggins had been seen in this, that, or the other locality. Many suspects were arrested in neighboring towns.

* * *

My object in leaving Mary in the clock tower for eight days was to allow time for the hunt to subside. Also, it would give me time to drop out of sight without arousing suspicion.

Three days after the escape, I pretended to receive a letter from mother saying father was very ill and begging me to come home at once. To carry out the deception, I did go home, but stayed only one night.

The next morning, I pledged my sister to secrecy and engaged her assistance. After I had, supposedly, started to catch the morning train, we slipped back and surreptitiously entered a vacant cabin at the lower end of the farm. There, she clipped my hair so short that no one could tell whether it was straight or kinky. Then, with the aid of a pot of home-made walnut stain, she colored my head, face, shoulders and arms a beautiful golden-brown.

So perfect was my disguise that when, a couple of

days later, I stepped off the train and, absentmindedly, entered my favorite restaurant and ordered a meal the proprietor chased me out with a gun. (In the south, negroes are not permitted to enter white restaurants or hotels except as servants or other hired help.)

That night, while the court house clock was proclaiming the hour of twelve, I was creeping up the ladder to Mary Huggins' retreat. At the last stroke of the bell I raised the trap door and peeped in.

Mary was awake of course—a dead person could not remain asleep while that clock was striking—and she made a lunge with the butcher knife that certainly would have done for me had I not quickly withdrawn my head and dropped the trap door. It took quite a while to convince her of my identity.

All four of the lanterns were going and, altho it was bitter cold outside, it was as warm as toast in the clock room. Mary was in high spirit, and so pleased to see me that I had to pretend anger to avoid a scene.

We made two parcels of the bedding and small quantity of remaining provisions, extinguished the lanterns—taking one along—climbed down the ladder and made our way to the outer air.

* * *

When preparing for the jail delivery, I purchased a sixteen foot canoe and hid it in a cane-brake a few yards from the river and about seven miles from town. We reached this boat just at daylight. On our way, Mary told me she had been kept awake so much by the striking of the clock that she felt light headed, or dizzy, so as soon as we got the canoe launched I made her lie down in the bottom, covered her with bedding, pushed off and started down stream.

For four days we traveled down stream before entering the Mississippi. Paddling all day and camping on the bank at night.

We were perfectly safe, for two negroes in a boat is a common enough sight in that country, and I knew every foot of our river and was able to choose secluded spots for camping. Mary slept nearly all the time, with her face covered up; and, I told the few people we met that she was awfully sick and I thought she had smallpox.

She was masquerading as a man, so we had to choose a man's name for her. I thought it no harm to give her the name of an old time colored friend of mine, so I called her "Bill Kidd"—though I usually addressed her as "Kidd" or "Shorty." She took a cue from my color and invariably addressed me as "Mr. Brown."

The trip down the Mississippi consumed three weeks, and was uneventful enough to satisfy the most indolent. We arrived in New Orleans on Christmas Day.

We loafed around there several days before anything turned up to further our plans. But when these plans finally did get furtherance it was in a way as unexpected as it was agreeable.

One day "Shorty" went into a saloon to get a drink. In the course of conversation with the bartender he said his name was "Bill Kidd." A giant negro, with white hair, and a steel hook in the place of his right hand, asked how he came by that name. "Shorty" told some kind of plausible yarn, and the one-handed negro said his name was also "Bill Kidd."

As soon as "Shorty" told me this, we started out to hunt the one-handed "Bill Kidd." Two days later we found him.

He was as pleased to see me as Mary had been that night when I took her away from the clock room—and almost as demonstrative. He had a long tale of adventure to relate, and we passed many hours regaling each other with stories of our exploits.

Kidd said he was second mate on a small Mexican steamer carrying freight between Vera Cruz and New Orleans. When I told him Mary Huggins' story he offered to get her a job as cook on his ship. As the object in coming to New Orleans was to ship Mary out of United States jurisdiction, we accepted his offer.

The ship was sailing next day. So, in the morning I went with them and saw Mary signed on as cook. Still masquerading as a man, and going under the name of "Bill Kidd" NEPHEW OF THE SECOND MATE.

We parted in private. I knew Mary was going to make a scene and I wanted no witnesses to my embarrassment. At the last moment, that black woman—that human tigress—broke down and wept as if her heart would break. She simply raved; said she would kill herself if I did not go along, and a lot more such nonsense.

I gave her five hundred dollars and told her that when she reached Mexico she must stay there, AND NEVER EVEN THINK OF COMING BACK.

It took so long to get rid of that walnut stain, and let my hair grow to a reasonable length, that it was nearly two months before I dared return.

On New Years Day the janitor thought to celebrate by oiling the clock. The evidence of human occupation found in the clock room was the subject of a nine days' wonder. Up to this day, I have never heard anyone guess, even approximately, their true significance.

Along in March I received a letter bearing the Mexico City post mark. It was from Mary Huggins. She was cooking in a hotel and made a specialty of catering to American and other foreign trade.

Even now, after all these years, I receive occasional letters from Mary. And, I often think of going down there some time just to see her and talk over old times. However, her name is not Mary Huggins any more. Neither is it "Bill Kidd" or "Shorty." It is "Mrs. Mary Blanco." She has married Captain Ramon Blanco—a gentleman standing rather high in the Mexican Government.

**Begin The New Year Right. Subscribe For Industrial Pioneer For 1924. $2.00 a Year.**

# Winter in Working Class Families

A SURE sign of approaching winter." No, not some natural phenomenon, but women of Chicago gathering coal and bits of wood for the coming winter spell is that "sure sign."

The cold winter's shadows send a chill thru the hovels of the poor quarters of the city's workers, long, long ahead of the actual signs of the oncoming season. Mothers, remembering their children's comfort, hustle about gathering cinders, coal and bits of wood for kindling to be used when the severe weather makes its entry.

One often wonders how do workers, who work long hours for small pay get along? How do they live and raise families? How does poverty, generally, subsist?

From what we know of workers' lives and living, we know that, what may be termed well paid workers, employed all the time, are either always in debt or very close to it. It is pretty well known, too, that city employes, for instance, are the prey of all kinds of money lending sharks and that their pay envelopes are mortgaged 'way in advance, and so are the others.

Workers who occupy "flats," have families and raise children, always look to the pay envelopes as merely of transient value, more in the nature of a carrier, a messenger to be delivered to the various parties interested in it. If they own homes, it is taxes to meet, interest on first and second mortgages and on money borrowed, for doctor bills, clothes, gifts, etc., to pay. One must present a cheery front, the same as the neighbor. And the neighbor, the same as the first party, except for the few most fortunate, is equally in debt. If no homes are owned, then it is the landlord who gets the bulk of the money earned.

### "Always In Debt"

Few workers, higher paid or poorer, are out of debt, that is, the ones who like to live almost like human beings: i e., have homes, families, electric light, baths, etc., etc. The others who still lead the life of our ancestors, whose wives have coal kitchen stoves and whose tiny little flats are located in obsolete buildings that are relics of ancient history, and who "save" for a rainy day, they too, are on the narrow margin of starvation and debt. One month, no, even one week out of work and stinting, scrimping and borrowing is the rule.

Many is the home that is miserable and on the point of being broken up because the bread winner fails to secure employment in short order. The children must have shoes, gas bills must be met and other obligations attended to.

The high salaried worker is no better off than the cheaper paid employe. The difference between the two is the every day way of living. The one lives better than the other: i. e., on a higher plane. He can borrow more, has prestige and in a pinch, "can do" somebody out of something. That is all. But homes are lost and little flats broken up when mortgages can't be paid and obligations met. And how these workers do work!

Salesmen of various kinds of merchandise—candy, dry goods, cigars—have the longest work day. Of them it can, more truly, be said than of the proverbial coal miner, that they hardly ever see their children. A salesman who is still selling goods where the writer worked not so long ago, would make his calls to the store as late as 11:30 P. M. Another one would be at the store before it was opened in the morning. Others would come all hours, both day and evening; and many were the tales of woe these workers had to tell, about long hours and poor pay and bad treatment and discrimination. One of them, who owned his own home in a suburb, was obliged to sell it before he would have lost it, to the mortgage holder. It was also a drain on him that he could not stand. After work hours he was obliged to build fires and attend to the furnace in the winter time and do other unheard of things in and around the house in the summer time; after an arduous day of labor.

### Doctor Bills, Too

The doctor bill, too, is of no small consequence. The family must be kept small and the child or children have their ills and aches and the physician is a household friend and his "fee" is rather large.

Homes there are that could not possbily exist as homes if it were not for the fact that the grown children work and help keep them. These homes have their struggles, too; for the young folks have their needs and requirements that must be satisfied, but where the household depends largely on the income of one bread winner, the struggle is intense.

So much for the better paid workers. But how do the very low paid workers manage to get along? How can they work for the low pay they receive and keep up families—and they often have quite large families of little children. They live poorly in hovels in the worst parts of the cities and their

A SURE SIGN OF APPROACHING WINTER.
Women living in the vicinity of Wentworth Avenue and 16th Street have begun gathering fuel along railway right of ways in anticipation of an early cold season.
—From Chicago Tribune

children are in tatters. Even at that it would seem as though the pay envelope is not big enough to meet even these meagre requirements. And it isn't. And so the mothers must go out to pick up coal along the railroad tracks, the debris of buildings, a stray limb of a tree or the like in order to make ends meet. Some women, too, go to work and keep the house after work hours. Other mothers, to be sure, take work in at the house, where even the youngest children play a part in helping along with the work in some form or other. Still others go out and do washing or take in washing and so manage to keep the wolf from the door and perhaps lay by a dollar for the no-work period. And thus we see the signs of the approaching winter by the way the women of Chicago, as the example of an industrial city, pick, load and carry their wood on their heads for the winter season.

### All on American Soil

To be sure these women are not American women. Their very appearance betrays their origin; but the fact, nevertheless, remains that these women are obliged to gather their fuel where they can, on American soil, while their husbands work for American owners of American industries. And were they to rebel and refuse to do that kind of work it would not be possible for the "foreign" workers to work for the low pay they are doled out. Nor is the low pay characteristic of the foreign worker. The native worker is in no better plight. If his woman does not carry wood in the same fashion as her outlawed sister does she is obliged to do many things in order to help meet expenses. She works, in the house or in the shop, and is often obliged to share her little abode with "boarders." "Keeping" rooming houses is a typical aid to incomes applied by the American wife. No easy life is hers. And it is because of the help she is able to lend financially, that the American worker's home is held together.

Also were they to have a higher standard of living generally, a broader vision, and better requirements. Should they want the comforts of life, not its struggles—and should they seek to better their conditions and the chances of their offspring it would be next to impossible for them to get along on the earnings of their husbands. And it isn't. In every case where the woman resolves to work and have, rather than to stay at home and live on short rations, she very soon discovers that in spite of her two pay checks she is still short of funds when the week end comes around.

### Join a Union!

While the workers' wages may be larger now than they ever were, the cost of living is also higher and when the week is ended it is several days later in the race with the pay envelope. Were the women of this country to keep the old time standard of morals, that the women's place is the home, it would be impossible for American men to work for the low wages paid them in this age of "high wages."

And so the workers who do not belong to unions or are afraid of workers' organizations, stint and suffer and get along on the cheapest and poorest of food and clothing, and live in clap trap shambles. Unionism, while not perfect, gives the workers some improvements, that the workers alone as individuals could never achieve. Were all the workers organized as they should be in one Industrial Union, whether they be laborers or salaried workers, their conditions would be immeasurably improved and such things as women carrying loads of fuel on their heads would be unknown.

Let us therefore organize ourselves and reach out for the better things of life and instead of being "meek and humble and satisfied with our lot" let us demand good living, comfort, leisure and the beauties of the creations of science and invention. Let us also imbue the same spirit and outlook in our fellow creatures to the end that they may demand and get all the wealth and art and pleasure that the rich and their tribe are able to enjoy.

J. D. C.

# A Shovel Stiff's Hopes

By DORMAN N. HARRIS

I DO not strive for great renown
Or for glittering jewels or gold,
I would not wear the master's crown
Of present day, or old.

I only want each man's own right
That there'll no slavery be,
And enjoy nature as we might,
When every man is free.

But the industries and sciences,
Yes, those we'll want, why sure,
So look out, hungry tyrants,
Soon you'll be getting poor—

When the workers join the OBU
All throughout the land,
We'll change this society for a new,
Directed by our hand.

To me, oh, that will be a pleasure,
Not for the parasite so sweet—
For work he'll have instead of leisure
If he expects to eat.

I'll show him how to use the spade
And pick the hardened clay,
And earn his keep without our aid
And then I'll say good day.

And go teach some other parasite
This trade I've learned so well,
So bread they'll earn and bed at night,
And the rest can go to h—l.

# Workers Education: Now or Future

THE Workers' Dreadnought of London, England, a communist organ, is much concerned about workers' education. It wants to know, substantially, if the workers shall be educated for capitalism, or to operate production and distribution under communism?

As this question seems to agitate some of the workers in this country also, it might be well to answer by asking another, namely, how shall the workers who are to be prepared for communism function while waiting for that event to happen? In other words, of what **practical** importance will such preparation be to the working class?

### An Intellectual Minority

The idea that a certain section of the working class may be set aside to take the place of technicians and managers in the days to come is only theoretically possible but otherwise there's nothing to it. These workingmen will know a lot about running industry on paper; but they will be without experience and of no value, except to pose as half-baked intellectuals, to the detriment of the workers generally.

Besides, this idea is born of a misconception as to the mission of the working class movement. This movement is not formed to create managers and technicians, but to organize the entire working class. Managers and technicians are being made by capitalism. And they are being ground down by capitalism; and are beginning to turn against it, as a result. They, too, must be organized as a part of the working class.

Take, for instance, the depression of 1920, when, according to the press, over 5,000 technicians, engineers, etc., were out of employment, with many on the verge of starvation. This incident in their otherwise placid lives opened the eyes of many of them. They became very much discontented, as a result. Another depression, such as is now again appearing on the horizon, will serve to open the eyes of still more of them.

### Technicians Alive to Social Defects

In fact, some of the most prominent of American engineers are growing critical of the capitalist system. One of them, Mortimer E. Cooley, president Federated American Engineering Societies and dean of the engineering schools of the University of Michigan, is quoted in a Sept. Industrial Pioneer editorial as saying:

"Unless a new point of view is adopted which will remove the reasons for the growing distrust and suspicion in the ranks of the workers, an uncontrollable situation will result."

Such a situation is coming. Look at Germany, where the technical schools have made intellectual labor a drug on the market and driven the technicians into the ranks of the proletariat. The depression of 1920, already referred to, and the increasing number of situations wanted advertisements inserted in the leading Sunday papers, foreshadow a similar condition of affairs here also before long. The U. S. A. is steadily increasing its technical forces at a rate that precludes their complete absorption and use. Even now technical men, organized as Labor Bureaus, Incorporated, are giving labor organizations expert aid and advice in conflicts with employers and corporations. These tendencies will grow.

GOLOS TRUZENIKA

**Or "Voice of Labor," Russian I. W. W. organ, is celebrating its fifth year of existence. This beautiful cartoon, reprinted from its columns, expresses its victory over many forces that tried, in vain, to mow it down.**

Under the circumstances, why set up another class of intellectuals, viz., the theoretical technicians and managers, to lord it over us? Why not seek to diffuse among all workers a wide-spread knowledge of modern production and distribution, while at the same time, preparing to win the technicians and managers over to us? **Such tactics will tend to make all the workers under capitalism a unit against it.** Especially will this be the case in the event of a capitalist collapse following another war, such as appears in the offing. Then all men will tend to work against capitalism; and then may we hope most for its undoing and overthrow.

Organize the working class. Capitalism will take care of the creation of technicians and managers for the new society.

**SUBSCRIBE for INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**

# The I.W.W. In Convention Assembled

(Continued from Page 16)

By-laws were revised. Resolutions to move headquarters from New York to Chicago and for higher dues ($1 and 75 cents are suggested to take the place of the present 50 cents dues), will be put to a referendum vote. A referendum was also favored on the question as to whether political prisoners accepting conditional clemency should be retained as members.

**It was recommended that the Marine Worker be issued in Spanish as well as in English, one paper in Spanish, and one in English. The Secretary-Treasurer of 510 is to act as editor of the Marine Worker.**

Four delegates to the General Convention were voted.

**The question of international relations loomed large, quite logically, in the marine transport workers' convention. A letter from the RILU urging severance from the IWW and affiliation with that body, was answered by refusing to do the first and pledging co-operation in strikes of all international marine workers' organizations.**

It was the opinion of the convention that the MTW could organize the world over, without affiliating with any of the existing marine unions. The creation of districts—French district, etc.—was urged to this end, in place of one general administration, which is held to be too expensive.

The convention favored small sporadic strikes as being more effective than the big ones.

**The California boycott is to be put into effect something like the strike on the job. California products are to be discriminated against in every way possible.**

The convention also decided to ask the general organization to place all deep-water and coast-wise fishery workers under the head of Marine Transport Workers.

Greetings were extended to all class war prisoners and steps taken to secure their release.

**A special resolution took up the case of the Centralia victims. The convention pledged its economic and all other power to secure their release.**

### 520 CONVENTION

Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520, met on November 5th to 10th inclusive. Delegates were present from many western, mid-west and eastern points; all actual railroad men.

The formulation of by-laws and a program of organization occupied much of the convention's time.

**Resolutions were adopted recommending that the General Convention of the IWW make changes in the General constitution that will allow of greater autonomy in industrial union activities.**

Delegates were also elected to the General Convention.

Judging from the above salient points that have been referred to it, the IWW General Convention will be an exceptionally interesting one—a landmark in the development of the organization.

The General Convention is in its preliminary sessions as The Pioneer goes to press More about it next month.

## LABOR BANKS

There are 15 "labor" banks in this country. They were all founded between May 15, 1920, and October 15, 1923. Their resources are estimated at about $44,000,000. In addition, one-third of a $45,000,000 trust company in New York has been acquired by the Locomotive Engineers' Bank, and two-fifths of a $15,000,000 bank in Washington has been bought by the Machinists' Union. Further, the United Mine Workers will open a new $1,000,000 bank in Indianapolis soon.

Geo. Hinman, financial writer for the Hearst papers, say of the "labor" bank: "It is not radical; it is not revolutionary. It is simply business-like—as business-like as it is for employers or so-called capitalists to put their dollars to work." Another writer, David J. Saposs, calls it "trade-union capitalism."

Lloyd George contends that a war still more hideous than the last one is impending in Europe. This means another world-war that can only be prevented by the world's workers, regardless of race, color, creed or sex. Nationalism, whether Russian or American, must give way to internationalism, if the workers are to be aught else than victims of slaughter.

In 1920, the American Federation of Labor had a membership of 4,078,740. The membership in 1923, as reported by the executive council to the Portland convention, is 2,986,468. This represents a loss of 1,092,272 members in three years.

The Workers' Party, the latest political manifestation of communism in this country, claims a membership of 20,000. About 1,500 of these are English-speaking; the remainder are divided into language federations. There are about one-half the number of organized communists today as compared with 1919.

**NEXT MONTH!** **NEXT MONTH!**

## SCANDINAVIA AND ITS LABOR MOVEMENT

**By C. G. Andersen, Stockholm, Sweden**

# As Pioneer Readers See Things

## The Significance of the Modern City

FELLOW WORKER Geo. Williams in July and August Industrial Pioneer, "The Significance of the Modern City," invents a strange, and to say the least, brand new Political Economy. All work done in big cities is distribution, all work done outside of big cities is production. This classification was necessary in order to prove that the Bolsheviki could not organize distribution but production was O. K.

If I remember aright the first distress of the Russian revolutionists was lack of coal in Moscow and other places, because of flooding the Donetz coal mines; destruction of boilers and other mine equipment by the white guards. Second, after seven years of war the railroads, according to all reports, were a pile of junk scattered throughout all Russia.

And, most sensational of all, the crop failure in the Volga valley. Now all this is production and not distribution, according to Fellow Worker William's article.

But from different sources we gather that production in cities and big factories fell enormously under the workers' management, due in part at least, to inefficient management or lack of it. Possessing all the shooting irons, distribution did not bother the Bolshevikis at all, not till there was danger of having nothing more to distribute, did the now famous economic retreat began.

If Fellow Worker Williams had left the Russian Revolution alone and devoted his article to the facts and conditions at home his article would be the more significant, because it deals with facts not often dealt with in our publications, namely, the management of enormous industrial establishments of the cities, and their relations to basic industries of the country. After enumerating the importance of the city, he goes on to say that our numerical strength in cities is insignificant compared with the rural localities, especially of the West. He says, "There is a cause for it and whatever the cause it is one that certainly needs close study and adjustment of not only the city condition to our organization but of the IWW to the city."

### Hopeless Cases Redeemed

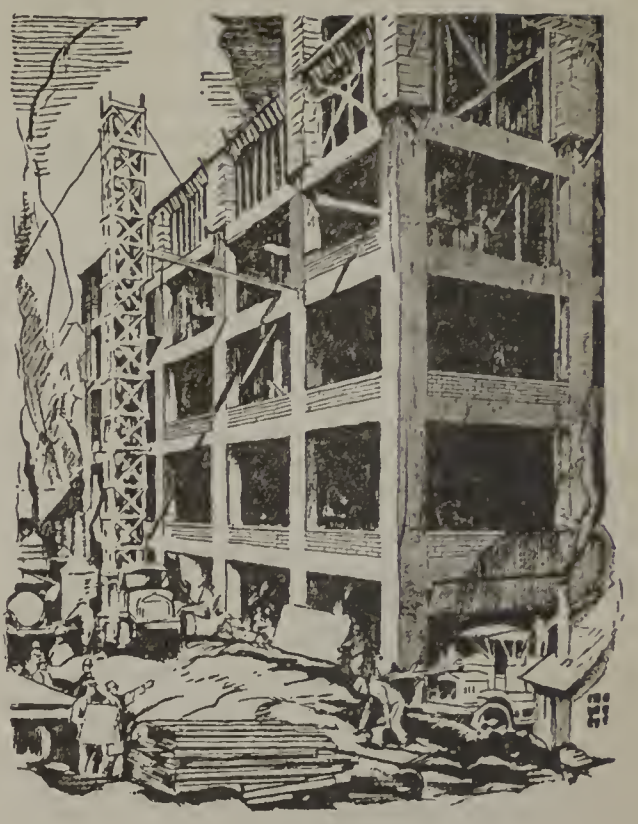
In order to attempt to contribute to the solution of the question I will confine myself to certain facts in the history of the IWW.

Up to October, 1916, the lumberjacks of the Spokane district were considered the hopeless scissorbills. This applied to all migratory workers.

Many a winter up to that date we were paying the secretary of combined Spokane locals a weekly salary of about twelve dollars a week, not to say anything of hall rent, and the combined membership often fell below fifty.

Why the big change from the winter of 1916-17 up to now?

The change first took place in the methods of doing business within the IWW and the jacks rolled in and stuck, as you all are familiar. Prior to this date our activities were those of a debating society of half a dozen political politicians, bawling out the bulls, salvation army, the scissorbills, the preachers, etc. That the organization presupposed work done in a certain definite way never entered our heads, and the results were that the workers felt that we were a hopeless bunch of spittoon philosophers.



BUILDING UP-TO-DATE CITY

In theory we were non-political but in practice we were trying to transact our business on parliamentary lines with the most disastrous result. No organization, no industry, can be run on parliamentary law, because parliamentary law is the way to talk when there is a crowd, while organization or industry is a mass of work done in accordance with its nature.

In 1913 the IWW hall in Spokane needed a box for coal, so the question was brought up at a business meeting. From 8 till 12 p. m. we argued whether to buy a box or borrow or make one. When I left the hall this was what came to my mind, "How in the devil can this bunch manage logging, sawmills, farming, railways, etc."? Well, I quit paying dues for two years.

### A Revolution

The old AWO—400—introduced entirely new methods of carrying on the work of the organization, namely, the delegate system. Needless to say under new methods we started to grow so fast that

we scared the bourgeoisie stiff; hence persecution.

If the ordinary working man listens to us wrangle, often over nothing, at our business meetings and then goes out in a big city like Chicago, this must come to his mind: "If this bunch thinks that they can run this gigantic outfit on political parliamentary lines they are bugs."

The Wobblies of the West during persecution developed methods of doing business peculiarly suited to them. Now from all reports those methods, ways and means are not succeeding in the industrial manufacturing East. Even the sawmills out West are not very strong. Experiments by branches, delegates, members in industrial centers, constructive criticism, and discussion, and special propaganda in the press may perhaps devise methods and means that will be successful in the big eastern manufacturing centers. Russian Revolution teaches us that committees elected and controlled by parliamentary methods falsely called "democratizing," cannot run industry (too many cooks spoil the soup). Debating societies can only talk, split themselves into factions and ultimately ruin anything. The study of how the boss manages industry and different organizations is our only solution. If every worker from accountants and bookkeepers to the sweepers, does the work as it ought to be done, the boss is a useless parasite—his primary function is to "can" the ones that do not fit, for one reason or another.

It has often been said that the general principles underlying the management of one industry are in general the same in all industries. If we learn to manage, control and transact business in general efficiently in our present IU the management of industries after we get them will be easy pickin's.

Reno, Nevada. JOHN CRABAPPLE

## FORD AS HIS WORKERS SEE HIM

IN your October issue, Geo. Williams, in his article, "Henry Ford, A Peculiar Entity," makes the statement near the close that, "There remains yet to come from an employe of the Ford plants a criticism of the working conditions."

I don't want him to feel that he can ever again say anything like that truthfully.

Perhaps I had best explain that I have been an employe of the Ford Motor Co. six months at an assembly plant where I am at present.

Curiosity and a purpose brought me here. Purpose holds me here in spite of the fact that I have had to endure more brutality, both ignorant and refined, than I ever thought I could endure under any circumstances.

My purpose in coming here was to find out why Ford has no labor troubles and in what manner could Ford employes be converted to the One Big Union ideas.

Of one thing I feel certain. Owing to the superlative Ford spy system, and the mental condition of the employes caused by it, ordinary IWW organization methods would be the height of folly. At best it would have to be slow underground work, or so it now seems to me.

The price the Ford laborer pays for his $6.00 per day is the sacrifice of his manhood, likewise literally speaking, Ford's labor is the cheapest that I know of.

I sincerely hope Mr. Williams can conscientiously recogize this as a criticism and if he so desires I will give him any "Ford news" that I can. However, I must ask that you keep my name out of print, if I am to be of any value (in this unorganized field) for Industrial Unionism.

Trusting that I may be of some use in some way, I am, yours very truly.

## CRITICISM OF RUSSIA

ON page 44 of the October Industrial Pioneer, we find the opinion expressed that Russia is becoming capitalistic.

I call the attention of the critic to the fact that the division of humanity into masters and slaves is unnatural, for all of us have equal needs and equal faculties; and that something wrong must be the cause of that anomaly; and that this cause is the stupidity of the ruled class, a disease produced by military obedience and developed by religion and servitude. The only way to eliminate that condition is to develop the people's intelligence.

Karl Marx and the writer of the criticism say that capitalism shows to the workers the injustice of that condition, and indeed it does. But what it doesn't show is how to do without masters.

So we see the people revolt, itself without cohesion or clear aim; and the instruments of capitalism crush and massacre it, to subdue it by terror; which still more stupifies the workers. It follows then that the only way to get out of slavery is through the door of instruction.

Now everybody knows that Soviet Russia is using its utmost efforts to rapidly educate the people, as every one must believe; otherwise that social system could not last long.

But the critic says that Russia is going back to capitalism because of the concessions. But, these concessions, which are only granted for a limited time, are a valuable source of revenue. It is also true that the co-operative societies are increasing there, every day. The more they develop the less hired workers capitalists will find there.

Ten years from now will be the fifteenth year of the Soviet Republic. By that time, the intellectual revolution in Russia will be completed; and due to this fact, all the workers will have joined the co-operative societies. What will capitalism do there, then?

Providence, R. I.

JOSE M. CUNHA.

(NOTE—Readers are advised to re-read articles criticised. It is a good habit, when reading, to check up statements made.—**Editor.**)

# The Last Letters of Joe Hill

I NOTICE that the Pioneer is going to publish a sketch of the life of Joe Hill in the November issue, so thought you might be able to use some of the letters I have and which were written by him while he was under sentence of death. These letters, to a great extent, show that peculiar spirit which enabled Joe to bear up so well under the enormous strain, while all the forces of both sides of the struggle were being marshaled—one to take his life, the other to save him.

I had been with Joe in Lower California, but had seen nothing of him and heard little, as I had been spending my time in an out-of-the-way place till August, 1914, when I arrived in Frisco and received the latest news relative to his case from a fellow worker who had just left Salt Lake.

If you could get a little poem he wrote a little while before he was shot, entitled "The Bronko Buster," and inspired by a picture of "Buster" Flynn on a pony sent to him by Gurley Flynn, it will shed some light on the love Joe aways had for freedom and the untamable spirit that refuses to surrender it.

The cartoon I am enclosing was sent with the first letter I am sending.

SAM MURRAY, SU-410.

Oakland, California.

I

Salt Lake City, Sept. 15, 1914.

Dear Friend and Fellow Worker:

Yours of Sept 9 at hand. Glad to hear that you are still alive and kicking and back on the firing line again.

So, you tried to imitate Knowles, the Nature Freak, and live the simple life. It might be all right for a little while, as you say, but I am afraid a fellow would get "simple" of getting too much of the simple life.

Well, I guess the wholesale butchery going on in Europe is putting the kibosh on everything, even the organization work, to some extent. As a rule, a fellow don't bother his head much about unions and theories of the class struggle when his belly is flapping up against his spine. Getting the wrinkles out is then the main issue and everything else, side issues. That's human nature or animal instinct rather, and any amount of soapboxing will not change it. The man who coined the phrase "War is hell" certainly knew what he was talking about Well, Sam, old boy, I guess Van has told you everything about my case and I think he knows more about it than I do, because he has been around here and on the outside. I am feeling well under the circumstances and I am fortunate enough to have the ability to entertain myself and to look at everything from the bright side. So there is nothing you could do for me, Sam. I know you would if you could.

Well, with best wishes to the bunch in Frisco, I remain, Yours for the OBU.—Joe Hill.

**A RECOLLECTION—Sam Murray as a Mexican Revolutionist, Drawn by Joe Hill.**

P. S. Is Jack Mosby in Washington yet or did he leave?

II

Salt Lake City, Dec. 2, 1914.

Dear Friend and Fellow Worker:

Received your letter and should have answered before, but have been busy working on some musical composition and whenever I get an "inspiration" I can't quit until it's finished.

I am glad to hear that you manage to make both ends meet, in spite of the industrial deal, but there is no use being pessimistic in this glorious land of plenty. Self preservation is, or should be, the first law of nature. The animals, when in a natural state, are showing us the way. When they are hungry they will always try to get something to eat or else they will die in the attempt. That's natural; to starve to death is unnatural.

No, I have not heard that song about "Tipperary" but if you send it as you said you would I might try to dope something out about that Frisco Fair. I am not familiar with the actual conditions of Frisco at present; and when I make a song I always try to picture things as they really are. Of course a little pepper and salt is allowed in order to bring out the facts more clearly.

If you send me that sheet music and give me some of the peculiarities and ridiculous points about the conditions in general on or about the fair ground, I'll try to do the best I can. Yours for the OBU.—Joe Hill.

III

Salt Lake City, Feb. 13, 1915.

Friend and Fellow Worker:

Should have answered your letter before, but have been busy working on a song named "The Rebel Girl" (Words and Music), which I hope will help to line up the women workers in the OBU, and I hope you will excuse me.

I see you made a big thing out of that Tipperary song. (We had secured nearly 50 dollars by selling it for 5 cents for the Joe Hill Defense.—S. M.) In fact, a whole lot more than I ever expected, I don't suppose that it would sell very well outside of Frisco, though by the way I got a letter from Swasey in NY and he told me that "Casey Jones" made quite a hit in London and "Casey Jones," he was an Angelino you know, and I never expected that he would leave Los Angeles at all.

The other day we got ten bucks from a company of soldiers stationed on the Mexican line. How is that old top? Maybe they are remembering some of the cigars in glass bottles that they smoked at the expense of the "Tierra e Libertad" bunch.

Don't know much about my case. The Sup. Court will "sit on" it sometime in the sweet bye and bye and that's all I know about it.

Give my best to the bunch.—Joe Hill.

IV.

County Jail, S. L. City, Mar. 22, 1915

Sam Murray, Napa, Cal.

Friend and Fellow Worker: Yours of March 13th at hand. I note that you have gone "back to nature" again and I must confess that it is making me a little homesick when you mention that "little cabin in the hills" stuff. You can talk about your dances, picnics and blow outs, and it won't affect me, but the "little cabin" stuff always gets my goat. That's the only life I know.

Yes, that Tipperary song is spreading like the smallpox they say. Sec. 69 tells me that there is a steady stream of silver from 'Frisco on account of it. The unemployed all over the country have adopted it as a marching song in their parades, and in New York City they changed it to some extent, so as to fit the brand of soup dished out in N. Y. They are doing great work in N. Y. this year. The unemployed have been organized and have big meetings every night. Gurly Flynn, Geo. Swasey (the human phonograph) and other live ones are there, and Gurley F. tells me things are looking favorable for the OBU. The hearing of my case has been postponed they say, and they are trying to make me believe that it is for my benefit, but I'll tell you that it is damn hard for me to see where the benefit comes in at; damn hard.

Well, I have about a dozen letters to answer, Yours as ever, JOE HILL.

V.

S. L. Cy., June 6, 1915.

Friend and Fellow Worker: Your weleome letter received, and am glad to note that you are still sticking to your "little cabin in the hills." I would like to get a little of that close to nature stuff myself for a couple of months in order to regain a little vitality, and a little flesh on my rotting bones. My case was argued on the 28th of May, and according to Judge Hilton, the results were satisfactory. He says he is sure of securing a reversal, and if so, there hardly will be another trial, for the simple reason that there won't be anything to try, if I can get a lawyer that will **defend** me.

With best wishes to all the rebels, Yours for the OBU, JOE HILL.

P. S. I've just found out that the Superior Court judges are getting ready to go on their vacation until next fall, so I guess there won't be anything decided on my case for some time. But "everything comes to him who waits" they say, and that's the only consolation I got now.—JOE.

VI.

Utah State Prison, Aug. 12, 1915.

Friend and Fellow Worker: Yours of August 5th at hand, and as you see I have been moved to the state prison. The appeal was denied and I was up in court the other day and sentenced to be shot on the first day of October. We were all very much surprised at the decision, because we thought that I would be granted a new trial anyway. But as Judge Hilton says "the records of the lower court are so rotten they had to be covered somehow." I guess you can draw your conclusions from that statement. I wanted to drop the ease right there and then, but from reports received from all parts of the country, I think that the case will be carried to the U. S. Supreme Court. I didn't think I'd be worth any more money. You know human life is kind of eheap this year anyway—but I guess the organization thinks otherwise and majority rule goes with me.

Well, I don't know anything new and hoping that you are successful in snaring the elusive doughnut, I remain, Yours for the OBU,

JOE HILL.

VII.

Utah State Prison, Sept. 9, 1915.

Sam Murray,

Frisco, California.

Friend and Fellow Worker: Yours received O. K. Glad to hear that things are picking up. I see that you are employed at making bait for the German "sharks." Well, war certainly shows up the capitalist system in the right light. Millions of men are employed at making ships and others are hired to sink them. Scientific management, eh, wot?

As far as I can see, it doesn't make much difference which side wins, but I hope that **one side will win,** because a draw would only mean another war in a year or two. All these silly priests and old maid sewing eircles that are moaning about peace at this time should be locked up in the crazy house as a menaee to society. The war is the finest training school for rebels in the world and for

(Continued on Page 56)

# War and Christmas — "Murder Will Out."

By ROBERT GRAYSON

PERHAPS not too vigorous a voice need be raised in ealling on memory in a matter of again unveiling the tragic and brutal pietures of war propaganda. However, that may be, on various sides we hear voices of old men—as cries of repentanee—telling the general "booboisie," or our alleged mass moron population, that not all the tales of German atrocities were true. This is a safe distance at which to discount such ealumnies, and espeeially without hazard to its announcer if he chanees to be a "statesman." So Francisco Nitti, formerly Italian premier, sets forth a very interesting indictment of all the European allies against Germany, in the Hearst newspapers for the 28th of October. His thoughts are worth reading for themselves, and in the light of our own victims of the Espionage Aet earry added interest.

Mr. Nitti is no longer premier. He is getting old and nears the tomb with a wail of despair on his lips, withal eonsonant to Europe's actual situation, declaring that "Among the nations of continental Europe a moral eode of robbery and murder prevails." And with respect to stories rife for so long in a British-propagandized Ameriea about Germany springing on Europe's throat he says (which is important merely because it is a confession of guilt and not a revelation) that "responsibility for the world conflict eannot be laid exclusively at the door of Germany and Austria-Hungary." While impeaching France and reproving Italy he is careful not to inelude Britain or Ameriea. One must have some support.

The most important paragraph of his artiele is summed up in this naive statement: "During the war we proclaimed that Germany and her allies were alone guilty, and that Germany was guilty of unbelievable outrages. **Our excuse is that when a nation is at war fighting for its life, any means that kindles and increases resistance seems justified.** I myself, in order to exalt the spirit of the Italians, have said and written that the responsibility of the war belonged to Germany.

"In war only one thing is neeessary—to conquer. While the struggle is going on only one thing is neeessary—victory. **The enemy must be made as black as possible, inhuman in cruelty, wholly evil in purpose. But when the war is ended and danger over, truth should return."**

### Worth Memorizing

That is worth memorizing, or at least remembering substantially. Because not many years shall pass without another war, one of such terriffic proportions as to overshadow the huge bestiality of the recent one, which, by the way, seems to be eontinuing in the Ruhr. When once again our masters, the arbiters of human existence, who possess us because they own the economic machinery and ean decree almost without protest that millions of Amerieans shall go into trenches to buteher workers of other countries; I repeat that when once again this

PROFIT ABOVE HUMANITY

eeonomic oligarchy finds it to the advantage of an expansion policy to declare another war, press, pulpit and school will blaze with lies about the atrocities of the opponent, and these good Christian ladies and gentlemen will feel justified for reasons quoted above! Then heretofore calm, almost stolid, and always stupid workers will recoil at the horror of "foreigners" with so little humanity as to cut off hands or feet of little babies, to unsex men and to rip wombs out of women, and so on **ad damnum.**

Once again as national monomania of war whirls its foul mental fogs, and ingenious tales of the adversary's brutality ery out on every corner, in each alley, from so-called newspapers, conveniently purchased outright for the occasion, from altars ostensibly dedicated to him who died for preaching the Brotherhood of Man, from the schools that forever exalt war's alleged glamour, when all this degradation constitutes the pabulum of our masses, there will be some cries of protest, some clear voices "crying in the wilderness" and patriotism's glorious duty will again be exhibited in stifling these cries, jailing the men and women who dare to see the truth "out of season," or lynching them without hesitation.

### A Moral Collapse

Ex-premier Nitti and others of high station in a bourgeois world can see what they regard as a total moral eollapse and an economie failure so far-reaching that it means no more or less, to their minds, than "the collapse of European civilization." The mighty are dying, their financial thrones creak dismally on slender, swaying sticks. So the heart crying out for past glory is a heart almost bled white. They want the "good, old days." Their hearts are

not winepresses that but crush the fruits of experience to flow forth at length a seasoned wine of wisdom and of the joy of living. No, these old men despair. Not only is their race almost run, but the power that was hereditary in masters is, too, nearing its last grave. Yet what should these great ones expect? Diurnal things may well melt into the past with skies glorified by beautiful sunsets, but can the long travail of human slavery, born in agony, matured in sweat and blood and tears, blissfully pass along as a being finding some sweet Nirvana?

I think not, and you have only to see this violence all around us together with the confessions of capitalistic incompetency that daily grow more nunerous, to realize that the regime is sick unto death. If there is no hope for its recovery it behooves us to make haste, for life's strands are complex at best, and must be disentangled by intelligence. The germ of such intelligence is small, but it has power to grow, indeed must grow and arrange the affairs of mankind. There is no hope except that which is conceived of industrial freedom. Soft hands cannot always hold the reins, and purrings of aristocracy cannot guide humanity to any advance. It is for rough hands and strong tongues to remould and guide society by causing its elements to pour through channels of industrial democracy—all to work and all to eat.

### The New Philosophy

All those who want the establishment of social justice, which is only attainable by inaugurating an industrial system that is sane and that does not rest on a foundation of mass servitude to privileged minorities, expect rulers to take umbrage at this new philosophy. To feel their wrath is part of the day's work, evidenced by the attitude of our rebels in prisons, yet inexplicable to all who do not feel the tireless driving force that animates evangelists of any kind. Most of the men and women who went to jail for being outspoken in this rallying of workers around the red standard of their economic deliverance had no wish to be martyrs, for such a desire is not normal. But they did not falter, they were consistent and they suffered. It is the story of man's advance throughout all ages, and that mankind did advance, over the bodies it destroyed only to venerate later, has caused it to be truly said: "The blood of martyrs is the seed of the church."

We owe them our support, we owe it to ourselves and to our class. Humanity, with capitalism's end, will know no death. But the might of our proletarian solidarity it must experience a real, thoroughgoing renaissance designed so that no man can live on his brother's labor, that there shall be no mansions, jewels, learnings and abundance of every material kind for any arrogant class of idlers and wasters, while the masses break their backs in excessive drudgery, existing in poverty and ignorance. Therefore, stand up for yourself and your class, it will inherit the earth. Refuse to be reduced by bourgeois propaganda to the common denominator of a fool. "To be or not to be" perplexed Hamlet, just as it apparently distresses certain bourgeois encumbrances of the earth, but the virile, surging, singing workers whose youth is endless in their class, pressing on and up, with all of evolution's truths favoring their future and refusing to remain mute domesticated work-beasts feel an exultant cry of positive life and freedom and happiness in the deathless will "To be!"

## JOE HILL'S LETTERS

(Continued from Page 54)

anti-militarists as well, and I hope that all the S. S. bills in the country will go over there.

Well, Sam, I don't know anything about my case. My attorneys told me to leave it all to them, and that makes it pretty soft for me to have someone else do the worrying for me.

I believe your good work on the coast is being felt at this end of the line, though.

With best wishes I am as ever yours,

JOE HILL.

VIII.

(When the following was written, Joe expected to be shot within twenty-four hours, and all of us had given up hope. However, he later received a respite of something over a month, thus being forced to go over the strain of the last day on earth again.)

Utah State Prison, Sept. 30, 1915.
Sam Murray, 3345 17th St.,
Frisco, Calif.

Friend and Fellow Worker: Well, Sam, I received your letter, but you shouldn't feel so sentimental about it. This dying business is not quite so bad as it is cracked up to be. I have always said "a new trial or die trying," and I'll show that I meant it. I was moved to another cell last night and have an armed guard in front of my cell. I was also given a swell feed for the first time in God knows how long, and that is one of the surest signs.

Well, Sam, you and me had a little pleasure at one time that few rebels have had the privilege of having, and I guess I've had my share of the fun after all. Now, just forget me, and say goodbye to the bunch.

Yours for the OBU,

JOE HILL.

P. S. Sent a letter to Caroline.

This was the last letter I got direct from Joe Hill. But we kept up the fight; telegraphed to the unions of Sweden, the Swedish Minister at Washington, who sent President Wilson a letter; who also wired the Governor of Utah, but to no avail, and the night before the execution finally took place we received together with some of the other organizations throughout the country, his famous farewell wire: "Goodbye, Forget me. Don't mourn, Organize." which we immediately answered, but which, as near as we could learn, he never received.

# A Worker's Wanderings from Italy to South America

By JOHN ASHBURN

IT is just about a year, that, disgusted with the rioting of the Fascist mobs in Italy, I decided to leave that country, as so many Italian Socialists and Radicals were forced to do. Although I was an alien in Italy and I worked peacefully, restricting myself to viewing the development of the political and economic situation, I was not safe with these bandits, who killed and tortured anyone, who had another opinion than theirs.

Once I got a copy of "Industrial Solidarity," in which paper I narrated something about the growing movements of the Fascists and their sainted leader, Mussolini; whom I marked as a corrupted politician, because he was financially backed by big industry. Accidentally a "blackshirt," knowing the English language took the newspaper out of my pocket in my working place and read this item signed with my name. This is a risky thing and so much the more, if you dare to write about the "Duke," as Mussolini's followers call him.

We had some quarrel and I avoided thru some trick to be beaten or forced to drink castor oil or shot down like a laborer, who was bold enough to read on a street corner the innocent "La Giustizia" (Justice), a reformist Socialist paper. A blackshirt passed by and asking him for what reason he reads the aforementioned newspaper and getting no answer from this intimidated worker except a whisper, the blackshirt shot down the unarmed workingman. Under such circumstances I did not feel quite at my ease and I determined, on departing from Milan, to go via Venice through Germany to Buenos Aires.

### A Fond Reminder

I took the night train from Milan to Venice bidding farewell to all fellow workers and comrades having to remain at their posts. As the train moved out on the Lombardian plain, illuminated by the emerging moon, I was reminded of Italy of two years ago, on the verge of social revolution. Malatesta, the great old leader, arrived in the harbor of Genoa from England, where he was exiled during many years, saluted by the steamship's whistles and then came the occupation of factories by the whole working class; the climax of this great historical revolutionary movement equaling in significance the Russian revolution.

All these Italian workers were full of idealism, which seems to be a gift of nature of this southern nation, that I did not encounter either in Germany or even in Russia. The movement declined steadily, due to the fact, that the Socialist and Confederation of Labor leaders betrayed the working class, step by step.

### Italy Amid Civil War

At the present time Italy is doomed to Mussolini's tyranny, worse than Germany during Bismarck's Socialist law

In the train one could see that Italy is amid civil war. In the corridor of the car there are written the diverse slogans like: "Down with the Fascists!" Down with the rascals!" "Long live Malatesta!" "Long live Lenin!" The latter is the only one of the Russian leaders, who is appreciated by the Italian workers. Others are never mentioned. The Italian railroad workers are the most severe enemy of the fascism and the foremost vanguard of the Italian radical, unpolitical Socialism, leaning toward IWW theories. These workers are not organized under the Confederation of Labor but they have a separate organization of their own adhered to the syndicalist confederation.

The train rushed through the fertile plains eastwards; I glanced at the last spurs of the Alps lying in the north. We had a little delay at the station of the university town Padua, on account of the turbulency of a Fascist squadron wanting to get into the train. They sang: "Giovinezza, giovinezza, primavera di bellezza . . . " whereupon the personnel of the train replied with: "Avanti popolo a la riscossa . . " ("Forward, folk") to uproar . . accompanied by the sounds of some shots.

Finally the train drove out of the station. The mountains disappeared more and more from the horizon and a seabreeze began to blow and a wonderful sunrise was visible. The train left the peninsula and ran about 15 miles upon a stone bridge amidst short yellow waves of the Adriatic sea to the artificial island on which the medieval city of Venice is situated. Venice is built up thoroughly on piles driven in the low ground of the Adriatic sea, but in a few centuries this town will be no more an island of lake-dwellings, because the coast of the Italian peninsula is slowly moving out towards the sea.

### Entering Venice

At 6 o'clock in the morning I entered Venice. Few people were on the streets Each step on the big stone flags sounded and echoed solemnly. I asked a Venetian fellow for the best way to Pallazzo San Marco and he responded with a very soft pronunciation in the Italian language, interwoven with some words of the Venetian dialect. Thus I took a "gondola" and drove along the Grand Canal. On both sides one can see "i palazzi" of the middle ages. The steps of these buildings are washed by the water and sometimes it runs even into the hall. A part of these old castles are abandoned and birds are the only inhabitants of the forgotten and sleeping houses, where once upon a time a gorgeous splendor and luxury displayed their might. After half an hour's gondola ride I went ashore on Piazza di San Marco, the center of the town. I also found here a solemn calmness, which lasted during the whole day, although it was not a festival day but a work-day. Venice seemed to me like the castle of the Sleeping Beauty in the well known fairy tale. She lives on the money brought in by foreigners.

Piazza San Marco, a large square, is surrounded by colonades and porticos. I saw the never missed feeding of the San Marco's doves.

Then I went into the Duke's palace, the so-called "palazzo del Doge," in which are sheltered galleries of pictures representing fine art such as we do not any more produce in our century of capitalistic industrialism. The guide led me to the prisons, in which suffered the revolutionists against this aristocratic republic that lived at that time as a parasite and sponger upon the diverse countries of Europe and the near Orient, as today Miami, Fla., or Los Angeles, Cal., are doing upon the toiling industrial centers and agricultural plains of North America; or as Monte Carlo is doing upon Europe and the casino near Montevideo, Uruguay, upon the South American continent. Indeed, it made some impressions on me seeing the small cells without a window, real tombs. The walls, the floor, the ceiling, the bed—all that is of cold stone. I entered each cell with some palpitation and as I felt the smell of mouldiness, it was like the wind of past ages.

I took the through train to Vienna the next morning. In the compartment I made the acquaintance of two young Boers from Transvaal, South African Union, who were travelling to the University of Vienna. I conversed with them upon the ranch upheaval and they told me that the IWW theories are getting a foothold in the Union on account of the general discontent reigning throughout the African continent since the war-end.

**In the Steerage**

Finally I arrived at Hamburg. I travelled as steerage passenger. The majority of these emigrants were German emigrants, most of them industrial workers, who went to either agricultural Argentine or Brazil. As I went to the pier I could make philosophical considerations. There were two vessels, one starting to South America, the other to North America. On the gangway of the former you could see underfed proletarians, disgusted with the old continent and having before them an unknown future. They have no relatives in the far, southern world and they are real pioneers destined to go into unpopulated areas, like the Pampas, Patagonia or Andean regions. On the gangway of the latter you could see well-dressed passengers, who know where to go; namely, to a more developed continent than they leave.

We departed at five o'clock. The relatives on the pier beckoned to their husbands, sons, sisters, brothers, daughters, etc., hoping they will become rich; but how many are going to go under, as I saw, they do not consider.

## NOT HIM

Shop Foreman.—"You ain't one of them blokes wot drops their tools and scoots as soon as knock-off blows, are you?"

Lily White.—"Not me. Why, I often have to wait five minutes after I put me tools away before the whistle goes."—**The Sydney Bulletin.**

# Our Business Corner

WE are not mourning. We say with Joe Hill, "Organize," and organize the proper way.

We have a splendid report to make. The Pioneer has just passed its 8th month Birthday, or eight months since the work on the Pioneer was actually begun.

Our record as an IWW educational and popular magazine is already established and that is no boast.

**Our financial record is also fine. Beginning in May, with no funds at all, excepting what the General Office advanced, and with some comparatively small contributions from outside, we have been able not only to pay our expenses and our debts to the General Office; but also, show a surplus of $143.09. Now, that is not bad.**

However, we'll not stop here. Improvements must be made. We must spread out. We must reach the workers of this country and abroad with the message of Industrial Unionism. To that end, further funds are necessary and further investments.

Our first step in that direction is the special Christmas Amnesty issue to be out about the 25th of November. This Special Amnesty number, as will be seen, consists of 64 pages excellent material and splendid cartoons and pictures. Our regular issue is 48 pages

**Fellow Workers who are interested in the Christmas Amnesty Drive for the release of the boys in jail, should get busy and send in an order for the December issue. Do it now.**

If you are getting an order, you should double that order or multiply it. And those who are not on our mailing list, can send in the order with cash in advance or thru their respective unions, and these, even as small an order as for five, will be filled at once, and forwarded as soon as the magazine is off the press. Extra copies will be supplied as long as there are any left.

Send in subscriptions; names for sample copies; names and addresses of news stands and other dealers anywhere. Send in for a subscription book.

**You know the importance of the press to the capitalist, it is equally as important to us. Spread our press, all of it.**

The Industrial Pioneer for December will be especially good for that purpose.

Get readers, this is the thing. A reader is a friend any way, if nothing else.

You secure the reader and the Industrial Pioneer will break down his prejudices against the IWW, even if it has grown thick with moss.

**The Industrial Pioneer is ploughing new ground and its short existance will show that the plow is not of the old-fashioned kind, but of the latest model, modern type.**

In boosting the Pioneer of December you will accomplish a threefold task, viz.: help boost the Christmas Amnesty drive; increase the circulation of your press and prepare the way for an increased membership. Let's go!

# Gompers and Deportation

By FORREST EDWARDS

THE present immigration act, which limits the number of immigrants to be admitted to the United States from each of the foreign countries, becomes inoperative in 1924.

This law was passed when the capitalists of this country were in the clutch of a fear that a great influx of immigrants from war-torn Europe would bring with them "social" ideas which would make them dangerous and undesirable. Moreover, the industries which were turned from peace production to the manufacture of war material would again assume the old character, with decreased working forces and at a slackened pace, compared with the feverishness of war time. Also, those industries which serve equally the purpose of war and peace, which had been running at their utmost capacity to supply our large military force for a longer period than proved necessary, would reduce the production, and this would also automatically reduce the working force. A dangerous army of unemployed would thus be formed.

In addition, there was a military force of approximately four of the five million under arms to be demobilized and made available as civilians to assist in supplying the human needs of industry. Manifestly under such circumstances the capitalists felt safe in setting up bars against foreign labor.

There was persecution in this "patriotism," too, for if an unrestricted volume of immigration had been allowed entrance into the United States, when the immigrants arrived and competed with the veterans, the Europeans would get the jobs and the hollowness of the capitalists' pretended patriotism have been shown up.

### Open Shop Success

The open shop drive scored such success as proved the capitalist calculation about labor power had been sound. But the industrial boom which created a demand for labor during the past year or so, has proved that the national labor supply was not of such proportions as to enable the capitalists to have their own way to the extent that they desired and to which they had grown accustomed.

As a consequence we find their agents in Washington trying to influence congress to lift the ban higher, and their newspaper mouthpieces throughout the country are shouting about the hardships that the "labor shortage" was imposing upon "our" manufacturers.

A controversy arose as to whether the restrictions upon immigration should be relaxed, made more stringent, or removed entirely. Each contention had its supporters. Of course, Labor, through its "accredited representatives," had to contribute its share to the discussion. Sam Gompers was its spokesman.

Mr. Gompers insists that unrestricted immigration would work hardships and visit injustice upon the working class of the United States. Therefore, he stands for such restrictions as would do justice to the oppressed of other countries but would not imperil the standards of the American workers and threaten the institutions of the United States. He suggests that intelligent immigrants would help, rather than hinder the country. He would gauge the intelligence of the would-be immigrants by a literacy test. There are many capitalists of 'liberal' tendencies who agree with Mr. Gompers. Very well, then; are these gentlemen and Mr. Gompers sincere in their suggestions? That there is a difference as well as a distinction between intelligence and being able to pass a literacy test will be waived.

But if intelligence is the test by which the entry of foreign nativity is to be determined, then by what test is its existence to be determined?

### Deportation Protested?

We have had, and still have, in the penitentiaries of the United States a number of I. W. W. prisoners of foreign nativity, who were not guilty of any crime or misdemeanor and who were imprisoned solely for the industrial opinions they held. These men would qualify with honors in the literacy test proposed by Mr. Gompers and those who agree with him about qualifications for entry into the United States. There are still men in Leavenworth prison, and out on bonds pending a court decision to decide whether or not they shall be deported, as others have previously been deported.

Will Mr. Gompers protest these deportations or, by his silence, give approval and endorsement?

If these men can be justly deported, then the literacy test that Mr. Gompers proposes has no value. And unless Mr. Gompers and those who support his views in relation to the literacy test for foreign immigrants, vindicate the sufficiency of the literacy test, by demanding that the government cease molesting these persons, they stand convicted of not believing in what they themselves propose.

A test is a test for all, or it is not a test but a subterfuge. If one with I. W. W. opinions can pass the test, then no impediment to their entry should be offered. Holding opinions formed in good faith and intelligently expressed, does not endanger democracy. Sam Gompers and his supporters know this. No man in America knows it better than Mr. Gompers.

But Sam is not a Democrat. If he were, the cause of the I. W. W. prisoners, both native and foreign would enlist his support; for, on their incarceration all labor in the United States is threatened. To submit a test for entry that will not hold inside the portals of the country, is to play the prettiest kind of politics.

Where are you, Mr. Gompers? You stand before the bar of working class opinion. Do you know the

# The Centralia Conspiracy

(Continued from Page 10)

ion are such that a verdict of guilty seems to be expected of us. But this, in fairness we cannot bring ourselves to return. The loggers are getting the worst of it, but if our verdict is 'not guilty' the Judge will declare it unsatisfactory. In addition to this we will be condemned and socially ostracised. Perhaps, too, the next jury will not be as generous as ourselves. There is no doubt about the killing, but we have no means of knowing from evidence submitted in court whether the killing was justified or not. Therefore let us give the Judge and the public any old kind of a verdict of guilty and at the same time demand of the Judge that he grant leniency to the defendants."

**Drilling Witnesses**

The reasons the prosecution wanted the case confined to facts of the shooting, instead of the conspiracy of the Associated Industries' officials that precipitated the shooting, are easy to be seen. But how did they manage to drill their witnesses so that the story would sound plausible? What kind of "machine" did they use to "frame" their case and "make" witnesses in order to put their version of the shooting across? How could they best manage to keep the defense from reaching the jury with the real facts, or as many of the real facts as possible? The real story of this machiavellian plot to defeat the ends of justice has leaked out since the trial. A special investigator for the defense has given his findings to the world. It reads like a page from fiction—but it is the gospel truth.

In the first place, there was probably not more than one man out of every ten in the "parade" who actually knew of the conspiracy of the "secret committee" to lynch the union secretary and destroy the union hall. The plan was to stampede the marchers into unlawful action at the opportune moment just as had been done previously in 1918, get the raid started and then use the rope. Not all of the legion boys who marched in that "parade" had murder in their hearts. Some of them may have wanted "roughhouse" and would have delighted in the work of making things hot for the wobblies But only a comparative few either desired or were prepared for a lynching bee. Those who harbored these sinister intentions were members of the "secret committee."

LOREN ROBERTS
I. W. W. whose mind became affected by mob terrorism.

**Truthful Legionaires**

At least two of them were killed in the raid. So there were legionaires who could testify truthfully that they were ignorant of the murderous purpose of the "parade." Some of these were located at the far ends of the procession and did not know what had happened until they were told about it or had read the hectic stories in the newspapers. Some of these testified on the witness stand that they thought the shooting took place before the raid started. There may have been a few legionaires who took this position—honestly. But for every legionaire of this type there were at least five who were willing and eager to make their testimony suit the case. These the prosecution without hesitation or scruples proceeded to use for "cat's paws." just as the lumber trust had used the legionaires in the "parade."

In all fairness it must be admitted that a con-

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immigrant who is knocking on the gate and the worker who has the courage of his convictions and exhibits the spirit of labor when inside? We don't care particularly where you stand, but where do you?

**An Elevating Factor**

If you and your supporters insist that the principle of deportation is right, and should be applied to aliens who threaten the American standard, by reducing it to a still lower level, then we submit that not one of the aliens now held by the Department of Labor should, or could, justly be deported. On the contrary, since they are a real positive force for the raising of that standard to a still higher level, every resource of the American Federation of Labor should be used to prevent these deportations.

Moreover, there are thousands of aliens in this country who are used as scabs in the time of strike. They are the real force for the reduction of the American standards, and you know it. Yet, you nor none of your supporters have seen fit to insist upon the deportation of **alien scabs.** Why! **Where do you stand?**

siderable number of legionaires were honest enough in the cause of truth and fairdealing to defy condemnation and ostracism and take the stand for the defense. It took courage to do this and too much credit cannot be given to them for their unselfish actions. Unfortunately the legionaires were not all of this type.

American Legion men had gathered together in considerable numbers in Montesano to attend the trial. The prosecution saw to this detail which, like the camping of regular troops on the courthouse lawn, was intended to create the proper "atmosphere." Tacoma, Centralia, Chehalis, Bellingham, Port Angeles, Aberdeen, Hoquiam, Mt. Vernon, Anacortes and Bremerton—each of these towns and cities supplied its quota of delegates, all of them O. K.'d by the prosecution before they came. These men were sent to Montesano with the understanding that they were to submit to the orders of their commander, a Mr. Schant, a former army captain who was in charge of the Montesano American Legion. These men were paid four dollars a day by the lumber interests. In addition to this stipend they were given sleeping accomodations in the fire department section of the City Hall and in a garage nearby. This latter place was a veritable fortress, well supplied with high power rifles and ammunition of all kinds. A certain Lieut. Crawford of Mount Vernon was in charge of this little lumber trust army. The legionnaires did guard duty twenty-four hours each day in their fortress. The sentries were detailed by roster.

### An Armed Camp

It must be remembered that these legionaires were private citizens, living in an armed camp of their own in the midst of a community that had ample protection from the customary law-enforcing machinery. Who armed them and gave them permission to camp in the heart of the city? Why had they been gathered together and for what purpose? Can it be that the lumber interests were waiting, as was openly intimated, for an opportunity to wreak vengeance upon the defendants in case the jury did not do its "duty?"

Lieut. Balcon was in charge of the secret service work for the prosecution. Under him were several legionaires dressed like loggers and workingmen. It was the duty of these lumber trust spies to gain the confidence of defense witnesses, learn in advance of the testimony they intended to give and, wherever possible, influence it to suit the programme of the prosecution. As soon as a defense witness had been interrogated by these sleuths, the findings were transmitted to Chief Balcon who was privileged to enter that part of the courtroom occupied by the attorneys. Balcon would then pass his information over to prosecution attorney Christiansen, who would in turn give it to prosecutors Cunningham or Able during the progress of the trial. Thus were the scales of Justice weighted in favor of the rich and powerful and against the penniless loggers who had dared to defend themselves from the mob.

WESLEY EVEREST

**Overseas I. W. W. veteran lynched by lumber-trust mob.**

### Prosecutor Chief Detective

Christiansen was the most active of all the detectives for the prosecution. His position as Assistant State's Attorney afforded him absolute freedom of action. He had access to everything that went on at the courthouse and the American Legion fortress and headquarters. By examination of the subpoenas issued for the defense witnesses, it was a simple matter for him to keep the prosecution informed about all witnesses likely to be called.

It was a consistent policy of the prosecution to have each and every defense witness interviewed in advance. This was done for the purpose of obtaining advance information as to what the testimony would be and also to influence this testimony BY ANY MEANS POSSIBLE to make it substantiate the prosecution's made-to-order case. To accomplish this end very elaborate methods were employed.

### Intelligence Chief

Lieut. Frank Van Gilder was one of the chief members of this Intelligence Department. Whenever possible this officious person visited prospective de-

fense witnesses before their arrival at Montesano and secured, or tried to secure, their testimony. Van Gilder's method of approach was suave but forceful. He always boasted that he "knew his stuff." And it was the smooth stuff that Van Gilder was supposed to put over. When this method failed to make the right kind of an impression on the witness other agents would follow him up with a different line. Threats and intimidation were indulged in and the witness would be informed in unmistakable language as to what their future in the community would be like and what would happen to him or her in case the testimony they were about to give would be found to be objectionable by the prosecution.

Upon the arrival of the defense witnesses at Montesano, Lieut. Balcon's forces took up their work at once and every effort made to interview those who had escaped Van Gilder's attentions. These men, in various attires intended to make them look as much like workers as possible, tried by confidential means to secure prospective testimony. Some defense witnesses were openly threatened in the court room immediately following their testimony. The arrest of two defense witnesses for perjury was part of the plan to intimidate other witnesses waiting their turn to go on the stand for the loggers.

### High Speed Espionage

As the defendant's attorney, George Vanderveer, neared the conclusion of his case the espionage machinery of the prosecution was already operating at high speed to manufacture the rebuttal witnesses to impeach all of the important testimony of the defense. Assistant State's Attorney Christiansen was the man selected to put the polish on these 'made' witnesses. The testimony itself was 'framed' by Lieut. Van Gilder or his associates, before the witness was brought to Montesano. The finishing touch was put on by Attorney Christiansen. Then the witnesses were taken before special prosecutors for approval.

The above is merely a brief review of the many means used by the lumber trust to defeat the ends of justice at the Montesano trial Even then there would of necessity be many angles of the sordid story still untold. The fact remains that at Montesano convincing proof was offered of the truthfulness of the statement that a workingman has no chance in an American court, especially if the workingman be a member of an unpopular and misunderstood labor union like the IWW. But the Centralia case proves more than this. It proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that until the workers gain economic power to match the power of the organized business interests labor prosecution will continue unabated. All power, then, to the class conscious and militant workers of the IWW who are determined to put a stop to such outrages against themselves and their class!

### Outweighs All Cases

In the meantime we must not forget that the Centralia case outweighs all other IWW cases in importance. Not only are the sentences longer but the effect of the case as it stands on the other cases is harmful in the extreme. It is said, for instance, that President Harding's stubbornness in refusing to consider the federal IWW cases was largely the result of his firm belief that the IWW loggers in Centralia fired without warning or provocation into a parade of marching ex-service men in uniform. It may be said, of course, that the foibles of a mere politician do not matter. If we had industrial power this statement would be far more true than it is today when we have such power only to a limited extent. President Harding's frame of mind is indicative of the frame of mind of the entire country. The capitalist newspapers, by poisoning the sources of public information at the head waters have made the hideous lie about our fellow workers in Walla Walla "stick."

It is up to us to undo their dirty work by convincing the entire country of the truth about the Centralia Conspiracy that sent the men who defended their hall to prison for from twenty-five to forty years. We owe this to the boys in Walla Walla and to our other imprisoned fellow workers whose cases will be affected by the Centralia case. In reality the Centralia case is the key to the entire IWW defense. Next in importance come the California state cases. These have a unique organization character that differentiate them from the Centralia case. The federal cases, on account of being the first and biggest IWW persecutions have had a large amount of publicity—perhaps more than their share. Strategically they are in a better position than any of the others as far as a general release is concerned. The federal cases have already cost hundreds of thousands of dollars and are costing great sums every year. Once these are disposed of the work of liberating the Centralia and various state cases will be greatly simplified.

### Realizing Acts

Compared with the Centralia case the charges against the men in the federal and state cases seem trivial. Sooner or later (we all hope sooner) the various jails and prisons of the country will all give up their prey. But back of it all and overshadowing all is the stern, awful and inescapable fact that the Centralia boys are doomed for twenty-five to forty years in prison and for the gravest charge on the calendar of law—murder. The realization of this fact should bring to our minds the necessity of starting a real drive for the release of these fellow workers. Fundamentally the cases are all the same. It was for the crime of being members of the IWW that all of the men are now in prison. Different pretexts were used to land them there, that's all. Had the Centralia men not been IWW's they would never have been convicted. The Centralia case deserves all the support that can be given it. It deserves far more attention than has been given it. Nothing should be permitted to stand in the way of a united drive to liberate the victims of the lumber trust who went to prison for daring to defend their union hall.

# Christmas Conditions in Cleveland

By EDWARD LLOYD

BY the time you are reading this magazine the nations of the earth will be getting ready to celebrate, perhaps have celebrated, the birth of the "First Rebel." On all sides you will hear the time-honored expression, "Merry Christmas," and the inevitable reply, "Same to you and many of them."

The tinkle of the bell in the hands of "Santa Claus" as he stands besides a pot admonishing the public to "Keep the pot a-boiling" for the Salvation Army will be heard. "Volunteers' 'will be out in full force to cajole what money they can from an easy going throng, in fact, all in the mission field, big and little, will be out to get theirs while the getting is good.

Papers will appear with big head-lines about this and that organization, and the "charity" they have dispensed. Big, fat, pot-bellied heads of corporations will head the donation lists to relieve the poor, relieve the poor whom they have systematically robbed for ages that they may live in luxury. This will be the "Merry Christmas" of the exploited wage slave.

### Capitalist Generosity

The boot-licking press will write columns about their generosity, and everybody concerned will have a good time except the poor, for after the milk of human kindness has passed thru the separator of organized charity, very little is left except the skim, the cream has gone for "overhead," most of it into the coffers of the $57,000,000.00 (fifty-seven million) corporation, that helper of the outcast, that blatant follower of the humble Nazarene, The Salvation Army.

We will hear about the kindness of the boss and the interest he takes in his employees, his magnificent "gifts," his high standing as a citizen, and his "patriotism."

But not a word will be printed of the sordid condition of the slaves who have to toil from morning to night that he might gather his ill-gotten millions. Nothing about the foul-smelling, rotten ventilated places they have to sweat and toil in that they may get the means to keep life in their bodies, nothing about the children who are being bled in their sweatshops, children in years but old in experience. Children deprived of their right to play, poor, worn-out, wizened, under-nourished and tubercular specimens of humanity, children sewing on buttons in tenements till the early hours of the morning to help get a pittance that will keep a shelter over their heads. Poor, cold, blue-looking children whom an ordinary man wants to take to his heart and love, the children who help provide the means for the "Philanthropist" to head the donations lists.

Nothing will be said about the packing house worker as he toils in the slime and filth of the "sanitary" packing plants, out of the route of visitors, nothing about the toiler in the fertilizing plant, among the stench and filth, a stench so horrible that in some towns he must walk home after his day's work as the street car operators will not allow him to ride on a car, he smells so foul. Oh no, nothing like that will be printed.

### What of the Steel Worker

Nothing of the steel worker as the sweat gleams on his body before the hot furnaces, and then drags his weary body home too tired to sleep even. Do you wonder we have drug addicts. You may hear something of the "eight hour" day Judge Gary has granted them, and which seventy-five per cent of them have NOT got. Yes, it is possible that you will hear of the eight hour day, but you will hear nothing of the majority who are working ten, twelve, and even fourteen hours a day.

The steel magnates claim they have the eight hour day, and yet you hear them singing, "Yes, we have no eight hours."

Cleveland, Ohio, is one of the largest Steel cities of the East. A few of the departments such as the machinists and mechanics are on an eight hour basis, but not one mill has the straight eight hour all through.

The steel trust may tell you about the eight hours they have on their boats on the Great Lakes. True, they have it in some departments where they were COMPELLED to install it, but the look-out and wheelsmen do a twelve hour day. The engineers also do twelve hours, only the oilers, firemen and coal-passers get the eight hours.

Down by the Central blast furnace on Broadway, the writer was talking to some of the residents of that district, and one house was pointed out to him—it looked big enough to house two families in a pinch—and was informed that SEVEN DIFFERENT FAMILIES WERE LIVING IN THAT HOUSE, and from the number of children seen emerging from it, they must have to hang them up on hooks at night.

Yet we send missionaries to Africa to "civilize" the "savages."

The Otis Steel, The American Steel, and McKinney Steel are nearly all ten and twelve hours. The Atlas Car Shops and various other machine shops are also on the ten hour basis.

### "Home Brew" Interest

A great number of the employees of the steel mills are of European extraction, and appear to be very interested in "Home Brew." In the residential section around the mills the writer saw wagon loads of grapes being unloaded at various houses. This can have but one meaning.

Most of the small store-keepers are boot-leggers; this is not hear-say but the result of a personal investigation.

In certain parts of the city in the late hours of night and in the early morning the smell of a cooking mash is wafted to your nostrils. All the dry law

# We'll Run the Works

By FRANK S. MEYERS

THE shops, mills, mines and faetories, no longer now are paeked, and ever as the days go by, the rebel ones get sacked. Time was, when a fellow, that walked and talked and slept, eould get a job most anywhere, if he had a little pep. But after counting up the profits, and the need for "slaves" grew less, the greedy "master elass" did ery, We'll give these dogs a rest.

A few years back, the slogan was, we'll have to do our "bit" if not the "German Hun" will eome, and he will use the whip. To get a job was easy then, the highest wage was paid, and as the "war clouds" gathered, the "Profiteers" did rave: We're in this war for freedom, we know we're in the right. We have no time for "slaekers"; all must work or fight!

But things have ehanged sinee that time, no longer are we sought, for fighting in this army, or producing for our salt. To find a job you're lueky, that pays a living wage, to feed the wife and kiddies, is mighty hard these days. Now we do not have to work or fight, victory has been won,—for the "Capitalistie Parasite"—for the "Workers" there was none. But listen to the bugle, of the one big union grand. It is the eall to workers to eome and give a hand. Let's organize together, the "One Big Union Way" "Industrial workers" everywhere, must see the light of day. Vietory for the "toilers" in this and every land, will only be aeeomplished, when we united stand. For united we are standing, divided we will fall, let's get together, in the "One Big Union Stall." Craft unions and their leaders, today are out of plaee, industrial unions everywhere will have to take their plaee. For the "motto" of the grafters in the AFL divides up the workers, and makes their lives a hell. A fair day's work, for a fair day's pay, keeps you breaking even, the longer that you stay.

The world for the workers, this "motto" ean't be beat. Those that do not work—neither shall they eat. Stop! producing for profit, for in that there's nothing fair; working for yourselves is better, where eaeh and all get equal share. There'll be no "Capitalist masters" let's drive them from this earth; we'll need no labor "saviors" we'll then get what we're worth. "Wage workers," heed our warning, "Let's get the whole damn works," more pay and shorter hours, don't do away with "shirks." Come gather round our standard, we'll show you how to fight, not with bullets or maehine gun,—but the weapon "General Strike." There won't be any "Parasites" after we are done, we'll run the "works" to suit ourselves, we'll all have lots of fun.

---

enforeers must have bad eolds and be unable to smell, as very few arrests are made.

This suits Mr. Steel Trust O. K. It keeps the slave eontented, he can work for less money, and has not got time to think about organizing. Commereialized viee is rampant here as it is in all Steel towns. Wild orgies have been exposed in one paper, but nothing is ever done about it.

A sad dreary sight ean be seen any night on the West side when the Steel mills release their slaves for the day. On leaving the mill in the flats the workers climb to the high level bridge to eateh the ear for home. This takes four or five flights of stairs, and by the time they arrive at the top they are all in, and fall asleep on the pavement waiting for the car. Men with all their energy ground out of them, listless, almost lifeless, no hope ahead of them, Robots in embryo.

This is the class of people the IWW is now working amongst. Controlled papers are foaming at the mouth about the IWW. Perhaps some of us will have to eome to an end as did Frank Little, but, WE ARE HERE TO STAY.

The tide of Industrial Unionism is surely rising, and will soon flood the land. The boss is beginning to see the handwriting on the wall and it is not expeeted that he will give up without a struggle. The battle will be long and fierce but when the workers realize their economie power, when they destroy a "union" that separates them, and pits one set of workers against another employed in the same industry, when they unite in the true ONE BIG UNION, when they earry the "red" eard, the eard of the Industrial Workers of the World, then we will be able to say as the season eomes round, and say it from the bottom of our hearts:—

A MERRY CHRISTMAS.

## YUMPIN' YIMINY!

Ole Olesen had been working as an engine wiper and his boss, a thrifty man, had been coaehing him for promotion to fireman with sueh adviee as:

"Now Ole, don't waste a drop of oil—that costs money. And don't waste the waste, either—that's getting expensive, too."

With these faets of eeonomy pounded thoroughly into his head, Ole went up to be questioned on his eligibility as fireman. The last query propounded was:

"Suppose you are on your engine, on a single traek. You go around a curve and see rushing toward you an express. What would you do?"

"I grab the dam' oil can; I grab the dam' waste —and I yump!"

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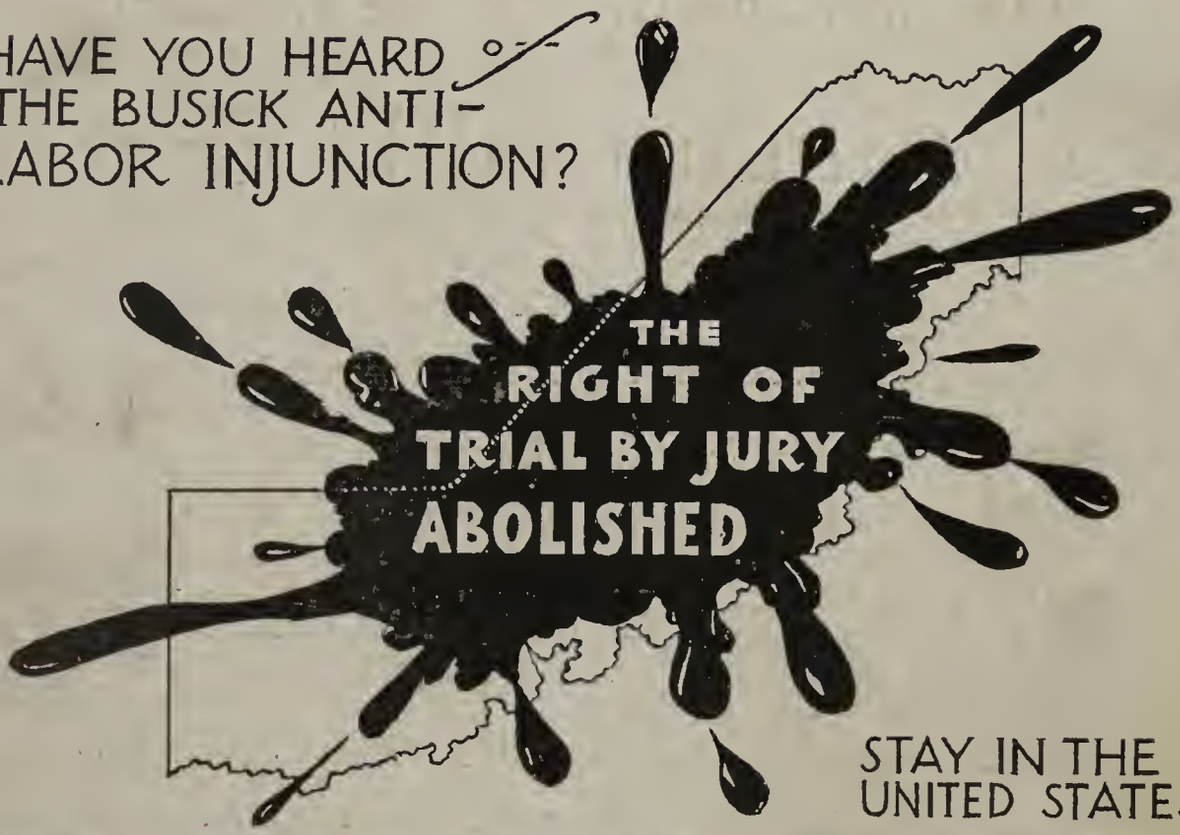


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# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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JANUARY 1924

*The*

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Edited by JUSTUS EBERT

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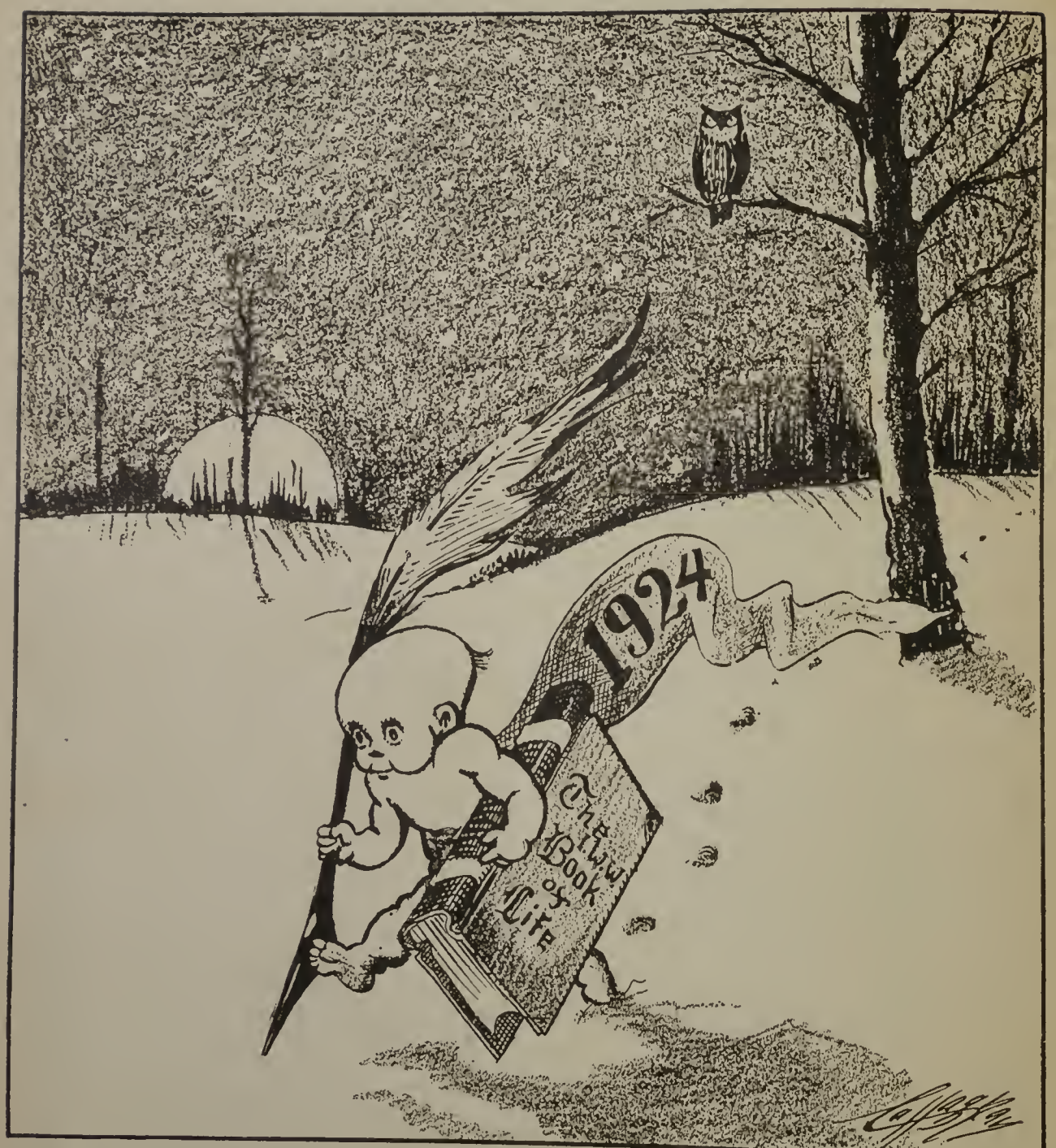



Let us hope that when he has lived his age he will have signed "Happy" on every page

# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Vol. I. JANUARY, 1924 No. 9

# 1924 Is Beginning

## Amid Industrial Depression—World In Chaos As 1923 Ends.

By EDWARD LLOYD.

**THE old year, 1923, has passed into history. 1924 is beginning, ushered in with trade depression, due as the boss' mouthpiece, the press will tell us, to the fact that this is the year of the Presidential election. We will be filled with the time honored bunk to be careful of our money till trade conditions are "normal" again.**

**Never in the history of civilization has the world seen such chaos as we have just passed through. European countries are on the verge of starvation. Germany is starving. The Ruhr, (by the way, Ruhr stands for Coal, Iron, Ore and Steel), is the bone of contention between England and France. "Lady" Astor, (Nancy Hanks) wants to drive radicals to the last ditch, "and leave them there." "Nancy" knows that her day of robbing the worker is past when the workers are in control of the industries, so to the ditch the English radical must go. "Nancy" has so decreed.**

As it was in the beginning. From the time that man learned to produce more than he needed himself, he has been the prey of leeches, who sought to obtain what he had produced to further their own ends. Monopolies were evolved. Each vied with the other in devising means to rob the producer of the fruits of his toil.

Matters went on in this manner all through the time of the feudal lords and the baronial period. Man was the slave of the landed lords. They, the lords, created their own laws, and kept the slaves crushed. The clergy were hand in glove with them. Religious, racial, color, and craft hatred were inoculated into the workers. The poor deluded slaves were kept too busy flying at each others' throats to think of bettering their own conditions.

### Craft Unions Appear

Finally came the time when the workers realized that they must band themselves together in order to protect themselves from the existing conditions, which were now unbearable. From one form of organization to another they evolved, until finally came into existence the American Federation of Labor.

Banded together according to the craft they followed, or to use an up-to-date expression, organized around a monkey-wrench or trowel, they were able, in a measure, to hold their own, **as long as the hand period of production was in vogue.** But, came the time when machines commenced to take the place of the "skilled" worker. Men who formerly owned the tools they worked with had to leave these tools at home. **The boss owned the tools now, he had a machine to do the work.**

He did not require so many men now. Men were laid off. One machine would do the work of ten,

HIGH LEVEL BRIDGE, CLEVELAND, O.
In District Hit By Unemployment.

or even more men. A surplus of labor was thus produced for that particular form of craft. The warehouses and store-houses were quickly filled. **The boss was in a position to dictate to the union.** Men with families to support were now out of work and ready to under-bid their fellow craftsmen in the labor market in order to provide for their children. The craft union was helpless.

### Enter, "American Plan"

With the advent of machines to displace hand labor was born the germ of the present "American Plan." Production, unlike the existing form of unionism, is not "as it was in the beginning." On the contrary, it was advancing with rapid strides. Combines were formed, huge fortunes were being made out of the blood of the workers. More fortunes must be made. The owners of the job are money-mad.

**All the big operators are now welded together in ONE BIG UNION OF THEIR OWN. All other unions must be crushed. Seeing the success of a**

**One Big Union of themselves, they fear for themselves in case the workers should adopt the same idea.**

Consequently, when the slaves of the various trusts and combines did revolt, when driven to desperation by long hours of toil, low wages, and rotten working conditions, they tried to get a little of the good things of life which they produced; their masters were ready for them. The offal of society was enlisted to beat and kill the workers, thugs and gunmen from the depths of the slums were there to do their masters' bidding. The latter had their own permanent police force to back up the thugs, and when the workers were beaten, these thugs, these gunmen, these hundred-percenters went back to their profession of hold-up, robbery, pimping and murder.

### The Railroader's "Big Cheese"!

During the past year you saw the break-down of a large number of strikes. The most notable one was the railroad shopmen's strike. These men were organized **around the railroad shop,** and we saw the spectacle of union engineers with their union firemen, brakemen and conductors, busily engaged in hauling car-loads of the advocates of the "American Plan" into the shops to break the strike of their brothers in the railroad industry. The Big Cheese of the railroad engineers has become a great banker, also as the operator of a coal mine on the "American Plan", is himself a robber of the working class.

The coal miners have been whipped, the soft coal miners scabbing on the hard coal miners, helpless because of "contracts." Reminds one of the definition of union scabs which appeared a few years ago, it is old but worth repeating. Here it is: "UNION SCABS:—My dear brother, I am sorry to be under contract to hang you, but I know it will please you to hear that the scaffold is built by union carpenters, the rope bears the label and here is my card."

### The Lake Seamen Whipped

The International Seamen's Union was whipped to a stand-still on the lakes, the strike was postponed from 1922 until 1923, but it never materialized. Andy and his fellow pie-card artists are a thing of the past.

The summer of 1923 saw the workers treated as well as they ever will be under the capitalistic system. There was a boom in certain parts of the country, they were working long hours with a hundred-percenter behind them to tell them to "hurry up". Perhaps they were working to machine. Then was the time they should have seen that the speed-up system, this "hurry-up" fortune making for the boss is the very cause of hundreds of them being out of employment today. Then was the time they should have studied the situation and made preparations to protect themselves from danger.

In the face of such evidence, fellow workers, do you, can you, expect any benefit from a craft union? Can you, members of a union with a banker-mine-owner at its head expect that he will have your interests, the interest of the workers at heart? Has not the labor leaders' treason to the working class been exposed hundreds of times? Craft unionism has, and always will, fail.

### Spread of the IWW

Now, have you ever studied the teachings of the IWW, the Industrial Workers of the World? Originating in 1905, and composed of a small band of workingmen, its ideas soon spread to the five continents. Especially in the west, where the migratory worker, the harvest hand and the lumber jack work, did its teachings appeal to the exploited wage slaves. These men, exploited at every turn, proved what solidarity will do. The filthy camps were made fit places to work and live in, cots were provided for the workers to sleep on instead of the double-decker, two-occupant bunk. Clean bed linen was provided.

No longer was it necessary for a clean, healthy young lumberjack to sleep with another person who was probably infected with syphilis or tuberculosis. No longer was it necessary to pass half of the night fighting lice. All that was a thing of the past. The IWW was here. The lumber workers united in one union, (not a union of sawyers, swampers, skinners, skid-men, etc., but a union of **lumber workers**) soon told Mr. Lumber Baron where to head in at. The Agricultural workers had the same experience. Then the movement spread to all parts of the country, in fact, to all parts of the world.

The building construction workers, the oil workers, workers in all industries soon followed suit. The boss was quick to recognize the danger such a union meant to him. Why, since the IWW came into existence, his slaves were even neglecting to tip their hats to him; some of them had actually told him to go to hell. He tried firing one of them, but, Lord, the whole works quit. This never happened with an ordinary "union" man. Something must be done about it, and that something, quick.

### Persecution a Failure

Persecution of these workers was started at once. They were thrown into jail, tortured, lynched. Men were dragged behind autos with ropes around their necks, imprisonment up to forty years imposed upon them. The press, at the bidding of their masters, were publishing the most damnable lies about them, and every effort was put forth to prejudice the public against them, but the movement seemed to thrive on persecution and prosecution. Its membership grew by leaps and bounds, until today it is a power to be reckoned with.

Every effort was made both during and after the war to break it up. Everyone knows of the Armistice tragedy at Centralia, Wash. California is famous, or infamous, for its criminal syndicalism law. Men are forbidden by court injunction to

(Continued on page 10.)

# The Vision of The New Day In California

By ARCHIE SINCLAIR.

SAW-MILL AT SCOTIA.

IN the preface of his wonderful book, "Les Miserables," Victor Hugo said: "So long as there exists, by reason of law and custom, a social condemnation, which, in the face of civilization, artificially creates hells on earth, and complicates a destiny that is divine, with human fatality; so long as the three problems of the age—the degradation of man by poverty, the ruin of women by starvation, and the dwarfing of childhood by physical and spiritual night—are not solved; so long as, in certain regions, social asphyxia shall be possible; in other words, and from a yet more extended point of view, so long as ignorance and misery remain on earth, books like this cannot be useless."

This in some measure explains the reason why men will go to prison for an ideal. The great writer and humanitarian saw a social vision; he knew that the social and economic system under which we live was wrong. Perhaps he did not clearly understand the remedy—at least his writings do not indicate that he knew the cure for the disease. Perhaps he did not recognize the industrial nature of the struggle as clearly as we of the Industrial Workers of the World. But he did recognize that poverty is the cause of all misery; and recognized also, that while poverty exists protest will be made.

The Great World War gave the industrial and financial masters a plausible excuse for persecuting men and women who held beliefs that were inimical to their interests. In the ante-bellum days it was difficult for them to make wholesale arrests and convictions of industrial rebels. It is true that they could single out individuals and even small groups and send them to prison on trumped up charges, but even the masters must adhere somewhat to the rules of the game which they themselves have made. With the entrance of the United States into the murderfest the rules have been discarded, and to date have not been resumed. In some parts of the country we are slowly returning to "normalcy," the hysteria of the war period and the Bolshevik scare that followed is subsiding, in other parts of the country the intolerance is as rampant as ever.

### Persecution

California, today, leads the world in persecution of workers who refuse to pay homage to the Oligarchy; and California also leads in men having the courage to go to prison for their ideals. Persecution breeds a fanaticism that will not, cannot submit to arrogance and greed. History is being written today in California that will amaze future generations. Our children will read with astonishment of the blind cruelty of the present day rulers, and of the stupidity and apathy of the workers who tolerate the persecution of their fellow-workers. The Criminal Syndicalism law will be kept as a relic for the barbarism of this benighted age.

### The Lesson

When Labor's history is written, as it will some day be written, when men and women learn the bitter lesson that only through their industrial solidarity can they accomplish their emancipation, the reason for the persecution of union men will be made clear.

The list of men sent to prison for violation of the Criminal Syndicalism law in California steadily grows larger. Each succeeding month adds the name of some worker who loves his ideals better than bodily freedom, who believes in social redemption, rather than in individual gain. At the present writing there is going on in Sacramento a Criminal Syndicalism trial. Three men, Homer Stewart, Pete Wukusich and J. C. Driscoll are being tried for treason to the Industrial Feudal Barons. Like their Fellow-Workers who are in San Quentin and Folsom they were organizing the workers into the One Big Union of the I.W.W. This is treason in California. In the Golden State the fact that workers have no rights, but only privileges is forcibly brought home to us. The judiciary and prosecuting attorneys are at the beck and call of the industrial masters. They wear the scarlet livery. While posing as saviors of the community, they are working for their masters, the owners of industry. How the trial at Sacramento will result remains to be seen. There are indications that the citizens of that county are at last beginning to realize the danger of

allowing workers to be sent to prison at the behest of Big Business, but the result of the trial cannot be foretold.

**Liberty Never Dies**

One thing is certain, that while the persecution of workers continues, while men choose prison to industrial serfdom, the fight in their behalf must be kept up. Already ninety-seven members of the IWW have gone to San Quentin and Folsom and more will undoubtedly follow. The spirit of Liberty cannot be quenched by steel bars and walls of stone. While social and economic injustice prevail men will protest and their protest cannot be stifled by persecution.

The men in the penitentiaries of California—sailors, longshoremen, construction workers, oil workers, harvest workers, loggers, have seen the vision of the New Day; they have learned the lesson of Industrial Solidarity and are paying the price that all rebels were forced to pay, because of the indifference of the rest of humanity. The twin hells of California hide these men, and the masters think that they have stifled the voices of the malcontents. But the walls of San Quentin only echo the sound of their voices and increase the volume of protest. Never in the history of the world was the voice of social protest silenced with the clang of a cell door. The men in the bastiles of France shouted their defiance to the Bourbons and their cry was taken up by the peasantry and surged through the land to the tune of "La Marseillaise":

Oh, Liberty! can man resign thee?
Once having felt thy generous flame,
Can dungeon's bolts and bars confine thee?
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
Too long the world has wept bewailing,
That Falsehood's dagger tyrants wield;
But Freedom is our sword and shield;
And all their arts are unavailing."

The voice of the men in the salt mines of Siberia re-echoed through Holy Russia, Tsarist Russia:

"Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth!
For Justice thunders condemnation
A better world's in birth."

The voice of the men in prison for their unflinching loyalty to the cause of the working class of the United States and of the world will yet be heard. Ours is the task to bring the message to the ears of the workers. It is our duty to arouse the men and women of the working class to the need of unity and solidarity. We must make known to all, the reason why men go to prison for an ideal.

Ninety seven members of the working class are in prison in California because they would not renounce their beliefs. They will remain there until the workers demand, by the power of their economic might, their release. What is your answer, workers?

# French General Converted

General Percin, French Officer and Artillery expert, who was in command in the Lille area when war broke out in 1914, writes in L'Orde Nateral, says a correspondent in Foreign Affairs, for November, as follows:

"I was brought up an ardent patriot, not to say jingo, and in 1865 entered the army as a professional soldier. I was twice wounded in the 1870 war, and for the next forty years detested the Germans, and ardently prepared a war of revenge. Now, at the age of 77, I have become an uncompromising pacifist, a keen internationalist, and a strong partisan of Franco-German rapprochement.

"The war of 1914 to 1918 has shown me the fallacy of believing that war is an unavoidable evil, the only method of settling international disputes. . . . The wrong side is as likely to win as the right. War must be replaced by a real League of Nations, from which no one is excluded, not even Germany. The fundamental error of the Treaty of Versailles was to negotiate without Germany, to extort from her a confession of guilt, and to make her solely responsible for war damages.

"The war mind must be destroyed by educating people as to the fallacy of the alleged glory of the war and the supremacy of so-called national interests; by inculcating into children the idea that there is nothing more 'noble' about the profession of arms than about that of the scavenger; by remoulding the teaching of history; by no longer giving soldiers and weapons as toys; and by refusing to perpetuate in street names either battles or soldiers, replacing such names by those of real benefactors of humanity. In short by making pacifism as fashionable as "bellicisme" is at present."

Lastly, General Percin advocates "the suppression of the chief cause of war by the internationalism of the wealth of the sub-soil, such as the coal of the Ruhr, the iron of Alsace Lorraine, and the oil of Mosul."

## WHERE MILITARISM STOPS

A great and complex industrial mechanism cannot be effectively operated by soldiers, least of all by foreign soldiers.—From editorial, "A Welcome Change on French Policy," Chicago Daily Tribune, December 6, 1923.

## THE FARMER'S "STRIKE"

The farmers are on strike! They are decreasing acreage sown to wheat—up to 2,500,000 acres in last two years in Kansas alone—in order to exhaust reserve supplies and boost prices. This "strike" affords material for overpopulation theories, but otherwise no one complains against it. It's sabotage, a la capitalism, and so all right.

# California Holds the Key

Bulletin No. 47, of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, IWW, contains the following:

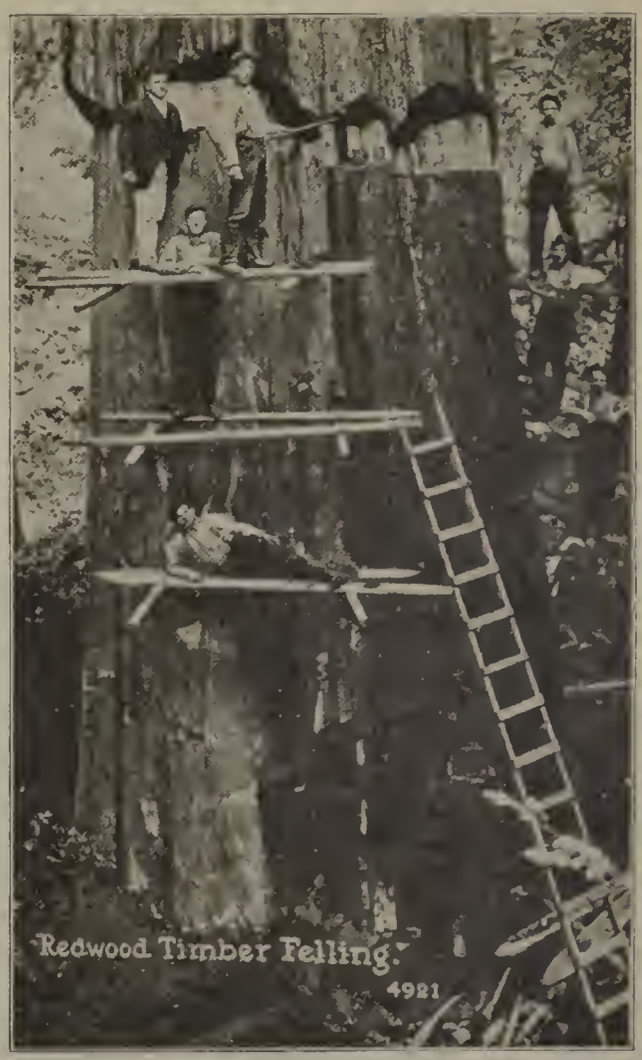
IN California the situation is pregnant with possibilities for the IWW, and if we are equal to our opportunity there our organization will establish itself to a degree where other organizations will be won over by its effectiveness.

In the persecution of the IWW in California, all labor and every labor union, is being attacked. It is being demonstrated in that state that law is not administered but taken advantage of to supply means for serving the desires and ambitions of privilege. The densest and most prejudiced are seeing that in California the scale is discarded for the whip, and that so-called "sanctuaries of justice" are but portals to the penitentiary when accused workers enter them. Even those who have been most unwilling to see are now compelled to admit that the courts do not function socially and impartially but stand ready to defy law in the service of the interests that hold California and its workers by the throat.

With the growth of an opinion that refuses to support the unjust decisions of the courts, the IWW pushed forward its organization plans and men and women devoted to it go voluntarily to defend the ground that labor cannot afford to relinquish. To hesitate now would be to imperil the prospect of success, or to delay its realization. Every attack must be resisted as every previous attack has been resisted. We must press on until we have established organization to an extent and to a degree which even the most hard-boiled of judges and industrialists will respect. For, when we are powerful enough to embarrass the employers, farmers or trust magnates—preferably the latter—we shall have reached a stage where these will call their legal puppets to heel, from J. P. to supreme judges.

The battle in California will result in many legal casualties and the work of defense will be necessarily heavy. That this has not been overlooked nor neglected vouches for the thoroughness with which preparation for the drive has been made. The General Defense Committee proposes to allow 50 per cent of the proceeds derived from the sale of defense stamps to the California branch of the General Defense. This should operate to augment the revenues of the California branch considerably.

In the present emergency, every dollar for defense is a dollar for organization. In California the IWW has an opportunity to win the attention and support of the workers throughout the United States and Canada, even of the world. For labor, in that state, the time has come to make a choice and take sides. The line-up in California will determine the line-up of labor in North America.




IN CALIFORNIA'S FORESTS.

The AWIU in deciding to assert the right of the workers to organize into unions of their own selection has been guided by the true spirit of labor that governs every industrial union of the IWW. A failure to pick up the judicial gauntlet thrown down by the employing class would be tantamount to a confession that labor lacks the intelligence to organize and the courage to establish its rights.

California holds the key to the conquest for the emancipation of American labor.

## PLUMB OFF

Samuel H. Barker, financial writer for the Philadelphia North American, declares,"Economic Forces Have Fallen Out of Balance." That's a way they have under the present crazy capitalist system. Its a wonder there is sanity enough left, under this insane social disorder, for even the Barkers to recognize its lack of stability.

# Organizing the Central Lumber Region

THE lumberjacks in the central lumber region are pushing a big organization drive there. At a mass conference, which was held at Rhinelander, Wisconsin, on November 11th, plans were perfected and activities started to this end.

The central district comprises Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan.

Moonshining and illicit selling of liquor has become practically a legal traffic in this lumbering region. This is a very effective way for the boss to fight organization work. Keeping the workers drunk and broke will keep them from thinking for themselves, and they will become meek and servile slaves for the lumber operators. This has been a great drawback in organizing these lumber workers. But once more, a group of lumber workers have come together in conference and devised ways and means to organize these workers. Plans were formulated to circularize this whole territory with literature and a strong organization campaign in all the lumber camps.

**Call for More Job Delegates**

The conference decided that in order to make this organization campaign a real success at least 5,000 job delegates can be used in this territory. A motion was passed to send out a call for Finnish, Polish, Russian, Lithuanian, Swedish, Hungarian, Jugo-Slovak and Austrian speaking members to come to this region and act as job delegates. The conference also elected a travelling delegate, and asked the support of all who could possibly come to help with the work of organizing these lumber workers. The conference decided that in order to make this organization drive materialize, education must be promoted on a large scale—camp meetings must be held—publicity and propaganda committees must be started and organize themselves in such a way that the whole territory could be reached with said propaganda.

With a live bunch of job delegates stationed in various camps and constantly promoting the organization, holding educational meetings, distributing literature, gathering data on the lumber industry, and co-operating with the various branch secretaries in this district, Lumber Workers' Union 120 would soon be on the map in the central lumbering region. Job delegates are what is needed, and needed at once.

# Eliminating R. R. Unionism

THE latest thing in railroad unionism is the scheme of Wm. H. Johnston, president of the International Machinsts' Union, by which the railroad shopmen's unions will become efficiency auxiliaries to the railroad companies, promising the corporations greater profits from union labor than can be squeezed from non-union labor.

This scheme, called a "Co-operation" plan, it is believed, will end the days of militant unions among the railroad shopmen and make them mere adjuncts of the administrations of the various roads. It is detailed in the railroad workers' weekly, Labor, of November 24.

The scheme is being tried out on the B. & O. railroad. The unions are hiring efficiency experts to show the roads how to get more work (and, incidentally, more profits) out of their members.

"The idea underlying our service to the Baltimore and Ohio," said Mr. Johnston, "may be compared to the idea which underlies the engineering services extended to railroads by large supply corporations, which have contracts with these railroads to furnish, let us say, arch-bricks, superheaters, stokers, or lubricating oil."

In other words. the International Machinists' Union will become a supply corporation to the railroads, supplying cheap, efficient union labor in competition with expensive inefficient non-union labor. That is, it will engage in the business of selling labor just as the other corporations may sell lubricants. It will compete in the market like any other commodity-selling organization, and engage to deliver more work for less cost than non-union labor can deliver.

Thus will the railroad corporations capture the railroad shopmen's unions and make profit-increasing appendages of them. And thus also will unionism be eliminated on the railroad. No wonder the railroad executives hail Johnston's plan as "statesmanlike"! Anything that defeats labor is "statesmanship" for them!

## TIME RIPE FOR NEW UNIONISM

The trade unions all over the world are losing membership. This is as true of England, France, Italy and Spain as it is of the U.S.A. There is no doubt that post war depression, open shop drives, fascism, disruption, practiced by conservatives and communists alike; and reaction generally have contributed to these results; though lack of industrial solidarity and industrial unionism should not be forgotten. The latter most likely, more than anything else, made possible the membership decline of the labor movement the world over. Without them resistance was impossible.

But there is no use lamenting this decline. The thing to do is to offset it by a membership drive in behalf of a newer and better form of unionism. There are many workers awaiting such a unionism, as the reception given to industrial unionism well proves. But industrial unionism needs to be pushed. It needs compact, well-sustained and organized efforts in its behalf. And when the reaction against reactions comes, as it always does, industrial unionism will win out.

Hasten the day!

# The Potteries

**Stoke-On-Trent, England**

Photos sent by

WILFRED S. BRADDOCK.

"Don't, for God's sake," writes Braddock, "say that Pittsburgh looks worse than this!"

Hundreds of low, bottle-shaped potters' ovens or kilns, with 15 to 20 fires in every one of them, pour out smoke. And so the fame that once was Pittsburgh's is now no more.

Just now, the potteries are not going full blast, owing to the business depression. Otherwise the photos would look even worse than they do. Potters won't be frightened by smoke when they go to Hell—if they ever do!

The workers in the photo above are dippers at work glazing the ware.

# On With Organization!

The war prisoners having been granted unconditional amnesty, the thanks of the I. W. W. are due to all who helped to achieve this end.

Now, then, on to Centralia, with its conspiracy, and California, with its injustices. Better still, on with the industrial organization of the working class everywhere, so that oppression may be no more!

# 1924

(Continued from page 4.)

join a labor union, and yet there are more members of the Industrial Workers of the World in California today than ever before. Mr. Capitalist has tried every trick to crush the I. W. W., but failed. He has failed because it is **One Big Union, a union of all the workers,** and as such it is invincible.

"An injury to one is an injury to all," is their motto. One for all and all for one. On the land and on the waters its membership is increasing; members are bringing in new members. **The I. W. W. has kept up with the times.** "As it was in the beginning" does not apply to the Industrial Workers of the World. Its members are progressive, they are ever studying how best to better their conditions, the majority are able to discuss the labor question either from a craft union, industrial union, or open shop point of view. They are ever on the watch to better the conditions of the working class, not just interested in a pie-card.

### Looking for a Messiah

The working class is looking for a Messiah. Every age has had its messiahs and every age has crucified them. Mankind will not attain to the golden age of universal peace, justice and truth if it fails to inspire some men in each age to receive the annointment of messiahship and the crown of thorns.

The I. W. W. has worn the thorny crown for many years. Mocked, derided, spit at, crucified, still there are men with ideals high enough to be willing to wear that thorny crown. They are now languishing in prisons, and only because you, you wage slaves, have not got the guts to say "They must be freed." You are one who follows from afar. You are more to be despised than a Judas.

Get together, workers, get into the One Big Union, the only Messiah the workers can ever hope for, the Industrial Workers of the World. Perhaps you will have to endure cricifixion, you may be compelled to wear the crown of thorns.

We will not reach Industrial Emancipation on a smooth road, our feet will be torn and bleeding. how long the journey will take depends on YOU. Have you the courage of your convictions?

### Begin the New Year Right

Will the commencement of this, the new year, see you shouldering your share of labor's cross? Will you be in the front rank of the fighters, or will you follow from afar? Will you help make the battering ram which will break down the prison doors and free the workers, or will you cry, "Crucify Them"?

Be a man, take out a card in a union of your class; link yourself with the I. W. W., and hasten the day of Industrial Emancipation when the workers will enjoy ALL the fruits of their toil, when wars shall be no more and peace shall reign, good-fellowship will prevail, and a universal people established on earth, "world without end."

# Fear, The Modern Malady

IN New York City the Protestant Episcopal Church of St. Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie is conducting a clinic for the cure of "unbearable physical and nervous ailments." An article in the December Current Opinion tells of the more than two thousand cases treated therein. It contains these startling statements:

"Young men who looked as if they had never known a day's sickness have made the most amazing confessions. The word on most of their lips has been 'fear'—fear of responsibility, fear of insanity, fear of crowds, fear of the open."

This is symptomatic of bad nervous conditions. They, in turn, are symptomatic of bad social conditions. Men and women are harrowed, worried and oppressed, with bad results. We live in an age of war, panic, bankruptcy, starvation, revolution, crime, murder and suicide, such as was never known before. On top of it all, is reaction, more hideous in its White Guards and Mussolini's, its militarization, threats of greater wars and collapse of civilization, than all the evils already named.

Under the circumstances, is there any wonder that men become neurotic and afraid!? With society hanging in the balance, is mental unbalance impossible of explanation, an illogical phenomenon? Why should men assume responsibility amid such affairs? Why should they not fear for their own mental and personal safety, and know not which way to turn in such a society? Especially, when they have been taught heretofore to look to the many brilliant genuises of capitalism who have led society into this awful mess, for guidance and salvation?

These are times that need MEN, lion-hearted, iron-nerved and big-brained men; men of great social vision and international determination. There are such men all over the world, sick, not of the victims of a bad order of society, but of that society itself. They make plain that, if a complete social physical and mental breakdown is to be avoided, the present capitalist system of production for profit must be destroyed. This system is basically the cause of war, worry and all the other unsound phenomena that find relief, but never cure, in the new churchly clinics.

## THE COAL "PROBLEM"

The coal problem is again before the house. This problem consists in advancing prices more than wages and getting away with it. There is talk of a strike, but the real "strike" is that of the operators against all concerned, miners and consumers alike.

# Economic Background of the Ku-Klux-Klan

By HUBERT LANGEROCK

THE KKK is with us and, while industrialists do not share in that crude pragmatism which stays satisfied with the stupid formula that everything that is is right, it will not do to dismiss its existence without a sober scrutiny of its background. As a social phenomenon, the KKK is too bulky to be referred to one single cause. The reasons for its existence are many and more or less uneven in their potentiality. Roughly they may be divided into economic and non-economic causes and the latter being secondary in their importance can be briefly mentioned before we attempt to bring to light the main economic reasons.

### Fraternalism

First, the Klan is a lodge and, as such, it is not an isolated phenomenon but must be considered as one more term in a series called fraternalism.

To the shallow mind who fails to see what lies behind fraternalism, economically and psychologically, the cheap mystery and mummery of the lodge appeals in the very proportion that it becomes more uncanny. The simpleton who enjoys that kind of claptrap will always fall for something more weird than what he has known before. So, after the comic opera uniforms of the older orders have lost their attraction, the bedsheet regalia of the Klan appears as a decided innovation. Besides in that domain, fashions are the order of the day. There is a steady demand for a higher degree of silliness after preceding stunts have grown stale.

Not only is the Klan in line with the institution of fraternalism, in its array of titles and costumes but also in its attitude towards the political state.

### State Supremacy

Our professional Americans and those who limit themselves to repeating their vaporings have a good deal to say about the necessity of maintaining the supremacy of the state in the loyalty of the citizen. Loyalty to the state, they claim, must be supreme and above class loyalty. Unfortunately for them, the day has never been when the lodge did not try to infringe upon the state. In spite of their funny dress parades and their financially unsound benevolence, lodges would not be the power they are today if they had not effectively and successfully deprived the political state directly or indirectly of some of its authority and compelled it in many instances to approve the decisions taken in the secrecy of the various lodge rooms.

In both these domains, the Klan has not created something new, it has merely accentuated an already existing tendency.

### A Selling Campaign

Another reason for the success of the Klan was its selling campaign. In its early days fraternalism was strongly critical of the middlemen of commerce. Today lodge memberships are sold by as rabid and noisy men and methods as any wildcat stock promotion.

When Mr. Clark set out to sell the Klan at its bargain rate of ten dollars a head, he conceived a plan of campaign which took in every available prospect in the country and he created an organization to carry out his scheme. Organization properly carried on will accomplish anything it sets out to do. Let me perfect an adequate organization and I shall fill huge auditoriums to listen to a Billy Sunday or to look at an African baboon. Regardless of the nature of the attraction, organization will fetch the crowd.

The Klan was well sold. Its organizers knew their business. If colored strikebreakers were brought into a town, the AFL membership were canvassed and they generally fell for the talk of white supremacy. If white strikers put the commercial middle class to some inconvenience, out went the familiar Ti-Bo-Tim postcard stating one of the purposes of the order to be: "Preventing unwarranted strikes by foreign labor agitators."

These high power campaigns by conscienceless salesmen who are after the fee and do not care for the organization or its principles carries its own penalty.

### Claims Big Membership

The Klan claims two and a half million members and that number is fairly accurate if we limit ourselves to the applications received and accepted; but only one-fourth of the initiated stay with the organization as active members. For various reasons the rest drop out.

Some people are anxious to become members of the Klan. Bootleggers who want to cover up their tracks vie with professional politicians to get on the Klan band wagon. The professional politician is about as contemptible an individual as we are able to discover in America. He switches his allegiance every time he expects a funeral at the state house. In his private life, he may be a libertine or a degenerate but, before the crowd, he must parade his allegiance to all the tenets of conventional christian-capitalist morality. If some gang achieves power for the time being, he must try and join it. Some of the highest officials in the federal and state governments have applied for admission to the Klan on their own motion.

From a nationalistic point of view, the Klan may be said to have fallen heir to one of the main traits of middle-class Americanism, the tendency to mob action.

### The Mob Spirit

The mob spirit which went together with the westward expansion of American capitalism was always dominated by the puritan spirit of intolerance and bigotry. As long as a large geographic sweep made it possible for groups or individuals disagreeing with their neighbors to move on, as they were usually encouraged to do, no immediate clash resulted but things came to a focus when the free land was exhausted and native-born and recent immigrants had to live together in a limited space.

Haunted by the possible competition of the newcomers, the middle class sought to hide its will to power under a kind of moralistic cloak directed against anything or anybody who laid claim to more intelligence and culture than the native-born citizen of Main Street.

To bring about that apotheosis of its own mediocrity, the middle class was willing to form psychological crowds acting in violence to all forms of established legality.

Again, from this point of outlook, the Klan did not innovate, it merely emphasized an existing tendency.

The same is true about the clericalism of the Klan.

### Rampant Clericalism

America is today one of the worst clericalized countries in the world. The intolerant spirit of the early puritans is still alive and has only changed its outside appearance.

All our constitutional dispositions as to religious freedom are a dead letter. There is no religious freedom outside of organized Christianity. Let those who doubt this statement consider what happens to a non-christian who tries to run for office. The constitutional disposition prohibiting appropriations for sectarian purposes is daily violated in letter and in spirit. State and Church overlap in their functions and attributions. American life is dominated by an ecclesiasticism of which, as Mencken states, the country has no reason whatever to be proud. All official civic gatherings open with prayer. No official commission is complete without a churchman in its membership, although the latter is nearly always absolutely incompetent. Religious tolerance is on the decline. The Billy Sunday revivals forced members of certain denominations to sell their property at a loss and move to other localities. Here again the Klan took one more step forward in an already existent direction.

### Anti-Catholicism

Ever since the earliest immigration into the U. S., there existed a prejudice against Roman Catholics whose basis is economic. Protestantism is a form of Christianity adapted to the mentality of the self-employed and the commercial middle class. The primary economic character of that class was the use of competition. They were individualists and, as such, could not agree on anything positive or constructive. Their moral life was like their economic life, broken up into competing fractions. In religious matters, they scattered into over two hundred sects. The latter, being unable to agree on any positive common rule of conduct, soon learned to use a kind of rule of thumb. They might not be able to agree on what to do but whatever the Catholics did, that was the way to be avoided.

For many years the middle class socially ostracized the Catholics to such an extent that those of the latter who landed in the middle class economically changed their religion as well.

A change in this condition of affairs was brought about by the Taft administration. Political socialism reached its high water mark about that time and the President and his Attorney-General, Mr. Wickersham, were led to believe that the Catholic church could stem effectively the rise of political socialism. The church at once launched its campaign and one of its features was a confidential interchange of information between the Knights of Columbus and the Department of Justice.

Conscious of their new found usefulness to the cause of capitalism, the Catholics began at once to claim their place in the social sun. They had a strong organization and made decided inroads on an economic domain which had so far been practically monopolized by the Protestants. Thus a new organization faced the merchants and the professional men and the latter resented it.

We can thus notice that underneath the religious prejudices of the middle class there lurks an interest which is of a decidedly economic nature. Let us now consider the causes for the existence of the KKK which are of an openly economic or material nature.

### The Economic Causes

These causes include mainly the right to exploit the foreigner and the scramble for the liberal professions, especially law and medicine.

The frame of mind in which the hundred per cent American emerged from the patriotic jag of war hysteria can be traced directly to the attitude of the South towards the negro. The nativist carried over into his treatment of the foreigner the psychology of the dominant race. His purpose was to hide capitalistic exploitation under a cloak of racial superiority.

The negro has in reeent years adopted a poliey of direet eeonomie aetion by withdrawing his labor power from the southern market and the very men who for years had bemoaned his presence in their midst were the first to protest and to try to stop the exodus. The south never wanted the negro to leave. It merely wanted to seare him into aeeepting low wages, half of whieh could be paid in worthless store orders.

The nativist, after the war, intended acting on the same lines. The Wall Street Journal gave the whole show away when it stated editorially: we must keep the alien influx down, not out.

The vested right which the nativist wanted to establish in his favor failed to materialize. The soealled foreigners knew that they constituted the industrial proletariat of machine industry, the personnel of the leading form of production. They were eonseious of their rights, they had tasted some of the fruits of organization here and abroad, they knew that in international law, they were entitled to the status of the most favored nation under existing treaties and their refusal to sanetion the vested right whieh the nativist was trying to establish eaused the attempt to eollapse. The nativist had to back up and to aeeept the faet that he eould not exploit the foreigner eeonomieally on national grounds.

One of the reasons of this failure was the fear of large scale industry that sueh an attempt might jeopardize its own exploitation of the foreigner on merely eeonomie grounds. They eould see their privileges endangered by the attempt to earry into foree mainly to the advantage of merchants and professional men, a seeondary form of nationalistie exploitation.

### Big Capital Uses KKK

Big eapital used the middle elass organized in the Klan to do its dirty and lawless work, to form the pickhandle brigades and the eitizens' eommittees and the paeked juries but, when it eame to material rewards, the Klan had to be satisfied with hollow words of praise, a eheap monkey money whieh buys nothing in the market.

Still, in this ease, experience has not been a teaeher. Some of the vietims of the Klan are still aetive at the game and the expeeted rewards are still as far away as ever.

It takes a middle elass bourgeois fighting for his eeonomie existenee to feel and understand the power of eapital and that is the reason why, if he manages to survive or aehieves a modieum of sueeess in business, he does not want his children to follow his line of work. The dream of the middle elass father is to land his son in the liberal professions. The latter are exceedingly overerowded to such an extent that many of their members are not earning a decent living. It is a constant practiee today that a boy in order to make a start, as a doetor or a lawyer, must have besides his education, a small independent ineome. In case of sueeess, the ineome may not be longer needed but the vast majority never reaeh the stage where they ean do without it.

HIS NEW DECORATION
—The Industrial Worker.

We ean now fathom the disappointment of the bourgeois father who finds out, after all those saerifiees, that the members of an alien raee are able to eome along penniless and through sheer ability, outstrip the eoddled offspring of the American bourgeois. Four or five generations of Ameriean shopkeepers work up to the grand elimax where a seion of the family is going to be a lawyer and when the lad reaehes college he meets a Jewish boy on whose trunk you ean still find the steerage labels that were pasted on it when his folks came over from the old country.

### Anti-Semitism—Its Origin

Twenty years ago, any Ameriean would have been ashamed to speak in an intolerant way about the Jewish raee. Today, the vast majority of the Ameriean middle elass is anti-semitie for the same reason that makes anti-semites of the middle class all over Europe, viz., because the Jew, through his native qualities, outstrips the nativist in the professions and fills them with larger sueeess and in numbers far greater than the quota to whieh he would be entitled if it was based upon the numerieal strength of his raee in the general population of the eountry.

Another reason for the presence of the Klan is somewhat more intrieate.

At the bottom of the opinions and eonvietions of the radieals of all schools, there lies a question of survival. Class consciousness is not only a dissatisfaction with existing eonditions which leads to attempts to overthrow them, it is also a philosophy of life, a regulator of human eonduet. The elass eonscious proletarian tests the dietates of his capitalistie masters, their teaehings from the point of view of their praetieability and their bearing on his own chanees of survival. To be elass eonscious is to be wise to the stale and bewhiskered platitudes peddled by capitalistie hirelings. By the results of such an attitude, the proletarian is able to regulate his behavior in a way where he ean manage to survive by the expense of a minimum of energy. Class consciousness in every-day life means the saving of energy, that energy whieh the eapitalistieally-minded worker dissipates in the aets

that are to the master's liking but have no usefulness to himself. To put the whole thing in a nutshell: there is survival value in class consciousness and a social behavior based thereon.

### Copy Master's Moral Code

Nobody realizes this better than the simpletons who accept capitalistic teachings as economic gospel. Those fellows practice all the virtues of the master's moral code and the majority of them wait for their reward in vain. They are thrifty, some of them give of their substance to keep up the master's pet schemes, they ape their economic overlords in their silliest poses and attitudes without a sense of personal satisfaction or a consciousness of reasonable behavior. They are unable to defend themselves against their own emotions cleverly played upon by the efficient specialists whom the master maintains for that purpose. There is bound to come a day in their lives when they realize that they are the victims of a fallacy, that they have been squandering their energy in valueless pursuits. But they do not acknowledge their mistakes. It takes a man to admit a mistake and to change his attitude accordingly. Their spite remains, they are compelled to admit the survival value of class consciousness in the practical things of every-day life and it becomes their purpose to force the dissenters to abide by their own rules, not as a matter of moralistic fervor but because such an act puts others by compulsion in the unfavorable position in which they realize that they are themselves. Thus they try to establish in their own favor a leveling down towards an equality in mediocrity.

That function is now being fulfilled by the Klan. As an organization, it is interfering with the private morals of outsiders, meting out punishment for acts which the law fails to condemn, theoretically in the name of a moral principle, but in reality to deprive the more advanced thinkers of the benefits of their wisdom and force them back with themselves in the ranks of those who accept as gospel truth all forms of capitalistic humbug.

The reader may verify the accuracy of this general statement by applying it specifically to any concrete issue of his own choice.

### A Middle-Class Affair

In conclusion we may state that the Klan is a middle-class affair but that it is not likely that that class will in any way be allowed to derive any kind of benefit from all the cowardly outlawry hidden behind its regalia.

Capitalism has got the drop on the Klan through its economic power.

The Klan practically controls the state of Oregon. Middle-class votes put it in power. Yet it has nothing to show in the line of achievement that could be considered as favoring the interest of the farmer or the small merchant, but its leadership is closely in alliance with electric light and power corporations, and it is generally admitted by those who are in a position to know that the main result of Klan control will be the transfer to private ownership of nearly all the available water power in the state.

Wherever the Klan may achieve political power it will by the very logic of things as they are and the predominance of the economic motive be compelled to strike the same attitude.

## Who Wrote "The Awakening"?

ANENT the poem, "The Awakening," attributed to Rudyard Kipling, and appearing in our November issue, the Pioneer has received some letters questioning its authorship; and claiming that it is not in accord with Kipling's imperialistic views; nor is it to be found in his published works. As a Dartmouth college student puts it:

"The fourth stanza, beginning—

Dividends, rent and interest
Chicanery, lies and brag—
These are the gods of Empire
Their symbol—the British flag—

is great stuff, but not Kipling's usual line."

However, we refer this reader and all others to Upton Sinclair's anthology, "The Cry for Justice." Therein will be found data going to show that Kipling has been guilty of indiscretion, in that he has, once or twice in his lifetime, written proletarian poetry, now suppressed.

But, all this notwithstanding, let it be said candidly, The Pioneer really doesn't know whether Kipling wrote "The Awakening" or not. The Pioneer got it, through a free use of the editorial shears, from another labor journal or magazine. Its name can't even be recalled, such is the Pioneer's haste to give its readers something stimulating to read—with a success that was entirely unexpected.

However, the question remains, who wrote "The Awakening"? If Kipling didn't, who did?

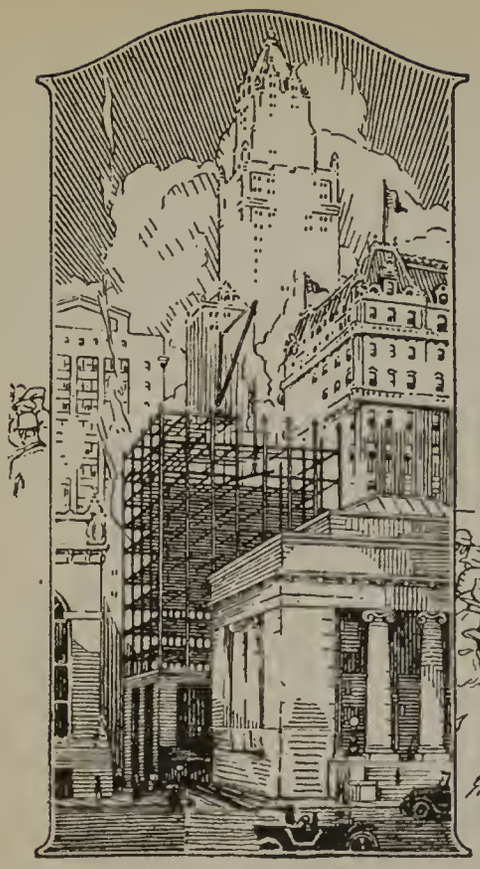
## Read and Act

DIRECTED reading requires a constant effort of will and develops character. There is hardly a more difficult task than reading with care and application. He who can read and understand that which will benefit him has the power to free himself from those who enslave him.

Let us apply ourselves relentlessly to the task of reading those things which will do us good.

If we would free ourselves from our masters we must learn to become masters of ourselves. Emancipation will come but slowly to those who do not pave the way by strengthening their character through restraining their impulses and directing their energy into fields of constructive thought.

Let us read, relentlessly, resolutely, alertly, those things which will teach us how to take and hold that which is ours. Let us understand what we read and act upon it! As we act upon it we become men! **(TR-1354.)**



## BIG CITIES TO GROW BIGGER

**The drift of population is from the country to the city. There are now more workers in the factories than on the farms. And the prospects are that in the future cities will grow ever larger; so will the need of industrial unionism to make them fit places to work and live in. Spread the gospel of industrial unionism in the big cities, as there is where the big armies of converts must be made, if labor is to win in the struggle with modern giant capitalism, which the big city symbolizes.**

# The Wonders of Modern Science

**Their Possibilities Surpass The Dreams of Man And Presage, For The Future, Revolutions Of A Startling Nature.**

JUST before his late lamented death, Dr. Charles P. Steinmetz created something of a furore by predicting the coming of the four-hour workday in the century just ahead of us. The prediction served to call attention to the marvellous possibilities of electricity, which, according to its devotees, is only at the beginning of a career full of extraordinary industrial changes; among which a superpower capitalism is only one of the most prominent. The prediction also served, for the time being, to overshadow great achievements and great possibilities in other fields of science; in chemistry particularly. But now that Steinmetz is dead and the perennial 10-days' wonder has somewhat worn off the novelty of his views, it is possible to take a glimpse at these other phases of science and to speculate upon their bewildering tendencies and outcome; to the benefit of all concerned.

First there are the experiments to "burn coal twice," with which the name of Henry Ford is linked as promoter and financial backer. This is a process evolved by Emil Piron, a chemist, and V. L. Carachristi, a consulting engineer. In it soft coal is partly carbonized with a gentle heat, with the result that the usual "coal-tar products" are recovered, so it is claimed, in greater quantity than when fully carbonized with great heat; and yet leaving some of the "life" in the fuel thus treated to be burned again.

By this new process, it is claimed, cheap gas, cheap gasoline, cheap fuel oil, cheap fertilizer and cheap coke are possible. The gas will be suitable for illumination, the gasoline for automobiles, the fuel for engines, the fertilizer for farms, and the coke for furnaces.

### A Revolutionary Thing

This new process is claimed by Ford engineers to be such a revolutionary thing that power plants all over the country must come to it; and as gasoline is derived from this method of distillation at a cost of only six cents a gallon, an inexhaustible source of cheap gasoline will be established.

It is said of Ford himself that, with the new process in use at his own plants, "where he is making 8,500 cars a day now he will be able to make 15,000. Instead of an expensive coal he will be able to use a cheap coal. And the coke that will result from the first burning will be of such a character that he will be able to make his own steel."

Ford has already spent more than a million dol-

lars in assisting experimental work. He is putting his money in the new process, and his technical staff is helping to perfect it. He is now spending $5,000,000 to establish the process in his River Rouge plant at Detroit.

"Burning coal twice" appears to have many economic revolutions involved in its general adoption. First, it will act, together with electricity, in reducing the need for miners. Second, in its creation of cheap gas and gasoline it will affect the light and oil monopoly and industry, undermining the first and displacing labor in the second. With it a success, the dependence of national commerce and welfare on oil will vanish and with this dependence will go one of the greatest causes of war. Third, it also threatens the supremacy of hydro-electric power, just as the latter threatens the existence of steam as a motive force. Thus "burning coal twice" forecasts more unemployment for miners and oil producers, while menacing mining, oil and electricity, in general. It also does away with the struggle for petroleum and thus contributes to world peace. Its many possibilities are revolutionary, indeed!

### Chemical "Insanity"

Now let us turn from "burning coal twice" to other phases of chemistry and engineering, as expressed by Irenée du Pont. He says that it seems like insanity to predict the coming achievements of chemistry; after which he proceeds to make a few very interesting predictions himself. According to him some of the possibilities of the future in the chemical field, include among them, synthetic food, artificial wool, the conquest of disease, the entire or partial abolition of sleep, storage of solar heat, heatless light, cheap fuel and greatly prolonged mental and physical vigor in the course of human life. Now that surely looks like an insane man's ravings. But so did the possible achievements of electricity before the days of Steinmetz.

If we speculate upon the possibilities of chemistry these "ravings" seem insaner than insanity. Imagine, if possible, the tremendous economic revolution involved in so feeding man that the results of eight hours sleep will be accomplished and the active existence of man will change from 16 hours to 24 hours a day! Then we will have not only perpetual insomnia but also perpetual human motion. The result will be to increase the labor supply 200 per cent at the most, when reckoned on an eight hour basis. Talk about unemployment! It will be ever with us then, overwhelmingly so!

And then reflect on what is likely to happen if "a vehicle which will absorb the heat from the sunlight and carry it to the point of production" is invented. This simple storage and transmission of solar heat will destroy mining entirely, do away with the necessity for burning coal twice and relegate super-power electricity to the scrap-heap! Phew! the possibilities of stored solar heat, staggers the imagination!

### Arabian Nights Outdone

And synthetic food! "Made of mountains of limestone and waterfalls that supply the chemical raw materials and energy required to make sugars and starches" it does away with vegetation and farming! What will become of the farming class then? What reason for existence will the farmer-labor party then have? They will all then be replaced by revolutions—not bloody but chemical ones. Talk about the genie that were released from the bottle in the Arabian Nights, they are not in it with those that modern chemistry promises to let loose.

Of course, it will be argued that these are only the dreams of a scientist and, as such, not yet realized. But it is of such dreams that human progress is made. The possibilities of today are the actualities of tomorrow. This is especially so when they are of scientific origin and development. With such factors in their favor, their success seems assured in advance.

Great as man's progress has been in the past it promises to be still greater in the days to come. In fact, just now it appears to be gathering momentum for a great leap forward. With it should go a greater industrial organization of the working class, for without such an organization the subjugation of nature in the interests of mankind, as Steinmetz labored to make it, will redound only to the benefit of the few instead of the great majority.

There are great changes coming. Let us organize in anticipation of them.

## Oil and the Germs of War

INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY and Industrial Worker have both rendered the working class and the cause of peace a great service by printing serially Scott Nearing's "Oil and the Germs of War." Too long have works of this important nature been the reading of a few interested students. Too long have they reposed uncirculated in the libraries and book collections of their original buyers. It's time the workers knew the facts about the great monopolies that cause the pursuit of imperialist policies and result in the destructive worldwide wars of modern society.

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We'll have more to say about "Oil and the Germs of War" in future issues.

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**INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**
**DO IT NOW!**

# Chicago

**Hardin Wallace Masters**

I had not known you before—
Squalling giant of the West,
With muscular toes dug deep
Into the verdant prairie,
Until the day your buildings,
Like a great cabbage,
Unfolded before me, leaf by leaf,
And your running streets of people;

A discordant hum of many bees,
The thunder of heavens upheld by trees
Of steel; rushing holocryptic waves of seas,
The loom of tragic faces weaves.

All of this, and more,—
Fenced in by perforated stone,
Grand Canyons of Cement.
Seemed to be a holocaust of souls,
And having in their fury spent
A futile rage upon their captors.
Departed, resorted to this mask-like face
Of stone, the open windows cadaverous eyes,
Leering with imperturbable intent.
Small tongues, flickering in the light;
Imprisoned hands, waving at the sun.

# The Widow

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

TWO babes to feed, two little girls, one two the other three;
I got my eats at the restaurant and ten bucks salary;
I paid five for my housekeep room, and with the other five
I hadda buy food, clo'es and gas to keep my kids alive.

Two babes to feed, but I did it, honest and straight as a string,
But, as you might well imagine, I never laid by a thing.
Two kids to leave every morning alone in that room till night
With a casual peep from a neighbor to see if they were all right.

Slaving and scrimping and pinching, I kept myself free of "tick,"
But the measles were making the rounds and my little Molly got sick.
I hadda stay home and nurse her, and Sally she took it, too,
With dope a dollar a bottle—and nothing to see us through.

Say! have you sat in the gloaming a-praying as hard as you could,
With kids dying for lack of medicine and the cupboards empty of food?
When the druggist refused to trust you and the neighbors ceased to lend,
And in all the wide, drear city you hadn't one real friend?

With the rent due in an hour, and strictly in advance,
And a fiend who showed how to get it 'neath a painted smirk and glance?
With the light a-growing dimmer, and a child's moan in the gloom?—
—Well! what is the use of talking . . . I paid the rent for the room!

They needed the dope and I got it; the best of doctors, too;
With the help of the de'il and his dollars I tried to pull them through;
But the curse of lust seemed with me; I waged a losing fight;
And I stood bedecked in my paint and shame and watched them die last night.

I am a thing attainted, accursed and alone,
Never a virtuous woman but would cast at me a stone;
Never a man that bought me but holds me a creature vile—
Yet I sold myself for my children, and cloaked heart-break with a smile.

Yea, I knelt in my agony and prayed to God up above;
Ah, sure if the angels could see my heart, they read my mother-love;
But never a sign to help me, never a body came—
And tonight I kneel beside my dead, a woman of ill fame.

**BOOST THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**

# Other People's Kids

By EVA PILLSBURY

YOUNG Tom Evans had to quit school and go to work at the surface of the mine as a "breaker" boy. His father, Old Tom Evans, worked down in the mine. Young Tom was only thirteen, but he had to say that he was fourteen in order to get a "work paper." He got by all right, for they don't bother to investigate these matters.

Young Tom didn't get on in school anyway, for there was never really enough food on the Evans breakfast table to satisfy a growing boy, and of course, a hungry boy can't study well.

As a breaker boy, one picks out the chunks of coal with slate mixed in them, from the mass of crushed coal rushing past down a moving belt, from the top of the breaker towering overhead. Not dangerous work but unpleasant, for the coal dust gets into one's eyes and lungs, and the slate is sharp and makes one's hands bleed.

When young Tom got home that first night and told his mother that he had earned $2.00, she only looked at his bleeding hands and cried. Women are queer that way.

After a few months, Young Tom got a job down in the mine as "trapper boy." The work was not hard and paid a little more.

All he had to do was to stand in the darkness or semidarkness, opening and closing doors, for the coal cars to pass out and back.

Sometimes the dampness made him shiver. Then he thought of the warm supper that would be ready for him when he got home.

But his mother was thinking of her boy down in the dark damp mine where no sunshine ever is, and often she cried. Young Tom didn't know that, though Old Tom suspected it. But what can a man do with six hungry children to feed?

Young Tom proved so reliable that by and by the foreman gave him a job in the "robbing section", and then he was indeed proud though somewhat nervous about it. The robbing section is where the last of the coal is cut away from the pillars and walls. Sometimes the roof falls in before the miners have a chance to get out. Of course, the laws of the state say positively that no boys under sixteen can do such work; but the foreman didn't ask Young Tom anything about his age. The boy was useful and he needed him.

The Evans family had more to eat now. They managed to catch up on the grocery bill, and Young Tom's mother got him some warm underclothing to keep him from shivering down in the reeking darkness of the mine. And then—the "irony of Fate."

Between the choking coal-dust that would get into his lungs and make him cough, and the darkness and dampness of the mine, Young Tom presently got into a bad way. He lost his appetite, and though his mother piled his plate high with potato and meat and gravy, he just sat silently and wondered why it made him sick to look at the stuff.

When he had crept off to his bed in the little windowless attic where he and his three brothers slept, his mother listened to his coughing and the corner of her kitchen apron got damp with tears.

One day Young Tom fainted in the mine; dropped like an old man who is worn to exhaustion. They brought him up and sent him with his father to the company doctor, who looked at him, felt of him, tapped his chest.

"Mustn't work for a while," he said. "Take him home and take care of him. Feed him up with eggs and milk. Plenty of sleep in good big room with lots of fresh air. He'll come out all right. Trouble has only just started."

Then he gave them a prescription to have filled for Young Tom. The medicine cost Old Tom $2.50.

Young Tom stayed at home two weeks. Said he felt better and so returned to work. His mother watched him from the window that morning, and when he was out of sight she crossed the room, and dropped on her knees by the old bed lounge, clutching the patchwork cover in her two work-calloused hands.

"God," she said, "why do little boys like that have to work till they drop? Only just the other day he was my baby! Isn't there any other way but this? Oh, God, isn't there?"

But God didn't answer, though He must know just where the trouble lay.

Young Tom worked a month and then came home, knocked out.

One can't hope to do much for a tubercular case in an environment that welfare workers would term "higly unsatisfactory."

So things didn't get any better.

One day a district nurse came to investigate. "All wrong," she said, "all wrong!" and went away. Then a welfare agency sent its representative. "Hospital," she urged.

"No," said the mother of Young Tom, "I'll take care of him myself; he's mine."

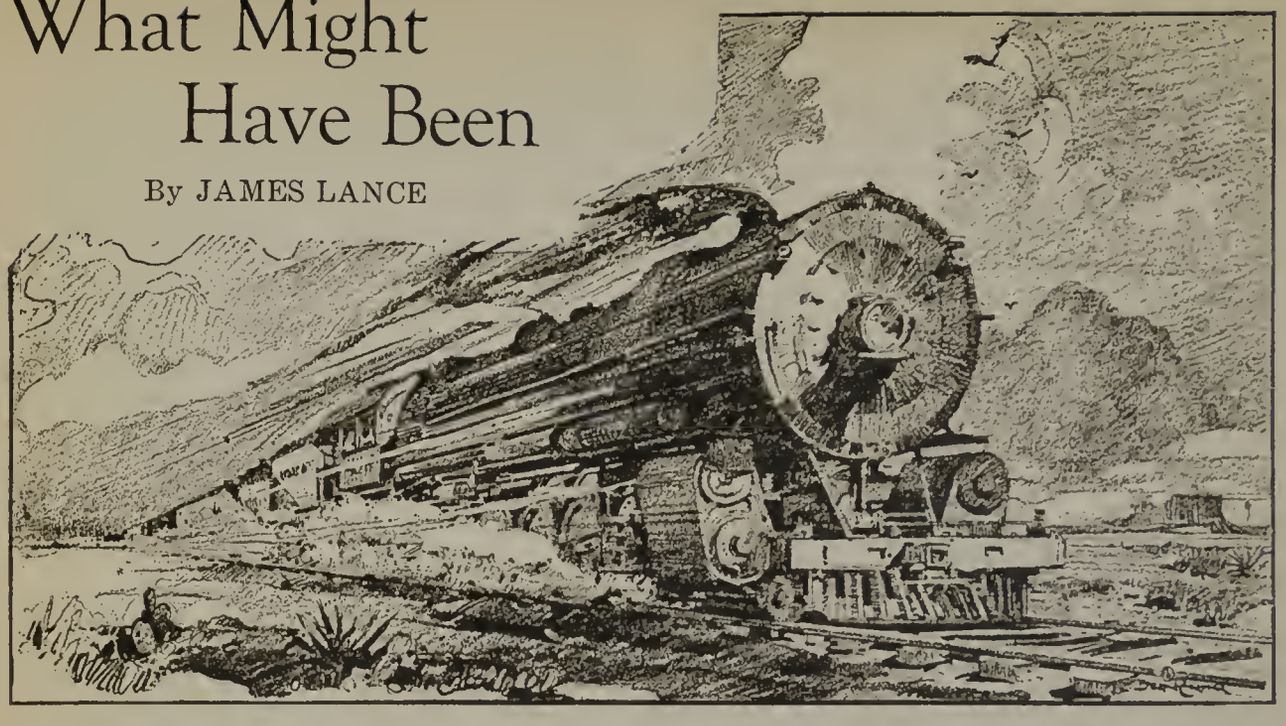
A committee went to the big mine-owner,—the man whose millions had come out of that black hole in the ground—where Young Tom and his father and thousands of others had wrought their bitter task for their pittance of bread. They found the man in his splendid suite of offices, at his mahogany desk.

"Can't you do something for the boy?" they asked. "He broke down at the mine. Probably it isn't too late yet, if he could have the right treatment."

The big man straightened back in his chair. He pounded on his desk.

# What Might Have Been

By JAMES LANCE



**Foreword: The following story is the writer's conception of the consequences which might have followed the refusal of the train and engine men of one of the transcontinental railroads to take the trains out of a certain division point in the Southwest during the shopmen's strike in 1922.**

**Everyone familiar with the incident around which this story is written will agree that marvelous things would have resulted had the rails of the rest of the country shown the solidarity the writer has credited them with. You may not agree with the writer's conception. However, here is the tale.**

GREAT excitement prevailed in the little town of Cuchara. There were more people in town that day than in the memory of the oldest inhabitant. He—by the way—had only been there a few years, for Cuchara was of recent growth and existed solely because the Pacific and Gulf had to have some place to change train and engine crews.

Necessity was and could have been the only excuse for locating a town in such a region. Midway of the great southwestern desert, a hundred oddfeet below sea-level, blistered by scorching sun, never knowing that fresh, lively feeling which follows a shower, isolated from the rest of the world, except when a train stopped for a few minutes, Cuchara represented the absolute zero in places to live.

Its population was less than two hundred—only those who were absolutely necessary to the operation of the railroad. Tourists never broke their journey there, no wave of wild excitement such as follows the discovery of oil or gold, ever awakened its inhabitants from that peculiar lethargy which is to be found in desert-dwellers everywhere. There was even a dearth of cowpunchers and sheepherders, those sons of the West who are to be found in nearly every town of that great open space; even a prospector was hardly ever seen prodding his burros along the dusty street—no one except the slaves of the genii of steam.

But today the scene was different. Everywhere could be seen groups of people, people who by no stretch of the imagination could be made to fit into such a picture as Cuchara presented. Women—dozens of them—children, scores, little and big—men—not railroaders—oh no, no one could think that those well-fed, immaculately dressed specimens of the male sex had ever pulled a pin, thrown a switch, washed a boiler or tamped a tie; no railroaders, these. They were tourists—tourists who had been rudely awakened to the fact that their creature comforts were dependent on the men who lived in Cuchara and who until now had been to them merely cogs in the Great Pacific and Gulf machine that was carrying them across this inferno of heat and desolation to the shady forests and laughing brooks in the snow-capped mountains which rimmed the western horizon.

On all sides could be heard the hum of angry conversation, these people were angry, more than that they were exasperated. To think that they who had been assured of a delightful journey should have such discomfort thrust upon them was almost unbearable. First-class passengers on the De Luxe Special, people who had paid extra fare to insure themselves of every attention, marooned in such a

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"What is that to me?" he thundered. "I'm not responsible for what goes on at the mine!

"If the men there can't live on their wages, it's their own fault. I don't ask anybody to help me support my children!

"If a man can't take care of his own kids, he's got no right to have them! That'll be all today."

And the committee was waved away by a white hand adorned with a magnificent diamond, the price of which would have saved a life.

God-forgotten place—it was unthinkable—nevertheless, it was a reality.

They were here, forced against their will to endure the blistering wind and scorching heat just like common people—railroad slaves.

Never a thought for the men who had to endure this sort of thing every day. Never a word of commiseration for those whose lives were passed in these miserable surroundings that they and their like might be sped through the desert on upholstered seats, cooled by electric fans and attentively served by white-coated porters. Oh no, these people were giving voice to but one thought—the audacity of such men in forcing THEM to share for a little while the discomforts which were the usual routine of the railroaders.

One individual, a portly male, clad in a golf suit, checkered stockings and tweed cap, was particularly annoyed. He was, as he let everyone know, Judge Barnstone of the Supreme Court of New Jersey and he was sure—it was his legal opinion—that the railroaders were breaking every law that had ever been written around that interesting subject known as interstate commerce.

To stop a transcontinental train out in the desert and refuse to take it on its way again was a crime far worse than murder, piracy or arson. He knew—he told everyone—that this was the worst, the very worst crime ever committed in that region, long famous for its lawlessness of every description.

For that was what had happened. When the De Luxe Special had slid into the little desert division point early that morning and come to a stop in front of the Mission style depot there was neither crew nor engine to take it westward. The men had gone on a sympathy strike with the shopmen who had walked out a month previous.

They declared that the equipment was no longer safe and that furthermore their lives were threatened every time they went through the yards by the gang of plug-uglies the company had imported to protect the scabs who were trying to take the places of the shopmen. Daily the situation had grown worse, the engines and cars were falling to pieces, the scab-herders were becoming unbearable and, at a meeting the night before the train and engine crews had voted to take no trains out of Cuchara until these grievances had been righted.

As a result Cuchara was a beehive of excitement. The number of angry tourists was increased by the arrival of the Californian, another crack limited, and later another one had rolled in from the east and added its cargo of joy-seekers to the disgruntled multitude who were wandering aimlessly around the little desert town cursing the men responsible for their predicament.

The indifference displayed by the railroad men seemed to them the worst feature of the whole matter. The rails acted as though people who rode on trains during a strike were not entitled to any consideration. Down at the Darby house, the hotel and dining room operated by the railroad company, one of them had told Judge Barnstone that he might as well get used to it, because he would be there long enough to vote unless the company came through with the strikers' demands.

He had intimated that the Hon. Judge would have been a better citizen if he had known enough to stay in New Jersey. He called on everyone within hearing to observe the fat frying out of the Hon. Judge, and to wonder with him, whether the judge had ever done a useful day's work. Why, the man actually told the judge that what was good enough for him was good enough for anybody, and added that he had been there three years and it hadn't killed him yet. Also he opined the judge was healthy enough—just fat and lazy—and that the experience wouldn't kill him.

Meanwhile, the officials of the Pacific and Gulf were frantically trying every means to get the trains out of Cuchara. Messages had been sent to the officials of the brotherhoods and finally word came that two of the "big men" of the unions were on their way to Cuchara to end the strike. Naturally, this news trickled out to the men, so when Number 5 pulled in they were not surprised to see Brown, of the Trainmen, and Sargent, of the Engineers, alight.

These officials immediately called a meeting which was attended by every rail in Cuchara. It was a riotous session. Brown made an eloquent speech calling on the men to forget their grievances and to protect the sacred contract. He declared that the battle of the shopmen was no affair of the trainmen, engineers, conductors or firemen. But to his surprise it fell on deaf ears. Even the local officials failed to support him in his plea. Everyone seemed to think that a limit had been reached and that this was no time to protect contracts, or scabs either, as they expressed it.

One man, a brakeman, told Brown and Sargent that their time was wasted in coming to Cuchara as the men had decided to get along without official interference and that for once in the history of railroad strikes in America, the rank and file were going to do the thinking.

Another man, this one a fireman, made an impassioned plea for solidarity, and, as this word was a new one in the vocabularies of most of those present, it required some explanation. When he got through it was decided that "an injury to one was an injury to all" and that this motto was applicable here and now.

Cries of, "We've had enough of scabs and scabbing," finally drove Brown and Sargent from the hall to telegraph the sad news of their failure to division headquarters at Alpine.

The division superintendent wired the president of the road and he took matters up with the governor of the state. The machinery of law was put in motion. Next morning six men who were pointed out as "ringleaders," among them the audacious "shack" who had razzed Judge Barnstone, were arrested and placed in the local calaboose. Still the men remained firm in their determination to get their demands, which now included the settlement of the shop strike.

Then, like thunder from a clear sky, came word

# A Railroad Center

Photos of

Ogden, Utah

Above, view of yards of Union Pacific, Oregon Short Line and Southern Pacific railroads, with viaduct at the left.

Center and below interior and exterior views of branch headquarters Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520, I. W. W.

that Aguas Calientes and Alpine had taken the same stand—no trains until the guards are removed and the equipment made safe. The news spread like wildfire along the entire system and before the dawn of the third day all the men in the train and engine service were out.

The entire Pacific and Gulf was tied up—not a train moved on its three thousand miles of track.

Far away in Washington the President of the United States was notified of the "revolt," for that was what the walkout was termed by the newspapers, and after a hurried session of the cabinet he ordered federal troops to entrain immediately for active service in the strike zone.

Then the real strength of united railroad labor was demonstrated.

When the soldiers marched down to the yards at Kingsville, the largest army post in the southwest, they were politely informed that they'd have a hell of a time getting anyone to pull a train of soldiers on that road. Frantic, the commander sent word to Washington and a brigade was ordered from another fort. These met a like answer. No trains would be run to carry soldiers to the scene of trouble on the P. & G.

The American Legion volunteered to work the

trains, and this so incensed the railroad men that strike votes were taken on all the roads in the west and before the middle of the fourth day the entire western part of the country was paralyzed by the refusal of the men to run trains of any description until the shop strike was settled.

The sword had fallen. The day which the railway magnates had dreaded for years had arrived. Railroaders of every description laid down their tools and the General Strike on the railroads was on.

The fifth day saw the entire country tied up. Milk, mail, passenger, fruit, stock, coal and merchandise trains, fast trains and slow ones, main line and branch, were a thing of yesterday. The mole-hill of Cuchara had grown into the mountain of a complete railroad shut-down all over the entire country.

At first everything was quiet. Even in the larger cities there were scarcely any disturbances. Here and there some soldier or special detective stirred up trouble with some of the quicker-tempered among the strikers, but these outbreaks were like ripples on the surface of a placid pond. Everywhere the men sat tight and waited. Everywhere they seemed to realize that history was being made and the feeling seemed to subdue them.

The immensity of the situation struck terror to the hearts of the weaker ones but they were kept in line by those who saw that, united, the railroad men held the winning hand in the greatest game ever played in the New World. Never before had the like been witnessed, it was a magnificent hour for railroad labor. United they held the destiny of the nation in their calloused hands and at last they had awakened to the strength of unity.

The great railroad barons were holding conferences daily in New York City. Plan after plan was proposed and discarded. None of the oft-tried methods of ending a strike could be used in this instance. Each and every means successful before was useless now. "Divide and conquer," would not work this time because the men refused to be divided. Unity was the only issue the magnates could not meet. Well they knew the strength of unity.

For years they had fostered division among the men through the different brotherhoods and craft unions, for they had seen that united railway labor presented an unbeatable problem. Now they were face to face with the most dreaded and most feared —and helpless. The officials of the unions had failed them in the greatest crisis which had ever arisen, for the men had at last awakened to the fact that their officials were the tools of the masters and consequently refused to allow them to turn them from their purpose. So ended the fifth day.

Now the pinch of interrupted industry made itself felt. The large cities were the first to suffer. None of them had perishable foodstuffs sufficient to last long. Meat they expected to receive every day, likewise milk. The cessation of train operation made delivery in quantity impossible. Motor trucks and horse-drawn vehicles were requisitioned, but these fell far short of supplying the need. The mills and factories depended on the railroads for fuel and raw material and the removal of their finished products.

On the sixth day of the strike, millions of workers were laid off. Industry in general was paralyzed. Still the railway magnates refused to acknowledge defeat. They were hopefully waiting for the first sign of weakness on the part of the men. Hourly the situation became more ominous. Idle throngs packed the streets of every city in the land, and everywhere people wondered how it was going to end.

Another conference of all the railway officials and directors was called, and the President was invited to attend. He came—not by train—even he could not make wheels revolve on rails then—but in an airplane. After a lengthy discussion at which nothing was accomplished, the conference adjourned to the Palace, one of the newest and most palatial hotels in the city, for a banquet.

Then was the power of the movement which had started in the little desert division town in the southwest revealed to them in one of its most significant phases. They had felt no matter what happened they need not suffer. The great "public" which their kept press howled about until the supplies of paper were exhausted was undergoing great hardships, that they knew, but they felt secure, exempt.

But when they filed into the great hotel they were met by the distracted manager and informed that, desolated though he was, he could not serve the banquet. In some mysterious manner the supplies had vanished; there had been a riot just at dark and he imagined that under cover of it the store-rooms had been looted.

As they were digesting this doleful news in lieu of the delightful meal they had expected, the magnates received another jolt. Every light in the building was snuffed out.

Even on the streets absolute blackness prevailed.

A hurried telephone call elicited the information that the fuel supply at the stations serving that part of the city was exhausted, and while connections with another one which had "white coal" was being made, there would be no light or power.

Aghast at this demonstration of the far-reaching effect of the withdrawing of railroad labor power, the magnates held another conference in the ballroom of the Palace. Candles and kerosene lamps shed a ghostly light on the scene, and the shadows cast had their counter parts in the hearts of those assembled.

Like snarling wolves they snapped and fought. Berryman, the president of the Pacific and Gulf, made a bitter, denunciatory speech anent the misery those "damned revolutionists" were inflicting on the country and demanded of the President immediate action. "Send cavalry, airplanes, dirigibles, tanks, gas-bombs—anything—only get those trains running again!" he cried. "One more day

## IWW GENERAL CONVENTION GOT BEHIND CAMPAIGN TO ORGANIZE STEEL WORKERS

of this and we shall be forced to admit defeat. And, gentlemen, you all know what it means to be defeated in a struggle like this!

"This is the beginning of the end. There will be no holding them! We must win or tomorrow will be that dreaded day we have been fighting against for years. Labor will know at last that it is the driving force, the motive power, and we—well, I think you all know where we will be."

Others including Beechman of the Stone Island and Gipley of the Transcontinental, had spoken alike, and when Dillard of the Delaware and Ohio had made his speech the President arose and said:

"Gentlemen, I agree with you. We all seem to think alike. This is a momentous day for America. Something must be done, and at once. But this is a fearsome thing and I am afraid our airplanes, dirigibles, tanks or bayonets will not win this battle. This is something bigger than even the World War. Labor power alone can end this catastrophe, and those who possess that power seem disinclined to use it.

However, every precaution will be taken. I have ordered General Cursing to place the entire nation under martial law and to get as many army men as possible to run trains. Tomorrow we shall know! This state of affairs cannot continue! It means revolution. God himself can only tell where we are headed, but rest assured that I shall fulfill to the utmost the trust the nation has imposed on me. No stone shall be left unturned to end this calamity and return our fair country to its normal condition."

"Tomorrow we shall know!" So had spoken the president. And the events of the next twenty-four hours proved him correct. When the next day's sun was low in the western sky, they did know.

That brief span of time had shown even the most aggressive and domineering among the rail magnates that this time they had met a force which is unconquerable. Solidarity of Labor, used for the very first time in the history of American railroading, had shown itself to be an impregnable fortress against which dirigibles, gas-bombs, tanks or bayonets were as useless as slingshots against Gilbraltar. Behind this barricade— one of folded arms—labor was safe, and all the force that all the magnates could muster was as impotent as an attempt to sweep back the tides.

General Cursing and his army were check-mated; every city in the country was in a state of revolution; wild-eyed mobs tore through the streets breaking open warehouses containing food. All business was at a standstill. Eloquent soap-boxers held forth on street corners advising the workers to take control, not only of the railways, but of all the industries, until torn off their impromptu platforms by the soldiers.

In Chicago, a terrible conflagration had destroyed nearly the entire "Loop" district while the fire department stood helplessly by, unable to fight fire without water and lacking water because the power stations supplying the pumping plants were without fuel.

It was a day to be remembered till the end of life by those who shared its lurid moments. "Tomorrow we shall know!" Aye, that was a prophetic utterance.

That night another conference of the magnates was held and those who attended seemed not like the domineering masters of yesterday. They came with terror clutching at their hearts, with fear tracing its finger marks on every lineament of their faces, aged, broken, almost pitiable they seemed in their realization of defeat.

They came not to dictate—their day of dictatorship was over—none knew better than they that a new dictatorship had risen on the railroads. They were there in defeat and humiliation, there to offer almost any terms the victorious rails might demand. Only one thing they asked: That the men return to work and the railroads resume operation so that the system itself would not topple and carry them with it into oblivion.

Strong and ruthless in their hours of victory, these men were wise and shrewd in defeat, and they knew that as the cards lay they were beaten —for the time. Their foremost desire was to get industry into operation again. Delay meant final, irrevocable defeat, seizure of the industries by the working masses and abolition of private ownership,

# India's Emergence: Its Inconsistencies

IN November Industrial Pioneer, an item appeared calling attention to the fact that "The Industrial Review for India" "for promoting India's industrial development and foreign relations,"published in English in Berlin, Germany, had reprinted in its September issue an article on labor banks that originally appeared in the August Industrial Pioneer.

The fellow worker in Berlin, Germany, an Indian, who brought this to the Pioneer's notice, now sends the Pioneer the following paragraphs from "The Industrial Review for India" in explanation of its policy:

"It is unusual for an industrial magazine to champion the cause of the working class, yet this Review has announced this as one of its intentions, and has begun to carry out this resolve in an article in the September issue on 'India's Industrialisation,—and some connected social problems.' The Review has a very direct and definite tendency; it is national; and within its national vision the peasants and the working class occupy a position of pre-eminent importance.

" 'We believe,' one of its articles states, 'that no real progress is possible in our country without a thoroughly enlightened working class; we shall pay special attention to the question of organization and education of industrial and agricultural workers, with particular reference to vocational schools, co-operations, etc.' "

Our Berlin-Indian fellow worker goes on to say:

"Some of the nationalist organs in India occasionally give space to revolutionary labor propaganda even when they may not like the principles. For example, the **Indian Nationalist,** weekly of Bombay, gave the program and principles of the "Communist Workers' Movement" — the anti-Moscow (called 4th) Communist International "All Workers' Industrial Unionism"—as given in **The Workers' Dreadnought** of Sylvia Pankhurst of London.

"Not only that the **Indian Nationalist** (Oct. 13, 1923) gave it a place in the 'publicity' columns with definite address for further information of the movement. **I believe that one of these days you will hear from India of some 'capitalist' firm republishing IWW literature and some Indian journal reproducing your articles with approval.**

"That is possible in India because not only the working class but also the business classes are not quite class-conscious and strongly divided on political party principles there yet. The self-defensive national movement still keeps certain synthetic virtues which are long ago lost in the aggressive nationalism of governments in the western and other so-called 'Independent' countries. This is due to the fact that in India there is as yet no 'national self-government' and no 'parliamentary party-political rule.'

"Moreover, there are so many other divisions of long-established character, such as racial and religious divisions, which owing to the weakness created in all sections of the population—the bourgeoisie as well as the proletariat—are very much shunned, feared and abhorred by both today in India. And the national movement in India even more than in Ireland, is attempting—even if wrongly—to be the element for the abolishing of these divisions.

"Of course, the class nature of the Indian struggle for freedom will assert itself even earlier than the political class-cooperation nature of it will achieve anything like success. There is, and will increasingly overshadow, in India the class-struggle against the British imperial order.

"I believe also from my experience with the Indian movement for political liberation, that the break-up of the British empire and the liberation of the working class from politics and government will synchronize in India more than they will in any other country. Hence the two ideas or movements work together side by side without much friction in India."

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wage slavery and all the concomittant attributes of the system they had built up on the blood and tears of labor.

This they realized and their actions were dictated by motives of self-preservation. "Give them anything now—later we may find means of dividing and subduing them—but now, refusal means revolution, the loss of all the industries, and the overthrow of the entire scheme of things."

So had spoken Berryman and so it was decided. The great railroad strike was over. Solidarity of Labor had won as thinking workers had always known it would.

The effect was almost instantaneous. Engines were fired up, cars began to move, power houses received fuel, newspapers had their stock delivered, and before morning the news was broadcasted from every radio station, sent ticking over every telegraph, blazoned on the headlines of every newspaper and when the morning of the eighth day dawned the De Luxe Special slowly moved out of Cuchara into the mocking wilderness of the desert with a much wiser, thinner and more thoughtful crowd of pasengers than had arrived there a few days before.

Judge Barnstone leaned over the brass railing of the observation car and angrily cursed the rails who waved him a derisive farewell. "Damned Reds" was his final comment. "I'm going to have a law passed in New Jersey to prevent a repetition of this outrage."

# Scandinavia and Its Labor Movement

By C. G. ANDERSEN, Stockholm, Sweden

WHEN speaking of Scandinavia we must bear in mind that we are dealing with three countries, three different peoples, three different political entities. They differ primarily because of a different natural environment, combined with a slightly different economic and social development.

The Scandinavian people are generally slow and conservative. The climate in Scandinavia is, on the average, cold and vigorous during the larger portion of the year, (allowing for some difference between Denmark, the southern part of Sweden and the northern part of Norway and Sweden.) Due to that fact alone the inhabitants have been forced to wear heavy clothing practically the whole year around.

Any being, whether human or animal, is greatly hampered in its movements by its covering. As the brain processes are only a result of the external environment, and the physical action that it imposes upon us, then it naturally follows that, when a cold and rigorous climate only makes it possible to perform slow motions that the brain process also is slow or, as we say, conservative. That this is the true explanation of this phenomena is proven by the old sayings and jokes about the farmer, i. e., the hoosier, as compared with the city worker.

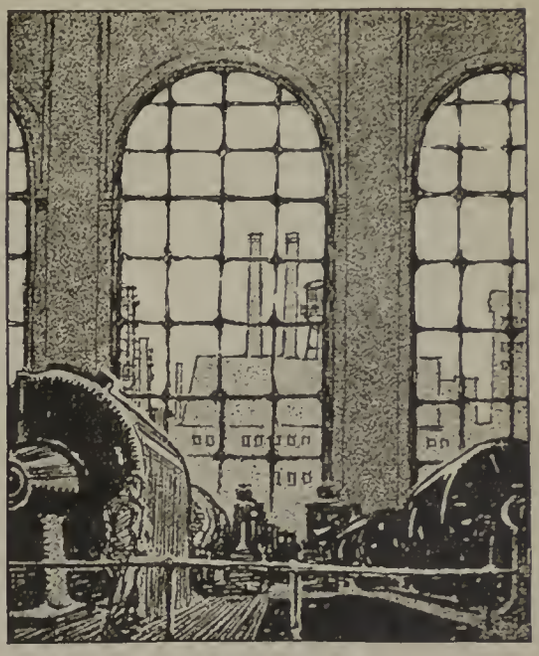
### Conservatism Blocks Development

The conservatism of the Scandinavian people explains the reason why, up to a few years ago, Scandinavia was, in comparison to Germany and England, for instance, very backward in capitalistic and industrial development. The rising, young and vigorous capitalism of the last century could not stand for an out and out conservatism, not even in Scandinavia. A number of individuals of different nationalities, consequently, were impelled, by that great motive force, profit, to invade the three countries and assist in exploiting them. The English built the first railroads and supervised their running until the Swedes learned how to run them themselves. The Poles and kindred nationalities came and developed the steel industry, while the Germans and Scotch started to do business.

Evolution does not allow pure races, and least of all evolution under capitalism. Hence we find that the Scandinavian of today is not a pure race. In some localities it is actually diluted up to 60 percent by other races. The typically tall, blond, blue-eyed type is disappearing.

### The Danish Labor Movement

Denmark has about 25 percent of the Scandinavian population. The latter today, numbers about 10,000,000 people. Denmark has no other natural resource than agriculture. The whole country is, practically speaking, a large dairy farm. It produces an immense amount of dairy products such as butter, milk, fresh and condensed, and cheese, the greater portion of which finds a ready market in England. Big capitalism has not yet been forced to enter that field, so the land and dairy owners have organized co-operative associations for their mutual benefit. Denmark is the land of co-operation.



SWEDISH SUPERPOWER.

As Denmark does not contain any other natural resource than the soil, it also follows that Danish capitalism has not offered any great chances for individuals of other nationalities bent on profit-hunting. This in turn would mean that of all the Scandinavian people, the Danes are the purest. Such is the fact, barring the city of Copenhagen, which is the only industrial, and consequently, cosmopolitan centre of any importance in the country.

### Copenhagen Big Center

The city of Copenhagen, which today numbers slightly more than a half a million inhabitants, is also the centre of nearly all transportation. Through that city the dairy products are exported and from there the imports are distributed. Hence we find that a large percentage of the industrial workers are marine transport workers, numbering approximately fourteen thousand. These are evenly divided into shore working marine workers and sea-going marine workers, or seamen. In this regard, Denmark is more evenly balanced than either Norway or Sweden, in which latter countries the sea-going marine workers outnumber the shore-working force.

The Danish workers are mostly organized. The Danish craft union federation boasts a membership of somewhat more than 100,000 members.

This includes a portion of the argicultural workers.

The Danish labor movement is a true miniature of the German labor movement as it was before the war. The whole membership is subject to the dictatorship of the social democratic party, which, through the labor officials in the craft unions, dictates the policy. In Denmark this is done with less opposition than in either Norway or Sweden. The party rules supreme.

Of course, both the communists and the syndicalists have tried to "buck" the party, but with no result. Today there is plenty of dissatisfaction amongst the workers against the social-democratic party dictatorship, but no organized move to overthrow it.

### History of Danish Movement

The Danish labor movement has its own little history. It is about 35 years old. It was started by the more enlightened workers who labored practically on the economic field only. The craft unions thus came into existence. They, in turn, furnished an opportunity for the ambitious sons of small bourgeoise. The latter saw a chance to secure a fairly decent living by becoming socialists and joining the party that grew up to fight for the interests of the working class.

We talk a lot nowadays about the Bolsheviki, but to any close student of the labor movement there is very little difference between the social-democrats and the Bolsheviki. It is all a difference in degree, not in kind. The Bolsheviki is a governing party as well as an executive party. In time of great economic pressure, as for instance in Russia, the party may have to do the whole governing job. As the pressure grows less, it will have to divide the governing of the workers with the industrial and financial capitalists everywhere.

In Russia today the communist party is only formally the all-governing body. In reality it is perhaps as much the international trusts that dictate under what economic and social conditions the workers shall live. So it is with the Social-Democratic party, even in Denmark.

### Denmark's Storms

Denmark has been, at least lightly, buffeted by economic disorders and social storms in recent years. During that time the social democrats have been given the power to govern. That party has been able to govern the workers more efficiently than any other party. And why not?

The workers live on traditions. The members that are now secure and at ease as integral parts of a well-running machine, were at one time the champions of labor. Their voices are still listened to by large masses and as there is no other party of the workers representing a better idea and a better form of industrial organization in existence, of course the governing is easy.

True enough, the now senile federation and party had at one time its youth. The economic organization, under the guidance of the executive party, the social democrats, once fought by direct action for the eight-hour day. The party made it a political issue. The eight-hour day was won and became a law. Minimum wage scales have also been fought for, won, and become laws. The politicians have worked hard to get power, now they are working hard to retain it.

Of course, all these laws are broken time and again, due to the fact that the economic life is too fluent in comparison with the workings of more primitive political aparatus.

### Unemployment High

Denmark has, in normal times, about 230,000 industrial workers. But during the last few years unemployment has been so high as to affect 60 percent of them. At the present time, however, the percentage is fairly low.

The wild speculation of the Danish financiers was, to a great extent, the cause of this unemployment. The Danish capitalists had heavy investments in Russia, when Russia collapsed. They tried to prevent the Bolsheviki from getting in power, with the result that their capital was put into unprofitable undertakings, such as backing up Denekin and Kolchak and others.

These financial moves could only bring one result: unemployment in Denmark for the workers there, while giving the white generals and their gangs lots of work. A bum investment solely!

Due to such actions, Danish finances are not very sound. The Danish crown is still very much inflated, and no doubt the more powerful English and American capitalists are trying to get at Danish resources. The latest move in that direction is the building of a large assembling plant for Ford automobiles. This plant is at present being erected in Copenhagen, from where the cars will be distributed all over the countries having access to the Baltic sea.

As a result of the inflation of the currency and unemployment, the Danish workers' standard of living has sunk considerably during the last two or three years.

### Sweden, Foremost in Scandinavian Capitalism

Sweden is, geologically, entirely different from Denmark. The southern part of the country resembles Denmark, in so far that it is a plain, with fertile fields capable of raising good grain crops and sugar beets as well as tobacco. Some spots are gravelly and rocky where there are a few small forests.

The middle section contains mostly inland water bodies, small patches of land fit for cultivation and forests, while the northern part is practically all forest and waste land.

But the northern part contains also a vast deposit of high grade iron ore, mountains of it! that is mined by surface mining!

Besides these two natural resources is the long coastline, that provides the basis for the fishing industry.

It is due solely to these natural resources that Sweden ranks foremost in the capitalistic and industrial development of the three Scandinavian countries.

There is yet another factor to consider, namely the super power inherent in the many falls and rivers of the country, a large percentage of which is already harnessed and put to work furnishing motive power and light to municipalities, factories, farms and railroads. The main line of the government-owned railroad, running between Stockholm and Gothenberg, is now under process of electrifition. This is about 360 English miles in length. This is Sweden's greatest natural resource of all, this super power is.

### Most Important in Industry

The most important industry is the metal and machinery industry, including all manufacturing, steelworks and iron ore mining.

The total number employed in this, as we term it, two industries, is 126,000 workers. No exact figures are available for each industry.

The lumber industry comes next. The number of workers in the woods will not come up to that figure, nor are the workers in the woods working the year round as in the States. But most of the lumbering in the woods is done in the winter when the sleighing is good, as all the logs are hauled to the rivers by sleighs. Consequently, this is a seasonable work, performed partly by migratory labor; but also just as much by agricultural workers, renters and small working farmers, as all of them are unable to work the farms in winter.

The forests and lumber industry gave rise to another important industry, namely, the manufacturing of woodpulp for paper, wherein thousands of workers are employed.

Another industry that gets its main raw material from the lumber industry is match manufacturing. Match manufacturing in Sweden has developed into a World trust. Only a few days ago the press mentioned that all the important match manufacturing concerns had merged into one large corporation, including American and Canadian concerns.

The next two industries of large size, are railroad transportation and marine transportation, which employ 50,000 and 25,000 workers respectively. In the last named, there are a little over 10,000 shore-working marine workers; while the rest are seagoing, including officers.

### Swedish Evolution in Capitalism

In order to give the reader an idea of capitalistic and industrial evolution in Sweden we will quote the following figures:

In 1870, that is, 52 years ago, the people engaged in agriculture made up 72 per cent of the total population of the country, while at the present time, that percentage has sunk to only 43.8 per cent.

In other words, the industrial workers have increased in number over 100 per cent in the last fifty years. The above is the relative standing of the two groups. The number of people engaged in agriculture at present is about the same as it was fifty years ago, while the productivity per worker has increased nearly 100 per cent.

The yearly surplus of labor power in the industry of agriculture has been absorbed by the other indus-

TALKING ORGANIZATION.

tries, not, however, in Sweden alone, but in the U. S., where a million have entered the industries during the same period.

Of Sweden's 500,000 industrial workers, about 340,000 are organized. Close to 300,000 are organized in the old craft-union federation. Some 10,000 are organized in independent craft-unions; while the syndicalists number about 30,000.

The craft union federation resembles very much the old German movement and the Danish movement. It is a federation of craft union federations, the latter subdivided in locals. In structure, it is somewhat like the American AFL, with some deviations. For instance, during the last few years the leaders of the craft unions having a membership in the sawmills and a small percentage in the woods have been forced to alter the form of organization from craft to industrial. It is now called The Woods and Saw mill Workers' Industrial Federation.

The same has been done amongst the miners. They are now members of the Industrial Federation of Miners, while the metal and machinery workers are members of the Industrial Federation of Iron and Metal Workers. (The name seems to imply that iron is not a metal in Sweden: The Author.)

### Reasons for Change

The reason why the workers in the above named industries have turned from the craft union form of organization to the industrial form is fundamentally the necessity for concerted action on the part of the workers in at least two of the industries, where we find a strong combination of capital. The syndicalists may have been a contributing factor in turning these federations from the craft into the industrial form, as they have kept up a strong agitation for a class instead of a craft organization of the workers.

However, on closer analysis, we find that the change is only in form, not in spirit. The officials still rule; the workers still recognize the sacred agreement. They will sign agreements in districts. They, in fact, resemble for all the world, the United

Mine Workers of America, with its district scabbery; the only difference is their smaller size.

The third and largest of the three industrial federations mentioned is the Industrial Federation of Iron and Metal Workers.

### Queer Conceptions of Industry

The craft unionists' conception of industry is, to say the least, queer. This "industrial federation" has its members in practically all industries. They are working in the shipbuilding industry, in the manufacturing industry, in the metal and machinery industry, in the railroad repair shops; that is, in the transport industry, as well as in the mining industry. Still it is called an "industrial" federation. Well, it may be that, but it is, most surely, not industrial unionism.

Having in mind their conception of industrial organization then, the motion that was carried at the last congress of the whole craft union federation, providing for a reconstruction of the whole craft union federation from the craft form to the industrial form, same to be accomplished by 1925, is of very little value. It is simply passing the buck.

The Swedish Social-Democratic party, that actually governs the federation, has not had as easy sailing as the Danish party. As the life of a social democratic labor politician is easy, compared with the life of the rank and file worker, the result has been a strong competition for place. Hence we find a number of aggressive individuals, mostly non-workers, using all their power to get in on the pie-card. The Russian revolution gave them a chance. They formed the left wing party, later called the communist party. They challenged the power of the social-democratic party. They charged the party with reactionary tendencies. They worked up quite a following, recruited from the rank and file of the craft unions who all joined the communist party as individuals.

### Political Sophistry

These politicians told the workers to demand industrial organization instead of craft. They established "cells" within the craft unions that agitated for shop committees and job committees, but amid all their activities they never forgot to mention that, of course, parliamentary and political action was of no use to the workers; but, they insisted, it was nevertheless necessary to elect a few politicians to office in order to show up the capitalists and carry on the propaganda. Some half a dozen managed to get elected on that proposition and they are still there. Everything is lovely, they got their cards.

During that process the social democrats had to hustle. They drove through the eight-hour day in no time, as a law, and that law is now enforced with plenty of loopholes as all political laws are. However, the workers have an eight-hour day, in spots. Some of the employers can yet dispense with the law if they can show just cause for such a demand (the law provides for such exceptions), and a great number have availed themselves of that opportunity.

The Social Democratic party has had the reins of government twice, and, paradoxical as it may seem, it was during its terms of government that the greatest reduction in wages took place for the workers. Altogether wages have sunk on an average for all workers about 45 per cent since 1920.

So much for the old craft union federation and its two political parties. We will now proceed to the left, to the syndicalists.

### Swedish Syndicalism

The Swedish syndicalist organization (Sverges Arbetares Central-organisation), was founded in the year 1911. The founders were mostly young men, inspired by anarchist ideas and theories. They were members of the anarchist association, or party, in Swedish it was called, until this year, "Ungsocialistika partiet,"—(the Young Socialist party.)

What they sought was an organization on the economic field that would be free from the despotic rule of the political party, as well as the labor fakir. They rebelled against the conservative spirit and the reactionary ideas of the craft unions that were satisfied with a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work," leaving the social democratic party to realize the new society by capturing the state machinery.

### Syndicalist's Breed

The Syndicalists, being extremists, went to the extreme. Everything that sounded like centralization was denounced. To them centralization meant another state. Consequently they advocated extreme de-centralization. Every local must have absolute autonomy in regards to all of its actions. No power must be left in the hands of the officials, all decisions and all control must rest with the rank and file.

The economic organization that, to them, seemed to correspond with their ideas was the French syndicalist Confederation Generale du Travail. The French syndicalist organization became the model for the Swedish anarchists, and the Swedish syndicalist organization is the result. The anarchists may be sincere rebels but, as a rule, they are too much individualists to be good organizers. Such we find to be the case even here.

The Syndicalists denounced the long drawn out strike and advocated the short lightning strike. They advocated the use of sabotage and the strike on the job instead. They advocated that initiative of action must come from the rank and file. They put special stress on the solidarity of the workers and had as their slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all." They were against the craft unions' sacred contracts, and reserved the right to put forth new demands whenever they saw fit. Further, they advocated that the workers' economic organizations should take over and run the industries and constitute the new society; they were, in short, a revolutionary economic organization.

We will now try to analyze the Swedish syndicalist movement and see how it jibes with the anarchist theories of extreme de-centralization.

The movement grew, in the beginning, at a fairly fast rate. It got a foothold amongst the migratory railroad construction workers that were numerous

at that time. One local after another sprang up, short snappy fights took place, a lot of small strikes were won for higher wages and shorter hours.

In time, the movement embraced nearly all construction workers in the country and as there was then a boom in railroad construction it had quite a number of members. These migratory workers became building workers when the railroad boom subsided and the organization followed them into the towns and cities, into the building industry. Consequently, the syndicalists have the largest membership in the construction industry and in the house building industry amongst the unskilled or laborers.

During the last few years considerable members have also come in from the lumber industry as well as from the metal mining industry. Outside of these four industries the membership is small and scattered.

As we mentioned before, the syndicalists were against the long drawn out strike and advocated the strike on the job instead.

### The Piece Work System

However, they forgot one important thing that practically puts a stop to their tactics, namely, the piece work system. As practically all members nowadays work at piece work, the strike on the job is an impossibility. In order to use that tactic, piece work must be abolished, but as the organization never took a decided stand against it, abolition is out of the question. The members reason this way, being to some extent imbued with anarchist ideas, that it is preferable to work piece work because then you have no slave driver to set the pace, the worker is free to set his own pace.

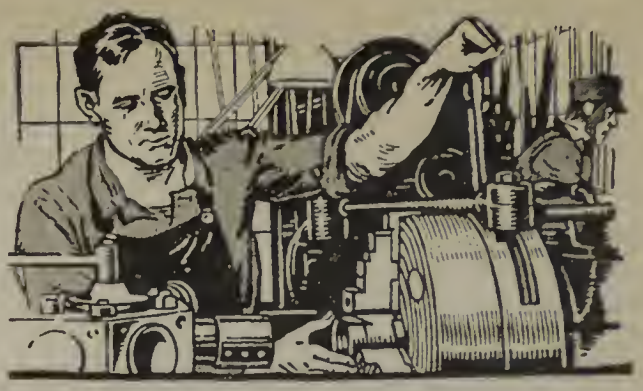
The only tactics left in case the workers need an increase in prices of the piece work is the strike off the job. A strike off the job nowadays means usually a long strike, if the workers' demands amount to anything and as the locals all have full autonomy, being, in theory at least, independent of all the others, each local can strike as long as it likes. The result of such tactics is easily imagined. The workers are usually beaten and forced to go back at the terms of the masters.

But someone may ask, what about the principle of solidarity? Why don't the other workers back them up? Simply because the principle of solidarity is an abstract principle with them while they are working. They are busy trying to make as much as possible at piece work. Seeing that there is no organization that can put the principle of solidarity into practice the members have only one course open as they see it, namely a strike fund to be built up with a compulsory assessment for all members. This last action, which has just been decided by practically the whole majority and sanctioned by the leaders, has just been arrived at. This puts them in the same position as the craft unionists.

### Anarchist's Attitude

The anarchist leaders are against Industrial Unionism, it's "too much centralization."

The leaders of the syndicalists are anti-Marxian. They are against discipline. This is the result: One



THE MACHINE AGE.

agitator, who has been nothing else for the last ten years, firmly believes that the workers can emancipate themselves very easily if they will only practice birth control. At least, that is his subject when speaking to the workers. And it is called syndicalism.

Another professional agitator believes that guild socialism, as it is practiced in England, will give the workers the control of industry. That's syndicalism, too.

Another professional thinks the only solution lies in a movement "back to the land," and as the only land available in Sweden is located up in the northern part of the country, in the arctic circle, and consisting only of morasses, it is a mighty hard job to cultivate it. Nevertheless, quite a few took that awful chance last year on these people's advice and now they will be lucky to get away from there with their lives.

Another professional, by the way, the editor of their daily organ, "Arbetaren," is using all his power of persuasion in trying to prove that the abolishing of piece work is of no value to the workers.

All this is syndicalism. Most of the agitators have been doing nothing else for the last ten years, and most of the editorial staff has been there just as long, or have come from the anarchist paper.

Of course, the organization is not poverty stricken, like the IWW. It owns a fine four-story structure, where the printing plant and headquarters are located. Everything is well furnished and, to an IWW, it does not look very different from the craft unions' headquarters, with their swivel chairs.

### Answering Some Questions

The question is, can the syndicalists do anything for the workers? Look at the above and you will be able to answer the question yourself. We have mentioned before that they are strong de-centralizers, that all the power must rest in the rank and file.

Well, due to the anarchist theories that abhor all laws and strict constitutions, their constitution does not mention how long an official shall hold office, nor how long an agitator shall be on the pay roll. Not only are those important rules lacking in the constitution, most everything else of value to a revolutionary organization is also lacking. As a result the officials can stay in office forever, the paid

# New Light on Civil War and Lincoln

Review by J. E.

SOME there are who believe that the Civil War in this country was a holy crusade in behalf of negro emancipation. It was a war, so we are told, free from gross materialism, that reflected the moral awakening of the North and that appealed pre-eminently to its puritan idealism and sense of justice, as a consequence.

The Civil War, thus conceived, had many aftermaths. One of these was a letter said to have been written in 1864 by President Lincoln to Wm. Elkin. In this letter, Lincoln foresees a time coming when, as a result of the war, corporations and the money power will have been enthroned and the republic destroyed.

Everybody of intelligence knows that that time has actually arrived, that it is already here. We all know, who know anything, that "the power of the people" has been supplanted by that of a small group of industro-financiers, with offices principally in Wall St., New York City. They, through their control of the strategic capital and credit of the nation, are now its real rulers. Their motto is, "The people be damned."

Nevertheless, there are some who would deprive Lincoln of the fame due a seer. They claim that the Elkin letter is not characteristic of Lincoln; that it is, intrinsically, non-Lincolnian in style and thought; and therefore a fabrication.

And here enters a recent biography, Lincoln, by Nathaniel Wright Stephenson. It throws considerable light on the real causes of the Civil War and the trend of Lincoln's mind regarding inherent economic tendencies.

We read, for instance: "A later age (than 1850) has accused the Senate of the United States of being the citadel of Big Business . . . Certain of our historians today think they see in the fifties a virtual slavery trust, a combine of slave interests controlled by the magnates of the institution, and having as real, though informal an existence as has the Steel Trust or the Beef Trust in our own time. This powerful interest allied itself with the capitalists of the Northeast.

"To be highly profitable it (the slavery trust), required virgin soil, and the financial alliance demanded high profits. Early in the 'fifties, the problem of Big Business was the acquisition of fresh soil for slavery. The problem entered politics with the question how could this be brought about without appearing to contradict democracy? The West also had its incipient Big Business. It hinged upon railways . . . . a transcontinental railway was a Western dream . . . Here was a chance for great jockeying among business interests in Congress for slave holders, money lenders, railway promoters to manipulate deals to their heart's content." (PP. 73-74.)

Here then was the beginning of a titanic conflict: the slavery trust wanted more soil for slavery that the railway interests also wanted free for their own grabbing and development purposes. From this embryonic condition ensued a great contributing cause of the Civil War, in which the railroads, headed by the Pennsylvania, particularly, were a decisive factor.

Now comes Lincoln. He, according to the present biographer, "had sensed the fact that money was becoming a power in American politics. He saw that money and slavery tended to become allies, with the inevitable result of a shift of gravity in the American social system . . . The rights of man were being superseded by the rights of wealth. (P. 77.)

"It was because of these views, because he saw slavery allying itself with the spread of plutocratic ideals, that Lincoln entered the battle to prevent its extension." (P. 78.)

This recognition of the growth of plutocracy was practically the turning point in Lincoln's career. He returned to politics and entered on the highroad that took him to the presidency and to martyrdom. It is safe to say that events subsequent to those of the 'fifties tended to broaden and deepen his original ideas on the power of wealth and its supercession of the rights of man. His biographer, while professing to see in Lincoln's career the unfoldment of a mystical personality, largely dependent on its own individuality, actually reveals a great man, born of and moulded by his environment.

Chapter VIII, "A Return to Politics," in this recent Lincoln biography, is a real contribution to the data of economic determinism. It also indicates plainly the probable nature of Lincoln's psychology when he was writing letters in the White House a decade later than the period of which it treats.

The book is also worth reading for its other phases. It is good literature; and, in a simple story, makes personal and real a great subject that tends to become legendary and mythical.

**(Lincoln, Nathaniel Wright Stephenson. Bobb-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind.)**

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agitators the same, as well as the editorial staff. The founders were satisfied when they established the rule that no official shall have a vote at the meetings of the members, only the voice. But where does that lead to?

We know by experience that those who are in a position where they can control the means of expression, namely the press and the public speaking, have also the power to mould the opinion of the body that uses it. The officials and agitators are in that position and consequently they actually dictate the policy of the organization in just as large a degree as the craft unions' leaders do. By analyzing this, we find that the anarchists' theories have led to a centralization of power in the hands of the few, to the same extent in reality, as any other centralized system of organization would.

# A Sentimental Theory of Value

REVIEW By VERN SMITH

JOHN FREDERICK BROWN is a man of considerably greater intelligence than any of the college economists I have ever had a chance to read; certainly his criticism of the marginal utilitarians and the classicists in the science of economics, are evidence of keen analytical ability, and a considerable habit of study, combined with what is in many instances, a happy turn of phraseology.

But the book he wrote is a baffling thing, because just when you find Brown on the track of an elusive economic truth, and you are leaning over the saddle and enjoying the hunt, Brown suddenly calls off his dogs, shifts his coat, twists his collar around in front, and you have to listen to a sermon from a Unitarian preacher, one of the liberal sort, yes, not opposed to labor unions nor to birth control, but a sentimentalist, and an incurable optimist, urging with you at great length as to what the method of distribution of the products of labor shall be, in the New Society, or as he calls it, "The New Era."

Sometimes it seems as though Brown realizes this fault, and attempts to defend himself. At any rate, whether for protection or not, he insists that economics is not a science, and gives the strangely contradictory evidence of the modern economists to prove his point. He presents in a sort of deadly parallel definitions of value by one after another of the great school men of modern times, who call themselves teachers of economics, and are recognized as such by the capitalists. It is really ridiculous to see how badly they agree. Then he says, in effect, "If these authorities fail to create any common basis for their 'science,' how much of a science can it be?"

### Value Theory Basic

It is understood by all that the theory of value is at the basis of every system of economics. It was the beginning of the discussion, so to speak, and the last word has not been spoken yet, and will not be, as long as it is in the interest of some ruling class to obscure the issue. The question that must not be answered if capitalism is to continue teaching economics, is, "How much of my possessions shall exchange for a given quantity of thine?" The whole matter of rent, profit, interest, wages, working conditions, standard of living, even population and social institutions will depend on the answer which the great masses of the people make to the problem of value.

Well, this is alright, and even true, as far as it goes. It is proper enough, so far as I can see, to get together a lot of speculation as to what men should have in return for their labor under a future society that includes, so Brown says, a strict classification of all workers into apprentices, on part time pay, journeymen on full time, masters

or foremen on time and a quarter, perhaps, and veterans, on part time again.

We are all interested in such things, therefore it is good to point out that in the present time of injustice, there is great disparity in the pay of workers, all of whom work equally hard. It is worth while to be reminded that the unions have some of them become job trusts, and that they insist on higher pay for their members than can be obtained by the unorganized, even those whom they refuse to permit to organize.

It is not a bad thing to occasionally read long historical accounts of the way in which agricultural and unskilled work in general was forced into degraded and lowly paid categories, while the craftsmen, who may really not have any greater ability or knowledge than the farmer, nor any greater strength of back or mind than the mucker will get higher wages.

### A Protest

But I, for one, do protest when all this is used as either a theory of value, or the proof of such a theory. It is nothing of the sort. It is general information, and possible as speculation, and it may be all right as part of a code of ethics, but it does not lead to an answer to the question: "For what part of your product, or possessions, shall one unit of my product exchange?"

I do not wish to be misunderstood as attacking the Brown conclusion. Wherever he got it (it is far from being original), there is no serious fault in it, as such. I think this is because it does not mean what Brown thinks it means. Here is the theory, in his own words: "Equal compensation, hour for hour, for all kinds of useful work, of

standard efficiency, male or female." This, says Brown, is the absolute truth, "true under private ownership of capital as under collective ownership; true along with the existence of private property in land or without; true irrespective of interest, and rent."

It is only fair to state that this must not be interpreted as meaning that Brown thinks that goods actually do exchange this way, under capitalism—a manifest absurdity—but only that they ought to so exchange. That is exactly what is the trouble with the Brown theory of value. It is not an explanation of why goods exchange in certain proportions, but a program, a proposition, a plan for the exchanging of goods, when men are better, as Brown says, quoting Tennyson, when they

"Move upward, working out the beast,
"And let the ape and tiger die."

Much of Brown's argument is Marxian. He even uses such terminology as "exchange value," and "use value," and even more so, when defending his use of the word "useful," he says such things as, "Utility explains value as a quality, and labor cost explains it from the quantity side," a very characteristically Marxian expression.

### A Nasty Stab

It is therefore surprising to find him, usually so sweet and good-tempered, taking a nasty stab at Marx, on page 178 of his book, on which he declares, " . . . he (Marx) certainly has not given us a theory of value that is rational and consistent with facts. Marx starts with the assumption that all commodities exchange in the everyday market at their true values; while I start from the exact opposite, that the world's value estimates of both the commodities and the labor that produces them are false and cruelly unjust, and that this constitutes a fundamental cause of all economic evils. If it were true that commodities exchange at their just values, then economic reformers would be without a cause, for there would be nothing economic to reform, and we could sit down, fold our hands, and say: "God is in his heaven, all is well with the world."

This of course, is a sheer misstatement of the Marxian position. The Marxian definition of value is that it consists of the amount of socially necessary labor time required for the reproduction of the articles in question. The words "socially necessary," as explained by Marx, include all that Brown and the moralists, the marginal utilitarians, the cost of production group, the psychologists and the whole Hedonist school have to say about the necessity of the work's being useful, or standard quality, exercised under given technique, male or female, man or child, etc., some of which Brown thinks he has discovered by himself.

But Marx is very careful to say that goods do **not** exchange at this value. They exchange at a price, which is based on exchange value, and that, too, may differ at times, though not enormously, from value. The Marxian value explains why an automobile costs more than a wheel-barrow—because it contains more labor. But it does not say that the automobile must or should sell on the market at its value. Marx himself points out that if demand exceeds the supply by, say ten percent, then while that condition lasts, and on the average, goods can be sold for ten percent above exchange value—which is the secret of monopolies and monopoly prices—and the answer of another question which bothers Brown.

### Beauty of Marxian Theory

The beauty of the Marxian theory of value is that it provides just what Brown's theory does not, an adequate measure for the exchange value of goods in the present society, and the proof of it is that the prices of goods, average prices that is, are actually calculable variants from this exchange value based on labor time.

Neither is the second jibe correct, that we have nothing to do, if goods exchange at their just values, or as Marx would say, when not oversimplifying, "near their values." There is still the enormous gap between the value of labor, which is the concrete product of human toil, and the value of the labor power, which is what the worker gets paid for. The worker gets wages enough to live on, that is the price of his labor power, something near the value of it. But he produces much more than this, and that the employer takes. The IWW is going to considerable trouble to do something about it.

So much for value. And as for the rest: well, the author shows his good will toward mankind, and takes a commendable interest in the welfare of laboring men. He believes in "a growing spirit of democracy," believes we have "political equality," believes in "the greater mental alertness of modern young people, with the general all-round increase in intelligence."

On my part, I continue to feel skeptical about these things. And I am still more doubtful as to whether the future society will take any orders from us. If it be really true that there is a constant growth in intelligence, then we are exceedingly presumptuous if we tell this next generation of supermen how to order things, and if the contrary is true it won't do any good to tell them what to do next, for they won't do it.

### "Every One According To His Stocks"

Nor do I mean that there should be no discussion of Utopias. Man when he is not driven or fleeing, is running towards an ideal. It is stimulating and encouraging to consider all the various possibilities of the future, even the method of distribution, as for instance, true communism (let every one take all he wants, as long as it lasts), and the various modified communisms (to every man according to his needs, or to every man an equal amount, and Brown's theory, to every man equal pay by the hour), also the theory, let each man take the value of his products, with its variations. But it is unnecesarry and it leads to error

# Out of the Mouths of Others

## THE LAWLESS RICH!

PLEASE remember that a very large and influential portion of the American Nation is against Prohibition and also that it would be perfectly impossible for goods to enter New York if the Authorities were seriously concerned to prevent such entry. **Yet over 1,800,000 cases of whiskey were landed last year in New York and spirits and wines are served openly at bars and restaurants.**—Lt. Col. Sir Brodrick Hartwell in a London circular inviting contributions to his Whiskey Export Business.

## UNION LABOR, IS THIS TRUE?

IN 1917 the sheriffs of Pennsyvania appeared as a body before the legislature of Pennsylvania to ask for a large numerical increase of the force, and for a raise in pay for every man on it—and a strong union labor vote, backing his appeal, triumphantly carried the measure. Union labor at that time had the I. W. W.s fresh in mind, from whose assaults the ever-ready state police had, at their call, come times without number to save them.—Farm and Fireside, Dec., 1923.

## ONLY BEGUN?

"WE have not yet begun history in capitalism," Premier Mussolini said in an interview printed in the Giornale d'Italia. "Capitalism still is in its prehistoric stage. When it is considered that there are only a few nuclei of capital in England, France and Germany and some embryonic evidence of it in Italy, while there are vast regions in the Balkans and Russia untouched by modern capitalism, it is easy to see that the real history of capitalism has not begun."

## CONSCRIPT PROPERTY!

**THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, in its issue of November 15, advances editorially its proposal for ending war, or at least greatly lessening its likelihood: "The adoption of a constitutional amendment substantially as follows: In the event of a declaration of war, the property, equally with the persons, lives, and liberties of all citizens shall be subject to conscription for the defense of the Nation, and it shall be the duty of the President to propose and of Congress to enact the legislation necessary to give effect to this amendment.**

**The Monitor does not consider its plan a panacea for international troubles but believes that wide discussion of it would be fruitful.**

## BLASPHEMY

IN Lancaster, Ohio, in the year 1826, some railroad and telegraph promoters requested the use of a school house to bring the proposition before the people. The school board replied: "You are welcome to use the school house to discuss all proper questions in but as for such things as railroads and telegraph lines, they are impossible and rank infidelity. If God had intended that His intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of 15 miles an hour by steam, He would have foretold it through His Holy prophets."

## COMMONS ON LABOR BANKS

"IT'S too bad that the labor banks seem to be making a success," said Professor John R. Commons, author of the History of Labor in the United States, when he visited Brookwood Labor College on November 6th. "Labor surely will fail if it competes with business in the field of business, for the psychologies of labor and business are fundamentally different. Labor unions depend upon a spirit of sympathy and solidarity, while business depends upon an ability to say 'No' to one's best friend. The real business of labor is to lay down the rules for capitalism as it affects industry.

"Company unions?" said Professor Commons with scorn. "Oh, company unions have nothing to do with trade unionism. They are just labor management."

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to try at this time, to decide just which one of these the commonwealth of toil will adopt, if not something else altogether. They are all better than capitalism, which operates on the theory of, "to everyone according to his block of stock."

(**New Era Economics.** John Frederick Brown, B. S., Indianapolis, Indiana.)

## THEIR NOBLE OBJECT

THE National Security League, the American Legion, the Better American Federation of California, the Sons of the American Revolution, the National Chamber of Commerce—are all using their utmost influence in the schools in the name of patriotism, but in reality for the purpose of staving off any change in the present social order that would interfere with their own privileges, says Henry R. Lenville, President New York Teachers' Union.

**Study the Principles, Objects and Methods of the IWW by Reading Industrial Pioneer**

# Our Paternalistic Press' Health Hints

GENEROUS beyond description is the daily press of the country. All sorts of departments are furnished for the consumption of the Robot. Besides the regulation thought moulding bunk that they dish out as literature, philosophy, and general culture, they also have "health and beauty" advice.

As to beauty, well, ours is perfect and so we'll leave that to some less fortunate creature; but the health hints, for instance, are a treasure. Here is one quarter column that is chuck full of any thing but the mean contempt they hold the workers in. We quote:

**"Bother the Butcher"**

"It is wasteful for working people to eat meat (or fish or eggs or fowl) more than once a day in cool weather, and injurious for them to eat it more than three times a week in hot weather."

"Working people," you see, are a different specie. The same as work horses, for example.

"The abuse of meat eating is not only harmful to health but unpatriotic."

The worker must be kept patriotic and he must be shown where he is more patriotic than the rich brute, whom the above paper "despises" so terribly.

"A fat, overfed, underworked person who has the temerity to sit down to eat meat twice a day or meat and fish at the same meal, ought to be fined heavily for each offense"—and he is, as you know.

Just now we come to realize why the courts are so overcrowded with all kinds of law suits. 99 percent of them no doubt are "fat, overfed, underworked" persons who had the "temerity" to sit down and eat meat "twice a day" or meat and fish at one meal.

"A worker can endure longer without meat in his diet than with it. He can withstand high temperature much more easily without meat than with it."

A mule can work much better on a certain sort of hay than on others. A machine should be fed a certain kind of lubrication in preference to some other kind, etc. The high esteem they hold the workers in, is second to none.

**The "Best" Yet!**

And the best is still to come:

"Macaroni, spaghetti or noodles cooked in broth and served with mere dabs of gravy or meat; stews of a hodgepodge of vegetables just flavoured with a chunk of the cheapest cut of meat, are worth while"

The "cheapest cut of meat" is rich. You mustn't get the best as is prescribed the rich lady, but the cheapest. Of course if you'll persist in buying the cheapest of every thing, you'll not note the deficit in your accounts so much each week and if you are underfed and pale and sickly looking you can cover that up by a "dab" of rouge or powder but you can still work. And if you should become sick and incapacitated for a time, there are plenty of "free" institutions supported for your sake where you can receive treatment according to your worth.—A work horse.

But the best is yet to come, Ponder over this gem.

"The evening meal should be the substantial meal of the day for all who work in daytime and rest at night. Mid-day dinner is wrong for busy people. In fact, people who take breakfast at about 8 a.m. are often more healthy and efficient if they take no more food until 6 p.m. dinner, then a light lunch at bedtime if desired."

That's just what we say, why not skip a meal? What's the good of eating three meals a day any way? Two are plenty and then maybe it can be reduced to one and then to none. It will be cheaper in the long run and then one would hardly need have any lunch hour at all. Just keep on working all the day long and don't worry about eats at all. A certain farmer of international fame, tried the same method on his horse at one time. Well the horse, very nearly, got used to it, when he took a foolish notion to play a prank on the astute farmer and one morning he decided to die, and die he did. The thrifty farmer had the shock of his life, but perhaps he has had better luck in other similar attempts, the story does not say.

**Some Recollection!**

However, as humans go, it seems to work out differently. We recall the time when we were a shrimp of a worker and we began to work early in our young life; well, we used to eat breakfast as usual and somehow the noon hour never came around early enough.

At about 10:30 there used to appear a certain mysterious rumbling in a certain part of our anatomy and before long, we used to notice ourself munching away on an apple or two, or so. Nor were we alone in the enterprise, the entire table of faces would very soon be set in motion, and small quarters of fruit and even of plain coarse bread would be traveling the rounds and be devoured in due course of time. And strange to say, at noon we were just as famished as at 10:30. Well, guess we weren't the right kind of animals, we evidently didn't have the proper psychology of things, and we just kept on indulging ourselves to our heart's content.

We are however, inclined to commend the idea, it would certainly prove beneficial in one way; workers could then work for less pay and work the whole day without a break and naturally, for less pay. Fine idea, no doubt. But then, perhaps the worm may turn some day and put paternalistic masters where they would like to see us, i. e., starving, submissive slaves.

J. D. C.

# The Political Situation in Italy

By M. DE CIAMPIS

THE Faseists' dietatorship that has followed the crisis of the bourgeois regime in Italy has been so far suceessful only in creating more politieal and economie chaos, in persecuting relentlessly with a reaetionary high hand all those that disagree with it, in giving a free hand to all Labor baiters so that they might more easily enjoy the blessings of a government that came to power in behalf of the war industries' eaptains and finaneiers.

It is hard to tell how things in that country are. Very few people are outspoken in what they think and feel about the present state of affairs. Furthermore, a striet censorship covers up all the news of every day social life, so that only that sympathetic to Faseism is eireulated. Who ever dares violate the rulings of the gang of marauders that keeps Italy under the iron heel of ultra-reaetionary capital is sure to get his or her head split open. Justice is a thing of the past. What Mussolini say or does is right; because in his madness and self eonceit, he assumes the pose of a demi-god—a malady very eontagious in the Eternal City where many of his like in ancient times thought of themselves in like manner.

This Fall Italy has gone through the so-ealled faseist "celebration of vietory" at the end of a year of fascisti rule. In many eities, Mussolini and his henchmen have paraded the streets and shown the skeptic populace the strength of his dietatorship. In a few places the workers remembering what has been done to them, have given the faseist' chieftains a signifieantly silent and cold reeeption. In Turin, for instanee, though starving, they went even so far as subseribing many thousands of lire to a radieal publication in protest. In others, they didn't give a hang for the "eelebration" and stayed at home rather than give homage to a bitter and deelared enemy.

Force, violenee and eorruption have been the things on the order of the day of fascists' misdoing in the land that only a little more than 3 years ago was in the throes of a soeial revolution. Where the elub of the White guards eould not work sueessfully, corruption has been applied. Many weak souls, thus bought, are now doing what they ean for their new masters. But, notwithstanding all this, the whole Italian politieal situation is far from being eheerful. The turncoats, who, with the excuse of the war, betrayed the working class, dare not ask the people for its judgment.

Thanks to Fascism, the bourgeois has regained its faith and power. Its aseendaney over the workers has been established anew. Wages have gone down and working hours lengthened in factories and work-shops. Better working eonditions have also been lost. Workers nowhere are anymore proteeted by their unions. No Labor organization, the skeleton of what remains, dares challenge all this state of things. One of those that could challenge Fascism had they the number and the authority of all others: the Syndicalist Union, have its membership either in jail or scattered to the four corners of the World. Nevertheless, cases of open rebellion often oeeur. Where the working class lose its patience, it goes on strike and these strikes are frequently suppressed by the use of the army and squads of mischief-making fascists. The revolutionary spirit that flared up so well among the workers right after the war cannot be suppressed and may, who ean tell? at any time do things that now perhaps are unlooked for.

The Faseists elaim that they have organized 2,000,000 of workers in their "eorporations." This is a lie; the figures are far below those given. One thing is sure and that is that half the amount of those that have been indueted into these "eorporations" are employers, business men and politieians. Peaee is far from being aehieved in such organizations. I have heard of eases where the workers so organized have united themselves and made war;—elass war, on their employers. In many instanees employers have been mereilessly beaten by the workers organized in the faseist "corporations." Forbidden to strike, these workers had the only escape in maintaining somewhat better eonditions on the job by making threats and beating their masters. But these are exceptions and prove that it will not do to cow people into submission and have the upper hand over them. Somehow or other they will take revenge!

The political parties offer a sad spectaele of impotency and naivete. All radical parties seem to have lost themselves in splitting hairs. They foster and ereate dissension and bad feelings among the workers. It seems that the Soeialist party, more than any other, is hopelessly divided. From it have come many new factions, namely: the social-unitarians, the maximalists, the so-called third-internationalists apart from the communists, and finally the yellow soeialists in sympathy with Faseism and headed by that most shifty of men known as Enrico Ferri. So, among the soeialists of all shades there is no such a thing as unity of thought and action. Every faction is bent to ridicule and nullify the other. Many old time socialists in disgust have retired from the movement and hope sincerely that some time in the future some sanity may show its face. The fact is that the entire political soeialist movement has utterly failed to do its duty towards the working class, as it has many times promised. It rests now upon the workers to organize themselves on the economic field to brandish, without fear and with steadiness and intelligence, the axe of Labor's revindication.

The country has gone into the hands of the

war profiteers garbed as fascists and nationalists. What they say and do is law, and anyone that does not like things as they have been made, are lost. Many times press dispatches have brought us the news how this or that politician or statesman has been assaulted in the streets or at home. We can, therefore, imagine how hard the lot of the workers is. Here is a document that speaks for itself. It is quoted from The Nation for December 12:

**"Italys' Terror Goes On**

"Little is heard of disorder or dissatisfaction in Italy but occasionaly an article is published like that printed below, indicating continued resistance to Fascist rule.

"To the Workers and Workers' Organizations of all countries:

"As reaction in Italy proceeds with its work of destruction, the breaking up of surviving syndical organizations continues along with the persecution and murder of workers, while the prisons are still being crowded with victims. The courts are overrun by comrades involved in cases which have been forced to trial by the police and judicial authorities during the last three years of close cooperation between the courts, the police, and Fascism. . . . .

"Even in these last few days the Arezzo trials against the Valdarno miners and the Minervino Murge peasants have both resulted in outrageous verdicts against our comrades, who were insulted with impunity in the courtrooms by the lawyers, the press men, and the Fascist caliphs, who in some cases even attempted to lynch the condemned men. During the last few days the comrades of Valdarno, Minervino Murge, and Cerignola have been sentenced to terms amounting altogether to more than fifteen centuries. The sentences vary from 10, 20, to 30 years, very few being granted easier terms.

"Comrades! . . . .

"Think of the victims in these life and death struggles; think of these comrades who may perhaps never leave their cells, because they refuse to ask for pardon from the judges of bourgeois reaction.

**The Central Committee of the Italian Syndicalist Union."**

So goes the sad story! . . . .

## Co-Operation on Great Lakes

THE Spring season is likely to see an extensive campaign in the cities along the great lakes. The lake cities are great ore-unloading and steel and metal manufacturing centers, like Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Buffalo, for instance, not to mention Lorain, Ashtabula and Erie. Both the Marine Transport Workers' and the Metal and Machinery Workers' industrial unions, find them places for recruiting and upbuilding; and both are acting in co-operation with each other to obtain the best results.

A spring conference to crystallize the various activities is suggested by the more active members interested. It's a good suggestion and should be pushed.

## Don't be an Airplane Poet

THE poet sings:

The city's hands are lean and gray
The city's hands are strong;
They wind about your throat by day
They strangle all night long—

So he'd take an airplane and fly away from it all—thus symbolizing man's triumph over things earthy.

But the city worker, if he's intelligent, does not go up in the air, but stays on the earth. Realizing that there aren't enough airplanes to go around, he organizes industrially to break that strangle-hold and make the city a decent place to work and live in.

## SUBSCRIBE FOR THE PIONEER.
### Here's What One Subscriber Says Of It.

Oakland, California.

Enclosed is money order for year's subscription to your magazine. Have been buying it at hall, 8th Street, until now.

**The latest number, November, is a gem. Ellis' poem, "San Quentin," is a splendid thing. "The Loop" came a close second.**

By the way, I see the long poem on the same page, after the manner of Kipling, is attributed to him. This must be in the nature of satire, is it not? as Kipling is too imperialistic to write such radical stuff. However, it's a cracker-jack poem.

**I have read all the leading magazines, Bookman, Harper's, Scribner's Liberator, etc., and none have as good poems as contained in your latest magazine.**

Chaplin's biography of Hill is a well written, interesting article. The drawing I especially liked.

Start my magazine with the December number.

# "Tired Radicals"

By JAMES MORRIS

WHEN a "revolutionist" of ordinary ability and average intelligence settles down to the every day life of a blasé radical he begins to display a nonchalant attitude toward important questions of the day.

His reading matter is carefully (and sometimes prayerfully) selected and opinions offered with an air of condescension. The slave class is viewed from a lofty altitude and the contempt he holds for the uninitiated finds expression in a vicious denunciation of all things he once held worth while.

Although he may be ever on the alert to contest an error or correct a mis-statement the continued repetition of accepted principles palls upon his mind and leaves him indifferent to the latest contributions to the already voluminous literature of the labor movement.

He is already drifting out of the radical movement and is merely stepping carefully, providing himself with a justification for his "falling from grace" as he goes along.

### Self-Sufficient

In time he becomes an entity in himself, an ex-radical and an authority upon all questions relating directly and remotely to the labor movement. He knows too much to associate himself with any party or group. He is satisfied to remain freezingly neutral. The slave class becomes his pet anathema and upon their unsuspecting heads he pours the vials of his wrath.

We can all agree, of course, that the workers are ignorant, mentally lazy, and all that our ex-radical charges them with being but it might be as well to suggest that "people who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones."

It has been mighty hard for us to understand or explain the docility and backwardness of our class and while we may in extenuation offer for them the excuse of ignorance we find it extremely difficult to account for the actions of those who are presumed to be "educated." Samuel Johnson once said that some men are "blinded by the dust of knowledge."

Can this be said of the ex-radical and must we therefore, revise our ideas on what constitutes "ignorance" and "knowledge"? Before we attempt this however, it would be well to give some attention to the ex-radical and see if we can understand him. Because the ex-radical is relatively unimportant and has very little influence on the trend of the labor movement, very little attention has been paid him.

However, on one of my not too frequent visits to the public library, I stumbled across a small volume with the hopeful title of "The Tired Radicals," by Walter Weyl. Upon examination I found that this book was not devoted exclusively to a consideration of tired radicals, being rather a collection of short papers on a variety of subjects. But notwithstanding the extreme brevity of the author on the subject of worn-out rebels, he has penned his protest in a particularly brilliant manner.

### His Dream

"If I were the United States of America," says Mr. Weyl, "I would give a few acres, an agreeable wife, two or three children and a sufficient tale of kine and swines to every discouraged radical .... I would make him sovereign over these acres and leave him there and forget him. For progress is halted by the tired radicals who do not know they have ceased to be radicals." Mr. Weyl understands the tired radicals well enough to know just what they desire most of all. It is not that farming is unusually attractive to them but in their desire to remove themselves "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife" anything that promises relief is satisfactory. Could anything be more grotesque than a worldly wise ex-radical going the hoosier one better and trying to out-bourgeois the bourgeois?

"Now they decline," continues the author, "into feeble dwarfed enthusiasms, the pale ghosts of their former ambitions." The poor creatures are burnt out. The movement has, to them, become a sordid, hopeless thing but "there is no use crying over those who are graduated out of radicalism, for young trees grow where the old trees die."

And with this optimistic tilt Mr. Weyl leaves the tired radicals to the tender mercies of approaching disillusionment.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Weyl has seen fit to generalize and deal with the tired radicals as a whole. We, of the IWW are more familiar with the ex-wobbly than we are with his prototype from the various socialist or communist groups. The ex-wobbly is however, as an ex-radical, somewhat different from the remainder of the tribe. He is, usually, a radical by environment although there are any number of ex-wobblies who, like Varney, "came into the IWW on a wave of emotion," and quit when the emotional urge drove them up against the brutal realities of the class struggle. With these latter we are not unduly concerned as they choose "a philosophy to suit their nerves, as one chooses a wall paper. Give them a war or some other excitement and the emotion is deflected and their radical ideas cease upon the midnight without pain."

### Bucking Capitalism Alone

But why should a worker, claiming to understand the labor movement, quit and turn a cold shoulder upon the only thing that can destroy a system that enslaves him and his class. The teachings of the IWW coupled with the every day experiences of the workers is surely enough to convince any intelligent slave how futile it is to buck capitalism alone. Slavery is everywhere and do what we will we cannot possibly avoid it. The ex-wobbly has heard this argued out before and considers it "old stuff" unworthy of further consideration.

Our "educated" ex-wobblies hate to be called "ignorant" but at the present moment I cannot think of a more appropriate term. If ignorance means anything, it means a lack of knowledge and our ex-wobblies certainly do not know that victories are gained by those who persevere and not by those who quit because the fight is prolonged. How many of us vociferously cheer the Russian Peasants for pulling their little affair. And yet it took close to three hundred years of effort, of failure, before success finally came.

Most ex-wobblies will tell you they are "well read" and for your edification will quote chapter and paragraph from Marx, Dietzgen, Hegel or any philosopher extinct or extant but rarely do they read to learn. They are like the tired business man who wants to be in with the boys by going to the right kind of plays and by reading the right kind of books, not because the plays and the books are good or bad but because it gives one the outward appearance of refinement. It is, however, much easier to conform than to create though not so gainful.

### Small Relief

If the knowledge of those who "fall by the wayside" permits them to suffer in silence a grave social injustice we feel impelled to say that time will show that they are, as Tom Moore has it, "beholding heaven and feeling hell." The relief the ex-wobblies feel in withdrawing from the struggle is of short duration and our wise friends will learn to their sorrow that capitalism is no respecter of persons.

The hell of capitalism is for all of us and the only way out is over the corpse of the system itself.

Capitalism is like a ship wrecked far out at sea. Those who would survive must bend to the oar and no amount of "logic" could justify a refusal to help because the shore was a long way off. It is this phase of the question that doesn't suggest itself to the ex-wobblies. Of what use is there then in a "knowledge" that so strangely resembles "ignorance," in a "wisdom" that savours of foolishness, in a "shrewdness" that has the taint of cowardice.

But a curse upon the ambiguity of language. Mr. Weyl has started us upon an excursion of understanding and every radical wobbly or otherwise can read his refreshingly original criticism with enjoyment. We are learning to take this labor movement seriously, satisfied that it is big enough to be worthy of a life's concentration. To hold out a hope of immediate relief is chimerical. Capitalism is too strongly entrenched and the workers too work-worn and weary to render possible a sudden transformation.

The system has to develop some more and the workers have to assimilate knowledge, partly from books but mainly from experience before we can even think of ushering in the new order of things. And if we are to be real rebels we must attain a sense of proportion, neither rushing to the heights of a hectic enthusiasm nor sinking to the depths of despair and dejectedness.

## What Unions are Interested In

"RECENT Developments in the American Labor Movement," written by Harry W. Laidler, as "a syllabus for discussion groups," is a ten-cent pamphlet that every hide-bound orthodox worker would do well to read. It will cause him to realize that the organized workers of this country are interested in more things than are dreamt of in his own very limited philosophy. The bibliography attached to each of the six chapters will further admit him to "a far-flung" field of fact and speculation, such as will shake his orthodoxy and cause it to loosen up some.

These six chapters are headed: 1. Towards A Labor Party; 2. A Program of Nationalization; 3. Co-operation and Labor Banking; 4. Workers' Education; 5. Labor Journalism, Research, Health; 6. Further Features.

We are told in the summary of the final chapter: **"The union must make every effort to supply all the needs of its members, material, social and spiritual."** This will hit hard those who believe the union is solely a pork chop institution. It also goes to show that some union ideas of the functions of unionism are expanding.

In the "Introduction," under the sub-division "Groups in American Labor," we find the following:

"The IWW advocates an industrial rather than a craft form of organization and among its stated aims is the abolition of the wage system and the forming of 'the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.' Its membership—small in proportion to its influence—exists chiefly among migratory workers on the farm, in the lumber camps and on the seaboard. Government persecution during and after the war has greatly interfered with its activities."

This will give an idea of both the tone and the contents of this pamphlet.

**(Recent Developments in the American Labor Movement, Harry Laidler. League for Industrial Democracy, 70 5th Ave, N. Y. City.)**

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I can find no better advice to offer all radicals than that of Francis Bacon who says:

"To spend too much time in study is sloth; to use them (studies) too much for ornament is affectation; to make judgement wholly by their rules, is the humor of a scholar. They perfect nature and are perfected by experience, for natural abilities are like natural plants that need pruning, by study, and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded by experience. Read not to contradict nor confute, nor to believe and take for granted nor to find talk and discussion but to weigh and consider."

As T-bone Slim might say "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

**BOOST THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**

# WOBBLES

## RIGHT WHERE IT BELONGED!

"Cockey" was on the bum and hungry in the town of Ontario, California. He selected himself a house and broached it from the back door for a bite to eat. Getting no response to his persistent pounding he tried the front. A lady came to the door and asked what he wanted. "Cockey" stated his wish.

After a lengthy wait she reappeared holding at arm's length two crackers with a sardine between them. She handed this tiny sandwich to "Cockey" saying with a big smile:

"Here is some fish for you, and, you know, fish is good for the brain."

Quick as a flash "Cockey" reached for the sandwich and extracting the sardine he handed it back to the smiling lady with the words:

"Ma'am, I thank you for the bread, but I can positively not accept the fish—you need that yourself."

Her smile gone, the lady (?) slammed the door.

## GOT IN WRONG DRAFT

Mike—Say, Clancy, did you hear about Pat having pneumonia?

Pat—Sure, and that's tough luck; how did he get it?

Mike—Oh, working in an open shop.

## OUR KIDS AT SCHOOL

Teacher—"Willie, have you whispered today without permission?"

Willie—"Only wunst."

Teacher—"Johnny, should Willie have said 'wunst'?"

Johnny—"No'm, he should have said twict."

## REAL EDUCATION

"An educated person is a man who can read a newspaper without being humbugged by it."—**St. John Ervine.**

## CHANGE

"We never will live to see it,"—But the boss is afraid it will come in his time.

## SELDOM SEEN

**Freight Agent** (to applicant for a job): "You know how to read?"

**Applicant:** Yes, indeed, I'm good with 'ones' and 'twos'; the 'fives' and 'tens' bother me a little; the 'twenties' got me stumped.

I. W. W. AGITATES EVEN THE SCISSORBILLS IN THE TENEMENTS.

## Somebody's Boy

By VERA MOLLER

Into the shadow of grated walls
Where a dreary blackness lay.
Into a cell thru the long cold halls
Somebody's boy was brought one day.
Somebody's boy and God help him now
For that very touch of girlish grace,
And the youthful bloom on that boyish cheek
Shall be his curse in that hellish place.
Somebody's boy and sick horror reels
To picture the fate that before him lies.

You may weep and curse at the hissing whip
But must breathe some things with averted eyes.
Somebody's boy and he was not bad,
Just weak and headlong—a loathsome breath
Shall blast that body, and better far,
That it were the food of the worms of death.
Somebody's boy is dragged today
Down thru foul depths, the perverts prey,
In the place where they sent him to be **reformed?**
Somebody's boy and who shall pay?
Oh, it matters little who pays the price,
They can't give back what is clean and best
To somebody's boy—But, ho, workers, rise,
There are other boys and we'll save the rest!

# The Workers' Press: How to Develop It

IN a recent issue of Industrial Solidarity (No. 266, Dec. 8, 1923) there appeared some correspondence from Westfield, Mass., telling how a meeting of railroad workers there, went on record to boycott "The Springfield Union" because of its false reports about wages and conditions in the industry.

"Some of the men," writes the correspondent, "suggested the IWW papers. Industrial Solidarity, Industrial Worker and Industrial Pioneer, as proper sources of information."

And he continues: "One man said, "For a long time the capitalist press poisoned our minds and for a long time we had no place where we could tell the truth or read the truth. Now the workers' papers afford such an opportunity."

This is at once a most striking expose of the nature of the capitalist press and an encouraging recognition of the value of the labor press. It ought to stimulate activity in behalf of the latter, not only in behalf of circulation, but improvement as well.

It should be recognized at the outset that the workers' press is not only deficient in circulation but also in technical and intellectual equipment. It is at best but a crude rudimentary beginning that needs to be more largely developed before it can be the great agent for working class liberation that it is bound to be.

The Workers' Press needs to build up its own news-gathering and distributing agencies. Consider, for instance, the Associated Press, with its 2,600 agencies all over the globe. For such agencies, the workers' press needs to train working class reporters and specialists in every department of industry and life. It needs also highly perfected printing plants, in modern up-to-date buildings, with telephone, telegraphic, radio and airplane conections. The workers' press needs, in brief, the many-sided organized and specialized intellectualism and technique of the capitalist press, in order to make the many-sided appeal that is characteristic of the latter in its struggle for the mastery of the minds of modern men.

This means years of training, experience and growth. It means the giving up of the belief that editors of labor papers can be made every six months, by taking some worker from "the point of production" at such intervals. Industrialisti, the Finnish, working class daily at Duluth, Minn., has found even a yearly term very unsatisfactory. Besides editors, because of their many sources of information are more at the "point of production," that is, know more about industrial affairs in general, than does the average worker. Every great strike, with its portrayal by trained reporters in modern newspapers, demonstrates the superiority of trained, specialized workers over amateurs and bunglers,

Further, where are editors, if not at "the point of production," that is, where newspapers are produced!

The workers' press further must be a workers' press. It must not be the press of a faction, set or caste. It must represent all the workers, with all their fads and follies, in a real, sympathetic and helpful, not a narrow, destructive or warning spirit. Reserving, at all times, of course, the right of constructive criticism, it can be at once representative and progressive, indeed.

Such a press will defeat the capitalist press by replacing it with a better one. It will win out in all the big industrial centers. It will spread real working class, industrial union organization where none now exists. It will be a great factor in real working class liberation! And the IWW has the **nuclei** for the development of such a press. Will it rise equal to the promise therein embodied? With such a press, victory will be the IWW's.

**Alois Sennefelder, Jr.**

# The Moral of the Mule

A poor mule got disgusted with the same old feed of hay;
And tried to kick the stuffing out of Si.Ball yesterday.
The Marshall tried to save Ball and gave the mule whacks
Now Si.Ball and the marshal are flat upon their backs.
A streetman saw the fracas and to the mule he said:
"Be lenient with the farmer but, cave in the marshal's head."
The mule then told the streetman, how they treated him for years
Which drew the pitchman's sympathy, and filled his eyes with tears,
"But" said he to the mule, "our fates in common strike.
Tho I'm what they call a man, some treat us both alike.
But never mind the ups and downs, on your next trip back to earth.
You may be born a marshal and, that marshal vice-versa".
"In that case," the mule then said, "I'll be a long time dead.
For I'd rather be a measly mule and live on hay instead."
The little tale above set forth, may not be true on earth.
But there's a moral to it all, take mules for what they're worth.

**From Card No. X-81674.**

# General Convention Most Important Yet

THE most important convention ever held in the history of the organization, such is the verdict pronounced on the 15th general convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, held in Chicago, Ill., November 12 to December 3, 1923.

The convention had many difficult problems to contend with and it is believed the delegates solved them in the best manner possible under the many circumstances involved.

These problems had to do with revenue, changes in structure of organization, future organization campaigns, grievances, and international and domestic relations with other working class organizations. Only the most salient are dwelt with in this review.

### Many Fraternal Greetings

Many economic organizations sent fraternal greetings and wishes for success of the convention. The floor was granted to J. Cannon and Robert Minor, representing the Moscow Red International of Labor Unions and the Workers' Party, both of whom urged affiliation and the united front.

The convention voted down affiliation with the Moscow Red International of Labor Unions.

It sent a message of encouragement to the Workers of Italy, in their struggle with fascismo.

### Composition of Delegates

The convention was composed of delegates from the agricultural, lumber, coal and metal mine, general construction, building construction, metal and machinery, railroad and marine transport workers' industrial unions. Also one delegate representing the small industrial unions.

The general officers' reports, which followed the preliminary sessions, covered minutely every phase of the organization's activities. They showed gains not only in finances, but membership as well. The many publications are today in a healthier and better condition than that of a year ago.

### International Question

On the question of international relations, the general secretary-treasurer said:

"Our position on the international question is that of absorption and not of affiliation. We are out to organize the workers not into groups that engage in political intrigues but into a mighty disciplined organization on the economic field, along industrial lines, and in conformity with our preamble."

He pointed out that during his term of office, worker's delegations from European as well as Asiatic countries, have visited the General Headquarters, with the desire to learn more about the Industrial Workers of the World.

"From Mexico, South America and Australia the mighty voice of the workers calls to the IWW. They want autonomous administrations, and it is up to your delegates to this convention to bear this in mind when you deal with questions concerning the working class as a whole."

Henry Feinberg, Secretary of the General Defense Committee, made a lengthy report, giving in full the details of the committee's activities.

### Press Doing Well

The editors and business managers of the various publications reported. All of the latter are doing well. Especially interesting was the report of the Spanish paper, Solidaridad.

Announcing a circulation of over 10,000 per week, the report dealt with many questions concerning the organization of Spanish-speaking workers in this country and elsewhere. The editor made many recommendations about literature in Spanish, for domestic consumption, about competent organizers, and the great possibilities of the IWW in Mexico and South American countries.

### California Situation

Tom Connors, Secretary of the California Branch of the General Defense Committee, gave the convention a detailed outline of conditions existing there.

### Sliding Scale of Initiation and Dues

Many resolutions dealing with a change in dues and initiations were presented. Some favored a flat initiation and dues while others varied in their amounts. The Resolution Committee's substitute was adopted providing for an initiation fee from one to five dollars and the dues from fifty cents up to one dollar.

The convention felt that only the workers in their respective industries shall determine their financial affairs and that it tends to violate the principles of industrial unionism should we continue to force universal initiation, fees and dues.

### Industrial Union Autonomy

Industrial unions will no longer be bound to uniform laws as at present if measures adopted by the convention are approved by the membership. These measures grant greater industrial union autonomy.

By industrial union autonomy the convention does not mean it to be understood that a union can do as it pleases, only in so far as each industrial union shall determine its affairs relative to organization. At the present, the bulk of IWW membership is Western in character, coming from industries that demand a certain fixed policy that perhaps cannot be applied sucessfully in the East. Therefore it is the sense of this proposed measure to remove any and all barriers that may be encountered in organizing the workers in Eastern industry.

One of the provisions in the above measure is that any industrial union if it so desires and expresses it by a referendum vote, may have the privilege of putting its branches on a per-capita basis. This will assure the branches a certain amount of revenue to expand their local organization work and above all place greater responsibility and initiative the convention feels, on them.

### Changing the GEB

Another important structural change was in the composition of the General Executive Board. In the past, the GEB was elected from the 7 largest industrial unions. The result was a sort of detached body without concrete organic connection with any of the industrial unions. Under the new plan adopted by the convention, the chairmen of the industrial unions' general organization committees will make up the personnel of the new executive body. They will have an organic connection with the industrial unions, be more conversant with their respective needs and opportunities and also prove more economical and convenient than the old GEB—which cost over $10,000 annually in salaries and expenses,—in that they will be paid as GOC chairman by their own industrial unions and be always at headquarters ready to act as often as occasion demands.

In addition to the new GEB, the General Administration will consist of a General Secretary-Treasurer, assistant secretary and general organizer. The executive power remains in the hands of the G. E. B.

Many clearing house plans for headquarters were also passed on by the convention.

Plans providing for general strike preparations and an international boycott of California products were adopted.

A monthly general office bulletin for internal complaints, criticisms, views, controversy, etc., was continued.

### Compulsory Assessments Defeated

The minority report of the Ways and Means Committee proposing that the convention go on record for compulsory assessments was defeated by a large vote.

A partial victory however was scored by the supporters of compulsion when the convention went on record to strike out Art. 8 Sec. 5, of the General Constitution, which reads: "The GEB shall issue a 50 cent assessment stamp to all industrial unions, which shall use the entire amount thereof."

This will give the right to any industrial union to issue such assessments as they may in their judgement see fit without any interference on the part of the general organization.

### Textile Union Gets Attention

The convention instructed the General Executive Board to send a competent organizer to the textile and other industrial centers in the East.

Albert Anz, manager of the printing plant, rendered a very interesting report upon its development. The financial condition of the plant today is better than it ever was.

### Behind Steel Drive

The entire support of the general organization was pledged behind a campaign to bring the steel workers into the fold of IWW.

The convention realized that in no other industry is the class struggle more fierce, more bitter and brutal, than in the Steel Hells of Gary and his fellow stockholders.

The convention also voted to promote organization among the foodstuff workers.

### Biennial Conventions

If ratified by the membership yearly general conventions will be abolished and a general constitutional convention held once every two years. Conferences may be held with legislative power in regard to organization plans, but no part of the constitution can be amended.

### Better Headquarters Urged

Upon recommendation from the Ways and Means Committee instructions were issued to the GEB to secure a more suitable building for headquarters. The present building is unfit to house the printing plant and integral parts of the organization.

### Commutation Controversy

After a thorough investigation the Grievance Committee brought in a report on the commutation controversy that has been the theme of discussion among the membership for some time. On the question as to whether solidarity was broken the committee's findings are: "In regards to Solidarity, which is one of the basic principles of the IWW, every question is decided by the majority of all those whom it concerns, in all business meetings, by referendums, or a verbal agreement where the foregoing cannot be taken or held." The committee found that a majority of those offered commutation accepted it. Its findings were adopted by the convention.

At the concluding session, officers were nominated, according to both plans. These two tickets will go to the membership, along with the proposed new plan, and the vote on the plan will decide which set of officers are actually installed.

The convention reporter for Industrial Solidarity Fred Mann, says of the delegates and their work:

"This convention dared to question the advisability of tradition and to cast aside tactics and policies it believed were worn out and to replace them with others that will make the organization keep in line with the march of progress and evolution."

## NOTICE TO THE MEMBERSHIP

**THE General Referendum Ballots are now in the field. Members may secure ballots from Branch Secretaries, Traveling Delegates, Delegates, Industrial Union Headquarters and General Headquarters.**

**Ballots must be in General Headquarters by February 10, 1924.**

**Send all ballots addressed General Office, Ballot Committee, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.**

SAM FORBES,
**Gen. Sec'y-Treas., Pro Tem.**

# The Wall Street Wolves and the Wobs

By OPTIMIST

AS I watch the actions of the conglomeration of more or less human animals that make up this great American population, the words of the immortal bard are brought forcibly to my mind:

"What fools these mortals be."

If one looks beneath the surface, he, (or she), is struck with the evidence of primal instincts—the mark of the beast. The same passions which ruled our stone axe ancestors, rule our modern civilization. Scratch the surface of our polish and education—and you find the cave man just beneath. Our natures are a strange combination of Wolf and Ape. By virtue of the Ape in us, we are constantly trying to mimic those who are a little higher in the social scale than ourselves; without a question as to whether they are right or wrong, foolish or otherwise. This monkey trait is not only extremely foolish, but prevents us from bettering ourselves, or our conditions.

### The Wolf Nature

Wolf nature is the really deplorable and dangerous part of us, it is part of ALL of us, to a greater or less degree. It is the wolf nature that makes men rob widows and orphans, so that their wives and daughters may have monkey dinners, poodle banquets, and put $10,000 collars on useless lap dogs. It is the Ape in the working people that causes them to permit this condition to exist, year in and year out. The workers not only permit this outrageous condition to exist, but actually place their tormenters on a pedestal to be worshipped.

It is the Wolf that causes the financial "kings" to use machine guns and gas bombs on hungry workers, and it is the Ape that causes the workers to submit.

It is the Wolf in the hearts of a few that causes them to appropriate to their own use, those things which were meant for all, and it is the Apes, judicial and political, and the uniformed jackals that uphold this system.

The ignorance and apathy of the working people is beyond belief. Some talk of what the next generation will do. Take the young man raised in the city, with his sideburns, bell-bottom pants, et cetera. The young man from the country with a vacant stare, and reverence of power. The little flapper with **bobbed** hair, and her face painted in modernistic art; great barbarous ear pendants, that make one naturally look for a nose ring and ankle chains. If these are the fathers and mothers of the next generation, we are due to get on the job in this generation.

Let us hope that the types above referred to, represent a small minority; a few morons and Robots. In that case we may pass it up as comedy; but remember there is, also, tragedy.

A great mass of people shorten their lives by burning up their nervous energy, in a vain search

ARE WE STILL IN GORILLA AGE?

for an elusive something. The hard worked person on a vacation, indulges in something which is simply hard work. The person who does next to nothing in his daily life, takes a **vacation**, and does still less. Many people take vacations, not because they need, or really want them, but because they are in search of that elusive something.

The dope fiend, the common drunk, the tramp, the persons of some degree of mentality but afflicted with the wanderlust, are all victims of this vain search.

### Restless—Dissatisfied

Ninety-five per cent of the population of the world is restless, dissatisfied. They do this or that, ostensibly for pleasure. As a matter of fact, what they mistake for pleasure is quite often an evidence of dissatisfaction—a hazy feeling of something missing from their lives. This mysterious, elusive something is happiness; contentment.

The question naturally arises, "Why do so many people go through life, without ever finding happiness or contentment?"

The answer is very simple. We all live unnatural lives. No one who lives unnaturally, who suppresses all natural inclinations, who defies nature by refusing to permit themselves the fulfillment of natural impulses, can ever be happy or contented.

Man is an animal, governed by the same natural laws as any other animal; therefore, the man without home, wife and children, no matter what his surroundings or financial circumstances, cannot possibly be happy or contented. For every condition, there is a reason; for every effect, a cause. The reason, the cause, of the unhappiness and discontent of the great majority of the people of the world—is the system under which they live. A system which refuses them the pursuit of happiness, allows them no possibility of contentment.

Young men and women of the working class are advised to get married; to settle down. When a

normal young man marries a normal young woman, the natural result is a family of children. The young man of today, realizing how hard it is to earn living wages, how uncertain is employment, is afraid to take the responsibility of a family. No man has a right to bring children into the world unless he can see something better than ignorant slavery ahead of them.

**Married Slaves**

Under the present system, when a working man has a wife and family to support, he ceases to be an independent, thinking human being. He becomes a slave to this great (?) system, a cog in the wheels which grind out "Civilization." A link in the chains which bind the working class down in their degradation and misery. The average working man loves his wife a thousand times more than the average millionaire loves his, because he (the worker) hasn't the time for affinities, nor the opportunities for wrecking other men's homes that the millionaire enjoys. The worker loves his children infinitely more than the parasite does his, because they are his life; while the "Representative Citizen" has so many diversions.

How often these poor devils have said to themselves (few have the backbone to say it to others): Oh! if we only had a system which would take the excess, and unearned pleasures and opportunities from the parasites, and give them to those who have really earned them. A system in which a worker controls his job, and could live; not merely exist in misery.

The opportunity to join a movement with this end in view, has been offered the American workers for many years, but they are so imbued with the psychology of the boss, so dead mentally as a result of their miserable condition, that they refuse to even listen to a word of explanation. The majority of the workers are like the Italian people who stoned Columbus, and drove him from the country because he voiced a theory, which they, in their ignorance and narrow mindedness, could not comprehend. Columbus proved his theory, and the whole world was forced to accept it as fact. The Italians of today are proud to remind you of what a great man Columbus was.

**Nothing Equals It**

Considering the education, and so-called civilization of today, there is nothing in history to equal the persecutions heaped upon the IWW. Members have been tarred and feathered, hanged and beaten to death. Business men and prominent citizens in this marvelously civilized country have mutilated members of the IWW in ways that would shame the worst savage that ever roamed the jungle. Members of the Industrial Workers of the World have been thrown into prison, and though admitted to be model prisoners, treated worse than the most refractory. The only thing charged against these men was being members of the IWW and yet, with all the greatest powers of the country, trying with all their might, no one has ever been able to prove the IWW an unlawful organization.

Some day, in the not far distant future, the Industrial Workers of the World are going to prove their theory, and the whole world will accept it as fact. When that day comes, all the weaklings will tell you, "No, I never had a red card, but I always believed in the Wobblies."

Doesn't Marx say something about "every system containing within itself the seeds of its own destruction"?

When the "Wolves of Wall St." are tearing their hair and calling on their gods to save them, the Wobs will be on the job with red wheelbarrows, gathering up the remains.

# Fascism: Reaction of Big Capitalism

WHAT is fascism? The Workers' Dreadnought of London, England, answers "Fascism is the politics of the bruisers." Or as we Americans would say, it is government by strong arm men and with strong arm methods.

But fascism is something more than a reign by terror. Back of fascism, whether in Italy, or in this country, is big business. It is Judge Gary and Mr. Julius Barnes, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, who praise fascism abroad and proclaim its desirability here.

Big business fears the legal course of political and economic development resulting from the world-war. Big business uses force to abort such development as detrimental to itself. Just as in pregnancy violent abortion is resorted to in order to avoid birth, so does big business proceed by force to prevent the birth of a new era detrimental to its profit and preservation.

Thus, in the last analysis, fascism is the terrorism employed by big capitalism to save itself from the revolutionary aftermath of the world-war and the dawn of the new era. In other words, fascism is the reaction of big business to its own revolutions.

## BIG INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

Production in the United States in 1921 was valued at 56 billions of dollars, according to the statistics compiled by the bureau of census. The products of industrial establishments reached a value of $43,672,785,000. Agricultural production during that year was valued at $12,402,000,000.

These figures reflect the great industrial development of the country. Where agriculture once predominated, it now contributes only approximately one-fifth of the production of the country.

**SUBSCRIBE FOR THE**
**INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**
**TWO DOLLARS PER YEAR.**

# Readers Praise the Pioneer

Pittsburgh, Pa., Nov. 18, 1923.

The Industrial Pioneer is a first-class labor magazine; one of the best.—E. F. C.

Milwaukee, Wis., Nov. 16, 1923.

The Industrial Pioneer is the best goods in the market.—I. R. J.

Calder, Idaho, Dec. 13, 1923.

I will not miss it again, as it is the best reading we get.—V. N.

Detroit, Mich., Nov. 29, 1923.

**The December issue is a work of art and is certainly worthy of congratulations.**

**The Pioneer ought to have a circulation of at least a thousand copies in Detroit; and it will, if any efforts can be made to count for anything.—C. M.**

Franklin, Pa., Nov. 26, 1923.

If we'd had such literature from 1905 to 1917 we would not have been in the big war, and by now we would have been in full control of the industries.

Keep up the good work and the day of Industrial Democracy will be here before we hardly realize it.—L. L. M.

San Pedro, Calif., Nov. 28, 1923.

**Well, we're off! Received the Pioneers about two hours ago and sold about 45 copies already. Don't forget that extra 100 I ordered a few days ago.**

**That makes it 500! Keep up the fine goods in the December issue and I'll plug for 750 by March!—L. S. F.**

Denver, Colo., Nov. 23, 1923.

I have been watching for a long time the steady improvement in the I. W. W. press and literature, but this latest achievement of the Industrial Pioneer (the Amnesty Special) should be an eye-opener to even the most skeptical, as to what the working class can accomplish.

**Congratulations to all those who have helped in the work of building up our literature.—B. G.**

Brooklyn, N. Y., Dec. 1, 1923.

The Christmas Amnesty Number is a knockout. Chaplin's cover page is a thing to be proud of. It reaches right out from the news stands and grabs one.

**Considered from a standpoint of magazine construction alone, the entire contents will stand up without apology in any company.—M. J. C.**

Buffalo, N. Y., Dec. 1, 1923.

Just finished reading article on Modern Industrialism in December Pioneer. It brings out much information that is needed. It certainly shows up the inter-relationship of industry. Like the threads in a piece of cloth, one industry is not more important or less important than the other.

**Many of the members in the field express very favorable comment regarding the magazine with its present make-up, and I am sure that it will be rewarded with a steady growth with the present good work it is doing in the field of education and propaganda.—F. W. B.**

Jamaica, L. I., N. Y., Dec. 3, 1923.

I have read "The Lynching of Bud Williams" twice. It is a well-told and thrilling story.—F. C.

Cleveland, O., Dec. 3, 1923.

Received the December Pioneer but cannot find words to say what I think about it. Perhaps if I repeat a few remarks heard from others it will do:

**An old gentleman of eighty who always pays for two papers of each edition of all English papers published by the I. W. W. ("One for me and one to give away") said, "Whynll don't a paper like that come out EVERY DAY."**

Mrs. Radis, 2700 Wade Ave., "The best I ever saw."

A fellow worker in the hall, "That editor guy of the Pioneer sure knows how to make a book."

But why go on. I suppose you are receiving congratulations by the hundreds.

I am all sold out, so am sending the enclosed order for more.—E. L.

Detroit, Mich., Dec. 8, 1923.

**The Amnesty issue was superlatively good. "The Lynching of Bud Williams" and "The Wreck of the Silk Special" were a pleasant surprise. More of that stuff will definitely establish our magazine at the same time emphasizing the fact that within the working class we have brains and literary ability that measures with any creation of the literary elite.—J. M.**

Carneiro, Kansas, Nov. 29, 1923.

**Sample copy of December Industrial Pioneer received, and thank you very much for the same. I was agreeably surprised at make-up and contents of the same.**

I read the magazine from cover to cover and like it. That's a nice little cartoon of slippery Sam Gompers, the biggest labor fakir that has ever been on exhibition, judging by the reports of the late A. F. of L. convention. I noted the vast decrease in membership, which pleased me very much. But with the aid and abetting of the U. S. Chambers of Commerce and other like institutions, the A. F. of L. will never lack for dupes.

**This is the first time I ever had the pleasure of reading any I. W. W. publications. I note by the slip enclosed in "Industrial Pioneer" there is the "Industrial Worker" and "Industrial Solidarity." Would you please send me an old copy of each to read? I want to send in a subscription for some one of your valuable publications — more than likely the "Pioneer," as it seems to be a husky infant.—J. C. M.**

# The Pioneer and the Postal Clerks

JUST a line or two to let you know how the Industrial Pioneer is accepted among Uncle Sam's Postal Clerks.

For several months I have carried on a little educational program of my own, aided by "Sol" and Worker. Things went along very nicely but no remarkable results were obtained. For some unknown reason I had neglected to introduce the Pioneer.

However, after having placed several December Pioneers in reliable hands and given them a week to read them over, I asked for their true opinions. The answers were as expected: "Splendid," "very good," "it hit me just right," "fine; it doesn't seem to contain such bitterness as your weekly papers."

I did not ask in just what manner "bitterness" should be interpreted. I realize the truth hurts and sometimes our weekly editions are rather "blunt."

Mail clerks, as I find them, are an intelligent group of workers, and we need them, I'm sure! Discontent reigns supreme among them, one way or the other.

They represent every class, religion and organization; even the much loved IWW are in evidence among them, and we hope to send to the next convention a mail clerk to represent Industrial Union No. 500.

This will be all for the present. Hoping we may increase the circulation of the Pioneer among many more "unpatriotic" mail clerks, I remain,

Yours for the IWW.—F. W.

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 24, 1923.

Only about three times a decade I come to eulogize someone for commendable service, and this time the Editor of "Industrial Pioneer" receives my words of appreciation and praise.

By the December, 1923, number I am moved to say that this issue is the most interesting labor magazine that I have read since certain copies of "The Masses"—years ago,—and I consider it an accomplishment of proletarian editorship and education.

A splendid variety, the careful selection and the high quality of this copy should attract intelligent readers and thinking workers everywhere to the Industrial Pioneer and incidentally to the organization.

Trusting that you will maintain this standard of excellence in the future, I remain always

Yours for Working Class Education.

**H. R. J.**

# 60 Per Cent

TO speak in figures and facts is the language of our age. For the sake of uniformity, starting and working point, we use the percentage scale. Our language is full of such expressions as: 100 per cent American, 99 per cent pure, 1 and 1-2 per cent (?), 2 per cent organized, 10 per cent plus cost and 50|50 or 50 per cent propositions.

At 30 Irving Place, New York City is located a corporation known as American Chamber of Economics. A school board composed of representatives of banks, houses of financiers and foundations, manufacturers, and a former member of directors of our invisible government U. S. C. of C. (United States Chamber of Commerce).

Not a mass growing organization, but a clique bent on making such words as "efficiency," "business," and etc. real passwords instead of framed wall mottoes. It is the latest development in the evolution of our "lil' red school-house on the hill." Changing lil' to large, color red to black or gold and from the hill to New York.

They, the school-board say that "60 per cent of the factors governing successes" of business are economic factors not understood by an average business man regardless of how much of an expert he is in his line. This fact is endorsed by their, "typical subscribers" or students among whom are Mr. Carver of Dept. of Economics of Harvard University, executives from well known concerns ranging all the way from soup makers, railway supply manufacturers to modern banks and U. S. Steel Corp.

Furthermore they class these economic factors as: credit inflation, industrial disturbances, transportation tie-ups, international complications, wage rates, purchasing power of large bodies of the population, etc.

The "public" or the working people would call or class them: strikes, strikes and some more strikes and boycotts such as are carried on against California made goods.

These economics courses are offered at about $100 to all men not earning livelihood by honest work to protect them in the 60 per cent class, with aims in changing the ratio from 60 per cent to as near 100 per cent as possible. The best thing under the sun for grafters is just such a course in American Chamber of Economics, and they should be and are interested in it.

But WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE at Duluth, Minn., is offering also a course in economics in which we ought to be interested. Not a cut-up and dried or suppressed study of few facts which even the business men are asked to know, but a thorough study of the subject which we workers must know in order to properly apply our economic power to produce the best results in our class-war.

Our education must be as good as theirs and one better in fundamental subjects such as economics before we can reverse and keep the per cent of successes to our credit.

EX-TUSSARI JUSSISKI.

# Editorial

## What Means this Unemployment?

AGAIN is "retrenchment" the slogan of capitalism. Again is a "business recession" upon us. Again are the workers facing unemployment. From all sides come reports of employees laid off. Railroads, textiles and steel mills, metal and machine shops,—all industries are decreasing their forces and curtailing output. With the passing of the holiday season the unemployed will undoubtedly be still more increased. Then will the big department stores and mercantile establishments also lay off their employees. The working class outlook for the immediate future, is as a result, not an encouraging one. With prices increasing in height and employment vanishing, it is probable that 1924 will witness much poverty and destitution among its members.

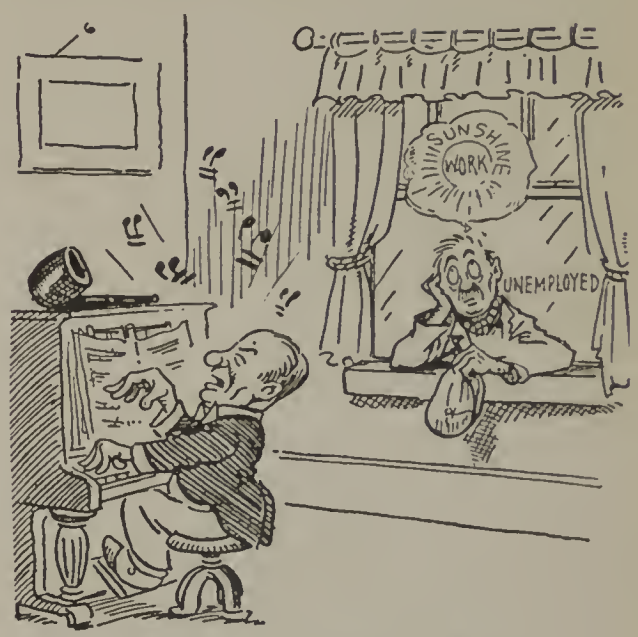
Nor will the farming or the middle class fare much better. The statistics of failures among manufacturers and merchants during October and November show big, sudden excesses over normal; while it is freely predicted that at least 2,000,000 more farmers are doomed to bankruptcy, because of their inability to meet their mortgage indebtedness. In fact, none but the more highly capitalized corporations seem likely to survive the present slump.

It is said that the recession will last only three months. But will it? Who knows?

Much discussion generally attends the recurrence of these conditions. Why these periodic cycles of prosperity and panic? Why these "business fluctuations" with almost clock-like regularity? Some say they are due to sun-spots which affect the weather, cause bad crops and subsequent bad conditions generally. But crops are more abundant now than ever before; too much so, as the constant decrease in wheat acreage too plainly shows. Some say they are only states of mind: that is, they are due to psychological causes, which create unreasonable fears and precipitate panic. But as business is growing ever more statistical, and as the first indications of recession are accordingly "forecasted" as a result of carefully tabulated conditions, this theory may be dismissed as untenable. It won't hold water, especially in modern business calculation.

Of course, there are the labor unions; like Hamlet, the play is impossible without them! It is their unreasonable wage demands—never the unreasonable profits of their employers, oh, no!—that cause recessions in business. Labor unionism, so we are told, boosts wages up so high as to make industry impossible of continuance. And so it must stop! How simple!

But, as there is no such dominant unionism in most of the industries closing down, this argument is amusing to say the least. In textiles, steel, railroads, autos, etc., there is practically no unionism




"YES, WE HAVE NO EMPLOYMENT!"

and, consequently, no grounds for the "exorbitant unionism" argument. Besides, as a result of the open shop drive of two years ago, and the decline in union membership resulting from it, there are less strikes—less manifestations of labor's "exorbitant methods"—now than ever before. With business the best in two years, last summer witnessed, in contrast to 1921, with its big coal and railroad strikes and one million strikers, only 44 strikes throughout the nation, all so small as to prove relatively insignificant indeed! As a wage factor, labor unionism is, accordingly, practically nil! And any argument blaming depressions or panics on it, is without any basis in fact.

The European situation and legislative uncertainty are also held to be responsible for this current unemployment and bad prospects for labor. Undoubtedly, Europe is a factor. The internationalism of modern industry is such that European conditions cannot fail to react on those of American labor in the long run. But curiously enough there are some who contend that export trade is relatively so small, only about 6 per cent of all production, as to prove comparatively unimportant as a decisive factor in domestic conditions, which, they also contend, tend to the natural development and creation of home markets wherein to absorb production. And curiously enough, again, exports showed a decidedly favorable upward turn during September and October. Nevertheless, October was the first month of the present recession, as reflected in the sudden increase of failures. With exports on the increase why

this slump in the midst of it, and at a time, too, when the fate of Germany looked more unfavorable than at present with the change in French policy?

As to legislative uncertainty, who believes that? The industro-financial hierarchy that rules this country has the latter's legislative powers so tightly sewed up in their vest pockets as to make legislative uncertainty impossible! It doesn't exist for them. And they are the country!

What then is the cause of these recessions, depressions, panics, etc.? Like the Biblical poor we have them always with us. War or no war, big crops or no crops, bad export conditions and good, they always come periodically to plague us. Why? Is there no balm in Gilead—no relief from this inevitable monstrosity? No solution to the enigma that it apparently presents?

Before answering, let us present some figures. They are all drawn from safe, sane and reliable sources—if such a thing is at all possible under this most unsafe, unreliable and insane of systems, the capitalist system.

"The Americas" is the official organ of the National City Bank of New York, the biggest financial institution in the United States. Through this mouthpiece, the statistician of the bank, Mr. Austin tells us that in 1919 the total wealth produced in the United States amounted to $62,500,000,000, and that in the production of this vast amount of wealth the wages paid amounted to $10,000,000,000. As will be seen at a glance the average wage of 1919 was less than one-sixth of the value of the workers' product. That is, the workers were put in the position of being enabled to buy back one-sixth of what they produced. Is it any wonder that, since the workers and their dependents are the majority of the population, the wealth produced is not consumed, with the result that "overproduction" that is, underconsumption ensues and recessions, et al, become necessary?

Some economists are beginning to see the mathematical impossibility of 10 billions buying back 62 1-2 billions and thus keep the wheels of production and distribution perpetually turning. One of these is John Hobson, the Englishman. He has, in his book, "The Economics of Unemployment," developed the underconsumption or over-saving theory of crises. This theory is couched in technical language. But translated into plain language it means that the rich, i. e., the income receivers, otherwise known as the capitalists, cannot spend their incomes. Dissipate, debauch—"promote art, science and civilization"—as they will, they cannot spend that 52 1-2 billions. So they save it and convert it into more capital than is required in production.

This policy has many bad results. One is the overbuilding of plants (in America the "excess capacity" of various industries ranges from 25 to 50 per cent). Another is the periodic piling up of unsalable goods, with the consequent cutting of prices, shutting down of factories, unemployment, and all the well-known phenomena of the business crisis. Still another series of results are the ceaseless struggle for markets, the constant growth of selling, as compared with the making of, commodities, and springing out of the belief in limited markets, the reduction of acreage, the ca canny policy, the restrictive policy of the trusts, and the national policies of protection and imperialism, with their war and unemployment. Here then are the domestic and foreign evils of underconsumption and oversaving: in other words, the evils of which recessions, depressions and panics are born. Such are the basic facts. But what's the remedy?

Plainly, the way to stop the recurrence of all these things is to stop underconsumption by the workers and oversaving by their exploiters. Hobson would do this, in part, by so increasing the worker's share in production as to absorb some of the income of the rich. In other words, he would increase their ability to consume more and thus do away, to a greater extent, with the unsalable pile of goods, and all that grows out of it.

But more wages alone are not sufficient. The capitalists will even then continue to under consume and over save. **The workers should get all that they produce. Otherwise the mathematics of production and consumption will never harmonize.** Not until Labor gets all it produces will the possibilities of more recessions, etc., be entirely removed. Nor will the abnormalities of selling, imperialism, etc., disappear either.

In the capitalist exploitation of labor will be found the cause of all the modern social ills. And only a working class, conscious of the facts, and industrially organized, can end such exploitation, with its vast social consequences, forever. Slowly, tediously, is such consciousness, such industrial organization, growing. Help it along, O Labor! Help it along, ere it is too late!

# His Name!?

**By Archie Sinclair**

I go into the lumber camps,
And log drives on the river;
In camp and mill, I'm never still,
My message I deliver.
In mining and construction camps;
To migratory workers;
I preached my creed, the crying need
To do away with shirkers.
In sweatshop and in crowded slum
I'm restless as the ocean;
I am not dead, I raise my head,
Where'er I take the notion.
Although oppression weighs me down,
I'll never, never perish;
In every clime, through endless time,
I'll live and thrive and flourish.
Perhaps you wonder who I am,
I'm known to every nation;
Each tribe and race have seen my face,
My name is AGITATION.

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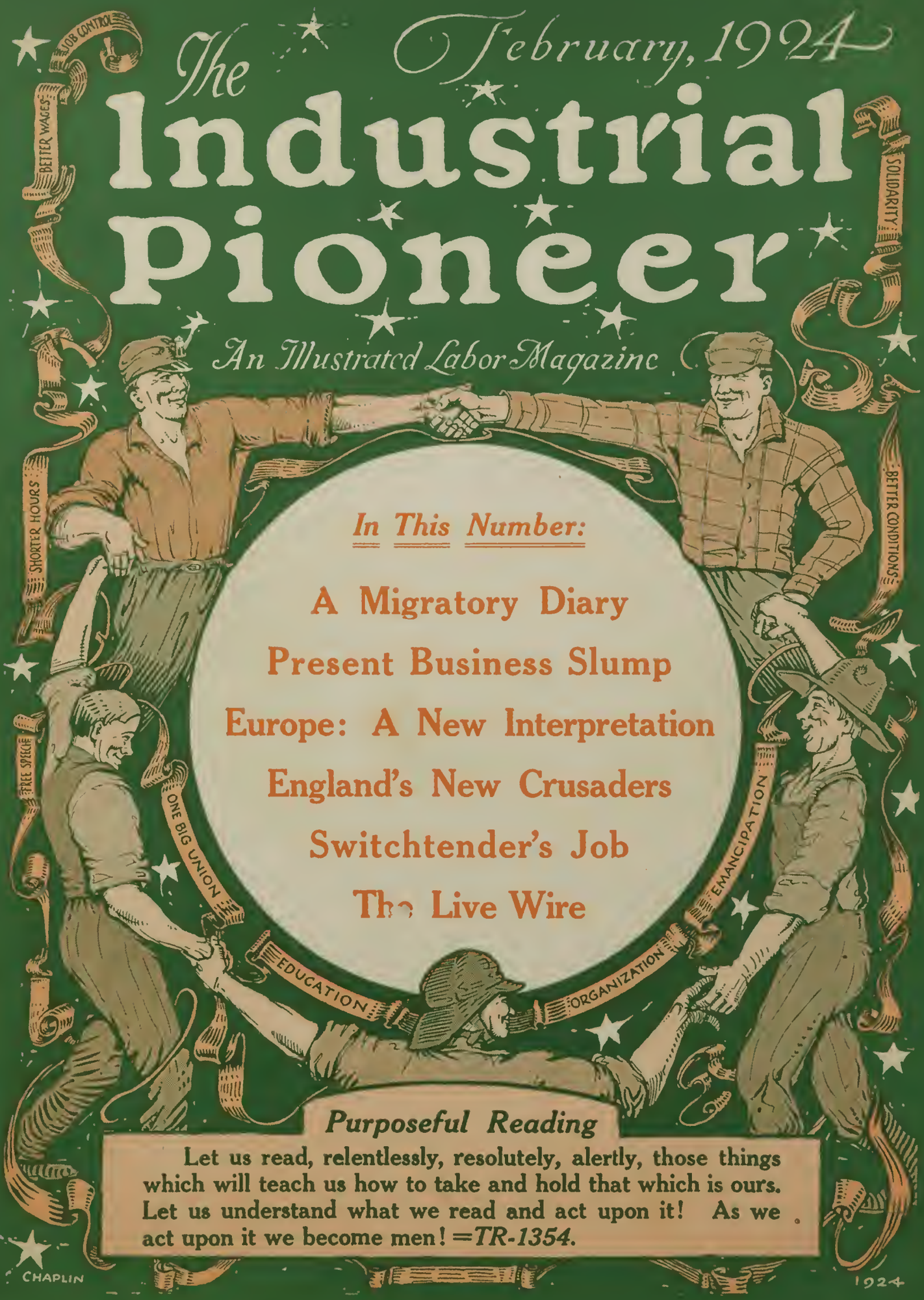
HELP PUT AN END TO THE INJUNCTION THE FRAME UP THE SPY SYSTEM AND THE ANTI-LABOR CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAW

February, 1924

# The Industrial Pioneer

An Illustrated Labor Magazine




*In This Number:*

A Migratory Diary
Present Business Slump
Europe: A New Interpretation
England's New Crusaders
Switchtender's Job
The Live Wire

***Purposeful Reading***

**Let us read, relentlessly, resolutely, alertly, those things which will teach us how to take and hold that which is ours. Let us understand what we read and act upon it! As we act upon it we become men! =*TR-1354.***

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

FEBRUARY 1924

*The*

Vol. I. **Industrial Pioneer** No. 10

Edited by JUSTUS EBERT

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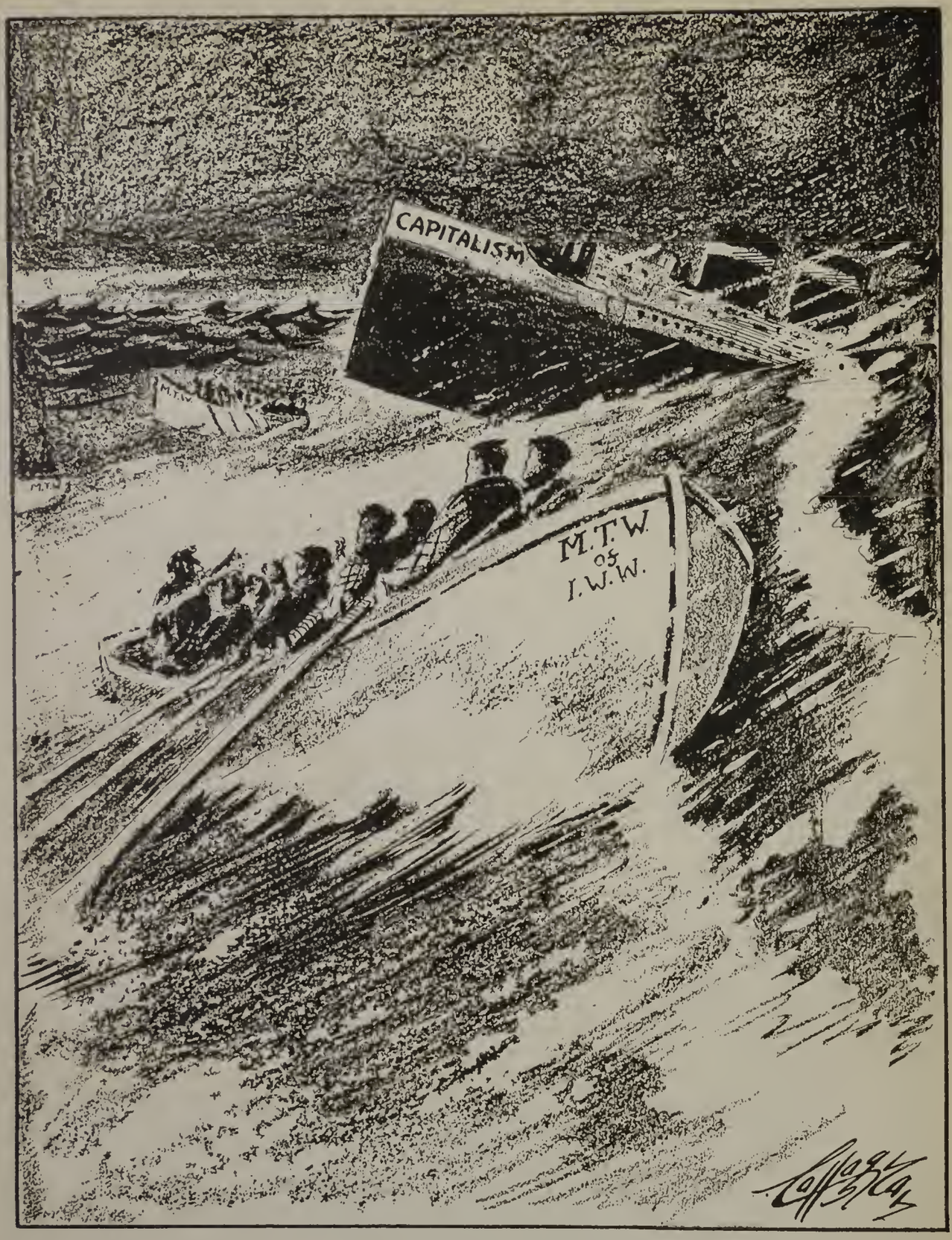



## *The Life Boats*

**The Marine Transport Workers' Union of Stettin, Germany, 1,000 strong, has made official application, as a whole, to become part of the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510, Industrial Workers of the World.**

**Steps are being taken by 510, together with General Headquarters, to establish an administration there.**

# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Vol. I. FEBRUARY, 1924 No. 10

# The Present Business Slump

## Analyzed in a Lecture Before Chicago Open Forum

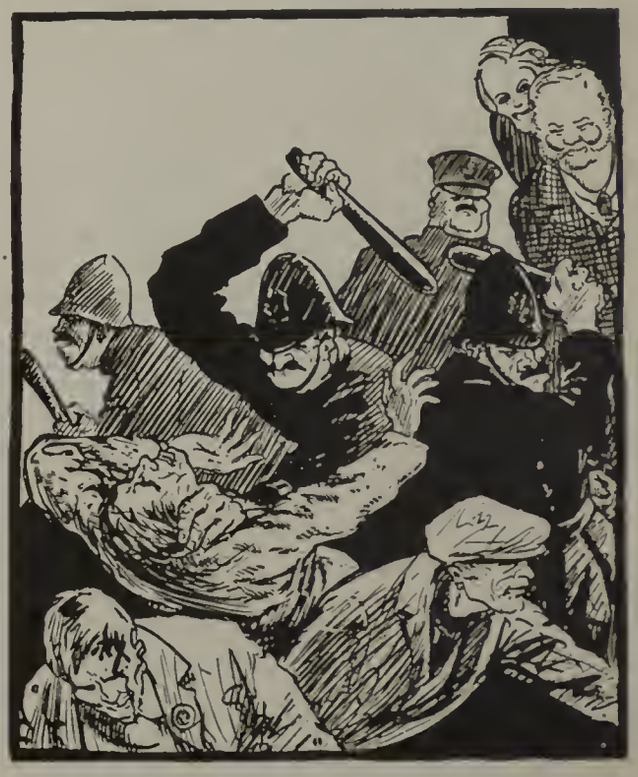
By JUSTUS EBERT

**YOU are all familiar with the popular song, "Yes, we have no bananas." Everybody has been singing it. Just now the capitalists of the country are beginning to sing another song, with a similar refrain, one that will not be quite so popular, viz., "Yes, we have no employment." Its singing will be confined to them, exclusively.**

**In November, according to the Illinois State Employment bureau, there were 131 job hunters for every 100 jobs. The Chicago Tribune, of Sunday, December 16, told, in a brief news item, of the suicide of a Canadian machinist in the La Salle street railroad station. He was unable to secure employment.**

**"Yes, we have no employment," the capitalists are singing—with tragic results to the workers.**

Why this tragic refrain? Why have the capitalists no employment now, with the result that there are over 30 per cent more workers than jobs, and workers commit suicide because of lack of work? The newspapers tell us it is due to "the business recession." But what "the business recession" is they sayeth not. All that we workers know is that the Illinois situation is not an isolated one. In all the states, railroads are laying off men, shops are cutting down their working forces, mills are abolishing shifts, putting out blast furnaces, and otherwise slowing down production, so that there is no employment for those who want it and must have it, with the dire results, in some cases, already noted. A "business recession" means to many of us, no work, no wages, starvation and "hard times" generally.



CLUBBING LONDON UNEMPLOYED

### Recessions Periodic

A peculiarity of the "business recession" is its periodic recurrence; that is, it takes place at regular intervals, but with increasing frequency. It is known by various names, such as business depression, financial panic, economic crisis, and so on. We had one each in 1907, 1913-1914, 1921, and now again in 1923. Had it not been for the world war, there is no doubt that we would have been in the midst of a continuous panic from 1913 to the present time. As it was, the world war bestowed prosperity upon us. True, it was a ghastly, bloody, inhuman prosperity, involving the slaughter of tens of millions of human beings, and the near-destruction of human civilization. But then that seems to be about the only way to achieve prosperity in this highly Christianized capitalism, namely, by gigantic murder and territorial plunder.

But that is aside from the subject; let's go back to "the business recession" and the causes of its frequent re-appearance in modern times. Perhaps in so doing we'll find out why prosperity and wholesale murder have become synonymous in modern times.

Now there are many reasons given for "business recession," all more or less superficial. We are told, for instance, that the business recession is due to overproduction, overexpansion and overextension. By this is meant that there is more produced than can be consumed; that industrial plants are expanded and extended beyond actual requirements, with the result that credit is like-

wise expanded and extended; that is, to an overnecessary degree. Of course, there are limits to this sort of thing. As soon as they become apparent, the "recession" sets in, as it inevitably must.

### Light on Subject

An article published in the "Magazine of Wall St.," by Dr. Julius Klein, director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, throws considerable light on overproduction, overexpansion, etc. Therein he points out that the productive capacity of the country is so great that even an abnormal demand for articles of consumption can hardly remain long unsatisfied. He shows, for instance, that the makers of pig iron can turn out ten million tons per year in excess of the maximum consumption since 1916. The boot and shoe factories have a capacity of 400,000,000 pairs per annum, but the American people have never yet purchased more than 300,000,000 pairs. The automobile factories are now producing at the rate of 300,000 cars a month, but Dr. Klein doubts if anyone expects that the country will buy another three million cars in 1924.

It stands to reason that, with boot and shoe factories, for instance, producing per year 100,000,000 more pairs than can be consumed even in abnormal times, that boots and shoes are going to pile up, with the inevitable result that boot and shoe factories will have to shut down and "hard times" will be the lot of the boot and shoe workers in general. And what applies to boot and shoe workers applies also to pig iron, automobile, and all other workers. For as their excess products pile up, the furnaces, works, factories, mills, etc., in which they are employed, will also shut down and unemployment will be their lot, too. Thus the whole working class is hit and made to suffer because they have produced too much, i. e., because "overproduction" is rife throughout the land.

### Overproduction View Superficial

As was said before, this view, while most likely in accord with the apparent facts, is nevertheless, a superficial view, because it fails to deal with the most important phase of the causes of the busines recession, namely, underconsumption, for there would be no overproduction if all the products produced were or could be consumed.

Surely, no one will contend that there are too many boots and shoes produced, so long as there are millions of workers and their dependents in this country without boots and shoes. Nor will anyone contend that though auto-ownership is growing among workers, there are not still millions upon millions of workers with whom such ownership is impossible. Further, it is said that there is need for 8 billions more building in this country. Think of how much steel and iron products that would absorb and how many steel and iron mills it would keep agoing! And "our" railroads: how about their equipment and rebuilding; are they not both necessary, at this time?

Turn where we will, here in Chicago particularly, we find a poverty-stricken, dirty,shabby civilization, especially in working class districts, that cries aloud for the products of industry, art and science—and yet we are told that what ails us is overproduction! What an absurdity!

Even Dr. Julius Klein, the director of Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce already quoted, finds the "overproduction" problem to be one of underconsumption; for he is intent on seeking more consumption. He believes that export trade must be developed, that is, that more markets and consumers must be found abroad, outside of the boundaries of this country—so that production will not run ahead of consumption. In his opinion, it's either more export trade or idle factories.

### Another Angle

As the poet would say, let us stick a pin there. That is, let us abandon this argument in favor of foreign trade and take up another angle of overproduction, though, at the same time, keeping the need for exports well in mind. It's an important modern factor, as we shall later see.

According to figures prepared by the statistician of the National City Bank of New York, production in this country in 1919, amounted to $62,500,000,000. Of this vast amount $10,000,000,000 was paid in wages.

Ponder on the relative size of 10 billions as compared with 62½ billions. Then ask yourselves how can 62½ billions be bought and consumed by workers with only 10 billions in their possession? After you have done that perhaps you will realize that what causes the business recession is the robbery of labor, through which the workers are rendered unable to buy back all that they have produced. In other words, overproduction is due to underpayment of the workers. Unless the workers get all that they produce, production will continue to exceed consumption and the business recession, together with all that it implies, will be always with us. But let us pursue the subject a little further and more fully.

### Hobson's Theories

Recently, an Englishman, John A. Hobson, has published a book entitled "The Economics of Unemployment," which throws considerable light on the cause of industrial depression and the lack of work that is its main characteristic. This book restates and develops the underconsumption or oversaving theory of crises. According to this theory "under a fairly equal distribution the growing pressure of wants would keep a balance between the immediate satisfaction of spending and the postponed satisfaction of saving." In plainer English, if wealth were more equally distributed, there would be more to spend and less necessity to save, resulting in more consumption, thus keeping production agoing better, because of the greater harmony between the two.

But with the workers getting in wages only 10 billions of dollars, and the owners of industry 52½ billions, no such harmony is possible. Do what they

(Continued on Page 47)

# Three Letters, Full of War

By BARAJEMES.

O-I-L, oil. Just a little word of three letters; yet it is a word to conjure with. It is a word of magic potentialities for it is the name of a commodity, which perhaps above all others, is necessary to civilization as it is carried on today. And, the probability is that in the near future o-i-l will mean w-a-r.

The ability of oil to supplant coal in the industries of the world has been well proven in the last few years and the possibility that the next great war will be fought because of it is daily becoming more evident to those who make a study of world affairs.

The IWW holds no brief for those who own the oil resources of the world, whether they be American capitalists, British capitalists or those of other nations. On the other hand, the IWW is vitally interested in the working class of the world—those who drill the wells, lay the pipe-lines, toil in the grimy, sooty refineries to produce the "black gold" which is at present the predominating fuel in countless industries and which bids fair, unless some unlooked for discovery is made in the next few years, to supersede coal in all of the industries.

On this account this article is written—that the workers of the world may see the power behind the scenes and realize that when the clarion call to arms resounds within the next few years it is **oil** and not **democracy** that the masters have been struggling for and that they are but pawns in a game that is world-wide in its ramifications, and has profit possibilities beside which Midas with his "golden touch" would be a small town piker.

Most authorities on the subject, whether they be advanced thinkers who have accepted the materialist conception or those who still cling to the "great man" theory agree that a new war, world-wide in its scope, is very likely to be the result of the mad struggle for oil which is going on at present. And most of them will agree privately that that war will be fought between the U. S. and our late ally, Great Britain.

Ten years ago no one would have thought that Great Britain (or British capitalists) were at all likely to become the dominating figures in the oil markets of the world. At that time American capital had 60 per cent of the oil production of the world safely in hand and John D. and his other greasy associates seemed more than likely to continue to control the industry.

Events march apace, however, in this modern civilization of ours and today sees the American oil barons as second fiddles in the industry which has come to play such an important part in world affairs. Facts are facts; American capital has lost out in the battle for oil mastery.

"Imperial self-sufficiency," to use a term of one of the best posted men, was no doubt the outstanding motive in British capital's move into the oil game. Another reason is that Great Britain, next to the U. S., is the greatest consumer of oil in the world. The greatest British export for years has been coal, but with a changing civilization it has become necessary for British capitalists to adapt themselves to the new order of things and maintain their commercial supremacy with a more up-to-date and wanted commodity.

In their effort to accomplish this British capital has inaugurated an oil offensive which reaches into every quarter of the globe. Persia, India, Mexico, South America, Africa—every place which offers the slightest opportunity for oil discovery has been included and today British capital has reached a point that insures them of nearly the total product of 70 percent of the known petroleum fields on the globe. Who can say that such a situation does not augur ill for the working class?

Lacking petroleum reserves of their own—only about two percent of the world's production lies within the British empire—the British capitalists have carried the fight into other territories regardless of their nationality. This coupled with the fact that concessions have been so worded as to exclude capital of other nationalities has already made the oil barons of the U. S. very uneasy; so much so that they threatened to make the "closed door policy," formulated at San Remo, by British and French interests working together, an international issue.

The Anglo-Persian Oil company is the king-pin of the British companies. The British government has a share in it and closely watches over its welfare at all times. At the present time it has 60 subsidiary companies and operates in 27 different countries. Did I hear some one mention internationalism?

It controls the oil potentialities of Persia, with the exception of the five northern provinces and has control of about 500,000 square miles of country which is rich in oil prospects—this territory is about 600 miles long and constitutes the largest oil field in the world.

In the five northern provinces, also rich in oil potentialities, an interesting fight is on at present between the Anglo-Persian Co. on one side and the

Standard Oil Co. of N. J., and the Sinclair interests on the other. The Anglo-Persian will probably win out because of government influence. They already have a great number of producing wells, a pipe-line 145 miles long leading to tide-water on the Persian Gulf, and an immense refinery near the mouth of the Karun River.

This company profited largely by the war as it acquired control of several enemy companies under the British equivalent of our Alien Enemy Act and was also lucky enough to gain large holdings in Rumania which Germany formerly held but lost through reparations. They also added materially to their tanker fleet through the seizure of enemy vessels.

In France they have formed a company, in co-operation with French capitalists, for marketing oil both in France and French colonies. They are also constructing a large refinery in France. American capitalists thought they had the inside track in France but the San Remo conference proved otherwise.

Transylvania, formerly a part of Hungary, but now within the confines of Rumania, has added to their supply of oil. Greece, Spain, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, and Jugo-Slavia have also been included in this corporations' march for supremacy in the oil markets of the world. Only one European field of importance has escaped—the Galician one, which the French control.

Asia, however, is the bulwark of this octopus and all concessions are securely nailed down, with the exception of the five Persian provinces previously mentioned. The A. P. also controls the Mesopotamia potentialities, but American capital has succeeded in getting a small share there. The A. P., however, holds the whip hand there by reason of their absolute control of pipe-line and railroad building in this field. In India another British company, the Burma Oil Co. controls the entire output and in combination with the Shell Co. dominates the orient.

To sum up, British capital, through the A. P., the Burma Oil Co. and the Royal Dutch-Shell interests, has gained an almost total monopoly of potential oil-bearing territory all over the world. Industrial imperialism, the most fascinating and most dangerous game in the world has effectually sewed up the world's future oil market for British capital. The A. P. as a monopoly exceeds the wildest dreams of Standard Oil. S. O. never had an organization remotely approaching the scope, authority, and possibilities that the A. P. has after less than ten years' battle.

Figures prove that at the present rate of consumption American capital will be forced to import 500,000,000 barrels of oil a year, unless something like Henry Ford's scheme of "burning coal twice" displaces petroleum in American industry. With 70 percent of the world's known oil territory in the hands of the British it is easy to see where they will have to go for it. I wonder then will "blood prove thicker than water," or will the greasy fluid which means billions of dollars to those who control it tip the balance and throw the world into another carnage of murder for "patriotic" reasons.

When it comes to matters of profit, workers, thinking workers at least, can guess the answer. American capital only controls about 18 percent of the known oil fields of the world. About 16 percent in U. S. territory and about 2 percent in Mexico. Eighty percent of the world's oil bearing territory means wealth beyond the dreams of avarice and with American capital, the largest consumer of oil in the world on one side, and British capital in control of 70 percent of the known fields on the other, the probability is that something will happen—something of far-reaching consequences to the workers of the world—the ones who always slave and suffer, fight and die that capital may be glorified.

How many oil workers give a thought to the immensities of the grease game? Do the American "grease-cats" as they plow through the mud at Mexia or Burkeburnett, or freeze in the rigorous winter climate of the Wyoming and Montana fields, as they plod disconsolately from job to job in the Santa Maria or Santa Fe Springs fields out on the Pacific coast, or as they put in their shift under the eagle-eye of the "push" in the refineries at Whiting, Paulsboro, Wood River or Bayonne ever stop to look beyond the horizon—across seas, deserts and mountains and see the international nature of the game that only rewards their bitter toil with a pittance? Does anyone think that unorganized, individualistic workers have any place in such a proposition as the petroleum industry?

Wake up, Workers—Oil Workers particularly! Strike the scales from your eyes! Look around you and realize that to battle international masters an international union is absolutely necessary. Join the only union which recognizes the immensity of world affairs and their bearing on the lives of the workers. Organize to wipe out forever this unholy system of profit which is never content unless it is grabbing natural resources and sweating profit out of them through the blood of labor, and which is never above sending labor out to fight and die for these profits if there seems any danger of losing them.

Join the IWW and let us end forever "Industrial Supremacy," "Industrial Imperialism," "Imperial Self-Sufficiency," " Economic Penetration," and all the rest of the high-sounding excuses the masters use to explain the murder of the working class. Let us put another slogan into the mouths of the world's workers. Let's substitute "Industrial Unionism" for the catchwords of our masters, for as the masters have organized to grab and hold so must we of the working class. Industrial Unionism is the answer of the workers to those who have robbed and slaughtered them since the beginning of things.

**DON'T MISS COMING ISSUES OF INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**

**GOOD STUFF!**

# "Woe to the Cause that Hath Not Passed Through a Prison!"

By ARCHIE SINCLAIR

CALIFORNIA is today making history of which it will some day be ashamed. Insane persecution is rampant in the Earthquake State. Blind Greed is striving to stifle the voice of protest. Intolerance and Arrogance are in the saddle. Liberty lies crushed. The once fair name of the Golden State is besmirched and befouled. Courts have become market places where the liberties of men are bartered. It can truly be said in this state that:

"Justice is a harlot upon a throne of Gold
Where Liberty is auctioned and Truth is bought and sold."

The story of the persecution of the members of the IWW in California during the past four years is amazing. The cruel, inhuman treatment accorded men who were organizing the workers into the Industrial Workers of the World for the purpose of gaining better economic conditions, is almost unbelievable. The slavish submission of the courts to the financial and industrial interests of the state has made California a byword among the legal fraternity. In a country notorious for the prostitution of its courts to Big Business, California easily outranks her sister states. State and county officials, prosecuting attorneys and judges flaunt their scarlet shame in public. Brazenly they admit, by their every act, that they are the retainers of the Industrial Overlords. Shameless, perfidious California!

### Brief Account of Persecution

The history of the IWW persecution can only be understood when details or separate battles are considered. It is impossible to recount all the struggles that the members have undergone, but we will give a brief account of the number of Criminal Syndicalism trials since the enactment of the Criminal Syndicalism law in 1919.

At the present time there are in the twin Hells of California—San Quentin and Folsom—ninety-seven men serving from one to fourteen, and in some cases from two to twenty-eight years, for violation of the criminal sydicalism law. All of these men in the two prisons are members of the IWW. And it might be well to say in passing that in all the trials under this barbarous law, no attempt was made by the prosecution to prove an overt act against any of the defendants. They were not charged with murder, rape, arson, burglary or vandalism. No attempt was even made to prove that these men taught anything unlawful. Their only offense was that they were members and organizers of the IWW. Because they protested against the exploitation of the workers by the owners of industry they were hailed into court charged with Criminal Syndicalism. **The only possible conclusion that one can arrive at is that these men who are in the twin hells are being persecuted because they preached a message of Industrial Solidarity to the workers of California.**

### Magnitude of Campaign

The magnitude of this four-year campaign in the Class War, the sacrifices made by our fellow workers in California and the persistence with which the Masters egged on their minions can be seen in the number of arrests and convictions under this inhuman law. There have been seventy-nine trials involving 292 persons, all but three of whom were members of the IWW. Of these 97 are in prison at the present time, eight cases are being retried, twenty-four were dismissed without trial, eight during trial and ten after trial. At the present time six are awaiting retrial, twenty-six are awaiting trial and three are on trial.

This is a record of cruelty and ruthless persecution unrivaled by any state or country in modern history. Nowhere in the civilized world can we find such tyranny manifested by any ruling class. It is unparalleled. The masters of California are drunk with power and arrogance.

In exact proportion to the insensate cruelty practiced by the oppressors do we find in the ranks of the IWW in California the unquenchable spirit of Class Solidarity, that intangible something that distinguishes the rebel from the common herd. Man after man, in ones and twos, in groups of tens and twenties have they trod the road that leads to prison and others have taken their places in the vanguard of the battle. The beacon of Liberty has never been dimned for want of someone to hold it aloft. Precursors of the New Day have gone into

the industries and told the workers of the way out of economic bondage. Scores have been sent to prison, but still others have stepped into the breach and carried the battle to the enemy.

### Labor-Baiting Los Angeles' Share

Liberty hating, labor baiting Los Angeles has sent forty-one of our militant members to San Quentin and Folsom. Sacramento, the Wall Street of California, is responsible for the incarceration of thirty valiant fighters in the cause of Freedom. Eight have gone from Quincy in the Sugar Pine region. Eureka, the Capital of the Redwoods, deprived seven fellow workers of their liberty because they would not pay homage to the Lumber Kings. Oakland tried to retard the advance of Labor's cause by imprisoning six of our fellow workers. Three were sent from Marysville, the Hate Town of California. Susanville and Woodland each are responsible for sending one member of the working class to prison because they loved truth better than personal liberty. All these men are in prison at the present time.

The fight in Darkest California still continues. Others will undoubtedly follow the men already in the prison camps. The masters are not beaten. But we can truthfully state that the persecution is abating. It is becoming increasingly hard for the ones in the pay of the industrial rulers to convict men under the Criminal Syndicalism law. The people of the various localities where persecution has been carried on are beginning to see that they have been the tools of the Oligarchy. The truth is at last being made known to all, with the result that Criminal Syndicalism prosecutions are becoming rare. But still there are ninety-seven victims of this atrocious law behind steel bars and walls of stone. They must be released. It is not enough that there will not be many more convictions under the Criminal Syndicalism law. It is not enough that persecution is abating. The men who went to prison in the interest of workers must have their freedom. We must compel the masters of industry who sent them to the penitentiaries to unlock the door and release these Soldiers of Freedom.

### Way of the World

It seems to be the way of the world that those who have a message of hope for humanity must be vilified, persecuted, imprisoned, crucified. In all ages it has been the same. The only answer that the rulers have ever given to those who voiced social protest was the jail and the gallows. "And I saw within the jail those deliverers who in each age have saved the world from itself and set it free, and gyves on their wrists and ankles." It is the only answer that rulers **can give** to those who question their right to exploit and plunder. And the only way that the lovers of justice and truth, the men who desire Industrial Freedom for the workers of the world can make their protest heard is through the criss cross bars of prison windows. "And I saw within the jail them that gave liberty to the slave, and them that unbounded the mind of man, and them that led onward to Freedom and Justice and Love. Woe to the Cause that hath not passed through a prison!"

Ninety-seven victims of the Criminal Syndicalism law are in the prisons of California. While we do not protest against their imprisonment we are guilty of aiding and abetting the masters and their retainers in a crime that has made California notorious among the peoples of the world. This year must see the release of the last victim of this barbarous law. Let us give to this cause the same enthusiasm that they, our imprisoned fellow workers gave to the cause of Industrial Unionism.

# Organize

H. GEORGE WEISE

ON bread and water diet men are languishing today,
It aint no use to cuss the boss, it aint no use to pray,
It aint no use to trust too much to public sympathy
And hope that guy "Opinion" will have strength to set them free.

YOU are the only hope they've got, YOU are their one best bet.
You've done your damndest? I say no! You haven't started yet.
When every ship upon the sea—you bet I'm quoting Hill—
When every train and factory wheel has quit, is standing still,
When this broad land of sweat and toil is solid coast to coast,
When "all for one and one for all" is more than empty boast,
When Money Captains trembling plead before the Workers' might,
When you have economic strength enough to win the fight,
When you can swing the dungeon doors, demolish prisons vast,
THEN only have you the right to say you've done your best at last.

On bread and water diet men are languishing today,
It aint no use to grit your teeth, it aint no use to pray
For God's sake, Fellow Workers, all the world before you lies,
Go out among the toilers—educate and organize!

## OLDER AND WISER

Father—"When I was a young man, I worked twelve hours a day."

Son—"I admire your youthful energy, dad, but I admire still more the mature wisdom which led you to stop it."

# The Lumber Monopoly Exposed

## LaFollette Lays Bare the Conspiracy that Robbed the Government and the Workers.

SENATOR Robert M. LaFollette has rendered lumber workers a great service in describing the nature and ramifications of the lumber monopoly. He calls it a hydra-headed monster, with a body known as the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association, and with tentacles known as regional associations, of which there are eleven in number. They control all the principal sources of supply and, unitedly, form the powerful national association.

They are named as follows: (1) Southern Pine Association (manufacturers of southern yellow pine). (2) West Coast Lumbermen's Association (manufacturers of Douglas fir lumber). (3) Western Pine Manufacturers' Association (manufacturers of western white and yellow pine). (4) Northern Hemlock and Hardwood Manufacturers' Association (manufacturers of hemlock and hardwoods in Wisconsin and upper Michigan). (5) Michigan Hardwood Manufacturers' Association (manufacturers of hemlock and hardwoods in lower peninsula of Michigan). (6) Northern Pine Manufacturers' Association (manufacturers of Minnesota and Wisconsin northern pine). (7) North Carolina Pine Association (manufacturers of yellow pine lumber). (8) Georgia-Florida Sawmill Association (manufacturers of yellow pine lumber). (9) Southern Cypress Manufacturers' Association (manufacturers of cypress lumber). (10) California Sugar and White Pine Manufacturers' Association. (11) Redwood Manufacturers' Association (manufacturers of California redwood).

### Control Home Building

Senator LaFollette shows that these lumber associations comprise substantially all the manufacturers of lumber, large and small, in the United States, as well as those individuals and corporations that control nearly all the privately owned standing timber from which the homes of the American people must be built in the coming generation.

The national association, as well as the regional associations, is in turn controlled and dominated by the great lumber corporations, which have virtually a monopoly grip upon all branches of the industry. Ownership of standing timber insures the domination of every branch of the industry. The ownership of the standing timber and the large areas of land upon which it grows has long ago become concentrated in the hands of a relatively few powerful holders, who are in turn closely bound together by interlocking directorates, identical policies and general community of interest.

Senator LaFollette quotes Report of Bureau of Corporations—Lumber Industry, showing that "the concentration already existing is sufficiently impressive. Still more impressive are the possibilities of the future. In the past 40 years concentration has so proceeded that 195 holders, many inter-related, now have practically one-half of the privately owned

timber in the investigation area (which contains 80 per cent of the whole)."

As in the case of other monopolies, the railroads are in close and intimate relations with the lumber monopoly. The three greatest owners of standing timber in the United States are the Southern Pacific Company, the Weyerhauser Timber Company and the Northern Pacific Company (including their subsidiaries). Other railroads are also owners of immense tracts.

**According to Senator LaFollette, the lumber monopoly was not founded upon superior ability, self-sacrifice, enterprise, or any other similar qualities, but upon bribery and theft; and, above all, upon corrupt corporate control of the machinery of government. Investigation by the Federal Trade Commission reveals enormities committed by this sinister monopoly which stagger even the most hardened student of corporate crime.**

During the war, according to the statement of its own officers, it brazenly robbed the Federal Government of more than two hundred million dollars a year in taxes, and fraudulently arranged to write off between two and three billion dollars of its property in order to dodge taxes.

**It conspired to raise lumber prices to the government outrageously in the very midst of the war, conspiring to restrict the production of lumber at the very time when the President of the United States and every cabinet officer were declaring that victory depended upon maximum production of lumber and other basic raw material.**

**It, further, robbed its workers of wages which it had agreed with the government to pay as a condition of fixing high prices for its products.**

It has used its great power and every artful device in order to prevent the government from reforesting the enormous tracts of land which have been made barren by the wasteful and unscientific methods which it practices in order to enhance the future value of the huge areas of standing timber which it still controls.

It engaged in petty theft by conspiring to rob every lumber user in the United States of half an inch on the width of every board by the barefaced theft known as "scant sawing."

**It conspired to raise the price of every kind of lumber to such unconscionable heights that the more decent or timid lumbermen characterized the prices as "anarchistic" and "incredible," thus forcing the housing shortage which in 1919 and 1920 was responsible for the deaths of thousands of men, women and children, acording to leading medical authorities.**

These sensational charges are proved conclusively by documents taken from the files of these lumber associations and corporations and reproduced in the reports of the Federal Trade Commission to the Congress of the United States.

Senator LaFollette, in further exposing the lumber monopoly, shows that it conspired to place one of its own stoolpigeons in the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue so that he might interpret the law for its benefit. The value of this stoolpigeon's service is given by Secretary Compton in a letter dater July 2, 1919, in which he stated that they had resulted in saving "certainly not less than several millions of dollars to the lumber industry and other owners of timber properties."

Senator LaFollette also pays much attention to Mr. Edward Hines, as one of the leading lumber men who repeatedly conspired to raise the prices of their products to the government. Hines has his offices in Chicago, the scene of the war trials against the members of the IWW, some of whom were lumber workers prominent in the lumber strikes of 1917.

The extortions of the lumber trust properties are also exposed by Senator LaFollette. He also shows how "Government by Private Monopoly" was pursued by the lumber interests in the investigations against them, in Texas, Missouri and Kansas. Furthermore he intimates that a member of their secret society, the "Concatenated Order of the Hoo Hoo" occupies the White House!

In view of Senator LaFollette's exposures it behooves the workers everywhere to back up the industrial organization of the lumberjacks and to aid in the movement to secure the release of the Centralia and all other victims of the lumber interests.

# The State Swayed by Lust

By JOHN McRAE

(Now in one of California's county jails)

THE golden state that bounds Pacific's shore,
With graft and greed and vice is festered o'er.
Democracy and Justice are forgot,
And laws but ever grind the ever starving poor.

A land of peace, for those beneath the dew;
A land of plenty, for the chosen few
Who LIVE by theft and subtle trickery,
And RULE by force as employers used to do.

A land where gold will balance Justice' scales;
Where men are taxed to build more spacious jails
To lock themselves in, should they dare protest
The masters' profits or the slaves' travail.

O! Shameful California! Ever swayed by lust
For gold and power, you shall thrust
Your poison sword through Labor's heart no more;
Your Idols soon will fall and crumble into dust.

The workers now have started to unite
In one strong band, they will not lose the fight
For Freedom and Equality, they will break
With ease the chains that bind them now so tight.

# The Switchtender and His Job

By A CIVIL ENGINEER

HIS name does not matter because there are many like him in all the large railroad yards of the country. On the company's payroll, he was put down as a switchtender and, as he walked by with his slow, regular gait, his tools carelessly resting on his shoulder, on his daily rounds from one switchstand to another, the first impression which a casual glance conveyed to the onlooker was a guess that he was a crank and pretty hard to get along with.

Upon closer acquaintance, the impression proved correct. He was exceedingly officious. Even the roadmaster and the superintendent, whose favor he was always courting, made fun of his good intentions and excused him on account of his age or the length of his service.

He had know better days. Once he had been rated a shop mechanic and he still kept that individualistic psychology which sticks to many former craftsmen, even after some mechanical invention has reduced them to the ranks of the industrial proletariat. During his heyday, he belonged to the machinists' union. Like many AFL-ites, it was not a sense of duty that made him join but merely a desire to defend his job against outsiders. The meaning of solidarity he could or would not grasp. At one time he excelled as a gear and diemaker and, in that capacity, he had practically sacrificed his life to the company. Some general superintendent once had written him an official letter of commendation and he had it framed and hung up in the sitting room of the clumsy little wooden box that he was trying to buy on the installment plan and never ceased to boast of as his home.

### Big Heartedness!

Of course, his hard and delicate work had prematurely impaired his eyesight and thus his skill had vanished. Then the big-hearted company had handed him a job as switchtender, cleaning lamps, lighting them at dusk, sweeping the snow away from between the switchpoints. Day in and day out, he paced from the east to the west end of the yard carrying with him at all times his bundle of tools and his everlasting grouch.

His pet aversion was the hobo. Voluntarily, he acted as a stoolpigeon for the yard bull and occasionally he would get into a chewing match with a gang of box-car travelers and jobhunters waiting for an outbound freight at either end of the yard.

It was great fun to hear him glibly repeat the old capitalistic catchwords of individuality and loyalty and pride of craft and when someone reminded him of the new economic conditions brought about by the onward sweep of the machine process in industry, he would flare up and proudly walk off with the blatant retort:

"No machine process can ever hurt a good man."

* * *

There are hundreds of thousands of switchlights on the railroads of this country and there was a time when all were oil lanterns, cleaned, filled, lighted and extinguished by switchtenders. Any one tender had so many lights under his care that he was compelled to light some after dark and see that some others did not get extinguished until long after sunrise. There was waste and waste cuts into dividends and, besides, not all switchtenders were conscientious or reliable. So, in this little narrow domain of the switchlights, the great force, economic necessity made its appearance.

When some power plant could be found nearby, electric light bulbs took the place of oil lamps and all could be lit up at the same time by throwing a switch at the power house. But switchlights are scattered and thousands of them could not be thus connected and therefore economic necessity took the shape of an engineering problem.

Edison offered a solution by inventing a primary battery to take the place of oil. However a man had to be employed to switch the light on and his wages ate up the profit of the batteries. If the man was dropped and the lights allowed to burn day and night, the wear and tear of the batteries was more expensive than the cost of oil lamps with the switchtender's wages thrown in.

### Introducing Dalen

Now, let me introduce a Swede, Nils Gustaf Dalen by name. A professional hundred-per-center who had been smart enough to pick the US as his birthplace, would, of course, call him an ignorant foreigner. He is a spare, shy man, whose eyes are hidden behind dark smoked glasses. And yet, that man is one of

the most pathetic heroes of our epoch. That man has systematized the lighting of all the ocean highways and is himself today blind, as the result of an accident which overcame him in the course of his experimental work.

Dalen has indirectly written the next chapter in the evolution of railroad lights. He uses acetylene gas and, besides, his lamps begin to burn when the sun goes down. They switch themselves on and off automatically. This result was brought about by the invention of the Dalen sun-valve. The apparatus is composed of four metal rods enclosed in a strong plate-glass cylinder. Three of the rods are burnished and, for that reason, absorb little light but the fourth is of a large diameter and coated with lamp-black and absorbs so much light that it expands by daylight and the expansion lengthens the rod and closes a valve which controls the flow of acetylene gas. Heat does not affect the valve because the hottest fire will expand all the rods equally, while light only lengthens the black one.

The lights burn on the principle of the Welsbach gas mantle and Dalen even invented an automatic mantle-exchanger, so that lamps can be left to themselves and burn for a whole year without any care whatever.

The Dalen sun-valve was originally invented for beacons and coast lights but there has been placed on the market a smaller and cheaper type for use on railroad switchlights which requires about one inspection every three months.

* * *

In tracing the course of technical progress, as regards switchlights, we have met three different stages in a progressive series:

First stage: Oil lamp—hand labor.

Second stage: Electric lamp—machine labor, hand controlled.

Third stage: Dalen sun-valve—Automatic machine labor.

**Machine Process Unfolding**

This instance presents to us the unfolding of the machine process at a glance. Each and every invention brings us nearer to automatism, a technical condition where the machine does the larger part of the work and the thinking and the machine-tender only appears in a secondary way to offer those minor functions which technology has not for the present been able to shift to the machine.

When the railroad type of Dalen's sun-valve comes into general use, and that will be very shortly, our switchtender—good man as he thinks himself—is going to lose his job and the machine process will be the cause.

What is he, what are we, going to do about it? Pick up pebble stones from the roadbed and shy them at the valves or act as intelligent men?

I am afraid that our individualistic switchtender and all those who share with him the frame of mind of the craftsman are going to throw a few rocks.

When our switchtender was let out of the shop, he refused to join the maintenance of way workers' union. Did he not have a company pull and how could anyone imagine an ex-member of the machinists' union, a craftsman and skilled mechanic, joining a union of snipes and gandy-dancers?

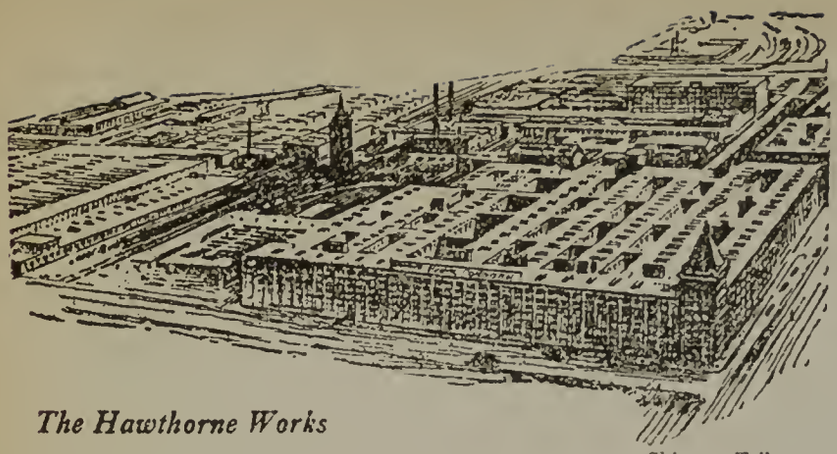
I suppose other switchtenders will have more sense and less hollow pride and that they already belong to the maintenance of way laborers' outfit, but what good does it do them? That outfit is neither fish nor flesh, nor good red herring. It isolates section men and shop laborers away from the rest of the railway workers in a kind of organizational chop-suey made up out of the remnants of all that the brotherhoods and the shop-crafts did not want.

Such a union could not protect the switchtender's job if it wanted to. It is unable to cope with any kind of a technical improvement and its economic effects. Even a full-grown, narrowly specialized, jobtrusting craft union could not do it.

To handle a new invention, means from the workers' point of view, to take such a general social and economic stand that every invention is made to yield more leisure to labor and less dividends to the capitalists.

Only an efficient and scientific form of organization, like the IWW, can handle a new invention by the proper method. When it comes to face such a situation, craft unionism is powerless.

WOMEN AT WORK
In An Oregon Salmon Cannery



*The Hawthorne Works*

—Chicago Tribune.

# A Study in Modern Industrialism

THE WESTERN ELECTRIC CO.

THE study of modern industrialism is the study of big corporations growing bigger, and of the individual workman in them growing proportionately smaller.

One of these corporations is the Western Electric Company. Little is popularly known regarding this company. But recently it has embarked on a campaign of self-advertisement as a benefactor of labor and the community at large. As a result, it is becoming familiar to newspaper advertisement readers and therefore a little more widely discussed.

The Western Electric Company is, practically, the manufacturing arm of the Bell Telephone Co. As such it possesses a monopoly of the manufacture of telephone equipment, telephones and telephone supplies. It specializes in these commodities, just as the General Electric Co. specializes in the manufacture of electric light and power generating and transmitting machinery and locomotives.

### Second Largest Industrial Unit

Its largest plant is situated at Hawthorne, a suburb of Chicago, Ill. According to the "Hawthorne Microphone," the company organ, December 7, 1923, **"Hawthorne is now the second largest industrial unit in the United States, being eclipsed by Henry Ford's Detroit plant. . . . . During the four weeks in November, the number of employes on the Hawthorne payroll has been increased to 38,358. This includes about 690 employes reporting to Hawthorne, not actually in the works."**

The employes in Henry Ford's Detroit plant are estimated at 45,000.

Most of the 38,000 employes at the Hawthorne works toil in solid blocks of factories, many stories high, all connected by bridges. Large numbers of women are employed in the assembling, armature winding and clerical departments; men, in the production department. Apprentices are quite numerous in the mechanical department. They are required to work not only at machines, but also to attend school three afternoons a week. Piece-work prevails to a great extent. Considerable automatic machinery is in use.

The Western Electric Company has all the paternalistic features of a modern industrial corporation, with its company newspapers, hospital, welfare, employment, restaurant, club, band and other departments that aim to control and direct all employes' activities in the interests of the company primarily. These companies are small communities within themselves, with similar departmental and social institutions and administrations.

Employes are all subject to company regulation. Labor unionism is practically non-existent among them. Union members are employed only when absolutely necessary, and are discharged upon displaying signs of union activity. Factory regimentation is very much in evidence. According to employes, applicants for employment must fill a very minute and voluminous application. And when employes announce their intention to leave they are interviewed as to their reasons at great length by a corps of interviewers.

### Output Increases, But Wages?

The Hawthorne Works of the Western Electric Company are expanding, not only in personnel, but output also. In eleven months the number of employes jumped from 27,000 to more than 38,000. At the same time, output increased by nearly 50 per cent. That is, with considerably less than one-third increase in the number of employes the company's output jumped almost one-half. The company, when making this announcement, says nothing as to a corresponding increase in wages, or decrease in hours. It appears there was neither. The company's employes, in other words, get proportionately less wages the more they produce. This is typical of all the big corporations. The more they grow, the smaller, judging from the pay received, become, relatively, the individuals who constitute its working forces and contribute to that increase.

However, the Western Electric Company's advertisement in the Chicago Tribune of December 27, 1923, tells how one of its employes also plays the trumpet at night in the pit of the Chicago grand opera orchestra. Here's the interesting information in full:

### "Doubles in Brass

"Shop mechanic by day; opera trumpet player by night! Such is the unique daily career fol-

lowed by Joseph Gini, a member of Hawthorne's working force. Mr. Gini, who is an expert with the trumpet, has just begun his third season with the Chicago Opera Company orchestra. Hundreds of opera fans at the Works got their first glimpse of Mr. Gini in the orchestra pit recently when they attended the presentation of 'The Jewess'."

It is to be hoped that Mr. Gini doesn't have to have two jobs in order to earn enough to live decently. Apparently, he is an ambitious worker who finds employment with a big corporation detrimental to the artistic temperament, and is, accordingly, trying to get away from it.

The Chicago Tribune advertisement referred to above, has much information of another character, that will also interest the student of modern industrialism. It tells how the expansion in the manufacturing personnel has made it necessary for C. G. Stoll, the Works' Manager, to appoint two assistant Works' Managers, C. L. Rice and S. S. Holmes, respectively. And it goes on to say: "Mr. Rice, who was formerly Superintendent of Production, will be in charge of the Clerical, Production and Inspection branches, with 9,000 employes, and Mr. Holmes, who was General Superintendent of Installation, will direct the Operating and Technical branches, with 14,000 operatives.

"Mr. Rice has been with the Western Electric since 1902, while Mr. Holmes started with the company in 1900."

### Promotions Extraordinary

The latter is an unconscious bit of humor. While it is meant to spur the workers on with the hope of promotion, it shows that every 20 years, 37,000 employes have two chances of getting jobs as assistant Works' Managers. It also shows that regimentation is really a fact. These officials have more power than a major general in charge of an army corps. Their subordinates have no ownership or voice in the means or methods of their livelihood. They are ruled from above by an industrial hierarchy. Nevertheless, to hear Hoover tell it, we live in a land of individualism and democracy; and the big and growing corporation is its epitome.

The Western Electric Company advertises the fact that its company newspaper, The Western Electric World, is published for "the information of OUR employes and their families in Chicago—a group as large as the population of Aurora and Peoria combined"—or 120,000 persons all told.

This is further evidence of the new industrial reign inherent in modern industrialism.

The Western Electric Company's plants are not all located in Chicago. There are two in New York City, one on Hudson street at Houston, being comparatively new and among the very largest in the metropolis. A new $20,000,000 plant is being built at Kearney, N. J., and will eventually employ 30,000 workers.

Take another look at the Western Electric Company. It is, indeed, an interesting study in modern industrialism.

# Labor Turnover

THE fact that more than 9,000,000 workers change their jobs each year, is displeasing to the American Management Association. It costs the capitalists of the country $100 for each change, according to the association. And, of course, the workers are to blame; they are restless and are only happy when changing jobs frequently.

Why should they be otherwise? With work conditions bad and labor organization barred, what can the millions of workers do, but shift about from place to place as often as necessity demands and opportunity allows?

With work becoming more and more seasonal and spotty, workers have to hunt around for more than one job a year in which to make a good year's pay. And with no means of remedying evils what can they do but fly from them to others that they know not of—only to repeat the same performance over and over again?

Why complain of labor turnover? Why not consider the evils of bad management and union oppression?

# Where Big Industry Reigns

INDUSTRIAL unionism, in order to be successful, must enter the big industrial centers. To think it possible to emancipate the working class without an entrance into this field is to indulge in empty dreams.

With the farmers being driven into the cities and industrialism extending ever westward into growing communities, the necessity for industrial union agitation and organization where the big industries are, grows ever more imperative.

The advocates of industrial unionism, if they are ever to succeed, must follow the lines of big industry. They must recognize that where it lies there are also the battlegrounds of labor and the working class hosts that are to make industrial democracy a success. Hence it is there the greatest work must be done.

It will not do to say that industrial unionism has not succeeded there and to opine that the industrial workers are either dull or cowardly. It would be better still to examine into the defects of industrial unionism and, having found them, to revise it accordingly.

The workers in the big industries are practically unorganized. It's up to industrial unionism to organize them!

## CAUSE FOR MERRIMENT

Koretz was no "cheap skate." He went after and swindled "the brains of the community." And now the proletarians chortle out loud, for never did a mountebank, or three card man, take them in as easily as Koretz did these wise men,—these men of "unerring judgment and intuition," appointed by Divine Providence to lead and rob the working class.

# I Sing the Song of the Big City

## A RHAPSODY, A LA WALT WHITMAN

I SING the song of the big city, with its Wrigley Tower and Woolworth Building, raising its Gothic beauty high amid the clouds and illuminated at night by another radiance than that of the stars—the radiance of the electrical genius of Franklin, Edison and Steinmetz—of Man!—making a grandeur that, seen from afar, is an inspiration to things lofty and sublime; and is also a light that beckons not only the seamen on the great lake and great bay, but all other mortals to higher achievements still.

I sing the song of the big city, with its great dynamic throb and its great white way, its busy marts and streets, its temples of art, music and learning, its awakening reminders of the cavemen and lake dwellers with whom it first started on its journey of realization; its social life, wherein man congregates to labor, think, accomplish and enjoy; where boss' associations and labor unions thrive and the God of Property and Profit is most vile; and its colonies, wherein the variegated races of the world assemble and though diverging, tend ever to become as one; a big family, with all of its frailties and weaknesses, its conflicts and disputes and also its loves and possibilities of greatness.

I sing the song of the big city, with its railroads and subways, its darkening clouds of smoke and sparkling-white steam; its blue-electric sputtering and glare on the horizon in the ebony night; its clatter, rattle, bang and roar; its honk, honk! and auto speed maniacs and killings; its contrasts of progress and poverty, its luxury and destitution right next door and continuing to quite a few more doors beyond; its Bowerys and Madison streets; its mission bums, moochers, panhandlers, greaseballs, bootleggers and booze hounds; its gangsters, prostitutes, crooks and crime industry, not to mention its corrupt municipality and the big business that causes it; its myriads of workers, its producers of wealth, its industrious toilers, the salt of the earth, the cream of civilization, streaming from factories, and department stores, and office buildings, and plant yards, like giant ants coming from countless mole holes, overrunning the streets, cluttering up traffic, overloading the trolleys with crowds, sulphuric language and the need of ventilation; making of life one hell of a hustle and jostle, in which only the brawny and brutal get the seats and the women and children stand up, or hang on the straps, giving birth to a new race, as distinguished from the primates who hung by their tails in the primeval jungles.

I sing the song of the big city, where not only the congestion of population is big, but life itself is tremendous. Where man lives not in fear of nature's quakes, but the bombing plane that will wipe out his myriad greatness and make of his miles of blocks mounds of charred ruins and morgues of millions. Where terror is rampant, joy is piled high, and sorrow and suicide run deep. Where Capital is colossal and Labor more colossal still as, like another Atlas, it carries the burdens of both. Where the mettle of man is tried and

annealed in a roaring furnace of conflicting interests and only the weak and cowardly run away from its bewildering complexities and problems. Where the sun shines on shore roads and boulevards long and lovely, where, in parks, the verdure of the grass is often blotted out by the tired forms of homeless men; and the river's lapping, the lake's azure, and the bay's sweep, is music to the ears and a delight to sore eyes and sorer lives. Where the bridges tower, colossus-like, astride boroughs and suspend in geometrical symmetry, or open up like great giants yawning; while the passing boats below emit steam and energy that infuses one with a desire to do or be damned.

I sing the song of the big city, place of my birth, that often drives me, like a son disowned, from it; only to yearn to return to its devouring spaciousness. The idiocy of the country knows it not; it is the apotheosis of mental virility and intelligent restlessness. Monument to men descendant from the great Pyramid builders, it houses the master-constructors of the new society. Like a mammoth she-Pantagruel, it is pregnant with big problems pressing for solution. Its bosom rages with the conflict of classes; of the plutocrats against the masses; of the machine gun against the mind of the new era coming. Its brain divines the need for labor's realignment on industrial lines instead of political boundaries. And in its imagination there arises a vision of greater grandeur still—of a city truly beautiful, as beautiful as the poet's song and the innocence of childish laughter. A city in which man shall not only do and dare, but divine, without outraging his own noble mission and his own innermost happiness.

I sing the song of the big city, with all of its harsh realities and inspiring promises. It is a big song, as big as the city of which it sings.

J. E.

## A CITY INSTITUTION

**I. W. W. Headquarters in Minneapolis, Minn. On Nicollett Ave., one of the most prominent thoroughfares, it is conspicuous for its white enameled front and big literature display.**

# Two New Steel Branches

**The steel drive of the IWW is still going on with unabated vigor! Two new branches, at Canton, O. and Gary, Ind., respectively, have been recently chartered. The 440 delegates behind the drive are renewing their credentials and getting lined up for 1924 organization work in a way that is encouraging.**

**Though the business slump has hit the steel industry, the work of agitation and education goes steadily forward, as it is believed that, with resumption, organization will be further effected.**

**Organizing the steel industry is no child's play. It is a gigantic industry with gigantic resources. But after all it depends on its workers. And when they organize, no force can stop them.**

**The steel drive has had a good effect on metal and machinery organization generally. Machine centers as far east as Massachusetts have been affected and branches of 440 have been organized in that state also.**

**One of the most encouraging features of the steel drive is the spirit of co-operation which it has developed between the metal workers' industrial union and the marine transport workers' industrial union. This is especially the case in the cities on the Great Lakes, where most of the transportation is controlled by the Pittsburgh Steamship Co., a subsidiary of the U. S. Steel Corporation, Harry Coulby, president; and better known as "Harry Coulby's "tin stack navy."**

**Another encouraging development is seen in the awakened interest in Eastern organization. The East is the location of big industry; and the steel drive is the wedge the IWW is driving into the latter. With Pennsylvania possessing more population than the eleven states west of Nebraska and Wyoming, with Ohio and Illinois pushing Pennsylvania a close second as the seat of big industry, the importance of the steel drive to industrial unionism cannot be overrated.**

**It will have a good stimulating effect on textile organization in the Keystone state, that's sure; for the textilers there have already got the organization fever, as well as the metal workers and the marine transport workers have. They declare their intention to organize the textile industry, no matter what obstacles are thrown in their way.**

**That's the spirit that counts; and it's that spirit that the steel drive has stimulated some; and that its success will help to stimulate some more.**

**The last general convention of the IWW distinguished itself by endorsing and getting behind the steel drive. It was a very wise move, as it shows that the convention recognizes a key industry and its importance when it sees one.**

**Forward with the steel drive! Let the whole East get behind, co-operate with, and make the most of, it.**

## SUBSCRIBE FOR THE PIONEER

# At the Art Institute

ARCTIC WHALERS HOMEWARD BOUND—Wm. Bradford, Painter.

VOLTAIRE—BY HOUDON
From Marble Statue In Paris, France.

STEEL WORKER—By MUNIER
Belgian Master In Proletarian Sculpture.

# Eugene Barnett, Cartoonist

THIS cartoon was drawn by Eugene Barnett. He is one of the eight victims of the Centralia conspiracy now serving from 25 to 40 years in Walla Walla penitentiary, Washington. This conspiracy was concocted by the lumber interests of that state. It consists in raiding the IWW hall with a mob, headed by American Legionnaires, and then fastening the deaths that occurred in defense of that hall and its occupants on the defenders.

The story of the trial at Montesano is one of the blackest pages in American judicial history. Armed men filled the courtroom daily and threatened the jurors. The General Defense has affidavits from six jurors saying that they were frightened into convicting men they knew had acted within their legal rights. Three other jurors have made statements to the same effect.

In addition to Eugene Barnett, the other victims of the Centralia conspiracy incarcerated in Walla Walla, are James McInerny, Britt Smith, O. E. Bland, Ray Becker, John Lamb, Bert Bland and Loren Roberts.

Among the IWW members who were killed by the mob that attacked the IWW hall, was Wesley Everest, an overseas veteran. He was mistaken for the secretary in charge of the hall, Britt Smith, and so was subjected to a series of intermittent and savagely vindictive assaults. He was kicked and beaten, dragged behind an auto, UNSEXED, and then lynched from a bridge of the Chehalis River.

Amid it all, Wesley Everest defied his defilers, and though suffering a thousand bodily agonies, never permitted a groan to escape his tortured lips. A man of great nerve, courage and fortitude. Wesley Everest died as dies a hero, staunchly asserting, despite savage opposition, his cause and personality to the very end.

Loren Roberts, his fellow worker, has immortalized Wesley Everest's death in a song, "The Tragedy of The Sunset Trail." Workers are beginning to sing it wherever they meet to advance their class interests.

All honor to Wesley Everest!

**The above cartoon and incidents reflect the humor, intelligence and heroism of these eight lumber trust victims. Will you permit them to remain in durance vile without striving for their release, with all the energy that you can command?**

UGH ! YOU SPOILUM COUNTRY, BUFFALO ALL GONE, PRETTY-SOON DEER ALL GONE, TREES ALL GONE, UGH! YOU SPOILUM.
☆—!!! ☆ SPUTTER ☆☆! IF YOU DON'T LIKE THIS COUNTRY WHY DON'T YOU GO BACK WHERE YOU CAME FROM ? ☆☆!-
NATURALIZATION PAPERS
100% AMERICAN
By Eugene Barnett

An American inventor predicts that in twenty years television will be in common use. Instead of seeing motion pictures some time afterward we shall be able to sit in a theater and actually see, as if on the spot, instead of many miles away, and at the same time hear.

# A Smoke Screen

THE war between the fundamentalists and the modernists in the denominational churches will not serve as a smoke screen to hide the fact that, no matter how much they may divide on dogma, both factions stand, nevertheless, for capitalism, with its exploitation of labor, wars, and menace to so-called civilization generally.

Man may have been divinely and spontaneously created, or he may have been evolved from the gorilla or the ape; that is a matter for churchmen to settle to their own satisfaction; with others it is no longer a mooted question. Nevertheless, capitalism is offensive to labor and to mankind generally, and until all churches get "hip" to that fact, and withdraw all support from the monstrosity, intelligent workmen and women will continue to regard them as being arrayed on the side of the worst forces in human life, and as such to be opposed as inimical to the progress and development of the race.

Intelligent workers do not care about the dogmatical basis of theology; they are interested in its capitalism, pure and simple. Until the churches call capitalism heretical and atheistic, they will find intelligent labor regarding them as a foe to labor and an enemy to the race. If they would cease to be suspect, the churches must cast out capitalism and the private property on which it is based.

# A Misplaced Award

By SAM HIGGINSON

INDUSTRIAL conditions peculiar to the Pacific Coast and the west generally, cause men of ambition and integrity to be thrown from time to time in company with a vicious and criminal element. The casually employed do exercise a considerable thrift in order to tide over the unemployed periods; hence are many times forced to hobo from job to job. In other words they wait at railroad terminals for a chance to catch a freight or passenger train and ride without paying their passage in many times hazardous and exposed positions.

At the outskirts of nearly all western cities can be seen a group of rough appearing men, including in their number boys still in their teens as well as gray-haired men and crippled adults. This is a conglomerate mass of human derelicts and from them many tales of hardship and exposure can be heard when time hangs heavy on their hands. Old refuse gathered from behind stores and along the tracks constitutes the fuel for their camp-fires, which many times are never unattended for weeks and weeks.

### A Movable Social Stratum

This human drift could be termed a movable social stratum for there is present certain ethics and morals as well as castes. Many pride themselves on their records for globe-trotting,—others on their successful evasion of capture by officials of the law and still others boast in a modest way of their seemingly sacrificing acts of philanthropy.

Of one thing these men are the very best informed along industrial and geographical lines of any group the writer has ever met. Instantly a question is asked regarding either a job or the location of a city and many ready answers are forthcoming. Authentic in every detail. Some going so far as to name the dividends paid by certain corporations and amounts invested and extent of projects.

Had the good fortune to listen in on a discussion between two members of a "Jungle gang" on the merits of awards for heroism. One of these men was able to offer an experience of his own for proof that awards for heroism are sometimes misplaced and his story follows:

"One windy night on Market Street in San Francisco I found myself in possession of a ravenous appetite and no means to appease it. A portly looking, well dressed man smoking a large cigar was looking in a jeweler's display window and when I approached him and related my plight he turned back the lapel of his top coat and displayed a badge and informed me that he would take me where I could have a regular boarding house. This was a disappointment to me but I had no redress. Along with many others I was sentenced the next morning to six months in prison.

### The Tobacco Smugglers

"This was for committing no crime and my company for the next six months was to be with hardened criminals. However, I watched my chances and became a model prisoner. This gave me a few liberties not accorded to the others; such as sleeping on a cot in the corridor and not being locked in a cell, as well as the occasional liberty to the freedom of the grounds.

"In this institution the use of tobacco was prohibited. That is, you were not allowed to have any tobacco in your possession. This is really a severe punishment to one who has become accustomed to its use. Many measures are used to smuggle both tobacco as well as the material for kindling fire into prisons. Attached to this prison was a rock-pile. Jocularly the activity of breaking rock is known as 'making little ones out of big ones.'

"This was one of the means of obtaining material for making fire. The flint-like rock was selected and pieces small enough to conceal about one's clothing were smuggled into our cells. By gathering lint from blankets, caps or other cloth and placing it in a partly open magazine we were ready to strike the flint together and thus generate a coal which, when blown upon by the mouth would glow and light the balance of the lint.

"This magazine would find its way from cell to cell with its warm message. It is presumed that some prisoner was surprised in the act of smoking and suddenly deposited his cigarette or lit pipe in the wooden ventilators that were a part of each cell. This prison was a firetrap to begin with, having been built a number of years ago and of wooden material.

"I was at this time allowed to sleep in the corridor of the north wing on a cot. Was awakened about ten o'clock on a Sunday night by a cry of fire in the corridor where I slept. I hastily spread the alarm to the main office for the warden to hurry and release these prisoners from their cells into the main corridors. In the meantime the place had become a madhouse of enraged humans. Imagine being locked in a cell in a burning building.

"At night each cell is given an iron cup with about a quart of water and some of the men in their fear and excitement had reached through the bars of their cells and hurled these iron cups at the windows; thus letting in a draft of air which only added to the intensity of the flames. When the warden arrived on the scene he commenced to unlock cells

# Open Shop's Cloven Hoofs

THE Open Shop advocates in Chicago are showing their cloven hoofs. While pretending to be the only protectors of American standards, they are really their underminers and destroyers. They deny the rights of organization to their employees, while organized themselves. They plan to subject the individual workers thus placed at their mercy to increased hours and lower scales of wages, accordingly, than are granted by closed shop employers in agreement with labor unions. And they call this Americanism, illustrating once more what crimes are committed in the name of liberty.

The proof of the foregoing in to be found in "Open Shop News," published by the Open Shop Employing Printers Association of Chicago in the interests of those in the Printing and Allied Trades in the Chicago Industrial Area who operate their shops on the American Plan. In its October issue this sheet contains the following:

**"Get Twelve Months Out of 1924.**

"Did it ever occur to you that some shops are only working eleven months of the year?

"Figure it out for yourself.

"Take a shop running on the 44-hour a week basis and another on the 48-hour basis.

"Compare them.

"44 is to 48 as 11 is to 12.

"It doesn't seem much when you think of the difference in terms of weeks.

"But cut one whole month off your production (and that is exactly what the 44-hour week does) and see just how much you lose.

"Is it really fair to yourself to throw away a whole month of production time?

"If you have a 44-hour shop—and consequently lose a month a year—can you compete with the fellow who produces during that extra month?

"Not much!

"You lose—and lose plenty.

"Another thing: the open shops could afford to close down entirely for one whole month and still be ahead of the game as compared to the closed shops which are restricted in their output by the unions.

"Make 1924 a TWELVE instead of an eleven-month year.

"Be fair to yourself and get the returns from your shop that are rightfully yours."

It will be noticed that nothing is said here about what is rightfully the individual worker's who must toil under these conditions.

He has no rights, except to be explolted as the interests of the open shop employers demand. That is, he is one lone individual, pitted against a combine formed to exploit him to the limit and to get 12 months' labor out of him, where other employers who permit him to combine ask only eleven.

And this pitting of the individual worker against a combination intent on increasing his hours of toil is called Americanism!

If this is Americanism, what has become of the American sense of fair play and decency? Of pitting men against one another on a basis of fairness?

But enough of this. What is necessary is for individual workers to realize what the open shop means and to revolt against it by organizing industrially. The open shop is a means of exploitation of the worst kind that uses Americanism as a disguise to hide its despicable purposes. Organize against it. Join the IWW Printers' and Publishers' Industrial Union and overthrow it.

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right away but where there was no one suffering from the heat and where there was the least danger to him.

"I told him in as forcible terms as I could command that he should unlock the cells at the farther end of the corridor where the men were really suffering from the smoke and heat. I accompanied him to the other end of the corridor and after he had unlocked one cell he bolted.

"He was too slow. I had grabbed him by the shoulders in no gentle manner and in stern tone declared that if he did not unlock every cell there and then that he and I would burn with the prisoners. Under the threat of my ultimatum he did unlock every cell although we both suffered from the intense heat and smoke. This entire wing was destroyed before the fire department came on to the scene. The main building was saved.

"Now I was only a prisoner and no longer a human. The man I forced to act heroically was given a great deal of praise by the newspapers and the state later on decorated him with a medal. He wears this decoration to this day, but how he can feel proud of it is what beats me. I think you cannot help but agree that this was a misplaced award."

# Reversing Farm History

THE industro-financial policy of sacrificing agriculture to industry is reversing the trend of agricultural shipments. For the first time in history, the imports of agricultural products into the United States exceeded the exports during the year ending June 30, 1923, the department of agriculture announced recently.

This result was reached by a large increase in imports and a slight decrease in exports.

Imports, including forest products, for the year ending June 30, were valued at $2,315,000,000, while corresponding exports were set at $1,927,000,000.

Excluding forest products the imports were $1,903,000,000 and the exports $1,799,000,000.

# Live Wire

By ARTHUR PEEL

**THIS story is more fact than fiction. It is original and published here for the first time. Some will claim that it more properly belongs in a magazine of success, or a management magazine. But it is printed here instead, as it affords an interesting insight into the real nature of management.**

**According to current capitalist economics, management is something apart and separate from labor—a quality and function peculiar to capitalists only, and, therefore, entitling them to the greater share of production stolen from labor.**

**"Live Wire" explodes this fallacy. It makes vivid the fact that capitalist management is dependent on and inseparable from hired labor. True, this labor is high-salaried. It commands social respect on account of its responsibilities. That, however, does not alter its wage-exploited character. Managerial labor is hired and, what is more degrading, fired as is all other labor, just the same—that is, according to the degree of exploitation demanded by dividends and profit. And it is this labor that constitutes "Management" of the real capitalist variety.**

**Technicians of all kinds are beginning to recognize their real status under capitalism. And the day is coming when more of them will be arrayed, together with the Steinmetzs, Polakovs, Woodruffs, et. al., on the side of the great working class, where they belong. Even accountants are leaning our way; hence the appearance of this story here, instead of elsewhere.**

GEORGE ROBINS was no Conan Doyle, Carolyn Wells, or O. Henry; he was only a hard-boiled prosy accountant, with about as much imagination as a setting hen who has no idea of what she will hatch from the bunch of eggs she is sitting on—it may be ducks! When Robins extracted figures from his ledgers, journals and cash-books and mechanically made up statements every month, semi-annually, and annually, he never allowed his imagination an airing, no, not even to the extent of even wondering what the ingredients of his omelet would be. But for once in his life, he had managed to produce a story, which, though expressed only in figures and stereotyped phraseology, was of such absorbing interest that the cigar which Mr. Calvin Chilcott, the president of the Chilcott Wire and Cable Company, Incorporated, had tightly clipped between his teeth, had gone out. Now if there was one thing Calvin Chilcott abominated it was a burnt out cigar, therefore we are justified in assuming that there was something in Robins' statement which had hit him hard. But the strange thing was that Robins saw nothing unusual in the balance sheet which he had just presented to his chief.

Calvin Chilcott had just returned from an extended tour through Europe, where he had been seeking new markets for high grade wires and cables, such as are used by electric lighting and traction corporations. During his absence from the States, the general manager of the Chilcott Wire and Cable Company had died suddenly. When advised of this, Chilcott had cabled Harvey Simpson, the vice-president, to superintend things until his return. Harvey Simpson, an easy-going, sport-loving man, with an ample private income, took immediate steps to rid himself of the responsibility thus thrust upon him. He called a meeting of the chief executives of the Company and from their number he appointed a committee of five

to manage the affairs of the plant, pending the return of the president. Now, in this, he showed considerable wisdom, though we can hardly put this to his credit, for, hating responsibility of any description, Harvey Simpson had taken the easiest way out and it was not from any quality of keen foresight, or insight, that he had placed the conduct of the business in the hands of better men than himself.

This committee consisted of Barwick Evans, the sales manager; Henry Floyd, purchasing agent; Warren Stokes, production manager; Alfred Burstall, secretary-treasurer; and George Robins, chief accountant. Their administration was now on trial, and had they been witnesses of the storm clouds gathering on the face of the chief, they would not have felt easy.

Calvin Chilcott was frankly puzzled. Out of the mass of figures there loomed one item which eclipsed everything else in the statement—"Inventory . . . . . $1,550,948.80." There was a sharp "buzz" in the chief accountant's office, and Robins, who had learned to interpret the moods of the Chief by the length of his "buzz," knew, before he reached the president's office, that the temperature was rising.

When Robins entered the private office he found Mr. Chilcott violently chewing the end of the still dead cigar, while his eyes were burning holes in the sheet before him.

"Robins," he said, looking up sharply," what the devil does this mean?"

"What does what mean?" replied the unperturbed accountant with the familiarity of an old and privileged servant of the Company.

"Why, this million and half dollars, of course! There's nothing else of interest to me on this balance sheet compared with **that!**" the chief answered impatiently.

The accountant shrugged his shoulders, as he said, "It means that we have that much money tied up in raw material, work in process, and finished product."

"Don't be a d——— fool, Robins," the irritated man replied. "Though I am no accountant, I know **that** much, I hope. What I want to know is, have we overbought on raw material? Has there been over-production in the factory? Or, is the stock not moving? Now then, which is it?"

Now George Robins was an accountant—a good accountant, we may add, but, he was only an accountant in the most limited meaning of the word. Had he been a bigger man, he would have considered it his business to make himself acquainted with many things, which, though not strictly in his province as accountant, were nevertheless vitally related to his records. In other words, instead of being a keeper of records and a figure juggler, only, he might have been an advisor and consultant—a sort of human barometer, we might say. By relating his knowledge of what was reflected on the books of the company, to a knowledge which he might have gained of conditions in the factory, and in the stores, he would have been the one man in the factory to issue a note of warning at the right moment. As it was, he was unable to give a direct reply to the president's inquiry. He knew that he could dig it out from the books, but Jackson was the factory ledger keeper, and Robins had never considered it necessary to make himself familiar with the details of Jackson's ledger, especially as Jackson's trial balance was always in order. This he explained to Mr. Chilcott.

"Then get it!" snapped the chief. "Break the darned thing up! Pull it to pieces! I must know what it means! Between the bunch of you, you are going to ruin the concern!"

With that utter disregard for detail which is characteristic of so many big executives, Calvin Chilcott had little idea, if any, of the system by which the accounts of the company were being kept. Had he possessed this knowledge it is just probable that George Robins would not have been filling the position of chief accountant of the Chilcott Wire and Cable Company.

Robins left the president's office and went at once to Jackson's desk.

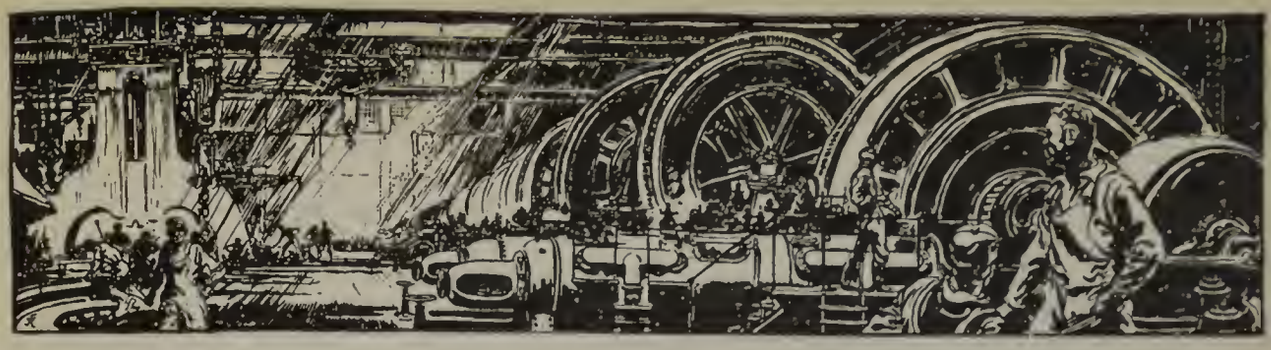
"Give me a copy of your last trial balance, Joe. The chief's all up in the air over the amount of inventory we are showing."

Jackson took a private file from a drawer in his desk and took off a copy of his last trial balance.

"I'll get the girl to type you a copy," he said, as he handed it over to his stenographer.

"Alright, send it in to my office as soon as possible," answered Robins.

Joe Jackson was a young man of some imagination, and, moreover, he had obtained his experience in a different school to that in which Robins, his chief, was trained. Robins had been with the firm for thirty years, and saw things only from one angle, which happened to be the slant which was very common to bookkeepers of a generation ago, but which modern acountants have discarded as being too limited, thereby raising their vocation to the dignity of a profession, and vastly increasing their efficiency and value. It was not surprising therefore that Jackson was entirely out of sympathy with his chief's ideas and ideals, which had created an artificial barrier between the accounting department and other departments. Unostentatiously, and without a sacrifice of loyalty to the chief accountant, Jackson had determined that he would do his part towards breaking down this wall of division, which, while it excluded the interests of other branches, prevented those on the inner side from obtaining an intelligent view of the operations of those branches which, with the accounting department, made an industrial whole. Because he had adopted this policy, Jackson knew a whole lot more about his work and the operations of the factory than his chief had any idea of; but



he was too wise a man to give his knowledge away in a quarter where he knew it would not be appreciated. He was just waiting patiently for an opportunity of capitalizing his information.

When Robins had asked for his trial balance, he knew that something interesting was going to happen, and he had a shrewd suspicion as to the principals who would be involved.

* * *

Five men in addition to the president, sat around the handsome board table in Mr Chilcott's office. These were the men appointed by Harvey Simpson to conduct the affairs of the business during the absence of the president.

Calvin Chilcott lit another cigar, tilted himself back in his chair, then started a rapid fire of questions, addressing each man in turn. Jackson's trial balance was before him, showing the inventory under three captions: "Raw material," "Work in Process," and "Finished product." This was supported by schedules in which the detailed values were shown in support of the main statement.

While the chief was putting his executives through a kind of "third degree" examination, there was a tap on the door. His secretary answered it and returned a second later with a neatly bound set of charts, graphs and curves, which she laid on the table before the president.

"What's this?" he asked sharply.

"Mr. Jackson, the cost accountant, asked me to give it to you. I thought probably you had asked for it."

"Don't know anything about it!" and he pushed the charts aside impatiently, but in so doing he inadvertently pulled back the top cover, and a neatly printed title caught his eye—"Comparative chart of Sales and Production for the twelve months ending September 30th, 1921." He was interested and studied the chart for several seconds, then turning to Robins, he said, "Why haven't you shown me these before?"

Robins looked blankly at his chief. "First time I've seen them."

"Humph!" grunted Chilcott, "the boy's got ideas."

"Now," he continued, "I see from this chart, Evans, that sales have been steadily decreasing for the past six months. Of course, we knew that, but somehow I was not able to visualize it in the manner in which it is shown here. I notice that the ratio of decrease has increased every month since May. Worse than I thought!"

No comment was offered to this.

Turning to another chart, he looked up suddenly and again addressing the sales manager, said:

"How do expenses in your department this month, compare with April's expense?"

Evans hesitated, then replied:

"I can't give you actual figures, sir, but we have two men less on the road than we had in April: that would mean a saving of approximately $1,800 a month."

The president looked again at the chart before him which was titled "Comparative departmental expenditure for twelve months ending September 30th, 1921," then said:

"I can give you some information which may interest you Mr. Evans; your expenditure has actually increased. By that I mean that it cost you $7,000 to sell $100,000, as against $9,000 to sell $160,000 in April. Now don't think that I am criticizing your administration, there may be a legitimate reason for this, but what I want to point out is that you men should have this information at your finger tips."

"We never knew it was available," answered the sales manager.

"Then you should have asked for it!" was the laconic reply.

Calvin Chilcott turned to another sheet, then his face became grave. Looking up from the chart, he said:

"It appears, Mr. Stokes, that notwithstanding the unsatisfactory state of the market, you have not cut down production, with the result that we are seriously overstocked. The market is still falling and the Lord only knows where it will end."

There was a painful silence in the room. Evans and Floyd looked relieved, while Robins was as unperturbed as ever. Whatever happened, it wasn't **his** funeral!

Then the president added, "Of course, Stokes, I can't judge you on this chart alone, it may be all wrong. What do you think about it yourself?"

"There is no mistake, Mr. Chilcott, the chart is quite correct. I saw it a few days ago and told Jackson that his figures agreed with mine."

The chief rose, saying as he did so, "Thank you, gentlemen. I will not detain you longer, except Mr. Stokes who must have a lot to explain."

After a lapse of half-an-hour, Warren Stokes, the production manager came out of the president's office, looking serious, but showing no evidence of nervousness or fear.

* * *

That night two young men sat in the office of the production manager, busily engaged on various statements and books. A junior was pounding away on an adding machine while yards of paper ticked off the roller as he worked.

"Joe," said Warren Stokes (for it was he and Jackson who were holding a night session), "our great chance has come, and we have got to show the old man that we are bigger than our jobs. I could not defend myself this afternoon because the decision of the union is not known yet; and as to the other matter about which I spoke to you, I am still without confirmation. In these circumstances I just had to make the best of a bad job and asked him to defer taking any action until tomorrow night. But say, boy, it's a marvel he didn't fire me on the spot."

"Well, as you know, Mr. Stokes, I'm with you, but I'm darned if I know how you get in on all this dope. Our competitors would give thousands to know what you know."

Warren laughed, as he said, "Because, I'm like you, Joe; I go after it and don't wait till it comes to me—too late!"

Jackson looked at Stokes admiringly; he was almost a boy in appearance, though five years Joe's senior, which would make him thirty-one. His genial disposition and consideration had won for him the goodwill and respect of all his colleagues, but one, though he was a newcomer in the firm.

"You took some risk in keeping up production when the market was dead, but by Jove! I believe you'll make the grade," Joe said with enthusiasm.

The next morning at seven o'clock, a sinister figure appeared at the factory gates; it was that of the "walking boss." At nine o'clock, a committee headed by the walking boss presented itself at the office of the president. After waiting for a quarter of an hour, they were ushered into the office of "the old man."

Half an hour later the door opened and the committee emerged; some serious, others visibly angered. Inside the office Chilcott strode up and down chewing viciously his unlit cigar. Then stopping suddenly he pressed a button at the side of his desk. A few seconds passed and then a tap at the door.

"Come in!"

It was the factory manager, John Everett.

"Close down at noon, today, John, and have your payrolls made up at once."

John Everett looked at his chief, at first too dazed to make a remark, then finally said: "Is it a lock-out, sir?!"

"Yes!" answered Chilcott, shortly. Then, as if realizing that some further explanation was necessary, he added:

"If we wait, the men themselves will call a strike by the end of the week. I am going to beat them at their own game, that's all."

As soon as Everett had left the office, the president picked up the inter-departmental phone on his desk and connected with Robins.

"Everett will have the payrolls ready by noon. Get the money and pay off today."

Without waiting for any reply or comment, he hung up the phone, only to pick it up almost immediately and connect with the factory manager.

"Forgot to tell you to tell Tom to bank the fires at noon. We'll teach 'em a lesson and will close down for several days."

Quickly the news spread that the old man was going to fight. Among the executives the general opinion was that the advantage was all on the side of the Company, since they were carrying such large stocks of finished wire and cable which they had very little chance of unloading under the existing state of the market. But two men were silent . . . and watchful. One was busy checking statements which his stenographer was turning over to him every few minutes, her fingers flying over the keyboard in her race with time. The other was sitting at his desk waiting . . waiting anxiously for the telephone bell to ring.

There it was! Eagerly Warren Stokes picked up the receiver:

"Hello! . . Good! . . . . Thanks, old man. Goodbye!"

That was all, but the clouds which had flitted across his usually bright face, were effectually dispersed by the message he had just taken.

He picked up the phone again and connected with the sales manager's office.

"Hello, Evans! Are you alone? . . No? .Well, I must see you alone, at once. I wonder if you would mind coming over to my office? . .Thanks."

The feeling between Stokes and Evans had never been cordial. There existed between them that peculiar mental antagonism which is often to be found with men of strong personality. When Evans walked into the office of the production manager, it was evident that he was not in the best of humor.

Stokes motioned him to a chair, and producing from his desk a box of cigars, he offered it to Barwick Evans, then without any preliminary skirmishing he launched immediately into the matter which had made it necessary for him to arrange the interview.

"Evans, you and I have not been what one might call, a sympathetic team. Perhaps the fault is as much mine as yours, but somehow we haven't hit it off together as well as might have been desired in the interests of the business. However, we have now arrived at a sort of crisis in the old firm and I want to turn over to you some information which I have every hope and reason for believing, will save the situation. There is no particular reason why I should give this information to you except this, that you are sales manager, while I am production manager, but I have been rooting round picking up some dope which should come to you, only you

weren't alive to it. I don't want to hurt your feelings, but that's the plain truth.

"You know what happened yesterday in the old man's room," he continued; "you other fellows slipped from under while I had to take all that was coming. Now I could probably square myself at once with the old man, by going to him with the news which I am about to give to you, but this would be against my principle, and moreover would not be sufficient justification for my alleged bad judgment in not cutting down production when things were looking bad: I have other strings to my bow."

He was silent for a few seconds, while Evans drew hard at his cigar, ill at ease.

Warren Stokes was about to continue when the door softly opened and Jackson stood on the threshold.

"I'm sorry, I thought you were alone, Mr. Stokes."

"It's alright, Joe. Excuse me a minute, Mr. Evans."

Jackson gave him a sheaf of neatly typed statements and some more graphs and curves, remarking as he did so, "I'll swear by these, if necessary." He then left the two men alone.

* * *

Calvin Chilcott was dictating rapidly to his stenographer when someone knocked at the door of his private office.

"Hello! Come in!" he shouted.

The door opened and Warren Stokes and Barwick Evans walked in.

"Can't see you now, gentlemen, too busy. See you in an hour . . I'll ring for you."

Evans made a move as if to leave, but the production manager checked him, as he said:

"Mr. Chilcott, I'm afraid you **must** see us now. What we have to say is of greater importance than anything else you may have on hand at this moment."

The president looked up and stared at Stokes in amazement. "What the devil . . . . !" he commenced but Warren interrupted him.

"Chief, we're responsible officials of the Com pany, and we wouldn't be here now if it wasn't for the fact that we have some information which vi tally concerns the business, and therefore—you."

Calvin Chilcott was struggling with himself; he hated to be bearded in this way, yet something in the young man's attitude impressed him.

"Get it out, then, and be quick about it!"

"Thank you, sir, Mr. Evans will tell you what it is."

"Mr. Chilcott, I have just heard that China is in the market for large quantities of copper wire and cable and is getting bids in this country. The terms are for immediate shipment and we are the only people in the States with the stock on hand."

"How much will they take?" inquired the president.

"More than seventy-five per cent of our stock," replied the sales manager.

Chilcott looked at him keenly, then said:

"Where did you get this information?"

Evans hesitated, but only for a second, then said:

"Mr. Stokes has been following the thing for some time. He made a valuable connection wi'h the Chinese Trade commissioner in Washington, and from what he tells me, the order is practically ours. He took me into his confidence this morning. If we can put through this deal, Mr. Chilcott, here is the man to whom the firm will be indebted."

Calvin Chilcott looked from one to the other—there was something about the whole business that puzzled him—then addressing Stokes, he said:

"Is this why you have been accumulating a large stock?"

"It is one reason, sir, but there is another. I knew three months ago that a strike would be called; I knew also that the cost of production was as low now as it would ever be, and with an increase in labor cost and the prevailing market price of wire it would just mean that we should be out of luck. I assumed therefore (and my assumption, sir, was correct) that you would refuse the demands of the union. Relating this to information which, as Mr. Evans has told you, I secured on the China proposition, I thought it worth while to take the risk and increase the stock while I could, especially when I discovered that all our serious competitors

were reducing their stock as rapidly as possible."

The president stared at Warren Stokes, who returned his gaze unflinchingly. After a long pause Mr. Chilcott said:

"Mr. Stokes, we need a general manager. The job is yours."

Warren flushed slightly for this was beyond his expectations. For several seconds he didn't know that the president was standing before him with an outstretched hand; as soon as he noticed this, he grasped it, but could say nothing.

"Well, what do you say, my boy?" Chilcott's tone was kindly and fatherly.

"Pardon me, sir, but this took my breath away. I deeply appreciate the confidence which you are placing in me and do not think you will have any cause to regret it."

"That's alright, I nearly fired you yesterday!"

"By the way," continued the chief, "this young man Jackson seems particularly on to his job; do you think we ought to encourage him?"

"We owe a good deal to him, sir, already, and I hope you will recognize his value in some way which will enable him to still further increase his scope of activity here."

When Evans and Stokes were outside, the sales manager extended his hand to Warren and said:

"Stokes, no congratulations which you will receive will be more sincere than mine. You have taught me a great lesson and I thank you. From now on you may count on me as your most loyal supporter."

* * *

Mr. Chilcott picked up the phone and connected with the chief accountants' office. "Come to my office, Robins. I want to have a chat with you."

George Robins sat opposite his chief, and for once he was really perturbed. Mr. Chilcott was talking quietly, calmly, and sympathetically!

"Yes, we older men have got to recognize that there are some things that we don't know; the younger generation are ahead of us in many ways. Now there's Stokes, a young man, who has saved the firm at a crucial time—saved it by what you and I would say was the most foolhardy risk any man in his position could take. But the boy was right, and he had nerve and common-sense. Then there's your man Jackson; he has the faculty of being so darned intelligently inquisitive that he goes ahead and visualizes everything that is going on in the factory in a manner which has proved of considerable value. I am going to appoint him chief accountant in your place."

Robins' face went ashen gray, and in a moment, he had aged ten years.

"After thirty years!" he said weakly.

Mr. Chilcott smiled.

"Yes, after thirty years' good faithful service, Robins, you are entitled to a soft job, so I am going to give you Burstall's job. He is resigning next month. I think you will make a good secretary-treasurer."

The cloud passed from the face of Robins. He was a philosopher in his way and notwithstanding the veiled impeachment in the decision of the president, he accepted it with good grace.

That evening two young men accompanied by their young wives, dined at the most exclusive hotel in the city. It was their celebration of another step up the ladder of success.

Stokes was standing with an uplifted glass of ginger-ale.

"To our wives!" he said, "who have never begrudged us the hours we have spent preparing for this day!"

Solemnly the two young men drained their glasses.

Evelyn Stokes filled her glass and that of her companion, Kate Jackson, then lifting her glass, she said:

"To our husbands! the best husbands in the world. God bless them!"

# The "Newsie" Critic

By JEAN WADSWORTH BROWN

BEAUTIFULL Snow?" Who doped out dat bunk?
Some misguided "coke" "nut"? Or jist a plain drunk?
Or mebby de coal man, went Ravin (like Poe),
When he saw de first signs, of de "beatifull" snow.
"Beautifull" snow? Why de mut what sprung dat,
Had a tankfull of doodlebugs under his hat,
For if he wasnt "dippy" he surely would know,
**There aint no such ting,** as **"beautifull"** snow.

Dye spose dat chap ever bunked in a box—
Wit de " b-e-a-u-t-i-f-u-l-l " snow **sneaking in thro his socks,**
Or snoozed on de gratin around de bake shops,
With de "beautifull" snow frappay on his chops?
Oh it may be allright for the upholstered jay,
What rides in his Limoseen, on de White Way,
But take it from me Bill, **its us kids dat know,**
And its hell, to be shiverin, **out in** de snow!

"Beautifull" snow? Well take it from me,
Dere aint nuthin to it, as what I kin see,
An it aint de fifth avenoo stiffs as should know,
But us kids—what are shiverin—**out in de snow!**
From early each mornin till way late at night,
We peddle our papes, and yell wit our might,
While de wind from de Battery's fifteen below,
An de holes in our "kicks" welcome—" b-e-a-u-t-i-f-u-l-l " snow.

Oh it may be allright for de upholstered jay,
What loafs in his Limoseen, up on Broadway,
But take it from me Bill, its us kids dat know,
An dere aint no such ting, as "beautifull" snow!

# Memorials and Mellons

By EDWARD D. LLOYD.

ARTHUR Brisbane declares, "Moving picture people, among other qualities include speed and generosity." The occasion which caused the remark was a paragraph in his daily column dealing with the Harding Memorial Fund.

Chas. M. Schwab, who is so considerate of the working class that labor in his steel mills is paid forty-one cents per hour, was the guest at a luncheon engineered by Mrs. Zukor for the purpose of getting the moving picture magnates together so "Charlie" could beg them, or to quote Mr. Brisbane again, "To ask about a little contribution for the Harding Memorial Fund."

He was very modest about the "little contribution" all he asked for was ten thousand dollars. ($10,000.00). He stated he wanted another ten thousand dollars from the New York newspapers. W. R. Hearst had already contributed $1,500.00, which left $8,500.00 to be raised by the other papers.

Schwab was very careful to inform them that **Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, the late President's friend, was deeply interested in the Harding memorial, and added that American business men should be glad to oblige Mr. Mellon.**

**Ten thousand dollars was subscribed while Mr. Schwab was talking.**

Let us see. Who is this Charles M. Schwab. Is he a worker in the employ of the steel corporation, or is he part of it? And who is this Mrs. Zukor person who organized this "come across" luncheon, is she one of the "supes" or maids at Hollywood, or is she some kin to Adolph Zukor, the millionaire "movie" magnate?

And W. R. Hearst, that name sounds familiar. Can it be Wm. Randolph, the millionaire publisher?

And just why was Charlie so careful to inform these film magnates that "business men should be glad to oblige Mr. Mellon." Who, what, how, when and why is Mellon and what can he do for them?

**Mr. Mellon is father of the Mellon-Bill or so-called Taxation-Plan.**

Remember that little song of a few years ago, "Every little movement has a meaning all its own?"

Senator Simeon D. Fess has also made public extracts from a letter sent out by Malcolm Jennings of Columbus, Ohio. Mr. Jennings is the executive secretary of the Ohio Manufacturers' Association. This letter was sent out to the members of his organization on January 1st, 1924, "instructing members what must be done."

Jennings reminded the Ohio Manufacturers that in the event of the Buckeye Congressmen not complying with the wishes of the manufacturers that "we have a chance to displace all of them but the Senators this year if they are not amendable to reason."

In his instructions to the members of the Association as to what must be done, Jennings suggests "Whatever your views are upon the need of retrenchment and tax-revision downward, your Congressman is entitled to them. But he will pay no attention to you unless you make him understand you are in earnest about it, and will hold him to account and get others to help you do it. He pays no attention to stereotyped letters. Put your thoughts in your own words, see him personally if possible, and also write him and get others to do so."

A rumor was current in Cleveland, O., that the Fisher Body Co. had their employees sign a petition to Congress urging the passage of this bill. It was a case of the employees signing this petition or losing their jobs. The job losing part was denied by the Fisher Co. through the columns of the Cleveland Press, and they stated that their employees signed it voluntarily. "Nuff said."

The Mellon-Bill would be a nice little "Melon" for "Big Business" to cut. Mr. B. C. Forbes in his Finance and Business Column tells us that nothing would help business as the adoption of the Mellon plan for lowering taxes. It would increase the demand for labor, and not less important, this country's ability to compete in the markets of the world with reviving European nations would be fortified."

Yet, after howling for lower taxation for the capitalists, (you will notice labor is not mentioned) he goes on to say: "Judging by the increases in dividend payments, the gain in railroad profits, the security markets condition, **the general wage standard in this country is not ruinously high.**"

Mr. Forbes does not state what the "general wage standard" is. Perhaps if he omits the "salaries" of the ex-dollar-per-year men, and strikes an average from the **ordinary workers wages,** (for instance, the forty-one cents per hour that the Otis Steel Co. pays its "common" labor in Cleveland) he will be of the opinion that the "general wage standard" is, of a truth, "not dangerously high" but "damned low."

Genial Charlie in his address to the film magnates

never once mentioned the working class, oh no, it was the "business men" who should be glad to "oblige" Mr. Mellon.

Business will oblige Mr. Mellon. Big business, like the Pennsylvania Railroad, which recently gave their "loyal" employees a ten-day lay-off at Altoona, Pa., **and at the same time placed on the pay-roll nineteen mechanics from England on the pretence that there was some "delicate" work to do, which the "loyalists" were incapable of doing.**

These imported men were working while the loyalists—I have heard them called scabs—were walking the streets just at the time they were figuring on a full pay envelope for Christmas.

Let us now sing the second spasm of, "Every Little Movement, Etc."

Yes! Big business especially, will be glad to "oblige Mr. Mellon." Every effort will be put forth to turn more money into the coffers of the money kings, but no effort will be made to relieve the sufferings of the poor slaves who are slowly pouring out their hearts' blood that these "business men" may accumulate millions.

No, nothing is done for them by "business" but let a worker try to improve the conditions of his class, and what happens? Those union men just released from the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kan., have a story to tell, a story that chills your heart's blood. Men who were brutally assaulted for no other reason except that they were members of the Industrial Workers of the World. Men beaten by Negro convicts at the command of the Warden. Men were confined in isolation **without underclothing** and contracted T. B., and were then denied medical attention. **And Fellow Worker Magon who died in his cell at Leavenworth, he was a worker, not a member of "Big Business."**

C. W. Morse of Chicago, The Fisher Bros. of Peoria, Ill., Judge McGannon of Cleveland, O., they represent "Business". Did they die in prison? Well, you read "your" papers, so it is unnecessary for me to make any further comment.

The Harding memorial will be built, the business men will see to that.

The Schwabs, Hearsts, Zukors, Rockefellers and a few others will "oblige" Mr. Mellon, **but in the memory of the workers, Mr. Harding will not require any monument, as "we never forget."**

# The Hall of Dreams

A Fable

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

IN the Hall of Dreams mused a maiden with a brow of alabaster and eyes of unswerving blue. Her raiment was of fire and her hair of unravelled rope; her feet curiously small, yet shod with brass. She had in one hand a scroll and in the other a scourge.

And after the maiden had mused a while, she came before the throne of the Master of Dreams and spoke thus:

"The time is on me for expression. Long have I pondered and now must I speak. Open for me the door of life; let me go."

But the Master who is beyond description reasoned with her, saying:

"Thy hair is rope and thy feet are brass; thine eyes without mercy and thy brow without seam; in either hand carriest thou the Book of Doom and the Scourge of Shame. Daughter, hast thou pondered well?"

And the maiden answered:

"My hair is rope to bind and hang; my feet brass to crush and bruise; mine eyes blue with the blue of the eternal skies. I point to perfection—wherefore should there be seams on my brow? Is my book the doom of the many? or my scourge aught save the spur of the rider? Therefore, Master, let me go."

So the Indescribable One opened for her the door of life and she went forth.

In a great city dwelt a young man. He was not a working man. His hands were soft and white and his linen of the finest, his clothes of the best. All the days of his life he had lived by the sweat of others in luxury and idleness.

Then one day fell on him an unrest.

Something was tugging at his brain, asking him questions.

He sought to overcome this strange malady with much eating, drinking and dancing, but it would not be banished. Always he thought, "Why should I be beyond want with millions starving? What have I done to deserve all this?" He spoke to his friends on the subject, and they tapped their heads one to another, voting him queer.

Finally the man gave up his old friends and took to walking much among the people who, because of his past life, regarded him with suspicion. He became a champion of the poor, poorly received by the masses and execrated by his old friends who wondered what axe he had to grind.

Years passed. The man lost his wealth. His social position went. Often he asked himself why he was such a fool, but the something in him drove him on. He was hounded and harried, driven from the land of his birth. Prejudices were ropes to bind him; lies were brass feet to bruise and to shatter him. Doomed to exile and scourged as a menace he died in poverty. But the book to which he gave his life did not die. It carried his name as a symbol of hope to down-trodden millions. The philosophy which it breathed became the standard of truth around which liberty rallied. The despised outcast became the intellectual light of the world.

Then in the Hall of Dreams knelt a maiden before the Master.

"Is it well, O Lord?" she asked.

And the Indescribable One, looking with unfathomable eyes into the future, replied:

"It is well."

# A Migratory Worker's Diary

By JAMES FOY

THE following is a year's diary which I have kept and whieh I believe is typieal of the average migratory worker. It is absolutely truthful. I give reasons for leaving jobs, together with loeation and names of employers.

1—Prosser, Farmer, Blaekwell, Okla.—Thirteen days, $1 per day and board and room. Quit; wages too low.

2—Bates & Rogers, Contraetors; exeavating for new railroad at Matfield Green, Kansas.—Four and a half days at $3.25 for 10 hours; $1.05 per day for board and room. Fired for not working on Sunday. Balanee, $9.37.

3—Roberts Brothers, Contraetors laying steel at Eldorado, Kansas. Eight days at $3.25 for 10 hours; 10 days board and room at $1.05 per day. Fired; worked too slow. Balanee, $15.50.

4—Powers & Jergens, Contraetors. Mucking, team outfit, 10 1-2 days; $4 for 10 hours; 11 days board and room at $1.05 per day. Cassidy, Kans. Laid off. Balance, $26.25.

5—Oklahoma Pipe Line Co., Newkirk, Oklahoma. Twenty-eight days, $4 per 9 hours; 33 days bed and board at $1.50 per day. Finished the job. Balance, $62.50.

6—Roberts Bros., Contraetors; track work. Lake Mills, Iowa. Eleven and one-half days; $4.25 per 10 hours; 16 days board and bed at $1.20 per days. Strike; blaek-balled. Balanee, $22.25.

7—Robert Bros., Contractors. Custer, Mont. Relaying steel. $4 per 10 hours; 6 days board and bed. Strike for shorter hours and more pay. Balanee, $13.60.

8—Thomas Donlan Lumber Co., Paradise, Mont. One day. $3.80 per 8 hours. Board and bed, $1,25 per day. Quit to keep them from taking $4 for tax.

9—Campbell & MeGrines. Ostrander, Wash. Labor, building new logging road. Three days, $4.50 per 8 hours. Four days bed and board at $1.20 per day. Fired for being IWW. Balanee, $7.50.

10—C. Lind, Auburn, Wash. Farmer and state senator. Pitehing hay. Four and a half days, $4.50 per 9 hours. Board and bed in town. $1.50 per day. Got through. Balanee, $12.75.

11—Clarence Dirks, Walla Walla, Wash. Farmer, making hay. Four dollars and board per 10 hours. Three and a half days work. Done. Balanee, $13.00.

12—Mose Burgman, Walla Walla, Wash. Staeking hay. Five days work; $4 yer 10 hours, board and bed. Done. Balanee, $20.00.

13—R. E. Burrows, Rulo. Wash. Hauling saeked wheat; $5 per 10 hours and board and bed. Quit. Wanted me to work more hours per day. 12 days work. Balance, $60.00.

14—John Turnbrow, Palouse, Wash. Threshing two and three-quarter days. $4 sun to sun. Quit. Bad eonditions and long hours. Balanee, $11.00.

15—John Vie, Harrington, Wash. Working with eombination harvester. Nine and one-half days, $6 per 10 hours and board and bed. Finished job. Balanee, $57.00.

16—Henry Wetter, Roeklyn, Wash. Harvest field. $5 per 10 hours. Job done. 14 days work. Balanee, $70.00.

17—Bonnel and Savage Paving Co., Longview, Wash., five and one-half days, $4.50 per 8 hours. $1.20 board and bed. Insanitary living conditions. Balanee, $15.25.

18—Morrison and Knutsen. Contraetors. Wetherby, Ore. Labor 3 days $3.82 1-2 per 9 hours; $1.20 board and bed. Quit; rotten eamp, low pay. Balanee $5.47.

19—Ranquist, farmer, Blackfoot, Idaho. Pieking spuds, some by sack and by day. This man is in the habit of beating his labor bills. Did not know this until I asked for some eash. Had a hard time getting this money. Balanee, $17.55.

20—Leroy Bevard, Idaho Falls, Idaho. Working at the spuds, pieking and grading; 17 days Amount, $54.78 and bed and board. Balanee, $54.78.

21—Calipatria, Calif. Cushing, Contractor, Paving streets, driving Fresno 17 days. $4.50 per 8 hours. It costs $1.50 per day to eat in restaurant, poor food at that. $3.50 per week for room, so that makes $2 per day board and bed. 18 days. Balance, $40.00.

I will not get more than 4 days more work at the most this year so you will have a complete diary for this year. I have these jobs all itemized in my day book. I thought it will be suffieient for information.

I have talked with a good many fellow workers and all seem to think this would interest Pioneer readers.

It is raining today and so monotonous here, so to have something to do, got busy on this. I have never written for a paper or magazine in my life so, of eourse, I did not try to write a story but if I eould express myself with the pencil I eould, I believe, write a very interesting and truthful story about this.

These figures amount to $549.82. There has been a good deal of argument about what a stiff makes going through the eountry, so here you have the faets.

I have been of the migratory elan for twenty years and believe a good many fellow workers make moves similar to these.

Calipatria, Calif.

# Chinese Seamen Rally to I. W. W.

**Threaten Economic Action In Resentment Against California Persecutions.**

THE Chinese Seamen's Union is a powerful organization. In 1922 it won a three months' strike that tied up the ports of China, abolished the 14-hour day and obtained large wage increases.

The Chinese Seamen's Union has sent the following letter to American capitalists and newspapers, especially in San Francisco, where its publication has created a sensation:

**Sir:—The members of the Chinese Seamen's Union have learned with no little astonishment and dismay that nearly one hundred American workingmen are in prison on account of the California Criminal Syndicalist Law and that the only evidence presented against them was membership in an organization known as the "Industrial Workers of the World." We of the Chinese Seamen's Union have always looked upon the United States as a free and desirable country, and we are very sorry to hear it alleged that our fellow workingmen in the United States are being subjected to such persecution, unparalleled even in the history of China.**

**If there is reason or justice in this state of affairs, please let us know so that we can present the case to our members. Unless a reply is received from you in a reasonable length of time, the membership of the Chinese Seamen's Union will understand that American workingmen are the subjects of a brutal and unjust persecution, and it is certain that our members will then demand that some economical action be taken which will bring your attention and also the attention of all American capitalists to the fact that the Working Class of the World will no longer permit without protest the persecution and imprisonment of workingmen anywhere.**

**Yours for a Better World,**
**CHAK HON KEE,**
**Sec'y for the Chinese Seamen's Union.**

# On With the Fight

**The So-Called "Criminal Syndicalism" Laws Must Go**

By M. De CIAMPIS

THE recent Christmas release of all our fellow workers from the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, ought not to allow anybody, who in the past ten or fifteen years has fought the battles of Labor, to give up the fight to force the further release of all others, national and state class war prisoners, IWW or not. None should rest upon the laurels that have crowned the long and energetic amnesty campaign of the General Defense Committee.

Many more are behind the prison bars of various capitalist bastilles. Members of the IWW have shamefully been arrested and persecuted in many sections of the country under the notorious "criminal syndicalism" laws. On the Pacific coast, notably in the golden state of California, our fellow workers have relentlessly been sentenced to jail with long years to serve on the mere pretext of holding true to their hearts a "red" union card. In so doing, the authorities in power in the judicial and state offices have abused their high position and have set aside all rules of fair dealing with their fellow beings; and, in order to serve the capitalist predatory interests, have denied the citizens of the republic the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, of assembly and of association.

Think of that—in California it is a crime to be a member of the IWW! Surely our god-blessed bourgeois rulers have lost or are beginning to lose their nerve. They cannot conceive that human progress has been forever endeavoring to better this world of ours for the brotherhood of man, because their thoughts are at a standstill!

Notwithstanding the unquestionable lessons of history—especially those that in such a great number flow from every human upheaval that has come forth to right the wrongs of tyrants and exploiters, American plutocracy has seen proper to persecute the rebels who dared and dare now, just as they will in the future, to challenge the soundness of capitalism to arrange and govern human affairs.

The **Land of the Free** should beware of things reactionary. The present day's rulers should bear in mind that at no time have their likes in the past ruled the people unchallenged. From times long gone by the battering rams of the proletarian class struggle have steadfastly pierced through the strongholds of the powers that be. We have witnessed the slow but sure advancing of the "low brows"—of those precious beings that toil and produce, while the greedy masters squander the riches and die, content to the core, in a profusion of undeserved wealth.

Reaction, be it whatever it may, should never make the mistake to believe that it can forever keep down the hardy fighters that have pledged themselves to the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. The Ancient Regime fell before the blows of the advance guard of the French revolution; the Czar, we may say only the other day, crumpled ignominiously likewise; truly the compelling hand of historical justice, at least, can-

# England's New Crusaders

By WILFRED BRADDOCK

**WELL, well, readers, look who's here! The world's greatest aggregation of ministerial performers—of transplanted Billy Sundays—ever got together under one circus tent—beg pardon—one tabernacle. Now appearing in the world's soul-stirring, thrilling acrobatic stunt, entitled, "Religion, the opium of the proletariat and the protector of the plutocrat." Now doing the grand circuit in England and billed for engagements in this country at an early date. Step right inside and get good seats from which to behold this wonderful consolidation of the world's greatest ministerial morality horizontal bar performers ever engaged at an enormous expenditure to their promoters. None like this circus to be seen anywhere else. Come early and be prepared to pull a solemn, sanctimonious face at the greatest moral twaddle ever performed under the lowly and well-paid patronage of the pious plutocrats.**

**Step inside! Step inside!! The performance is just beginning!!!**

HAVE you ever thought, fellow worker, of the effect of a brilliant searchlight? Directed away from you, how vividly it discloses all the dirt and squalor, the ugliness and drabness of the sector it illuminates. Directed at you, how it blinds, nay, paralyzes and though enveloped in its brilliant glare, yet you are in the midst of darkness.

Such is the weapon the master class is at present using in the potteries. The searchlight is, to give it its full title, "The Industrial Christian Fellowship Crusade." Its operator is a well-known comedian in this section of the globe, by name, the Rev. G. A. Studdert-Kennedy, better known as "Woodbine Willy." He is ably assisted at his gymnastic and oratorical displays by two other gentlemen of the reversed collar order known as Spring Heel Ted and Jumping Billy. Woodbine, let it be said, was supposed to have earned his psuedonym by proving his democratic sentiments to the soldiers during the war by smoking the famous Woodbine cigarette (beloved by the proletarian masses).

The objects of the Crusade are, as stated, "to state the case for the practical application of Christianity to industrial and business life." Evidently the bosses are accepted as God's chosen for the crusade is limited to the working class. Only rude guffaws are heard when it is mentioned in the select circles of conservative clubs, Chambers of Commerce, etc.

Peculiarly enough, the searchlight is directed at the working class and not at their conditions. Perhaps the mechanism has gone wrong for even the blindest of workers will agree that Christianity in the mines is impossible so long as the death rate of 1922 in the mines is as follows: Killed 1,114, injured 186,368. The ICF will have to work hard to wipe that off the slate.

### Ministers Conscious

The Crusade and the ICF mark a definite step in the awakening classconsciousness of the ministers of orthodox Christianity. It marks the development of the parsons from the role of "psalm singer" and "mother's friend" to conscious and active assistants of the Industrial Barons. The diminishing congregations, the apathy of the masses to the howls of the parsons, have had the effect of impoverishing the aforesaid purveyors of Christianity because the Boss will not tolerate any maligners in his cause. (You ask the nearest trades union leader if you don't believe me). The masses refuse to go to either churches, institutes or semi-church social clubs, and so the parsons have gone to the place where the slaves can't get away from them—the industries.

The great industrial struggles which are pending (500 strikes in 1923,) and the unemployment crises are the signs of the quickening spin of the vortex of the class struggle and so new tactics are adopted to meet and crush the rising opposition. The ICF is one of them.

Miners, with the coal dust obliterating their features, straight from the mine; potters, as white as Jesus' soul, straight from the "potbanks" as the pottery factories are called, black and white, all are urged by the low comedians to bring Christianity to bear in the industries, to bring love (which the Carpenter of Nazareth gave to them) into force and forever banish the devil's weapon of "strike." The broad red cross of the Crusaders is splashed across the fetid and smoke begrimed streets, it mocks the white drawn cheeks of the waifs; the underfed and the underclothed are

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not fail to absolve those that have fallen for their ideals and socially to undo the wrongs of capitalist plutocracy.

In the jails and prisons of California and other states of the American Union scores of our fellow workers are rotting in filthy, lightless, unendurable cells. It is the duty of every lover of mankind, of every friend of Labor, of all those progressive and forward-looking souls to see to it that justice be given these men by freeing them all.

To forget them in prison is equivalent to condoning a crime against civilization. While resolving to carry on the struggle for the release of all the rest of the class war prisoners with more and more energy, it may be well to insist on the repeal of the infamous "criminal syndicalism" law.

All together, Fellow Workers! Shoulder to the wheel and let's go!

dazzled by its blatant vitality and its sole aim is to turn the searehlight into the faees of the workers in order that they may not see the squalor and misery of their daily lives.

In the opening of the Crusade (jointly under the auspices of the Crusade Committee and the British Pottery Manufacturers' Association) Mr. Bullock, President, BPMA, said he "had no faith in theories put forward by supermen or intelleetuals." Oh, ye of little faith, what of "directive ability!" Further he points out that our eommon law was built up by "decent ordinary people" and "no one man can lay elaim to it." He earefully avoids the same theory with regard to **his** pottery industry. But then, he makes no profit out of eommon law. Of eourse these hard headed men of business merely give the lead, the direetion, to the comedians and then leave the actual doping to them. The eelebrated trio, viz., Woodbine Willy, Spring Heel Ted and Jumping Billy (Ameriea has **not** the monopoly) are the main squeeze, and Woodbine is the star turn. Quoth Woodbine, speaking at a private session of bosses: "I propose to talk to you as I would to any of **your** working people (laughter). It is the most honest thing to do," and presumably the first he has done. Willy points out elearly "he is no Soeialist; he is a Christian" and takes pains to assure the honorable gathering that only two men out of fifty think, and of eourse, those two are either eaptains of industry or NCO's. Afterwards, while speaking to the slaves he told them that all progress depended on those two extraordinary men. He was out to abolish elass hatred, although he would say that this differenee in mental eapaeity was the root of elass and it was ridiculous to think it eould be abolished; God has made it so.

There we have the reason for the Crusade, the workers are beginning to disbelieve this extraordinary ability stuff and Woodbine has eonvinced the bosses that he can convinee the workers of the immutable inviolability of the Boss elass. Even the trades union leaders are bitten with the craze and wish to hearken to the Crusade of Woodbine. The loeal labor leaders are erusading even as the aneient ones of the twelfth eentury.

The secretary of the Pottery Workers' Ass'n. and other officials have given their blessing, for they reeognize that they also have fallen by the wayside. No more strikes, no more loekouts; nothing to do but draw the dues and grow fat. As the immortal Shakespeare put it

"'Ban 'Ban Caealiban
"Has a new master, get a new man
"Freedom heydey, heydey Freedom."

Woodbine has eomposed a ditty or a hymn as he ealls it, it runs "When through the whirl of wheels and engines humming" and he yells it forth with a great gusto, but without a doubt the engines hum a different tune to him.

To the workers they screeeh the song of Faster! Faster! Faster! but to Woodbine they sweetly murmur Fatter! Fatter! Fatter!

### New Allies to Fake Leaders

One ean pieture the sigh of eontentment that the trades union leaders will heave at the news of this new ally for the outlaw strikes are fast plaeing them in the eategory of "has-beens" so far as the boss is eoneerned

Speeial meetings for the youth, both male and female, speeial meetings for men only, for women only, all go to show the frantie endeavors being made to keep the working class in seetions by sex and age barriers. The loud-mouthed support of the trades union leaders gives this seetionalization another trend, but all the upholders of the Crusade are united, regardless of their sex, age, industry or social position.

The Crusade will not have the sueeess that Woodbine expeets, for already the workers are beginning to understand that Christianity in industry means industrial serfdom. The love that is preaehed does not counteract low wages, high priees and bad eonditions. Neither does it cure "potter's asthma," lead poisoning, miner's nystagmus, the aecidents from water, fire damp and roof falls in the pits. The aim of the Crusade is to blind the workers from seeing these things. The workers are growing restless under the high eost of living for in this district the prewar wage and the eost of living have risen so that, as the following table will show, the workers are almost 30 per cent worse off.

| | | Wages | C. of L. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Miners** | 1914 | 100 | 100 |
| | 1923 | 146 | 175 |
| **Potters** | 1914 | 100 | 100 |
| | 1923 | 150 | 175 |

It will take more than the inane wittieisms and the droll antics of Woodbine Willy, Spring Heel Ted and Jumping Billy to dope the slaves into quietude this winter. The flaming red eross will not feed or clothe the impoverished workers, altho Willy and his satellites grow fat and unetuous under its influenee. The erueial moment is fast arriving when the workers will move out of the paralyzing glare of the searchlight and see for themselves the ignominy and shame that is the reward of our class for servitude. Then will the shaekles of the Labor Leader Crusaders be thrown off and the workers will mareh on to emaneipation united and strong in the Revolutionary Industrial Union.

## MICHIGAN BOULEVARD: CHICAGO

By Jun Fujita

The drizzly night silhouttes the buildings
Into a row of blaek tombs.
With vacant stare the boulevard lamps in rain
Amuse the green gleams they east.
Beyond the lamps, among the tombs,
Drip, and drip,
The hollow sound rises.

# Europe: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

By BLAIR

A LARGE section of Europe's bourgeois writers and philosophers are reacting to the world war and its aftermath like so many weeping Rachels. Running through most of the writings and public utterances of these self-constituted cultural leaders is a note of tragic pessimism and gloomy foreboding. These middle-class intelligentsia would have us believe that the sun of civilization had set and that we are now in a twilight zone separating the glorious sunlight of ante-bellum days from the darkness of a recrudescent dark age into which the world is recklessly plunging. They view post-war Europe as in a state of chronic chaos bordering on what they are pleased to term anarchy. A few lonely notes of optimism are occasionally heard but they are mostly drowned out in the general wail. The reactions of these emotional representatives of modern Europe culture reflect the general reaction of the European middle-class (using the term in the American sense), a large section of which is being liquidated by the ruthless and inexorable readjustments of European capitalism. These swan-songs and misereres are of no value to the world's proletariat in interpreting post-war Europe and adapting its class-war tactics and strategy to the new problems growing out of the realignments and readjustments of world industry. A true interpretation of the Europe of yesterday and today must be based on materialist concepts, and the world's middle-class is too perturbed to bring forth another Karl Marx. They would push back the hands of the evolutionary clock; they can never conceive of the world-war as a factor in setting these hands forward. The workers must henceforth provide from their own ranks the economists with visions clear enough to glimpse realities in the flux of changing world industry.

### The Recapitulation Theory

To interpret Europe in the turmoil of the great war and its aftermath we must first be conversant with her historical background. Radical writers and speakers have formed the habit of depicting social evolution in terms of a series of economic epochs or social systems. We usually think of evolutionary social change as beginning with a system of savagery slightly removed from animalism and passing through barbarism, chattel-slavery, feudalism and capitalism—each social system leaving off where the succeeding one began and apportioned a certain sharply defined period of time in the immeasurable lapse of time from ape-man with his primal economy to modern man with his mechanistic mode of production. But man has not progressed from monkey to Mr. Bryan in that way. In his economic and social evolution he has always carried forward into the present very much of the past. In all his slow changes from social system to social system he has retained all of the old that was of use to the rising dominant classes of the new. Man has in his own thinking economy many survivals of past ages and in his modern, social institutions—which we customarily conceive as social growths all sprung from the soil of present-day modes of production—he has survivals handed on from social systems that preceded capitalism. By closely observing man's psychology and his social institutions we are enabled to trace a certain rough recapitulation of his descent from the animal.

### Relics of Past Ages

Owing to certain causes which limitations of space preclude our going into, Europe presents the world's most classical examples of these sociological and ideological survivals. And it was these relics of past ages carried forward into the present that made Europe so ripe for war when a prince of the House of Hapsburg was slain in Serbia and unwittingly provided the match that started the conflagration. Much of pre-war Europe had reached a point in her economic development where it was vitally necessary to liquidate some of the old that the new might make further progress. To accomplish this purge of survivals no longer useful to the onward sweep of machine-driven industry the high gods of social evolution unleashed the dogs of international war.

Among the many survivals carried forward from the old into the new when European economy strove to change from feudal to capitalistic, the most important were: The political state with its psychological concomitants of patriotism and racial prejudices

—a social institution that had its economic genesis far back in the mists of antiquity; royal ruling dynasties and landed aristocracies with their ancient psychological concomitants; and ancient superstition tangibly expressed in cowled monk, veiled nun, towering cathedral and princes of the church with their hosts of communicants among the serfs, wage-slaves, peasants, commoners and lords. Into this complex maze of the old and the new, man introduced modern, power-driven machinery of production and it was like the charge of the proverbial bull into the china-shop.

### Classical Feudalism

The most classical forms of European feudalism always tended to expand over new agricultural territories in order to recoup the drained coffers of the spendthrift ruling classes; and modern machine-driven industry constantly tends toward centralization of ownership into the hands of the few and the expansion of its dominions out over all international boundary lines to embrace within its mighty grasp all sources of raw materials, means of production and distribution and the world's markets. Nearly all the nations of western Europe before the war showed both tendencies; with the industrial decidedly in the ascendancy. In Russia the feudal economy was more dominant.

In its constant trend toward trustification European basic industry always found itself hampered when it was not actually checked by the interposition of the many national frontiers which separated many raw materials of production as well as the European markets for finished products. While one country might have an abundance of iron and a dearth of coal for smelting, another would possess the coal and lack the iron, and so on through the list of basic raw materials; and always the frontiers of the political states and the many psychological barriers to trustification and socialization stood between. Industrial trustification strove to form with a geographical continuity as it had formed in America where there are no national boundary lines and national patriotism to prevent the wedding of most basic raw materials and where only the demagogic fulminations of trust-busting Teddies and the swan-songs of liquidated, independent producers marked the transition from primitive individual to corporate, trustified and socialized production. But such an integration of industry with its wide geographical continuity as America presents was impossible in Europe without some force to blast away the ancient barriers.

### Exceptions Pre-War Economy

There are two important exceptions to these general statements describing the pre-war economy of Europan nations. Russia, as we have noted, stood somewhat apart from the balance of Europe as regards her economic status. The prevailing Russian mode of production was what we should probably term pseudo-feudal instead of capitalistic. In the onward march of capitalist development of Europe, Russia was out of step and lagging behind. It required the blasting effects of the war and the revolution it brought on to change her backward economy and enable her to push forward more rapidly. With her great territory and wealth of raw materials Russia now stands economically about where America stood after the American revolution had liquidated English feudalism in the thirteen colonies with the very important difference that her agriculture and urban industry has the advantage of starting off in a world equipped with power-driven machinery of production. She should now travel through her capitalist evolution very rapidly and develop trusts similar to those of America. In the matter of juxtaposition we must also except England with her insular position.

### Maritime Commerce

Another important factor in the development of European industry, and one which had within it the germs of international war, was the growth of maritime commerce. With basic raw materials and continental markets separated by the many barriers we have been noting, and with the development of the machinery of production constantly tending to cause a saturation of the home markets of the respective countries, capitalist Europe was forced to leave home and travel across the seven seas seeking these very necessary concomitants of industrial expansion. While this sea-borne commerce tended to relieve the pressure of expanding industrialism for a time it finally developed such wide proportions that the commercial quarrels of Europe were made world-wide in scope and further complicated by the European maritime nations coming in contact with America and Japan in the general scramble for world markets, spheres of investment for export capital and sources of raw materials for home production. There was also some evidence of a world-expansion of the old feudal tendency to fight for new dominions to enrich imperial dynasties. The drive of Germany through the "Bagdad corridor" with the Berlin to Bagdad railway headed toward India, which had been made the treasure house of the British crown, was no doubt inspired more by Germany's royal caste than by the overlords of German industry. There was also the constant tendency of the Russian Romanoffs to reach out and grasp more contiguous territory to add to their far-flung dominions. It was this pressure of Russian feudalism deflected by English diplomacy away from the Indian border and toward Japan that was one of the chief causes of the Russo-Japanese war of earlier times. And it was these feudal tendencies toward world-expansion coupled with the world-wide competitive quarrels of world-capitalism which added quite materially to the causative factors of the war. Indeed it may be that the Berlin to Bagdad railway was one of the chief causes of the war.

### Liquidating the Old

During the war and through its aftermath we have been witnessing a liquidation of much of the old. The onward sweep of the revolutionary proletariat and peasantry has resulted in the throwing off of the feudal dynasties of Russia, Germany, Austro-Hungary and some of the smaller groups and the

liquidation of large sections of the landed aristocracy. Ancient boundary lines have been blotted out and newer forms of national political entities have been carved out of old empires. The straight-jacket of feudal and other ancient social and psychological survivals which retarded the free expansion and socialization of industry has somewhat loosened and industrial readjustment is the order of the day. France is rapidly shifting from an agrarian to an industrial basis and her expanding metallurgical industry is setting up puppet republics over central Europe while carving out the heart of German industry with her drive through the Ruhr valley. With the eclipse of the German political state and its resultant depreciation of the medium of exchange, German and French industrialists are enabled to crush out great sections of the German middle-class. Stinnes, Krupp and the Thyssens, overlords of German industry, are entering into "conversations" with the puppet political spokesmen of French industrialists and plans for the trustification of a large section of Europe's metallurgical and related industries take form, as the English lion stands impotently growling and the Spanish ruling class rushes in panic fear into a coalition with Italy. Thus the integration of powerful groups of European industrialists goes slowly forward and every day witnesses some new political alignment reflecting some under-cover readjustment of industry. Co-incident with these industrial tendencies toward international trustification there goes slowly forward a reflected movement of the workers to cast aside old forms of unionism and organize industrially. The workers of Germany in particular show marked tendencies in this direction and the workers of other countries are falling in line.

IN THE RUHR

### Purge of Survivals

But the purge of survivals is a long way from being complete. Europe is like a man who had taken a mild laxative when he really needed castor oil. The day when the European section of the Industrial Workers of the World will stand in solid array challenging the industrial overlords to the final conflict on the industrial field seems a long way off. The international overlords of integrating industry are striving to retain all of the old that will be of service to the new alignments and competitive struggles of the new groups. The puppet political state with its patriotic devotees and frontier barriers; the church with its ancient superstitions; the many racial barriers—all are being bolstered up and conserved in both fictitious and authentic form to prevent or retard the development of solidarity in the ranks of the European proletariat and in preparation for the next war.

The European war and its revolutionary aftermath present many phases of great import and significance to the workers of America. For those with vision clear enough to see there is a wealth of evidence to justify and vindicate the direct action program of the Industrial Workers of the World. A whole volume could be written on the instinctive actions of the revolutionary peasants and workers in seizing land and industry in the many revolutionary crises. There is also much of interest for American workers in the European development of aircraft and air transportation and its very obvious potentiality as a factor in the revolutionizing of the masters' technique of international and class wars. These bird-robots of the air which fly over all frontiers and laugh at all tariff barriers and provincialisms would also seem to possess great potentialities for the final integration and socialization of world capitalist production and distribution. The disinherited proletariat of the world may yet come into its own through the instrumentality of this new means of transportation and intercommunication.

The American section of the Industrial Workers of the World must overlook no opportunity for forming fraternal and organic bonds with the rising new industrial unionism of Europe. It should assist these struggling workers of Europe with every encouragement and material assistance that can be afforded. The IWW press, published in the language of the respective countries, should circulate in every corner of Europe and the European job-delegate should be a swarming reality of the near future. Proletarian "hands across the sea" clasped in the bonds of a common interest should be one of the chief aims of the IWW.

# Why "Red Communism" Failed

By NEIL GORDON

LOUIS Fischer, writing on "What Mr. Hughes Should Know," (regarding Russian state policy), in "The Nation," tells many things that workingmen should also know, especially when the very friendly attitude of The Nation toward Russia is taken into consideration.

According to Fischer, Mr. Hughes should know that the Soviet Government is no longer internationalistic and, as a consequence, no longer believes in nor foments a world revolution, as he charges. Instead, it has become nationalistic and intent on the preservation and development of Russia; therefore Mr. Hughes has nothing to fear from it.

Fischer shows that it was this change from internationalism to nationalism that made the spread of "red communism" throughout Europe via Germany impossible. He says: "An upset in Germany would at least temporarily have paralyzed its industrial life and thus interferred with the importation into Russia of large quantities of machinery and supplies which are indispensable to the process of economic rehabilitation to which the Soviets are bending their every effort . . . A word from the Kremlin would have started the revolt; but that word was not forthcoming. The only word to the German communists came from the Communist International's headquarters just outside the Kremlin, but that was not sufficient."

This change from internationalism to nationalism, with its non-world-revolutionary results, is the cause of friction in the Russian communist movement. Fischer assures us that "between these two points of view—the national and the international—there is a constant struggle in the Communist party." Thus far, apparently, the internationalists are on the losing side.

From other sources, not as friendly as those of The Nation, we learn that the communists of Russia are divided into many contending factions and that Bolshevism is facing its most serious crisis since it won control of Russia. Evidently, Russia is undergoing another phase of development nationalist and capitalist-ward.

This is inevitable. Russia, a country of extremely backward development, cannot be expected to do anything but rush through a period of quick capitalist growth, thanks to the world conditions which surround it. Apparently, not in bolshevism, but in the fruition of ultra-capitalism, can communism have any chance to triumph there.

## MUDDLED COMMUNISM

IN Industrial Pioneer No. 8, Neil Gordon has an article on Russia as the saviour of capitalistic Europe. All his argument is based on the fact that Russia is concluding an alliance with France and by doing so she is winning the full confidence of the capitalistic class of the world. He also says that the communism that was red died when NEP was introduced.

I sincerely think that Russia will never have the confidence of any capitalistic nation. They do not conclude peace because they love Russia, but because they are trying to gain something which they think will benefit them. But that is to be seen in the future, who will be the gainer; and I think the workers the world over will benefit by it.

As far as red communism dying and the capitalists having no more fear of it, that is out of the question. There were never more communists in Russia at any time than at present; and the international solidarity of the working class was never taught before in schools as at the present time. Nor were there as many theaters in which worker's plays are produced.

Red communism is nothing to wish for; at least the kind that was in Russia. It was necessary at that time. At least I do not want to see it return.

Russia signed peace with Kaiser when it was the reddest, and a lot of people shouted that that was treachery to the revolution. But we all know the results and that the Bolsheviks were right.

Russia signed peace with about six or seven nations before NEP was introduced. So I don't think that there is any fear that Russia has become the poodle dog of capitalist Europe. It still remains a mighty factor in the minds of revolutionary masses and the master class of Europe fear communism as California fears the IWW. Therefore, I would like to see less criticism of Russia but more organization in America.

San Pedro, Cal. ALFRED MARTIN

## SOUND POLITICAL ESTIMATES

During the Bryan campaign, years ago, Clancy, the mortar mixer, was asked by one of the Taft speakers what he thought of Mr. Taft.

Clancy ceased stirring the mortar for a moment and spat thoughtfully.

"Well, Mr. Taft is a moighty foine man—a mighty foine man. I heard him speak wance. He'd make a good prisident!"

The Taft adherent was pleased. Continuing:

"Mr. Clancy, and now what do you think of Mr. Bryan?"

"Mr. Bryan? Well, Mr. Bryan is a foine man—a mighty foine man. I wance heard him speak and he made a gud talk. He'd make a good prisident."

Such impartiality on the part of Clancy wasn't very satisfying to the Taft boomer. He persisted:

"And, Mr. Clancy, who do you think has the best show?"

"Begorra, I think," replied Clancy, "that Ringling Brothers has the best show."

# Scientific Unionism in England

By WILFRED BRADDOCK

MAYBE you "Wobs" think you have the world guessing in Unionism. Maybe you have, but take a glimpse at the way we do it in the "old country." I've been looking up a few figures, I'm a whale on figures. Anyway, the idea of the New Unionism is one union of the working class. Here in Great Britain we stand by the old flag and trades unionism. M'yes, even the horrible bolshies.

In 1922 we divided ourselves into no fewer than 1,190 unions, with a total membership of 5,579,739. And the slaves are proud of it—also the bolshies. Just imagine the vast throng of general secretaries, assistant secretaries, district secretaries, presidents, organizers, etc. It almost solves the unemployed problem. Yet with it all the workers don't seem satisfied—lot of grumblers. Everybody of importance assures them it's the best thing in unionism, from J. H. Thomas to Comrade Palme-Dutte, editor of the Communist organ. Still they grumble. Just imagine, disbelieving Palme—Dutte!

### Chinese Puzzle Unionism

Let us examine the reason as to why they grumble and how far this Chinese puzzle unionism has solved their problem.

In 1922 with regard to their bread and butter problem, the wages question, we find on investigation that the total increase of wages from January to September amounted to £11500 and that amount was divided and duly delivered at stated intervals to the palpitating slaves. But not all of them, only 75000 shared that little amount, which was, perhaps 4 shillings a week each. Then let us look at the other side of the picture. The decrease in wages amounted to £3,900,000, a little difference as one might say. However, the bosses, in order to offset their good nature over the increase, distributed the decrease with a lavish hand and so no less than 7,500,000 slaves shared it. "Everybody's doing it." That little item amounted to 10 shillings a week decrease. The work that the jigsaw puzzle did was to negotiate the **decrease**. Now, I ask you, in all fairness, could the IWW have negotiated a decrease of such a stupendous amount and got it? That's the rub, that's why you Wobs are jealous of us, we are so successful in our negotiations, don't you know. Wonderful, isn't it?

However, they did one good thing: they saw to it that the thousands of trades union officials didn't get a decrease, so that's something to be thankful for.

### A Little Enlightenment

It works out still better in individual industries. The clothing industry, for instance, in 1922 shows as an increase in the weekly wages of 1,000 of its workers, the munificent sum of £30. About ten cents a week each. All the rest of the workers —491,000—got a decrease amounting to £80,300 which works out at a dollar apiece. All that from knowing how to organize.

Now you IWWs can't understand the process properly, that is, as it's done in the **best** circles. Let me enlighten you a little. Take the textile industry for instance. We have cotton, woolen and worsted, linen and jute, hosiery, bleaching, dyeing and few other departments. Now you would say, "Good, one industry, one union." No, no, fellow workers, wrong entirely. Where will the good orators go to, where will the advanced real revolutionaries get their pie-cards then? Now we organize the textile industry into 285 (don't mistake the figures, Mr. Editor) separate unions, and the cotton trade alone has 168 of these. So, you see, we have created 285 good jobs for general secretaries, 285 for presidents and Lenine knows how many red organizers. In these 285 unions we have organized the stupendous mass of 299,083 slaves. Almost as many members as officials. That means an average membership of 1043 per union. Quite enough too! That's what I call the "go slow" policy. No more production there. Not too much work, plenty of time to do it in, and just enough slaves to keep the pie-card in a nice, juicy condition.

Did I hear Wm. Z. murmur "Dual Unionism?" Methinks Wm. Z. is living in the wrong quarter of the globe; he should hit the pike for Lancashire.

This is the kind of thing that the Red ones, the Red Realists tell us is our haven of refuge (if only we would give **them** the pie-card). They frankly admit that more unions would be a trifle monotonous, and anyway, there are enough unions already to promise jobs for the best Reds, so why more unions? No siree, the old ones are good enough for us. "Back to the Unions and down with Dual Unionism." Talk about drops of blood, it's mountains of graft and shoals of pie-cards here.

Could anyone who is endeavoring to uproot this social system even venture to suggest that the British Textile industry is sanely organized? It is logical to assume that those who bolster up this form of organization, be they white, yellow or red, have a definite interest in keeping the working class in subjection and thus are anti-communist. There are no more bitter anti-communists than these same Red Realists who cry "Back to the Unions." Fascism is at least open in its declaration while these unctuous hypocrites drag the name of Communist in the slime of their treachery. However, the upholders of this jigsaw unionism are rapidly showing themselves as anti-working class by their opposition of unofficial strikes and the workers themselves are realizing the quagmire that they are floundering in. May they soon reach the clean, safe foothold of the One Big Revolutionary Union.

# An Ex-Service Man Views

THE Industrial Pioneer is in receipt of the following letter from an ex-service man, teacher in a vocational training school, whose name and place of residence are, for obvious reasons, not given. His estimates of the IWW, conservatism, war, and kindred subjects will prove interesting to our readers, and are, accordingly, herewith published:—

The December number of the Pioneer was unusually attractive and interesting. The class of material and the evident intelligence of some of the writers who are members of your organization, are somewhat surprising. From occasional references in the papers and magazines I had formed the impression that the Industrial Workers of the World were a band of men, discontented, shiftless, and of low intelligence, determined to take by brawn and force what they cannot command by brain and ability. Of course there may be a few of that class associated with you, ignorant and selfish men who have failed to understand the significance of the radical movement and who have not yet caught its vision; but for this the whole organization cannot be condemned.

Selfishness and ignorance cannot be confined entirely to the radical movement. The more I talk with those of the so-called conservative element the more I realize that lethargy, inertia, comfortable respectability and selfishness, rather than conviction, are responsible for the stand many take on economic questions of the day. I am reminded of what Lecky said in his "History of England in the 18th Century," speaking of radicals and conservatives: "Each party draws its strength from some of the noblest and some of the basest of human qualities." I am convinced that you are trying to raise the level of the mass of workmen through education and thus eradicate the ignorant, violent, and selfish element from your organization. Your program necessitates unselfishness, high intelligence, education, and skill. It is plain to see that you are conscious of these requirements.

You see although I am an ex-service man, I am not one of those super-patriots you find in the American Legion. Personally, I hate war and have no sympathy with the man or group of men who say we cannot avoid it. No doubt they are right, we cannot avoid it so long as we have those two inhuman and obsolete institutions—Capitalism and Nationalism. But why reverence and maintain these? Abolish them. Establish group ownership and control in the development of resources and internationalism as a new link between the workers of the world. When this is accomplished I have an absolute faith that war will be eliminated. Politicians and statesmen have failed. Let's show them the workers of the world can succeed.

What is war? Well, Sherman has defined it as Hell and Scott Nearing calls it Organized Destruction. I have always thought of it as a dirty mess stirred up by diplomats and rulers. The soldier is the scavenger called out to clean it up. The workers do not want war. Their desire is to create and enjoy, not to fight and destroy But so long as mankind is divided into national units, each with its traditional patriotism to its own group, so long as these units are governed by the political state composed of men steeped in that patriotism; and so long as the resources of the earth are exploited by private ownership by individuals who have the sympathy and backing of the political state; just so long, then, shall we have war. I can conceive of no possible way to prevent it. Certainly the League of Nations cannot. Make it less frequent, perhaps; abolish it, never.

I have written more than I had intended. In addition to an explanation for my seeming indifference I have given you a declaration of my faith. Though not a member of your movement, I can see your grievance and sympathize with your efforts. Through a thorough understanding of your principles, objects and methods, I can clarify confused and cloudy opinions when I come up against them and in this way help to break down existing prejudices against the IWW.

## CRIME IN THE U. S. A.

According to a committee of the American Bar Association, in the twelve years from 1910 to 1922 the general population of the United States increased 14.9 per cent; the criminal population 16.6 per cent.

The largest proportion of crime increase was in crimes of violence. These are worse than in any other civilized country.

The committee of the American Bar Association believes law enforcement to be the remedy. This is like closing the stable door after the horse has been stolen.

It would be better still to shut down the private strike-breaking agencies, with their agents provocateur; the Ku Klux Klan, the Chicago Tribune, with its advocacy of Fascism and war preparedness; and all the other media for the promotion of lawlessness and violence.

Look not for crime among criminals; but in the high places of capitalism that find the criminal elements necessary to capitalist preservation.

## ROOM FOR GROWTH!

Craft organizations of labor are too small and restricted to organize the entire working class. They remind one of two old darkies, Uncle Luke and Uncle Mark.

Uncle Luke and Uncle Mark observed a little darky apparently in great pain. By the side of him were the gnawed rinds of a large watermelon eaten to the green. It had been a very large watermelon.

"Look at dat chile," said Luke, "He's had too much watermelon."

"Go 'long, man," answered Mark, "dey can't be too much watermelon; dey's too little nigger."

# WOBBLES

## UNDERWEIGHT UNDERPAID

It happened during a hard winter not so long ago. A large mail-order house advertised for men in their wall paper department and Jimmy answered the ad. Just ahead of him, in the line of applicants, was a young fellow who looked like a "white hope;" and the following conversation ensued between him and the employment director:

**Director**—"Have you ever had any experience in handling wall paper?"

**White Hope**—"No; but I'm willing to learn."

**Director**—"Do you weigh 175 pounds?"

**White Hope**—"Oh yes, I weigh two hundred."

**Director**—"I see—Now, would you be willing to start at eight dollars a week?"

**White Hope**—(After pause in which he was evidently thinking how hard it was to get work)—"Ye-es, I guess so."

The director then handed the new slave over to the application manager and turned to Jimmy with a huge smile.

Jimmy is one of those vest pocket editions of humanity and only weighs about 125 pounds with his "heavies" on, and the director thought he was going to let him down easy, so he said, rubbing his hands together, "You don't weigh quite 175 pounds, do you?"

"No," barked our hero, "and I'll tell you something else: "I wouldn't work for eight dollars a week if I DID weigh that much."

## SOME SEARCH!

Old King Cole was an optimistic soul,
An optimistic soul was he.
He called for a light in the middle of the night
To search for the W. P.

## VANISHING ANCESTOR

"How far do they trace their ancestry?"

"The grandfather, a City Bank Director, was traced as far as China; there all traces were lost."

## LAWLESS PROCEEDING

The teacher was giving the class a lecture on "gravity."

"Now children," she said, "it is the law of gravity that keeps us on this earth."

"But, please, teacher," inquired one small child, "how did we stick on before the law was passed?"

## A CHEERFUL BIRD!

The Dromedary is a cheerful bird,
Bearing burdens without a protesting word.
He's not the only grinnin' idiot in the Zoo,
For there's many a workingman like him, too.

## ANCIENT HISTORY

An Irishman and an Englishman, while digging a ditch, were discussing various phases of unionism. An old Hebrew passed during the argument.

"There, Pat," said the Englishman, whose non-unionism was being routed, "do you see that old fellow?"

"Indeed, I do," replied Pat.

"Well," said the Englishman, "he's one of them guys that killed Christ, the union carpenter of Nazareth."

"I'll remember him," said Pat. So the next day when Pat saw the old Hebrew again he knocked him down without any ado whatever. The old man protested.

"Never mind," said Pat, "you can't fool me. You are one of them fellows that killed Jesus Christ, the union earpenter."

"Why, my friend," replied the old Hebrew, "that happened two thousand years ago."

"Well, I can't help that," said Pat. "I only heard of it yesterday."

Moral: When discussing unionism don't be sidetracked by ancient history. Stick to the point; or innocent parties will get hurt.

# Winter in Prison

By RICHARD BRAZIER

THE storm broke in the dead of night,
And when we rose at dawn,
We saw by the morning's light,
A snowy Christmas morn.
The snow had cast a sheltering fleece,
O'er the cold, silent yard,
Had touched with hands that brought surcease
The earth so bleak and hard.

The ground we trod, so black and bare,
That bruised us foot and soul,
Where nothing grew, that sweet or fair,
Could help to make us whole,
Now lay beneath a mantle white,
That hid its bitter frown,
Even the walls, so drear with might,
Looked kind as the sun shone down.

Upon the wall the topmost height
Was one sheer, sparkling crown
Of crystals glittering in the light
As tho with jewels strown.
Like silver and gold, all things shone,
The earth, the walls and bars.
On untrodden snow, gleams of sun
Dazzled like golden stars.

Oh, but I knew it would not last!
And when the rain began to fall,
Earth once more would gape in the blast;
And lightning flash and thunder roll,
And wild storm beating overhead,
Will keep demoniac patrol,
When winter's beauty shall have fled.

## HELP REAP THE HARVEST!

### ADDRESSED TO THE "EX-WOBBLIES"

AWAKE! Ye slumbering rebels, from your gloomy dreams,
And throw your mournful garments in the fire.
Beyond the hills and crags, a new sun gleams,
And sheds its light above the muck and mire.
What though your former battles brought you naught but pain,
And left you broken on the wheel of Life?
You've sown the seed upon a fertile plain,
Now help us reap the Harvest of your Strife.

—**Anonymous, (Buffalo, N. Y.)**

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# Proletarian Insomnia

HEAVY eyelids, but sleepless eyes. Slowly from a distant clock four strokes are heard Several cheery voices passing: homeward bound from some carouse. Doleful, forboding clangs from a far off fire truck, in rapid succession. and the bare trees in the little park across the road whisper mournfully "bad time for a fire; little children may be in danger, old persons,—may be sick persons."

Sudden, breathless quiet, the only noise, that of the heart beat, the only sound, that of the clock. All's still. Heavy darkness descends.

A farmer's wagon is slowly scratching along the asphalt, a stray auto sends off its gas in slow, uneven combustions. Day is breaking, a fine mist spreads over the little park across the road and the tiny brook has a frosty look; a fine day is on the horizon.

Heavy eyelids and sleepy eyes. Gone is the sleepless, useless night. The workaday has begun

**J. D. C.**

## ENGLISH AS SHE IS SPOKEN IN THE LOGGING WOODS

While working on the "Gut and Liver" Line in Minnesota, "Big Jim" Sullivan met with a severe accident. Sullivan was a toploader and a French Canadian whom the foreman had hired that morning was sending up the logs. A huge white pine butt log was on the skids and Sullivan told the "Canuck" to cut his end of the log back, instead of which he pushed it ahead. The result was that the log swung around, hit Sullivan's feet, knocking him violently on top of the skidway and breaking four ribs. When Sullivan woke up he was in the hospital.

He was taken to St. Mary's hospital in West Superior, Wisconsin for treatment.

A few days after his arrival and after he had somewhat recovered from the smash-up Sullivan was visited by the Sister Superior of the hospital. After a few preliminary remarks regarding the state of his health, the Sister said:

"Mr. Sullivan, please tell me how the accident happened."

"Well, you see, it was dis way, Sister," said Sullivan. "I'm a skypiece, meself. We were short of a grounder one morning, and the push sees a groundmole danglin' down the main stem and he glooms him.

"We were sendin' up a big blue butt and I told him to give her a Sag and he gave her a St. Croix and she gunned on him and knocked me steps from in under me and broke four slats. The next thing I knew I was in the butcher shop. Dat's all I know about it."

"Dear, dear," said the Sister, "I don't understand it."

"Neither do I," replied the logger, "the son-of-a-gun must have been bughouse."

# The Stool Pigeon

A Drama in Two Acts

By PHIL ENGLE

CHARACTERS

Secretary of the Branch
The Marxian Philosopher
The "Friendly" Drunk
Jack Ward
Tom Little
Mrs. Weston } Members of the IWW
Mrs. Towser
Dick Towser, A Stoolpigeon
Dugan, of the "Bomb" Squad
Policemen, Wobblies, etc., etc.

***

TIME: During the "Red" raids of 1920
PLACE: A large city in the Middlewest

(Just before the curtain rises an IWW song is sung off stage. Just as the curtain rises the singing ceases. Curtain rises on

**Scene: An IWW Hall**

(Discovered. The Secretary is seated at his desk writing. The Marxian Philosopher is seated at a table with three open books in front of him, which he seems to be studying.)

***

Secretary: Well, I'm glad the songbirds are gone. Now, I will have a chance to make out my financial report and work in peace.

The Marxian: Yes, and now I will be able to study this second volume of Karl Marx's Capital. I want to clear you up, Fellow Worker, on the question of the Transformation of Surplus Value into Working Capital, and I want to say before I start that for a branch secretary of the IWW you are very ignorant on Marxian Economics. Why, you don't even know why the economic factor predominates; do you? No, you don't!—No you don't!

Secretary: Well, I might not know much about economics, but I know I must make out this financial report or there will be a kick from . . .

The Marxian: I know you must make out your financial report, but it will only take me a half-hour to clear you up and it is more important that I get you clear on this question . .

Secretary: You will get me "clear nutty" if you won't let me make out this report. After I am through, I will be ready to listen to your lecture on the "Sacred Whiskers of Karl Marx."

The Marxian: You dare poke fun at Karl Marx's whiskers? You, a secretary of a militant revolutionary union! You dare crack jokes about Karl Marx's whiskers. Why, when I was a member of the old SLP we expelled men for less than that.

Secretary: I am not poking fun at Karl Marx, God forbid, but I do wish you would let me make out this report. I ask this favor of you **in the name of Karl Marx!**

The Marxian: Go to the devil! I have tried to do my duty to you as a fellow worker. Now, if you wish to remain an ignoramus do so. (Begins to study over his books.)

(Enter The "Friendly" Drunk)

(The drunk is rather poorly dressed and walks very unsteadily.)

The Friendly Drunk: How do, everybody! (hic!) I am a strong sympathizer! I want to shake hands with everybody.

Secretary (annoyed): Well, look what Santa Claus brought us! What can I do for you?

The Friendly Drunk (hic!): I am a strong sympathizer. A very strong sympathizer. And when I (hic!) think of the poor (hic!) boys in the (hic!) jail—I almost cry. It (hic!) makes me want to shed (hic!) tears.

The Secretary: Yes, and if it depended on the likes of you the poor boys would stay in jail forever. Now take yourself and your jag and your sympathy to the headquarters of the Bootleggers' union.

The Friendly Drunk: (hic!) Now, why do you bawl me out, brother. I love (hic!) you. (Bursts into tears.)

Secretary to Marxian: Give me a hand and let us lead Mr. Volstead out so he can get some fresh air. (They both take the drunk between them and lead him slowly towards the door.)

Drunk begins to sing:

It's a horrible death to die,
It's a horrible death to die,
It's a horrible death, to be worked to death,
It's a horrible death to die.

The Marxian and Secretary together: We will take your word for it. This way out, please. This way out. (Exit Drunk.)

(The Secretary goes back to his desk. The Marxian goes back to his books.)

Enter from street: Jack Ward, Tom Little and several other members of the IWW. They break up into different groups, some reading papers, others playing checkers. Jack Ward and Tom Little sit down alongside of each other.)

Jack Ward: Well, there is no longer any doubt. We got the goods on the rat, but I'm sorry for his mother. If there ever was a rebel woman, **she is one.**

Tom Little: You said it. I think she would rather a thousand times have him dead than to have him turn out to be a rat. But there is no room for doubt any more, for when we asked him to come down to the branch and face the charges against him, he pulled a gun on us and ordered us out.

Jack Ward: He has not the nerve to use a gun, but just now he is full of dope and the dope in him may give him false courage. So I think the best thing we did was to beat it.

Tom Little: What else could we do? Well the next thing to do is to call a meeting and expel him.

Jack Ward: His mother just got back from a trip to Moline. She went up there trying to organize a branch of the Foodstuff Workers' Union. Got back just in time . . . .

Tom Little: To see her only son expelled from the IWW for being a stoolpigeon. Funny though, that she never seemed to notice the fact that he was a dope fiend. Everybody else knew it.

Jack Ward: Maybe she knew it all the time. She told me she was afraid he had lung trouble because he was so pale and had such a bad cough. (Enter Dick Towser.)

Dick Towser (tall, slim, wild-eyed and pale): Well, here I am! You boobs thought I was afraid of you, eh! Afraid of a lot of ignorant bohunks!

Secretary: Glad to see you have the courage to come down to face the charges against you.

Dick Towser: Face the charges? Oh, hell! I came down to find my old lady. I heard she had just left the house to come down here. As for the charges against me that you talk about, I am guilty and proud of it.

(Cries from all the IWW members present): You dirty stoolpigeon!!

Dick Towser: I am no stoolpigeon, damn you! I am a U. S. federal agent.

Jack Ward: What's the difference? You're a rat!

Dick Towser (drawing a revolver from his hip pocket): Be careful, you dirty anarchists, or I will let daylight through some of you.

Jack Ward: You rat, I will make you eat that gun!

(Jack Ward is about to make a leap at Dick Towser when Mrs. Towser and Mrs. Weston enter from street.)

Mrs. Weston: What's the matter? What's wrong here?

Mrs. Towser: Dick! Dick, what are you doing with a gun in your hands in broad daylight in an I. W. W. hall?

(There are a few moments of absolute silence. Everyone seems to be waiting for someone to speak.)

Secretary: Well, Mrs. Towser—I mean—I mean—Fellow Worker Towser, it means this: We suspected your son Dick and—

Mrs. Towser: Suspected my son Dick! Suspected him of what?

Secretary: We had reason to suspect him of being a stoolpigeon. So we—

Mrs. Towser: How dare you! How dare you talk that way of my son! Why I have a mind to—

J. Ward: Mrs. Towser, it is the truth. Six fellow workers signed the charges against him. I was one of them, and when three of us were sent as a committee to see him he drew a gun on us. Just before you came in he admitted he was a Federal dick.—Ask him yourself.

(During all this time Dick Towser stands with the revolver in his hand. There is a cunning leer on his face.)

Mrs. Towser (Turns to Dick): Is that true? Why don't you answer? Give that revolver to me. I said give that revolver!

Dick: Give you that gun, mother, and let this gang of dirty anarchists beat me to death? Not me.

Mrs. Towser: Who are you calling dirty anarchists? What sort of words are these I hear from the lips of a son of mine. Tell me, my son, that this is some horrible joke you are playing on the boys. Tell me that—

Dick: It is no joke, mother. They got the goods on me. I got nothing to be ashamed of. I have been working for the U. S. Department of Justice for three years. I am an American to the core and I hate these damn foreigners who are trying to destroy our government. I—

Mrs. Towser: Stop! You have said enough. Give me that gun!

Dick: No, mother, I will not! They will kill me.

J. Ward: No, you rat, they won't do anything of the kind and you know it. You are full of dope and afraid of your own shadow.

Mrs. Towser: I said give me that gun! (She makes a grab at his hand and secures the revolver.) Now, Dick Towser, answer me, for God's sake, answer me, is it true?

(Dick remains silent but nods his head.)

Mrs. Towser: So, the son of Richard Towser, the grand old fighter of the Knights of Labor days is a stoolpigeon. The boy I loved more than life is a dirty traitor to his class. (Turns to Mrs. Weston.) Oh, Mrs. Weston, you who lost your only son at the battle of Everett, Washington, you can go to the grave of your boy and weep there. You can have the pride of being a mother who gave her son's life for the cause of human emancipation. But I—I am the mother of a stoolpigeon!

(Dick starts for the door leading to the street.)

Mrs. Towser: Wait! Wait you traitor! Before you go listen to me. You are no longer a son of mine. Go, and never let me see your face again—and take with you a mother's bitter curse. (Exit Dick.) (Breaks into wild hysterical laughter) Ha, ha, ha, the son of Richard Towser, the grand old rebel, is a stoolpigeon. Ha, ha, what a joke! (She gives a loud scream and falls senseless to the floor.)

(Curtain Falls)

***

ACT II.

TIME—About a month later.

SCENE—Same as ACT I.

(Discovered—The secretary sits writing at his desk. The Marxian philosopher is studying a book. Several IWW members reading papers and a few are at the table playing checkers.)

Secretary: I am lucky this week. Got my financial report finished and mailed to headquarters on time. Now, I will read this pamphlet in peace.

The Marxian: An IWW branch secretary should be ashamed to be reading a pamphlet written for the A-B-C class. You should know Karl Marx's Capital by heart.

(Continued on Page 44)

# The Amazing Deportation Mania

A REVIEW By RICHARD BRAZIER

A READING of the book by Louis Post on "The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-Twenty" must move all those fortunate enough to read this timely and interesting narrative of official tyranny to amazement.

One's first impression is: that for a long period of time one of the most important departments of the American government was in the hands of a lunatic, a man who was crazed with fear, and so hag-ridden by a phobia against all schools of radical thought that, in order to suppress them, he encouraged and permitted acts against them that would have shamed an Ivan the Terrible.

The nation-wide raids of 1919-20 against all those suspected of harboring thoughts repugnant to the frightened mind of this "Thought Censor," Att'y-General Palmer, have never been paralleled in the history of the American nation, and never duplicated elsewhere. For wanton disregard of all elementary rights; for shameless abandon of all semblance of justice and for sheer inhumanity towards a harmless and unoffending citizenry, these attacks by Palmer's "plug uglies" upon homes and liberties, rank high in the long list of outrages perpetrated against their suppliant subjects by autocratic rulers.

### Degenerate Recruits

Mr. Post makes it clear beyond all peradventure of doubt that the Department of Justice under Mr. Palmer's administration was simply an adjunct of the Burns Detective Agency, and that its secret agents were the dregs of that most despicable of all groups in society: the finks, stoolpigeons, gunmen and degenerates from which private detective agencies recruit their evil armies of crime.

Not content with capturing the Department of Justice, by playing the "Red" bogey to the credulous and frightened Mr. Palmer, and running it to suit themselves and serve their nefarious ends, this horde of detectives, defectives and ineffectives sought to control other government departments, and did, for a while, control the Department of Labor and its machinery for deporting aliens. It was during the control of these thugs that scores of members of the IWW were rushed across the continent from Seattle to Ellis Island and hurried out of the country to their respective fatherlands. without any formality of trial at all.

### Medieval Reminders

Some of the incidents of the "Red" raids, mentioned by Mr. Post in his book, make one hark back to medieval times for an adequate comparison. We read of secret prisons and dungeons on top floors of towering sky-scrapers; of some poor victims of official terrorism hurtling to death from dizzy heights—either driven insane by the tortures of his persecutors or else deliberately hurled into oblivion to hide some especially hideous act of injustice—and many people suspect the latter.

We find homes and halls of public assembly being broken into and despoiled; of families being separated, husbands from wives, mothers from children and girls from their sweethearts. We read with horror of the indignities heaped upon these innocent victims of a brutal despotism caught in what Mr. Palmer called his "rat-trap." Men by the thousands were held incommunicado for weeks and months, tortured, beaten and "third degreed" by atavistic savages masquerading as officials of the law, and were placed in jeopardy of disease and death by being crowded together like cattle in defiance of all the laws of health and sanitation.

To advertise their infamy still further, these Goths and Vandals dragged their captives, loaded with chains, through crowded city streets to furnish amusement and sport for pure 100 percenters, for all the world like a conquering army staging a triumph—a modern Roman holiday, all in the name of Democracy. Could hypocrisy be more hypocritical than this?

### Blazoning Palmer's Misdeeds

Mr. Post has done well to blazon to the world the misdeeds of the infamous Palmer and his cut-throat crew of dastards; he has rendered a great service in exposing the usurpation of powers not vested in them by Palmer and his hirelings, but there is danger that his book will lull into false security the liberty loving ones of America who are apt to conclude from a reading of Post's book that the whole disgraceful business of deporting innocent aliens is over and done with when, as a matter of fact, the aftermath of Palmer's "Red" crusade is still with us.

### Mania Still Survives

There is, for instance, the cases of the 15 IWW members—all of them political prisoners—who are being held for deportation under the amendment to the Immigration Act of 1920. This amendment, which makes all aliens convicted of violating the wartime laws subject to deportation, is a direct outcome of Palmer's "Red" crusade. These men are to be deported—if the government has its way —for violating laws that no longer exist, since most of the wartime laws have been repealed and the rest are in abeyance until a state of war exists again. Then again this amendment to the Immigration Act is an ex posto facto law, passed while the political prisoners were still in prison and two years after their conviction, yet the government which admitted its wrong in jailing the political prisoners by releasing them all before their sentences were served, due to the pressure of public opinion, still seeks to punish these men by deporting them to countries where some of them are in danger of facing a firing squad.

Mr. Post will not have done his duty until he has helped to arouse the American people to realize the fate that may await these men if they are

deported. He once had it within in his power to cancel the warrants against these men, as the original warrants were in his possession up till 1920. It would, perhaps, only have been a gesture of fairness, as his successors would, no doubt, have issued new warrants against these men, but it would have shown that his attitude of fairness towards aliens held for deportation, which he stresses in his book, was something more than a mere pose.

**Last Vestige Remains to Be Removed**

The last vestige of Palmerism will not be removed from the statutes of this country until the amendment to the Immigration Act of 1920 is repealed, and it behooves Mr. Post and all those who, like him, burn with indignation at the deportation outrages of Mr. Palmer to see to it that no one who was sent to prison for his opinions, or for mere membership in the IWW shall be deported. We wait to see if Mr. Post has the courage of his convictions, and if he will raise his voice as loudly in protest against the attempt to deport these IWW political prisoners as he raised it for the earlier victims of Palmer's "Red" crusade. Unless he does so protest, his book will remain a work of insincerity; unless he defends to the last ditch every victim of the war hysteria who faces deportation his task remains half done, and he will have assisted, instead of prevented the "Deportations Delirum" to continue.

**(The Deportations Delirum of Nineteen-Twenty, Louis F. Post. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill.)**

## THE STOOLPIGEON

(Continued from Page 42)

Secretary: I know nothing of Marx's Capital, but I have the marks of capital all over me.

The Marxian: So, you are repeating Bill Haywood's old joke. Well, if you want to remain an ignoramus that's your business. As for me, I just got through with Marx and am starting on Engel's.

Secretary: I hope you get the best of him.

**(Enter, a Friendly Drunk.)**

Drunk: I am a strong sympathizer. (Hic) I thought I would come (hic) and tell you—

Secretary: Why, here's Mr. Volstead again. I suppose you brought your usual jag with you.

Friendly Drunk: Yes, I got my jag (hic) with me. I am a strong sympathizer (hic) just the same. I am drunk, but I will be sober some day.

Secretary: Let us hope so. This way out please.

Friendly Drunk: Just a (hic) minute. I want to leave five dollars with you and when I (hic) sober up I am coming back to (hic) get a (hic) red card. Because I am a (hic) strong sympathizer. (Gives money to secretary and staggers out into the street.)

Secretary: Can you beat it. He did not even wait for a receipt. Chase him up and get his name.

(The Marxian rushes out, Secretary resumes his reading and Marxian returns after absence of a few moments.)

The Marxian: I think our friendly drunk is pinched. Just saw a bull leading him to the patrol box. I am sorry for the poor stiff.

(The secretary is about to reply when loud cries are heard from street (off stage.)

The Marxian: What's that!

(Everybody jumps to their feet as J. Ward and Tom Little enter. They are both visibly excited.)

J. Ward and T. Little: Dick Towser has been killed!

A Wobbly: How did that happen?

All: Yes, how did it happen?

J. Ward: A mob of drunken hoodlums had just wrecked the Socialist hall and were on their way here when one of the mob who recognized Dick Towser and had heard Towser speak on the street for the IWW, cried out: "There's one of the agitators. Lynch him!"—and before the stoolpigeon had a chance to explain what he had been doing while a member of the organization, they kicked him to death.

T. Little: Yes, and his poor mother asked me to take this message to you all from her. She said, "Fellow Workers, I want to forget how he lived. I only want to remember how he died."

Secretary: Spoken like a real rebel woman.

(Loud cries from without (off stage.)

The Marxian: The bulls are coming. A raid! a raid!

(Enter Dugan of the Bomb Squad and several policemen in uniform.)

Dugan: Line up you fellows. You are all under arrest!

Secretary: Have you a warrant?

Dugan: We don't need any warrant for you fellows. Come on! damn you, line up. Line up everybody! You fellows are lucky to be pinched. There is a mob on their way here now, ready to string you up. Come on! Get a move on you! Forward march! (The police surround the members present and they all march from the hall.)

(For a few moment the stage is deserted, then suddenly a large crowd of drunken hoodlums rush into the hall. They smash the book case, break the windows, upset the table and chairs. One of them takes a match and sets the hall on fire. The flames shoot up. The mob dances around the fire and sings Yankee Doodle as curtain falls. Curtain rises again and the hall is seen in flames, while from the distance comes the sound (off stage) of the workers singing the transport workers' song "Hold the Fort," and as they finish the chorus of the song

The Curtain Falls.)

**TO ENJOY LIFE MORE, SUBSCRIBE FOR THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**

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# Pioneer Praise Continues

THE Industrial Pioneer continues to receive many letters of praise and many favorable notices.

The Marine Worker, organ of the MTW, in its issue of December 15, declares, in big type,

**"The Industrial Pioneer.—The December issue is a corker. One of the best Labor magazines printed."**

The Branch Secretary, Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310, Portland, Oregon, writes:

"The Pioneer is getting to be a magazine of which the IWW as well as anybody else can be proud. At least everybody around Portland feels that way about it.

**"We are going to push the Pioneer in every respect, so as to raise the sale beyond all limits. It is no trouble at all to sell the magazine."**

Harold Allinger, writes from Manhattan, Nevada, on Christmas day:

"Just received the Amnesty number of the Pioneer, and very nearly missed turkey dinner as a consequence. I lost all track of time and could hardly lay the magazine down before I finished it.

**"I hardly know which of the fellow workers are to be congratulated most, the authors, the artists, or the editorial staff.**

"I have waited for years for a magazine to appear by, and for the workers. Once I thought I had found the things I sought in the 'Liberator,' but soon discovered that a group of 'parlor intellectuals' could not possibly furnish the mental food a class-conscious worker needs, while the Pioneer fills the bill to a nicety.

"Congratulations!"

Frank Rosenblatt, Rochester, N. Y., declares:

"I have read a few numbers of the Industrial Pioneer and like it very much.

**"The magazine has a wide field of usefulness, and I do my part in selling as many as I can. Send me subscription blanks.**

"I have sold working class papers before and wont stop to do my share until we gain our freedom."

Card Number X26019 writes from Butte, Montana:

**"Each month I have been thinking that this Pioneer is better than the last until now I have ceased to speculate on where it could be improved. I do say, however, that as it stands today it should be and is the world's best Labor magazine."**

"One of our friends from Casper, Wyoming, although not a card member, but a fellow worker just the same, writes that he misses the Pioneer newsboy and encloses ten dollars for Christmas. Enclosed you will find what the newsboy thought was a suitable present for such a friend."

**"Our New Year's wish for the Pioneer is, that it will be an absolute success and in the end will reach the four corners of the globe."**

**(Enclosure)**

"Fellow Worker:

"I am six years old and am paying my way to school with money I made selling Pioneers at Casper.

**"Please tell Santa Claus to send my friend Mr. Mote, the Pioneer for one year. I think this is a good present to give a friend.**

"We have the Pioneer in the top of our tree this Christmas.

"Let's boost the Pioneer.

**"Jack Garner."**

**B. Osuchowsky, New York City, N. Y., sends $2.73, his profit on the sale of the Pioneer, as a donation towards its development. It will be used to give subscriptions to workers whose names he has been requested to send in.**

P. J. Welinder, Seattle, Wash., sends this bouquet:

"I have a complaint to make in regards to the January issue of the Industrial Pioneer. It reached me last Thursday, but not before last evening, rather late, had I the time to look it over. **And here is where my complaint enters; it stole three hours of sleep away from me.**

"Being a Swede, and born close to the waters that separate Sweden from Denmark, I started out with Fellow Worker Anderson's article on Scandinavia. Only intended to glance it over, but I would like to see the Swede who could start on that article and quit before finishing. Say, that is great! . . .

**"Then there is Vern Smith's article. I don't know which I most admire, the masterly handling of the subject or the almost extravagant brilliancy in style. Perhaps it is so fascinating to me because I have a particular fancy for that kind of subtle satire which runs through the article. It is something like Strindberg, or Ibsen,—and Strindberg and Ibsen are my literary gods.**

"Although I hesitate a lot in attempting to write after reading such splendid works, I had to slip a few lines to the Industrial Worker urging its readers to secure a copy, particularly the Scandinavians. And also I felt it my duty to send you a line of thanks for a real, good issue of the Industrial Pioneer. They have all been great, but I can't help thinking that this is the greatest.

**"I hope you will be able to keep the magazine up to the same high standard. I know what it means to work with limited resources and limited support. But if my effort can help any I promise you, Fellow Worker, that I will do my best. I will soon be in the field again and I will not fail to carry that sub book and to boost the Pioneer as well as our other publications."**

# Maurer Nails State Police Lie

LAST month the Industrial Pioneer published the following item, which was sent in by a friend in Louisiana:

**"Union Labor, Is This True?**

"In 1917 the sheriffs of Pennsylvania appeared as a body before the legislature of Pennsylvania to ask for a large numerical increase of the force, and for a raise in pay for every man on it—and a strong union labor vote, backing this appeal, triumphantly carried the measure. Union labor at that time had the IWWs fresh in mind, from whose assaults the ever-ready state police had, at their call, come times without number to save them."—Farm and Fireside, December, 1923.

Following the item's publication, the below letter was sent to James H. Maurer, President State Federation of Labor, Pennsylvania:—

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 26. 1923.

James H. Maurer, President,
State Federation of Labor,
Harrisburg, Pa.

Fellow Worker:

Under separate cover we are mailing to your address a marked copy of the Industrial Pioneer for January. On page thirty-three appears the item marked: "Union Labor, is this true?" We hope it is not.

Shall be pleased to print your denial or statement in the next issue of Industrial Pioneer. We go to press about the 10th.

Thanking you for your co-operation and trusting to receive your reply, we are yours with best wishes for industrial freedom,

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER,
Per Justus Ebert, Editor.

**Maurer's Statement**

To all of the above, James Maurer, President Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, makes the following reply:

Mr. Justus Ebert,
1001 West Madison St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Brother Ebert:

In reply to your favor of recent date, relative to article in Farm and Fireside Magazine, as copied in The Industrial Pioneer, on State Police, will say there is not a word of truth in it.

It is generally well known that I have, personally fought the Department of State Police ever since its creation and the same is true of the State Federation of Labor, of Pennsylvania, of which I have the honor to be president. As a matter of fact, I wrote many pamphlets and a book, "The American Cossack," describing the activities of the State Police and proving them to be nothing more than a legalized band of strike-breakers.

As to the legislature session of 1917. The very opposite of Labor's attitude is true. We fought the State Police bill every inch of the way in both houses but, due to the war hysteria which, at that time, gripped the People, the bill was passed, with every labor member in the legislature voting **against** it. I was a member of the legislature at the time. The legislative record for the past fifteen years will show that the only active opposition to the State Police, in Pennsylvania, was Organized Labor and "dirt" farmers. As to our fear of the IWW. The only time that I ever heard of anyone even throwing out a hint along this line before, was when we fought against the passage of the Governor's anti-sedition bill. Governor Sproul's spokesman, Attorney-General Shaffer, in his appeal for the bill, said it would protect organized labor against the terrible IWW. My answer to him, on this point, was that Organized Labor was not asking the Governor, nor anyone else, to protect it against the IWWs or any other group of workers; that whatever difference there might be between the two organizations, we could and would settle between ourselves, and that both groups resented interference by Labor baiters or legislators.

Thanking you for bringing this matter to my attention, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JAMES H. MAURER.

# Amnesty Only Half Won

ON page nine of the January number of The Industrial Pioneer it is said: "The war prisoners having been granted unconditional amnesty, the thanks of the IWW are due to all who helped to achieve this end."

Permit me to call attention to the fact that "unconditional amnesty" has NOT been granted—far from it. As a matter of fact the fight for amnesty is only about half won.

We should not overlook, nor permit others to, the fact that release from prison, whether by expiration of sentence, parole or commutation of sentence is not amnesty in any sense of the word.

Amnesty is what we have been fighting for and what we must continue to fight for until we win. Amnesty is a general grant of pardon for political offense against the government and restores civil and political rights.

Until amnesty is granted political prisoners are felons still and considered morally unfit to exercise the civil and political rights which go with American citizenship.

Yours for Freedom,

**EMIL HERMAN,**
Seattle, Washington. **Card No. X6869.**

# The Present Business Slump

(Continued from Page 4)

will, the owners of industry eannot spend their income and thus keep the necessary balance between production and distribution. They may build sumptuous residences and estates, give extravagant dog parties, buy opera companies for their second or third wife, patronize the rising gland transplanting industry, endow public, religious and educational institutions, have a variety of "love nests" throughout the eountry—they may, in brief, dissipate, debauch and **squander** with a prodigality that causes that of the prodigal son to pale into insignificance indeed, and yet have tens of billions left, untouched.

Therefore they automatically, in the language of Hobson, "apply to the production of eapital-goods a proportion of the aggregate productive power that exceeds the proportion needed in aceordance with existing arts of industry to supply the eonsumption goods which are purchased and consumed."

### Piling Up Useless Capital

This means that they invest their surplus plunder in more eapital where too much eapital already exists; and where production already exceeds eonsumption. This, it will be recalled, is substantiated in the figures of Dr. Klein, already quoted. He shows us that boot and shoe factories are 25 per eent overbuilt. That is, they are required to produce only 75 per eent of their capacity. The same is substantially true of the pig iron industry, with a capacity 10 millions of tons in excess of industrial requirements.

Nevertheless, such is the need for investment on the part of the eapitalists, that they add to this excess capital, with its exeess capacity. They eontinue to overcapitalize and overbuild the industrial equipment, especially under the stimulus of so-called prosperity, when they expand their plants abnormally, only to find, when normal times return, that they are useless. This was the case during the war, when productivity was increased out of all proportion to subsequent needs.

Aside from the destructive competition and waste involved, many other bad results flow from this eourse.

### The Results

First, there is the periodie piling up of unsalable commodities or "goods," followed by a crash in prices, shutting down of factories, unemployment, failures, and all the well-known phenomena of the "business crisis," such as we are now partly confronted with and discussing.

Second, the ceaseless struggle for markets, here, there and everywhere. As Dr. Klein shows, the need for developing export trade beeomes imperative. The natives of tropical climes must be induced, cajoled or forced, if necessary, into wearing woolen underwear and putting in steam heating apparatus; while the Eskimos must be coerced

UNEMPLOYED!

into buying electrie fans and other machines for reducing the temperature! Where export trade is already secured by rival capitalists they must be driven from the field and their markets captured by any means, either fair or foul, peaceful or warlike. Thus we have come to have "economic penetration," "imperialism," etc.

Third, we also have come to possess, for the same reason, i. e., the struggle for markets, the abnormal development of retailing and its adjuncts, such as advertising. This gives rise to the extensive systems of ehain and department stores, big, bulky newspapers, special advertising organs, bill-boards, and other wasteful monopolies.

### War Ensues

On the other hand, the piling up of goods thru excessive capitalization and production, results in attempts to limit both markets and output. Tariffs, for instance, exclude outside eompetition, that is, the commodities produced in other countries. This leads to friction and demands for international free trade. Again, there is the custom of slowing down and otherwise attempting the restriction of industry, followed by all elasses alike. We see it in the reduced acreage of the farmers, the ca canny policy of the trade unionists, and the restrictive regulations of the trust magnates—all try to control production in order to insure prices, wages and profits.

Finally, from economic penetration, imperialism and protection come international friction and war, with their murderous prosperity and destructive, uncivilized aftermaths. Thus we find the basic cause of the business recession, so-called, together with all other modern evils, in the robbery of labor. The so-called evils of underconsumption and oversaving of the capitalist class grow out of that robbery and that robbery alone. As ex-Senator Pettigrew well says, "Capital is stolen labor. Its function is to steal more labor." We might add, its function is also to create war, reaction and all the other horrors of so-called civilization.

### The Remedy

Now how shall we end these so-called business recessions and all that thereby hangs? Some argue that hours should be reduced so as to give jobs to all. Instead of working 12 or 10 hours, we should work either 8 or six, thus increasing the labor forces required from 20 to 50 per cent. This may allieviate conditions, but it is logically no solution of the problem or problems involved. Plainly, the only solution is to give labor all that it produces. It will then be in a position to buy and consume all the commodities or "goods" produced. There will thus be no piles of unsalable goods in the face of existing poverty and shabbiness. There will thus be no urgent need for imperialism, protection, war and all that they have come to imply.

With labor getting all it produces, the cause of modern social ills will be removed, and social safety will be assured where now the destruction of the race looms up ahead of us, thanks to the diabolical thoroughness of modern scientific warfare.

John Hobson recognizes this necessity in two ways: he would absorb the income of the capitalists by giving the workers and the state greater shares in production. In both these ways, there'd be more consumption and, consequently, less dangers of either underconsumption or oversaving by the capitalists. Of course, both of these methods would have a certain degree of effectiveness. They would mitigate the evils complained of. Besides, the promise of more wages and increased employment embodied in the Hobsonian methods are not to be lightly regarded, or "sneezed at," as we moderns would say.

But with the capitalist's control of the state, and with his power to increase productivity out of all proportions to the wages paid, the final success of both of these methods looks doubtful. Apparently, nothing but the complete abolition of the capitalist exploitation of labor will do. And to this end, naught else but the industrial organization of the working class will do. With such an industrial organization perfected, labor will be in a position to regulate production during all times and give to society a social basis that will make the "business recession" and all that thereby hangs, impossible.

## Chicago

By John Drury

CITY,
Flaunting the iron of your strength
Across the prairies,
You have been cruel to me—
You have twisted my being
Into unreal shapes and attitudes.
But yet, O my city,
I have loved you
For all your masculine brutality.
I have watched a thin curve of moon
Lying in the smoky red behind your factories
And have seen the white reach of your skyscrapers.
Out of mist mornings.
My heart has been torn in your rude hands
But you have had me in a strange wonder,
O flaunting city.

## What Is Co-operation?

THE London Daily Herald prints the following item:

**"CO-OPERATIVE WAGES**

**"Scottish Negotiations for Increase**

"Good progress is being made in the negotiation between the Scottish Co-operative Societies and the Shop Assistants' Union and the Distributive Workers' Union regarding the claim for increased wages as from January 1.

"Certain offers have been made which will be considered at an early conference of the unions.

"About 20,000 employes are concerned."

Co-operation is said to be an abolition of capitalism and wage slavery. Is it?

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# Boycott California Movies

Many States Are Barring Certain California Movies Because of the Recent Los Angeles Shooting Involving Leading Female Stars and a Male Oil Millionaire. It Is Feared That They Will Demoralize The Beholders, Should The Latter Be Permitted to See Them.

Workers Everywhere Should Bar All California's Movies. But For Another and More Vital and Less Hypocritical Reason; Namely, California's Jails Are Full of Union Men Who Insist On The Right To Organize, And An Additional Blow At Its Leading Industry Will Help To Effect Their Release.

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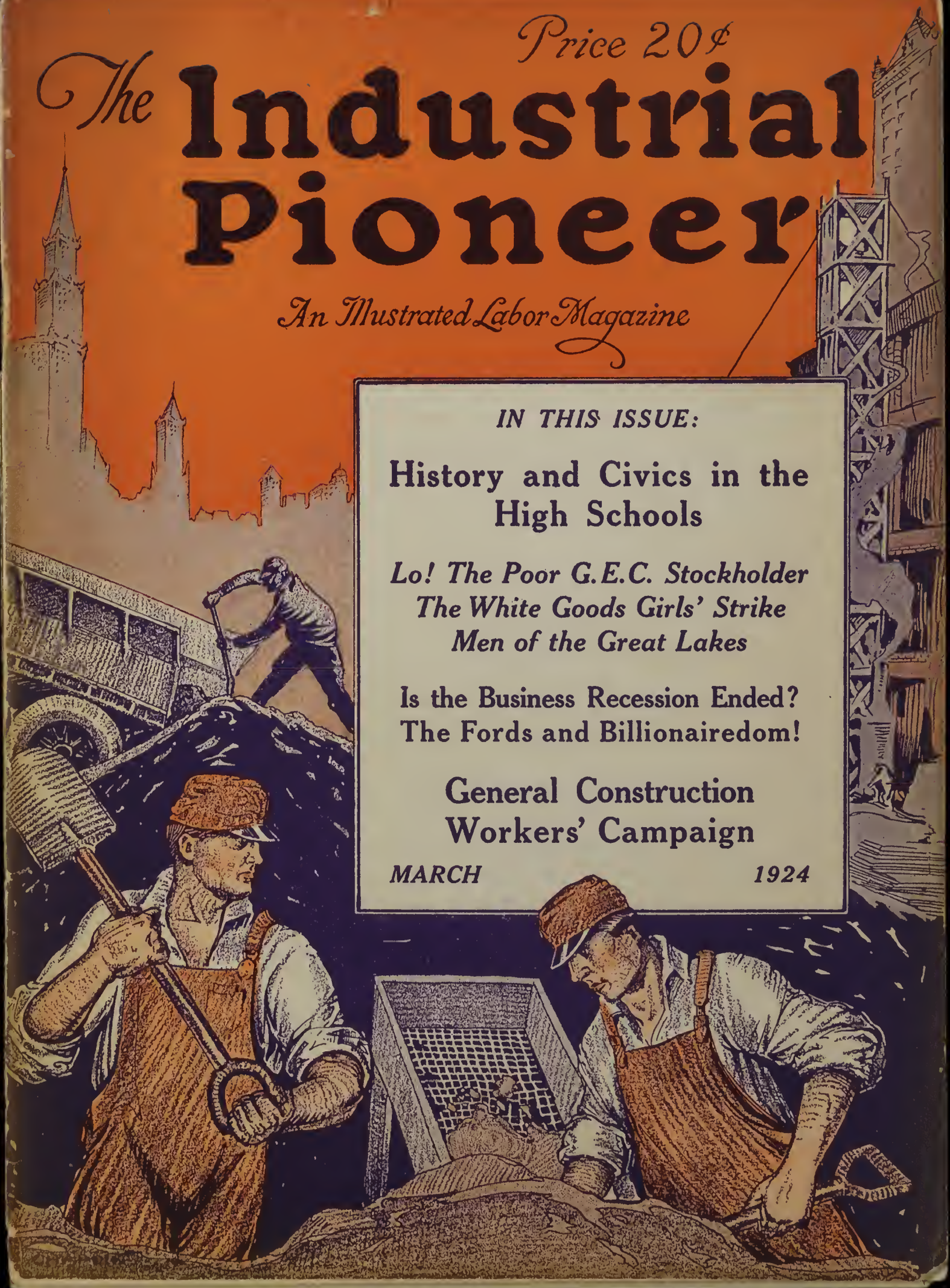
An Illustrated Labor Magazine



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**History and Civics in the High Schools**

***Lo! The Poor G.E.C. Stockholder***
***The White Goods Girls' Strike***
***Men of the Great Lakes***

**Is the Business Recession Ended?**
**The Fords and Billionairedom!**

**General Construction Workers' Campaign**

*MARCH* *1924*

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union, No. 450, I. W. W.

# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Edited By JUSTUS EBERT

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Vol. I. MARCH, 1924 No. 11

# History and Civics in Senior High Schools

By WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN

**THIS impressive and striking article is worthy of close perusal despite its length. It is written by a teacher in a conventional preparatory school and attacks "our" educational system on its own grounds. Its argument should be easily understood not only by the workers with whom it is largely concerned, but also by people outside of the militant labor movement.**

**Its plea for dynamic as opposed to the static influences in education can also be made in behalf of other branches of social activity. All society needs to be freed from traditional beliefs and institutions in order that further development may be possible. And in no branch does this apply as in labor unionism, where, as in education, attempts are being made to perpetuate dominant types indefinitely; all for the like continuance of the present anti-social system.**

**With this parallel suggestion in mind, we again urge a close perusal of the article by the reader.**

I. FOREWORD:

The writer of this paper believes that the problem of education is the supreme and fundamental problem of society; that clear understanding of this problem and resolute, effective action under the guidance of such understanding are the only hope of freedom and happiness for the individual or of real intelligence, conscience and will in the State; and that this understanding of education is inconceivable unless there shall be not only **unfaltering determination to penetrate below the surface of all social phenomena, all social and political institutions, and to submit these institutions to the severest scrutiny, but also unhesitating courage in accepting conclusions indicated by the facts discovered, regardless of consequences to any traditional beliefs.**

Further, since some criterion is necessary for determining one's methods and conclusions, the writer accepts what may be called the methods of natural science as the only methods that can be trusted in the task of finding the truth—or some approach to the truth. Moreover, in view of the vast and far-reaching human interests involved in the attempt so to reorganize the educational system of the United States as to furnish a citizenship conscious of or adequate for the tasks and problems of today and tomorrow, he feels bound to approach any and every situation and proposal with critical faculties alive and alert. In order not to dissipate his energies by attempting too much, he undertakes in this paper to discuss History and Civics teaching only as applied to boys and girls at the point of their greatest maturity, in the period of secondary education as forming, for the ends of citizenship, one relatively homogeneous unit. The supreme **motif** in this teaching is held to be that of **effective functioning of the**

**individual with others in a social process which has no meaning except as it is DYNAMIC,** and the two subjects coupled in this course are held to be subordinate departments of SOCIOLOGY.

In addition to other sources of educational information and stimulus, the writer desires to acknowledge his great obligation to the most painstaking, the most suggestive, the most inclusive, and the most courageous of all sociologists in the search for truth and in the effort to make social science the instrument of intellectual emancipation—and indirectly of social and economic emancipation—of mankind: Lester F. Ward.

## II. BASIC FACTS AND PRINCIPLES IN THE MIND OF THE TEACHER OF HISTORY AND CIVICS IN THE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL:

"WE are educating today in the Secondary Schools the America of 1940."—Professor Williams, Univ. of California.

"This is an age of confusion.

"Another world war will destroy civilization."
—Professor Aikin.

"Another world war is inevitable under the stimulus of nationalistic patriotism and the domination of capitalist imperialism."—The substance of lectures by Prof. Hayes, of Columbia University, N. Y. City.

"Much depends upon the faith of teachers in the possibility of **a better social order than now exists."** —Professor Aikin.

"We are living in the **Stone Age of the Art of Government."** —Lester F. Ward.

The teacher who approaches the task of teaching history and civics in Senior High School—or anywhere else—lacking the clear, reasoned perception of certain basic facts and principles as the ground upon which to frame a program of instruction is in exactly the same condition relative to efficiency or worth as a ship at sea without rudder or compass or captain; **such a teacher is wasting public funds and constitutes a menace to the social structure.**

What are some of the basic facts and principles which the useful, efficient teacher will possess as the background of all thinking and the criterion of effective action? They are indicated in part by the above quotations, and some of them may be stated in the following propositions:

1. This is an age of widespread confusion of thought and action, **especially in certain strata of society,** due to the complete absence from our supposedly educational agencies, from elementary school to university inclusive, of frank statement and vigorous presentation of the findings of evolutionary and social science; and the further fact that no existing political state represents either a social intelligence or a true social objective.

2. Society, considered not as the sum total of existing institutions, but as **The Human Race Seen in Historical Perspective,** is not STATIC but DYNAMIC; not fixed, but changing, growing and OUTGROWING. A true idea of society is given to any individual only as this growing and outgrowing character of the whole social process is made clear and becomes a part of consciousness—and also, only as the basic factors which give the social process this quality are also made known.

3. Social evolution has thus far been—and is still—the product of forces **neither understood nor directed by social intelligence and social forethought.** Social intelligence in the sense of a social consciousness, a social will, and a social objective inclusive of the equal welfare of all the individuals composing society does not exist in America. **The Creation of this Consciousness and Will and Objective is the Supreme Task of Citizenship.**

4. The so-called social institutions, such as church, government, industry, and school **as they now exist** are static in their nature, regardless what high-sounding names or sanctions are formally given them, and are now the servants of a single class in society and in their present form cannot be the servants of all the people, nor the agencies of any society conscious of inclusive social functions.

5. The combination of that nationalistic patriotism which our schools, under the control of a capitalistically minded and organized State, have been and are still zealously fostering in the minds of our youth, together with our capitalist imperialism which has dictated the vast war-preparedness making what is called with rare irony "Christendom" not only one great army camp, but a mammoth powder magazine, exploding in 1914 in a four years wholesale slaughter of the flower of "Christendom's" young men for which there was not the smallest compensation except for munition makers, profiteers, and finance imperialists, and now preparing with feverish activity for the next world war—this combination is rapidly and effectively, **and by the admission of the very educators who are promoting this nationalistic patriotism,** carrying the world toward a disaster of almost inconceivable proportions.

6. The United States is not a democracy—never has been a democracy—but, like all the rest of the nations today, it is an ARENA in which is now going on a terrific and continuous struggle—blind though it be in a large measure as to ultimate objectives—for the ending of all exploitation of man by man, of the many by the few, and for the organization of one all-inclusive partnership for the conquest of nature and the harnessing of the social forces for the well-being and happiness of all. This is the only significant or worth while social or political struggle on this planet, and in its success the hopes and needs and fulfilments of human life are involved as they never were involved in any previous event or movement in all history. THE CENTER AND HEART OF THIS SIGNIFICANT STRUGGLE IS THE MILITANT AND THEREFORE INTELLIGENT MINORITY OF THE ORGANIZED WORKING CLASS.

7. An unvarying incident of society as a social process is the survival of customs, habits and institutions **having their origin in periods of practically**

**universal ignorance and by the agency of brute force or cunning,** which are no longer valuable; and one of the major obligations of intelligent citizenship is the elimination of these relics of ignorance and savagery and their replacement with institutions which owe their existence to the demands of awakening intelligence and the findings of social science.

8. The pupils of our High Schools and the vast mass of children in the nation to whom the High Schools have never reached or even tried to reach are to be the active, responsible citizens of tomorrow and to face the realities of this fluent, growing and outgrowing society.

9. Unless these pupils possess a clear knowledge of the meaning of the social forces, unless they are freed from the illusions and delusions imposed upon their childhood minds by the teachings of a church whose face is always and always has been either turned fixedly toward the very distant past of childish fancies or toward a non-existent future in the skies, they will become either slave-drivers or slaves or indifferent spectators of the operation of an industrial slave system: in any case unintelligent victims of a morally and socially meaningless process.

THE CLOUD OF CHILD LIFE—CAPITALISM

10. In this alleged democracy, the vast majority of the population are wage-workers and farmers: producers of all the wealth of the nation. The children of this alleged democracy's producing classes constitute the vast majority of the children of this nation. And yet, in spite of that law which sets the limit of compulsory schooling at 14—a law obviously dictated, even if unconsciously, by the requirements of our cannibalistic capitalism—it is well known to all educators that our public school system, alleged to have come into existence as democracy's supreme agency for ensuring its own perpetuity thru an intelligent electorate, is not enrolling more than a negligible fraction of these future citizens **During the Years when their Minds Would Be Most Open to the Knowledge of what Citizenship Requires** — and, more tragically still, has nothing to give these children or any others that can fit them for DYNAMIC CITIZENSHIP even tho its buildings and teaching staff were doubled or quadrupled.

11. Herbert Spencer, writing 63 years ago on education in England, declared that "if by some strange chance not a vestige of us descended to the remote future save a pile of our school books or some college examination papers, we may imagine how puzzled an antiquary of the period would be in finding in them no indication that the learners were ever likely to be parents. 'This must have been the curriculum of their celibates,' we may fancy him concluding. 'I perceive here an elaborate preparation for many things, especially for reading the books of extinct nations, but I find no reference whatever to the bringing up of children. Evidently this was a school course of one of the monastic orders.'"

Some future investigator of America's present school program would not only reach a similar conclusion from the complete absence of any explanation of the physiology, psychology, and ethics of sex-expression in marriage, but he would also note not the slightest evidence of any consciousness on the part of teachers and educators of the existence of that world-wide movement in the ranks of organized workers for the elimination of our war-breeding capitalism and the construction of a decent and useful social order: the only promise or hope of peace on earth and good will among men.

## III. THE PRESENT STATUS OF HISTORY AND CIVICS TEACHING IN SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS, INCLUDING THE STATUS OF THESE SUBJECTS UNDER THE PROPOSED REORGANIZATION PROGRAM:

"American schools are not educating the mass of future citizens."—Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education, Bulletin 35.

"The School has been a follower, not a leader. "Home, government, church, school, industry and commerce, designed to be preservers of

racial experience, have become static, 'cold storage plants.' "

—Professor Williams, Univ. of Calif.

"It is a strange anachronism that the schooling mechanism for TRAINING MEN TO BE SERFS should have been passed down, **unchanged by tradition,** to become the schooling system of American democracy for the training of free-born, thinking, self-responsible, government-making citizens of the 20th century. YET THIS FACT STARES AT US COMPLACENTLY IN NEARLY ALL FORMS OF OUR SCHOOLING FROM THE KINDERGARTEN THROUGH THE UNIVERSITIES."—Frederic Burk, President San Francisco State Normal.

**NOTE: One of the tests used in Insane Asylums to determine whether a patient has regained sanity is to place the patient beside a tub into which water is flowing from an open tap, providing the patient with a pail, and directing him to take the water from the tub. If the patient closes the tap, he is regarded as sane.**

1. With exceptions so rare as to be negligible—by the admission of eminent students of our present school system—the status of this department of secondary education which is most potently related to the interests of an effective citizenship is STATIC—indeed, reactionary. Surely, no man who understands what citizenship demands as defined by the principles of sociology and by the challenging problems of world peace and a decent social ethics, can say that American youth are receiving in our schools any preparation at all for service in social reconstruction: THE FIRST NECESSITY OF TODAY AND TOMORROW. When such a reputed leader in education as Charles W. Eliot can extol the labor scab as a hero, and when American schools can send their students to act as strike-breakers, THE TORY OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS AGO HAS COME INTO HIS OWN, and the men who achieved American independence are repudiated. For the men who are in the front trenches of militant labor are the only lineal moral and spiritual posterity of the American revolutionists of 1776, and the upholders of scabbery in industry and of political intolerance and persecution of the representatives of militant labor are the direct spiritual posterity of American and British Tories.

2. Further, it must be noted that America has no agencies for preparing teachers for this crucial function. With our colleges and universities paralyzed by such survivals of autocracy and mediævalism as Nicholas Murray Butler and his like; with nearly all agencies of information and instruction: churches, newspapers, magazines, schools—under the domination of a ruling class blind, ignorant, and indifferent to the need of a new citizenship and bent solely on imperialistic ends, the products of our schools are uniformly obsessed with the instinct of CONFORMITY and so sterilized of all progressive or revolutionary spirit. Our school system from kindergarten to university is an apotheosis of the "goose step."

3. The fact that our schools have never once taken the lead in overthrowing any sort of social or political oppression and establishing some new freedom—or even in seeing or realizing the existence of intolerable oppression and of the struggle for a larger freedom—is easily explained by the fact that a class-controlled society is always STATIC—a crystallization, not a growth—and that CONFORMITY PARALYZES the NERVE of ALL REVOLUTIONARY ACTION. The minds of teachers under such a system are static, not dynamic. The moment the mind of a teacher becomes dynamic, it inevitably becomes insurgent against this reactionary system, and the teacher with such a mind becomes a teacher without a job.

4. It should not surprise anyone, therefore, to find that the status of History and Civics teaching—indeed, of the whole plan of secondary education as outlined in the proposed reorganization of our school system—is still basically static, in no real sense dynamic, as may be seen in the following among many similar facts:

a. There is no real recognition in Bulletins 35, 28, and 23 (U. S. Bureau of Education) of the fundamentally fluent, organic, growing character of human society, and the only adjustment of our potential citizenship proposed in this series of documents is one that means CONFORMITY: the very essence of petrifaction and even reaction. How tragically sterile to the plain lessons of history these minds are, that with the example of the non-conformists of 17th century England who colonized America they cannot rise above a feeble conformity in the face of incomparably graver issues in this 20th century!

b. We are told in Bulletin 28 that the aim of social studies is to enable the student "to adjust himself to his present environment and conditions." "to cultivate good citizenship," which means throughout the whole discussion "loyalty and sense of obligation to his city, State and nation as political units"—as static a conception in the light of all the facts as can be put into words. Think. Did the makers of this plan have clearly in their minds that vast multitude of boys and girls whose inevitable lot under our capitalist industry is that of slaves of the machine in factory, mill, shop, mine, and all the other institutions of our modern slavery? Exactly as a simlar committee engaged upon the same task in our own South a century ago would have had clearly in mind the four million black chattels of the cotton fields, as a remoter spiritual ancestry in mediæval Europe would have envisaged the millions of serfs, or as a still remoter set of spiritual ancestors in the "democracy" of Athens would have considered the 350,000 slaves upon which that "democracy" was built!

On not a single page of either of these Bulletins is there a sentence that parallels the words of William Draper Lewis in his "Democracy's High School," where he says: "It is strange that we have been managing our High Schools as if our pupils were to be citizens of a despotism where the highest virtue

is unthinking obedience. THE HABIT OF RENDERING UNTHINKING OBEDIENCE TO A GOVERNMENT, NO MATTER HOW BENEFICENT, IS EXACTLY THE HABIT MOST FAVORABLE TO THE PARTY BOSS." Mr. Lewis's statement needs one correction: **It is not strange at all.**

c. There is no suggestion in this reorganization scheme that the problem of citizenship today is the preparation for and entrance upon A CREATIVE FUNCTIONING IN A CONSTRUCTIVE PROCESS aiming at such social reorganization of our whole industrial and political life as shall provide for all the members of society equality of opportunity and conscious partnership in purposes and activities which involve universal well-being. Why? Because that would mean revolution, and the only kind of revolution these men are interested in is one that occurred at least a hundred years ago. Membership in those pathetic jokes of modern American life: the "Sons of the Revolution" and the "Daughters of the Revolution"? By all means, for the only revolutionist any of these "sons" or "daughters" have any respect for is a dead one, exactly as the only "disturber of the peace" whom the galvanized brains of church members can pretend to respect is one whom their spiritual ancestors of long ago hanged on a cross!

When in this reorganization scheme the question of choice of vocation is discussed, the obsession of the authors with the psychology of a middle class view of social activities is evidenced by the fact that there is not a hint that any pupil of High School will or should choose the vocation of mine-worker, factory hand, or garment worker, but "honorable occupations" are named: the professions and such skilled and aristocratic trades as engineers and the like. There is no suggestion that a democratic society cannot and will not tolerate industrial caste.

d. These bulletins nowhere recognize the fact that we now have in America no democracy at all, but rather a farcical system of representation and with it an industrial autocracy with the political government always on the side of the autocrats. Nor is there any evidence that the authors possess any knowledge of social evolution as marked by a division into classes all the way down to and including the present, or of the struggles of oppressed slaves for freedom from enslavement.

There is reiterated emphasis of the static idea that patriotism is one of the primary and indispensable marks of the good citizen and that this patriotism means loyalty to our social institutions AS THEY ARE—not a suggestion anywhere that the only patriotism that is historically or ethically justifiable or ennobling is SUPREME LOYALTY TO THOSE ENDS AND IDEALS WHICH ALONE GIVE ANY SANCTION OR VALUE TO SOCIAL OR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

f. An essentially caste idea determines this program: for example, there is oft-repeated emphasis on the necessity of PROTECTION TO PROPERTY as a high civic virtue to be diligently learned by our youth, but it is always THE PROPERTY OF ONE CLASS ONLY: the owners of real estate or financial investments. There is not from cover to cover of all these Bulletins any recognition that a tolerable government must afford ample and sure protection for the most valuable property in any nation, and the only property possessed by millions of mine, mill, factory, and agricultural workers: THEIR LABOR POWER. On the contrary, the makers of this reorganization scheme clearly and frankly treat that labor power exactly as it is treated by capitalists: by the Garys of industry, the Morgans of finance, and the Wilsons and Coolidges of politics: AS A COMMODITY LIKE COKE OR PIG-IRON. Indeed, suggestions for the study of this commodity, **which is the lifeblood of millions of workers,** as a commodity along with others, are made as elements in the education of our High School boys and girls.

The critical reader of this proposed reorganization will also note the limitation of civic agencies in which young citizens are to function, to such as are recognized by business men and made necessary by a capitalist control of industry: charity, social service, relief, etc.,—nowhere any suggestions of their taking part in labor organizations and activities: strikes, unions, agitation, and political solidarity for the control of industry in the interest of freedom, peace, and a decent chance for life, education and leisure. The proposal to bring into the High School this vast mass of boys and girls whose fathers are in steel mills or mines or shops, and many of whose mothers are in our factories, with a view of their getting the instruction planned in this scheme, could be made only by a group of men either lacking wholly in the sense of humor or else utterly ignorant of the basic facts in American social and industrial organization.

Nor is there anything in these Bulletins that could correct the universal impression now entertained in our schools by the mass of teachers and diligently fostered in the minds of pupils that labor unions are disreputable and anti-social bodies, that strikes are vicious and lawless and aimed at social well-being, and that all militant workers belong to the criminal class and deserve the penalty of our "criminal syndicalism" laws with their long prison sentences and their annulment of the first amendment of the Constitution. Truly, not only have the tories come into their own, but so have the Pharisees and scribes!

g. No estimate or examination of this proposed status of our schools would be complete without reference to the failure to suggest any adequate discussion of the problem of family life. There is no hint in it that family life in America today is impossible at all for hundreds of thousands of young people by virtue of an organization of industry which negates the idea of marriage for millions and dooms them to an existence destructive of the very notion of home. The need of

grappling with that problem finds no place in these documents. Nearly twenty years ago, Judge Peter S. Grosscup in a public address in Boston that was quoted far and wide in the press, declared: "In America today there are hundreds of thousands of men and women who possess no stake in the nation's property or welfare." He might have said "millions." That our commercially obsessed bosses should be oblivious and indifferent to this situation is not surprising, but that educators charged with the task of organizing an instrument for the promotion of efficient citizenship should not frankly recognize such a situation and demand its solution, is unforgivable.

IV. OBJECTIVES IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AND CIVICS IN SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL:

"The school's function is three-fold: to preserve the past, interpret the present and ANTICIPATE the future."
—Professor Williams, Univ. of Calif.

"Education in the United States must be guided by a clear conception of the meaning of democracy." —Cardinal Principles.

"We must teach a new patriotism."
—Professor Aikin.

"The greater weakness (of proposed curricula) is that they seek to fit children **to take part in life as it is today.** That is, they tend to ignore the demands of a rapidly changing society. We must equip our children to be constructively critical of contemporary social, economic, and political organization."—Professor H. O. Rugg, in 22nd Year Book of N. S. S. E., Part II.

"As doubt is the beginning of intelligence, so discontent is the impulse of progress."
—Lester F. Ward.

In general, the objectives of History and Civics teaching in the Senior High School must be determined by the facts and principles of sociology, involving a knowledge of the main stages of human evolution and of the forces that have operated in the social process, as well as of the status of this social evolution today and of the agencies and movements now actually operating for social reconstruction—also, of course, by a consideration of the individual and social functions and relations to which the efficient and intelligent citizen must adapt himself.

Anyone who is prepared for the job of teaching this crucial subject to boys and girls of the Senior High School age must know that not only the greatest social interests, but also the highest ethical possibilities of these young people require on their part a clear understanding that the big job which will challenge every finest capacity of their natures and make their lives dynamic, an inspiration to themselves and a service to the race, lies in no sort of conformity nor in any mere blind dissent or rebellion —though even that is better than conformity—but in entering upon citizenship as a task of evaluating the past's achievement in the light of sociology and of present need, and of employing those forces now active for industrial and political reconstruction in the task of building a societary home that will shelter and foster the many-sided activities of a conscious social partnership, and give freest rein to creative individual adventure.

Is this vague? Perhaps. But it can be made thoroughly concrete. If boys and girls at the age when their minds are getting impressions that endure are kept free from those silly illusions which make them the easy marks for cunning and self-seeking politicians and profiteers; if they are given a chance to see things as they are—to see, for example, that nationalistic patriotism is bunk of the worst kind—is a positive menace to every interest of a just society; that there is no more virtue in worshipping the symbols of American patriotism than "Deutschland ueber Alles!"; that there is no more virtue in starving to death under the American flag than under the Japanese or any other flag; that the Stars and Stripes can give no sanction whatever to industrial enslavement any more than the Union Jack or the Star and Crescent; that capitalist imperialism is exactly as great a menace when it flies the flag of an alleged republic as when it flies that of a monarchy; that "America" is not a whit more the synonym for "just" or "righteous" than France or England or Italy; in fine, that any and every government, party, program or policy is to be judged not by its flag, but "by its fruits": by what it does and what it is to do and for all its citizens—let a generation of young people go out of a school system with these ideas in their minds backed by unbiassed knowledge of the facts, and you will have here or anywhere a DYNAMIC, not a STATIC citizenship. AND NOT OTHERWISE.

So much in a general way. Specifically, a well-informed teacher with a modern mind AND A BACKBONE would, it seems to me, have at least the following objectives:

1. The development of minds capable of and insistent upon thinking for themselves.
2. The development of DYNAMIC individuals: of individuals who are as far removed in spirit and consciousness as possible from the ant and the bee—individuals incapable of any sort of docile co-operation as slaves or tools whether of individuals or of groups, but capable of the most energetic co-operation in behalf of interests involving the abolition of any form of slavery or the establishment and realization of an all-inclusive freedom and opportunity.
3. The development of minds which cannot be deluded by any kind of an appeal of nationalism or nationalistic patriotism, capable of seeing thru the fog emitted by the self-seeking puppets of profiteers who pose as statesmen in a government which shelters and protects economic despotism and slavery, or by the empty platitudes of a church which has not for 1,700 years at least taken its alleged author seriously—or even understood what that alleged founder was. In a word, the development of a distinctly revolutionary spirit, consciousness and will in

the coming generation are the only qualities that can be called DYNAMIC or that are remotely competent to see or deal with the social problems of today and tomorrow.

a. Consciousness of America as not a Special creation, a Chosen People, but in its historical and evolutionary setting and perspective, as one stage in the agelong struggle of the human race toward freedom: political, economic, industrial, personal.

b. Consciousness that no government or other institution can be regarded as an end in itself, but only as a means to some end which, rightly understood, gives to this means its only claim, if it has any, upon the respect or reverence of any one.

c. Consciousness that the end which alone sanctions any social or political institution is the achievement thru that institution of the well-being and happiness of all the members of society —or at least equality of opportunity according to their abilities.

d. The making of dynamic individuals—individuals sharing the spirit and capacity of all political and social pioneers, and conscious of the civic function as fundamentally a pioneering function.

e. The development of persons conscious of economic responsibility, of the duty of being producers, of directly contributing to the common wealth of society, and refusing to be parasites in any fashion.

f. The development of persons feeling it a primary obligation to construct a social order that leaves no room for parasites. The only serious effort in this direction may be seen in Soviet Russia, where no person may have a voice in government who does not perform useful service in a society organized for the benefit of those who work.

g. Knowledge of and membership in the militant labor organization and movement, national and international, as the only hope for the rebuilding of social institutions on a tolerable basis, ethically, industrially and politically, and the only assurance of putting an end to war between nations.

h. Scientific knowledge on the part of all High School pupils as to the origin of all social institutions and their history: church, government, industry, commerce, family, labor movement, etc., to the end of evaluating them correctly and so determining in a rational way their attitude toward these institutions. To make use of any sort of compulsion or to take advantage of childhood for the purpose of perpetuating any social institution or any creed, is a crime and will sometime be so regarded and treated.

## V. THE ORGANIZATION OF HISTORY AND CIVICS IN SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL:

It is obvious to any one that the organization of History and Civics teaching will be determined by the objectives which the teacher considers vital and imperative, and the correct understanding of those objectives makes organization of teaching program easier and simpler than it could otherwise be. That the psychology of pupils must be taken into consideration in determining methods, may be taken for granted.

If the study of this subject is to have any direct relation to or value for a dynamic citizenship, it must begin with a survey of evolutionary science, thus giving the student one thing which he nowhere gets in our present teaching: namely, a true perspective enabling him to see the phenomena of society in their true relations. Such a survey will do several fundamentally important things for the student:

1. It will sweep his mind free of the cobwebs of superstition and prejudice which Sunday Schools, churches, and other static agencies have produced, and prepare him to see things as they are.

2. It will give him the knowledge that many human conceptions and most social and political institutions—notably church and government—originated in the minds of savages: in minds which could only form fantastic and false notions of phenomena, with the inevitable result that human minds early became and have remained for hundreds of centuries the slaves of ignorance and cunning.

3. It will impress deeply upon the student's mind perhaps the most important element underlying and promoting effective thought and action: namely, that the universe is indifferent toward man, and that the only proper attitude of man toward the universe is that of the active agent, with the objective of mastering all natural forces for universal human well-being.

4. By opening to the mind of the student the vast period covered by the evolutionary process and the comparatively brief period during which anything like intelligence has existed, the exaggerated notions of man himself and his civilization will be eliminated, and at the same time great reassurance will be given as to the possibilities of effective constructive social action, once this knowledge is made general.

5. Such study will also simplify and clarify the social problem by showing that it is summed up in the task of first understanding the social forces as we now understand the physical forces, and then by social co-operation harnessing these forces for the universal good, as the physical forces have been harnessed by individual initiative and under the incentive of personal gain for increasing the wealth of the few and exploiting the labor of the many.

6. With this evolutionary and sociological survey, the study of history and human institutions becomes an illuminating and inspiring process. Illusions fall away and the student becomes consciously a citizen, not of some greedy section of the race ready to take up arms in utter stupidity at the beck of ignorance as millions did in the recent World War against some other section, but of society as a process of slowly changing an ignorant mob into a purposeful co-operating economic and socially creative partnership.

7. No sane man believes, of course, that so stupendous a task as this of effecting peacefully that social reconstruction for which the staggering problems of today are crying out to the manhood and womanhood of the whole world for solution, can be done easily. One of the most tragic dangers besetting this proposed reorganization of our American school system by men who not only frankly admit the futility of the system we now have, but also see clearly that the loss of the most precious things in civilization is the price we must pay for failure to meet this demand for adequate civic education—one of the gravest dangers—a danger that looks out at us everywhere in the timidity of action and narrowness of vision reflected in this reorganization program—is that **this task will not be taken seriously enough.** Whoever imagines that the job of giving dynamic knowledge to the coming generation can be performed by a mass of teachers who confine their vision and activity within the four walls of a school building however well appointed and to the children there assembled, has no vision whatever of his job. Any program of educational reconstruction and of creating a new and conscious citizenship must be carried persistently and aggressively to the whole community and the whole nation, or it will not be carried to the children at all.

The tragedy of our educational thinking today is the idea of keeping the school system separate and apart from the daily life and struggle of all the people, depriving these embryonic citizens of all voice and participation in the social, economic and political system in which they must live, and at the same time keeping the stimulating facts and truths of social science away from the men and women who outside the school walls are groping and muddling along in political futility or hopelessly stumbling up an economic blind alley. If professed educators in our schools do not know that our so-called representative government is today a complete farce so far as even thinking about the economic problems of farmers and wage-workers is concerned, their proposal to inaugurate a reorganization of the schools for the ends of citizenship is an insult to the nation. The Pickwickian attitude toward the ideals exemplified in Jesus can be understood and perhaps excused; the natural product of an institution which for 1900 years has built itself on the very Phariseeism which crucified Jesus. But the stupidity and ignorance that talks of a new citizenship and exhibits no comprehension of its task and no disposition to pay the price of creating such a citizenship should not be forgiven or forgotten.

The university extension work is a belated and tragically inadequate tendency toward recognizing that any school system fit for America MUST BUILD ITS ROOF OVER THE WHOLE FIELD OF OUR LIFE-ACTIVITIES OR LOSE ITS OWN SOUL. If the people in this country who claim to be educators are intelligent and sincere, they are not going to map out a program based on the question of ward politicians: Will the people support this program? No. They may profitably become acquainted with the facts of that movement in America in the 1770s which created the will and determination for independence. The sole proof of their sincerity will be the adoption of a program which challenges the utmost of their own energy and devotion, and the taking of their program direct to the people at any cost of time and labor.

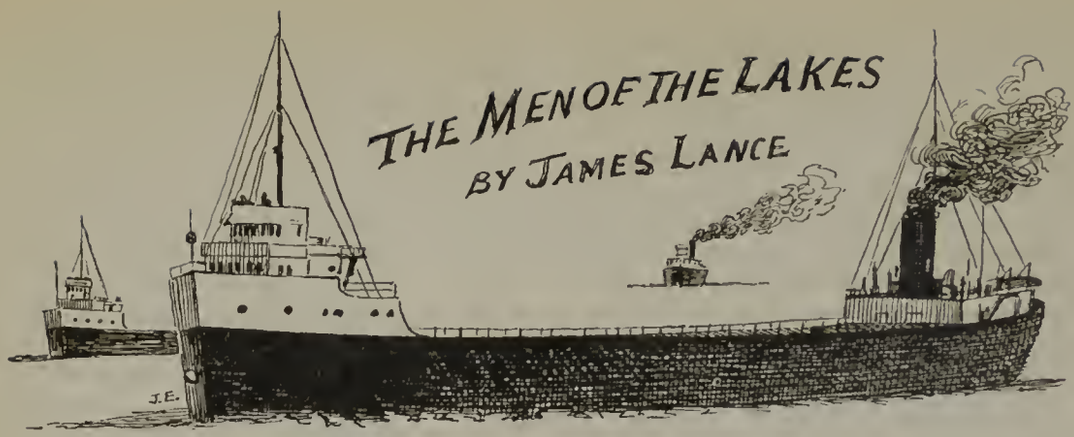
Does some one say: Such a program cannot possibly succeed. It should be answered that any program that does not include the earnest purpose to educate the whole citizenship along with the boys and girls, that does not have complete and far-reaching social reconstruction as its clearly seen goal, IS A FAILURE BEFORE IT BEGINS AND WOULD BE A DISASTER IF IT SUCCEEDED. Openly and frankly to confess that the schools have always followed and never led, and then exhibit no purpose or desire or ability to lead is the confession of hopeless kinship with those who have doomed the school in all its past to its place at the tail end of the human procession.

Here is the first question for those to answer who, as officers of the NEA or as professors and presidents of universities, hold places of highest responsibility in our educational system: DO WE BELIEVE AT ALL IN THE POSSIBILITY OF A BETTER SOCIAL ORDER? And here is the second question: HAVE WE ANY PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY THAT GIVES US ANY INKLING AS TO THE PATH ALONG WHICH A BETTER SOCIAL ORDER CAN COME? There exist in American history itself two or three extremely suggestive facts for our educators and teachers to ponder: Here is one:

It was not tories, it was not in any sense CONFORMISTS, it was not even a majority of the people, it was not office-holders nor business men who put through the American Revolution and achieved the independence of this nation. IT WAS RATHER AN ENERGETIC AND DETERMINED MINORITY OF MEN WHO HAD VISION AND FAITH AND NERVE AND ENERGY AND COURAGE AND AUDACITY. More than that, if Professor Gettell in his lectures in this same Summer Session at Berkeley was right in his interpretation of the facts of the revolutionary period, it was the man Mr. Roosevelt slandered as "that dirty little atheist"—Thomas Paine, who by his vigorous convincing pamphlets turned the tide of sentiment in the American colonies and CREATED THE WILL FOR INDEPENDENCE.

The story of the anti-slavery movement has a similar lesson. And the story of the overthrow of our war-breeding capitalism from its usurpation of political and social power will be a similar story. But fidelity to the principles of sociology and the repeated lessons of history requires that it be said that the chances that any such vitality or vision or determination will ever show itself in our present educators and take the school from the tail of the procession and make it the virile leader of a march toward a higher civilization are so slim as to be negligible. As Nora in Ibsen's great drama says: "I no longer believe in miracles." So long has the

(Concluded on Page 48)




**The Romance Of Their Lives Awaits The Genius Of the Story Teller In Order To Be Properly Told.**

MANY reams of paper have been used in the telling of sea stories; Mother Ocean, from time immemorial, has been the favorite theme of writers of all countries. Much has been written of the lives of deep-sea sailors, of the golden treasure-troves in Davy Jones' locker, of wild storms, wild lands, wild men and wilder women which have been seen by those who "go down to the sea in ships." The lamp of romance has shed its most colorful rays over the vasty deep.

Salt water has proven an irresistible lure for the ink-slingers and typewriter-pounders; the fact that there are bodies of fresh water here on the American continent which have as many stories on their broad bosoms as Mother Ocean ever had seems to have escaped their notice. Or perhaps it is because most of these stories would have to be written around the subject of Labor—a subject with which the majority of the pot-boilers are hopelesly out of touch—that the Great Lakes have never had much space alloted to them—fortunately—for much of the sea-stuff would give an honest-to-goodness son of the sea the heeby-jeebies, and no doubt, lake stories turned out by the same imaginative individuals would be as far from a portrayal of actual conditions.

### Lakes Full Of Life

Nevertheless, the lakes should be able to break into print once in a while. Enough happens every year between Ogdensburg and Duluth to fill several large sized volumes even after being rigidly censored by an editor with an aversion to windy tales. The lakes are full of life and much can be written around the men who "push the big wagons along with number four shovels," who stand the long watches at the wheels, who balance themselves precariously on the slippery gratings of the engine-rooms, who scrub and paint, make fast and let go the vast fleets of cargo-carriers which plow the waters of the inland seas every summer.

And these stories need not be fiction either. Facts are fully as entrancing as fiction ever was. Romance is ever present in the lives of the men aboard the boats and it only needs some one with the kindred feeling which makes mankind a great brotherhood, some one who has actually soiled his dungarees and bruised his hands along with them to tell the story of the men of the lakes, and to make everyone realize that, here, right at home, one of the greatest chapters of modern history is being unfolded.

### The Romance Of Work

Romance, aye, the romance of the working-class; stories with depths and breadths as great as life itself flicker across the screen, hold the attention for a moment and are forgotten in the intensity of succeeding ones. Stories of strikes and lockouts, stories of hardship and misery, stories of unflinching heroism and stories of senseless sacrifice of precious lives for profit-mad masters, each have to be alloted a brief moment by those who would know the lakes and the men who have made them GREAT.

If you are a sceptic, one who must see to believe, the solution is an easy one. In six or eight weeks every port from Buffalo to Fort William will be awakening from the winter's sleep, men for the boats will be in demand and the beneficent Lake Carrier's Association will only be too glad to give you plenty of opportunities to find out for yourself whether there really is anything worth seeing or experiencing—particularly if you tell the shipping master that you are inexperienced.

If, on the other hand, you do not crave actual experience and are willing to take your excitement second-hand, if life in the raw appals you and you feel safer in a ten-story building securely anchored to the ground, or in a spacious bungalow in the suburbs, and are fortunate enough to be able to finance such a mode of existence, you can find plenty of men who will tell you endless tales of life on the lakes.

### Strolling Along The Lake Front

A stroll down lower Main St. in Buffalo, a few hours spent along Harbor Avenue in South Chicago, a pleasant word to some lad sitting on the dock at

the foot of Fifth Avenue in Duluth or a day spent along Bridge Street in Ashtabula Harbor or along Reed Street in Milwaukee will convince you that events of great importance **have happened** and are **still happening** every day on the lakes.

Perhaps you might be lucky enough to meet "Castalia Dutch" in some of these places; perhaps "Scrap-iron Pete" might be passing along, perhaps "South Chicago Johnny" or "Socialist Sam" might add to your store of knowledge. And, if none of these better-known characters were to be found you could still meet hosts of others who have tales to tell of hard-boiled mates, rotten chuck, lousy fo'cs'les and hard-steaming "workhouses." The tales you would hear would make you stop and wonder—some of them might strain your credulity —but if all of them could be put together they would make a magnificent whole—an epic of life and labor.

### The Story of Exploitation

Running through all of them you would find a general pattern with all the threads centering in one design—and when you looked closely enough—this pattern would become clear and plain and you would see that **the real story, the story around which all the rest revolve, is the story of the exploitation of Labor and that the one outstanding feature in all the narratives is the never-ending struggle between those who have and those from whom it has been taken away "even that which they hath not." In the story of the lakes, as in all other stories, the dominant feature is the CLASS STRUGGLE.**

And, the saddest part of the story is, that until now, these men who have lived the story of the lakes, who have been part and parcel of its tragedy, did not understand why they were unable to delete the misery and the degradation from the tale and put happiness and joy, equality and freedom in their places. The story of the lakes, so far, has been one of sorrow and defeat for Labor—endless toil and scanty reward.

### David and Goliath All Over Again

The story of the lakes has not been molded along such somber lines because the men have not tried; they have, in all sincerity. Many bitter battles have been staged, but the problem has just been too big for them to solve. It has been the story of David and Goliath over again, only this time David was out of luck and the Biblical ending has been supplanted by one nearer what might be expected when an unarmed stripling attacks—or tries to defend himself from—one who has practically unlimited strength.

The Goliath of the lakes is the Steel Trust; its name, of course, has been changed to one more suitable to the element it uses; afloat, the trust has become the Pittsburg Steamship Company—but its tactics are as brutal as those in force in the mills ashore. Against this monster and the weapon it has created—the Lake Carriers' Association—the men of the lakes have battled in vain. Their struggles have been a succession of tragic failures. Union after union has been utterly smashed, strike after strike has been lost, thousands of the best fighters have been driven from the lakes by the use of the blacklist and today the men of the lakes are drinking the bitter cup of sorrow and defeat—not of their own volition—but because they are the threads in the great pattern and because the weaving of that pattern must include sorrow and travail and be colored by the blood and tears and sweat of Labor.

### Breaking the Melancholy

And is the story of the lakes to continue along such melancholy lines? Is there no hope for these men who have been fighting against degradation so long? Is their lifeblood to continue to color the great pattern of the class struggle without ever seeing that pattern finally ended and the story of the lakes started again with a new design—with freedom as the motif? Can the men who have made the lakes GREAT achieve GREATNESS themselves? The entrance of a new factor into the struggle—a union— one entirely different from those found wanting in the past—gives us courage and assurance to answer: YES.

The Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union of the IWW has appeared on the scene and the coming chapters bid fair to change the trend of the story. A new dawn is breaking over the inland seas and the morrow holds promise of better things. The men of the lakes, can, if they will, use this new union to end their misery and hardship. The story of the sea has had many happier lines written into it since the advent of this new force for Labor's aid. Since its inception it has wrought many changes in the lives of the men who are engaged in heart-rending toil aboard ships the world over. Fresh water will not dim its efficiency, the pattern of the story whose mission it is to change is the same everywhere and its entry into the life of the men of the lakes marks the turning-point from which the story of the lakes will become better and brighter as time goes by.

Always fighters, the men of the lakes are now ready to try again, and **this time** through **this union,** they have the first **real opportunity** of accomplishing anything they ever had. This new weapon will be the long-looked-for influence which will brighten and sweeten the story of the lakes even as it is brightening the story of the sea. And when this union has assumed the directing of the story and recast it along happier lines, the story of the lakes will be one which will task the abilities of real writers, not pot-boilers, but writers who have lived the story they are writing. And the heroes will be those men who have suffered and sacrificed, toiled and died, roasted in midsummer on Lake Erie and frozen on Lake Superior when the howling snowstorms sweep out of the north to take their toll of life. Whose bones lie bleaching on the bottom of "sailors' graveyard"—the men of the Kirby and Merida, the men of the Price and the Cyprus—all those working class heroes who have been sacrificed for the unholy profits of the masters—SONS OF LABOR—who have made the GREAT Lakes truly GREAT.

# Now That the Storm is Subsiding....

By ARCHIE SINCLAIR

San Quentin Where 85 IWWs Are Unjustly Imprisoned

THE long, hard fight against the criminal syndicalism law in California is nearing an end. The forces of Black Reaction have been compelled to moderate their insane persecution. For five years they have striven to outdo the Spanish Inquisition in their treatment of the Industrial Heretics who refused to acquiesce in their exploitation of wage slaves. If a worker dared to question their divine right he was tried, condemned and punished with a prison sentence of from one to fourteen years. Where it was not convenient to hail him into a court controlled by the plunderbund he was subjected to other forms of punishment. Mob law often times took the place of the more refined but none the less drastic method of punishment. The war hysteria was in the blood, and brutality and cruelty were the order of the day.

The nightmare of persecution and terrorism is passing. The people are returning to "normalcy." The masters are finding it harder to agitate mobs to violence against the person of a labor "agitator." The criminal syndicalism law is a dead issue. It is almost safe now to talk of profiteers, to advocate government ownership, votes for women, and to say that the income tax should be enforced against the very rich.

**The criminal syndicalism law is not finding such favor in the eyes of the common people as it did some months ago. We even read in the papers articles condemning this piece of boss-inspired legislation. It is safe now to come out of the woods and to speak your real sentiments regarding this slave law that the predatory rulers, through their vassals have foisted on the people of California.**

Now that the days of terror are over, now that the witch hunting and heresy seeking has subsided, we can look for many champions of the cause of Justice. Many are the ones who will blossom forth and shout their protests against the high-handed methods of special privilege. Politicians seeking a new platform will take up the cause of the downtrodden masses whom they forgot for so many years when the workers really needed friends. Timid liberals who took to cover in the days of the modern inquisition will be seen on the public platform telling of the terrible injustice done to the workers at the behest of the financial and industrial kings. This gentry will, now that all danger is past, try to tell the people that they are the ones who have broken the criminal syndicalism law. They will try to arrogate unto themselves the glory. When the criminal syndicalism law was a real menace, when there was danger in aligning themselves on the side of the persecuted men, they were silent; but they will be silent no longer. Justice (?) compels them to take up the gauge of battle.

Yet even in their championing of the IWW and their condemnation of the criminal syndicalism law, these people will be very careful to tell their auditors that they are in nowise connected with this organization. On the platform they will explain for an hour that they are not "reds" or radicals or members of the IWW, and then for ten minutes they will tell their hearers that they believe in "Justice," "free speech" and all the other shibboleths of the milk and water reformers, and for which they have never been known to fight, except as paid orators on a safe platform.

The same holds true of their press propaganda. While condemning the IWW as strife begetters and radicals they at the same time humbly beseech the oligarchy to cease persecution in the name of Humanity. Liberty and Justice are to them but catch phrases. They know less than nothing of the the dominant Master class and the militant portion of the Working class. In the maelstrom of the class

HE SAYS I SHOULD PAY MORE WAGES
HE SAYS THE CAMP IS LOUSY!
HE IS DANGEROUS. I CAN PROVE IT
JUDGE CASH
THE REAL CHARGES AGAINST HIM.

war they stand helpless and bewildered, and utter their feeble, empty phrases, whieh they, themselves, do not understand.

**Victory over the criminal syndicalism law is in sight. The master class, forced to check their mad onslaught against the industrial rebels, will retreat as gracefully as possible. The liberals will be used to save the retreat from a complete rout. They will not be averse to taking the glory that the masters will try to thrust upon them. They will strive to rob the IWW of the fruits of victory. Through the press and on the public platform the workers will be told that the liberals broke the criminal syndicalism law and saved the IWW.**

Those of us who have followed the fight here in California know who won the vietory. Ask the men in San Quentin and Folsom who earried the fight to the enemy and foreed him to retreat. If you want to know who broke the eriminal syndiealism law in California, go to San Quentin and visit the men who have numbers instead of names. Go into the abode of despair at Represa, called Folsom prison. and talk to the men behind those grim walls about the question. Discuss the eriminal syndiealism law with the members of the IWW in the industries throughout the state, the men with job eredentials in their poekets and literature to give away to the workers along side of them. Talk to the men who filled the stockade at San Pedro last spring, to the men who spent long, weary months in filthy eounty jails. Ask the men who have been beaten, mobbed and deported out of the state who broke the erimінal syndicalism law. Ask all these men and read your answer in their faces and in their zeal for the cause they love. The men whose "heads are bloody, but still unbowed" are the ones who have made California safe for the IWW; who have made the criminal syndicalism law a useless eneumbranee on the statute books.

Climb onto the band wagon, Oh! Gentle Reformers; pour forth your platitudes and fine phrases to the people of the state, but when danger arises again take to the woods and let the "wobblies" battle it out with the boss until the storm subsides.

The same fearless rebels against soeial and eeonomic injustice who have taken the teeth out of the criminal syndiealism law will release their fellow workers who fell in the battle and were eaptured by the enemy. **The fight is in industry, and only those directly concerned can understand how to cope with the situation. Our men in honorable captivity will be released, and the IWW will be the ones who will unlock the doors.**

The fight does not coneern the workers in California alone. It is the eoneern of all the workers from Vaneouver to Key West and from San Diego to Montreal. The splendid eo-operation and solidarity shown thus far in the war against the forces of reaetion must be eontinued, until the men in San Quentin and Folsom are released and return to take their plaees in industry.

# Lovely California

Apologies to Keats. Written by MACBETH

MUCH have I travelled in the realms of hate,
And many jails and city marshals seen;
In many western bull pens have I been,
Where slaves are kept by greed insatiate,
Or left to die or suffer uglier fate,
By those who see the mote and leave the beam.
But never did I know how vampires prey on men
Until I saw how men are hounded in a western state.
There the bloated god of riehes reigns supreme
Oppressing those who will not be afraid
To try to help the world—who dare to dream
Of happier days. Strange nature's beauty does not fade
When dismal walls and dungeons deep blaspheme,
Where gray-haired Saturn easts his melancholy shade.

# IWW Announcement

The IWW announees that it has opened a new hall at 310 Eye Street, where useful members of soeiety (The Working Class) ean seeure illuminating literature on their problems.

The IWW is deeply eoneerned over the expense to whieh the County of Saeramento has been put because your Distriet Attorney has thought it necessary to buy uniforms of open shop pants, twelve-hour leggings and sheepskin eoats to disguise his stoolpigeons and deteetives as honest workingmen. He can save the eounty this expense in the future by merely ealling up the IWW office and stating his desire to perseeute under eriminal syndiealism. The seeretary will immediately pass the word around to the workers in the various industries in the eity. In a few hours the seeretary and a couple of dozen members and delegates will appear at the eourthouse where the Distriet Attorney may piek and ehoose,—any or all. This proeedure ean be repeated an indefinite number of times.

If you must have a eriminal syndiealism law to prevent working people from organizing into the One Big Union of their class, please be consistent, good people of Sacramento, and enforee that law. Meantime, of eourse, the IWW will eontinue to press upon the eonseiousness of your employing class the absolute necessity of more and better food, elothing and shelter for all workers.

Yours for a Better World,

THE IWW.

## THANKS FOR ADV.

The Humboldt Times (Humboldt, Calif.) quotes The Industrial Pioneer for January editorially in order to prove that the IWW is convicted out of its own mouth. Of course, the quotation was a distorted one. That is, the language was ehanged to suit the Times' purpose.

Nevertheless, Industrial Pioneer thanks it for the advertising whieh it (The Pioneer) received.

# The White Goods Girls' Strike

By JENNIE D. CARLIPH

WELL, I don't know if I can tell it. There is much connected with this little tale that must be felt and experienced in order that it be appreciated. However, in the year 1913, February 21st, a call to strike was issued by the White Goods Workers' union in New York City.

There had been talk of a strike for some time, and mass meetings had been held for that purpose, and the day was set and strike called. The New York Call, socialist daily at the time, assured all who wanted to believe that there would be pickets lined up on the streets leading to the dry goods centers, intercepting workers who attempted to go to work in the white goods factories.

The factory I worked in was located in the Masonic Temple building on West 23d street, one of the busiest streets and thoroughfares of the city of New York. On the morning of the strike, I walked leisurely from the subway to the factory, a willing subject, ready to be caught and held.

But, to my chagrin, nobody apprehended me, and so I reached "my" factory without halt or hindrance in the anticipation that a committee would call during the morning and "take us down." My hopes later proved in vain. No committee came that day.

### A Mean Winter's Day

The next day was a mean winter's day, and feeling too sick both physically and at heart, I did not go to work that morning. Being too impatient to stay at home, I went to work that afternoon again, and on arriving was told by the girls that the boss said that a committee of strikers was there, waving a red cloth; that a few of the girls fainted, and that the committee was put out by the boss. The girls did not see that committee themselves, but the boss had told them so. With all that, this was an excuse for the boss to place plug uglies at the door and to take "his" girls home under guard. Well, that was the limit. I could work in that place no longer; so I went on strike with one other girl, whose father was a union man all his life long, and would not let her scab. It was now impossible to take any of the other girls along as the boss, foreman and family, kept the closest watch and sent the girls home in small batches earlier to avoid any possible chance of contact with any inflamatory strike material that might be smouldering in that factory.

As for me, I had been watching the preparations for the strike and even attended some of the meetings, but, having some knowledge of the "labor leading" gentry in charge of the arrangements, I had no desire to take part in their activities but expected that when the strike was called the union would "pull" our shop too and so I would go along with them. In the meantime, I talked to some of the girls and prepared them as much as possible for the event. The few that I could speak to promised to join the strike. Some of them said they would come out, "if the rest of the girls came out."

### A Lone Striker

But the alleged call of the strike committee killed all prospects of the girls going out on strike and the one girl who came out with me left for Philadelphia on a visit to her well-to-do relatives. And so **I was alone on strike in a factory of 150 girls.** The situation was getting grave, and I decided to go up to the union and see the leaders. Mr. Shorr, the strike leader, was a very busy person. First of all his newly-apportioned office had to be set in order. Desks were being put in and doors and gates made. However, I finally succeeded in explaining the situation. Here was a factory centrally located, doing a fine line of work and employing 150 girls at that time. What would the union do about it? Why had it not been pulled out before this? Mr. Shorr promised to send up a committee and "pull the shop." There were other white goods shops in that building and none of them were on strike.

Well, to make it brief, nothing was done by the union. They had a few shops tied up and that was all they seemed to care about. However, they advised me to go up to the Woman's Trade Union League. I knew what I could expect from the dear ladies, but went and spoke to Miss Rose Schneiderman. She, too, was very busy, and after pestering her for some time she finally told me she could do nothing, as the place was policed and they could not get in.

Fortunately, my boss had joined the boss' association and I knew then, that if the strike should be won our shop would be included. So I abandoned my own shop and went on the picket line with some of the girls I knew in other struck factories. My boss, frightened at the two girls going

out on strike, and, perhaps, expecting that many more would join us, became a member of the boss' association.

### The Picket Line

The picket line was a study in itself. Workers who are accustomed to strikes by men perhaps know little about heroic deeds by mere girls. Arrests and jails in freezing weather, on the picket line, with bare heads and no gloves on their hands, is only part of the picture.

Such was the condition of affairs as I found them on the picket line. I was well or warmly clad myself; but most of the rest of them were scantily clad and frozen numb. Police were lined up on the sidewalks and the girls were only permitted to walk up and down, and any slip on their part meant certain arrest. Some of them had already pelted the police and the scabs with some unpleasant objects and had been imprisoned and fined for it. And a close watch by the police was now kept.

I left the picket line and went home to get some warm coverings for the most needy girls. Brought them some gloves, shawls and caps, anything I could lay hands on that might help to keep the cold out. I went on the picket line day after day at the various factories. The strike lasted about five weeks and was finally settled.

### Terms of Settlement

The girls were to receive a dollar a week increase in pay and they were to have a 54-hour week. The gains were trivial, and what is more the conditions agreed upon were not strictly and fully observed. Repeatedly did I go to the union, telling them that the dollar promised was not given to all the girls, and that some of the girls were obliged to work later than the union hours on Saturday afternoon, but to no avail. The "leader" was seen in the office of the boss, and whether it was true or not that he "carried packages out from the office," I don't know, but nothing was done for the workers. Finally, the two girls who struck were found fault with and fired, and our protests to the union and a mock trial of the boss, because of his violation of the agreement, resulted in only the re-instating one of us and that without pay, for time lost; which the girl thus favored, refused to accept and left the shop for good and aye.

In order to understand conditions in a large city and a modern factory, one must take into consideration the peculiar arrangements of a large city that confront one, its peculiar topography as well, We girls who worked in that factory on the ninth floor on the corner of 23d street and 6th avenue, lived miles out of town. So far as I was concerned, I knew but one address of the girls in the entire factory, and that girls I visited many times in my efforts to induce her to join the strike, but to no avail. All she would tell me was, "What's the use of my coming out, when the rest of the girls will remain working?" and that was true. There was no use expecting that she would be out of wages for as long as the strike would last the same as I was. There was no help from the union. The officials were busy lining up members, collecting dues and sending out appeals for funds. But, contrary to all A. F. of L. statements, they paid no strike benefits.

The union office on the corner of Second avenue and First street grew and prospered. It became a regular office, with rooms and doors and gates, and to approach the officials was no more an easy matter. Well, the strike was at an end, and the agreement signed between the union and the boss' association, and we were to go back to work.

I went to see the girl who had left for Philadelphia, and found that she had come back that Sunday and was ready to go to work. Monday, the last of the strikers were to return to the factories. And we, too, returned.

### A Triumphant Return

For all the anguish and suffering and disappointment we passed through during the long and tortuous weeks of the strike, there was one compensation in store for us, and **that was the return to work as winners.** Little as that winning was worth, **it was a victory just the same.** It was a gain; something wrenched from the bosses; something they hated to give us. Not the one dollar increase, not the shorter day; each of us individually might have gained that much. But it was the **power to force them to do something, that galled them.** It's that puny little victory, to come back as winners, that they begrudged us. **And that was the only hour of my life. It was glory to me.**

Can you picture my little, undersized foreman Jesse, to himself the greatest person in creation, and the brother of a member of one of the finest ladies' lingerie and silk underwear houses in the country and the bully of the shop, standing in a side room and calling me in, to ask me if I spoke to Mr. H., of B. & H., if I can come back to work. He was shaking from head to foot when I told him that I did not ask anybody to come back, that Lina and I have come back because Mr. H. had signed the agreement as a member of the boss' association. I said: "Did he not?" and he said "I did." I told him that if that is the case, it was all the better, so he knew that the strike was settled and that the girls had won. And in the factory, the little painted blond who scabbed in my place, on seeing me, slunk back to her own corner at the next table and my place as head worker of my department and my table, were again in my domain as before the strike.

### A Victim of Class War

As stated above, they got the best of me in the end. My summer's vacation with pay was cut off. My former hours were actually increased, as now I made it my business to live up to union conditions and come to work in the morning on time and not an hour later as I used to come to work before the strike; and get paid for it, too. And before I knew it, the bosses discovered that they

(Continued on page 24.)

# General Construction Workers' Campaign Begins

GENERAL Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310, Industrial Workers of the World, is preparing to take advantage of the usual spring resumption of work. No less than four conferences have been called in as many districts with that object in view. February 20th a district conference was held at Portland, Oregon. March 15th is the date set for one at Omaha, Neb., and April 2d will have two, one each at Chicago, Ill., and Stockton, California, respectively.

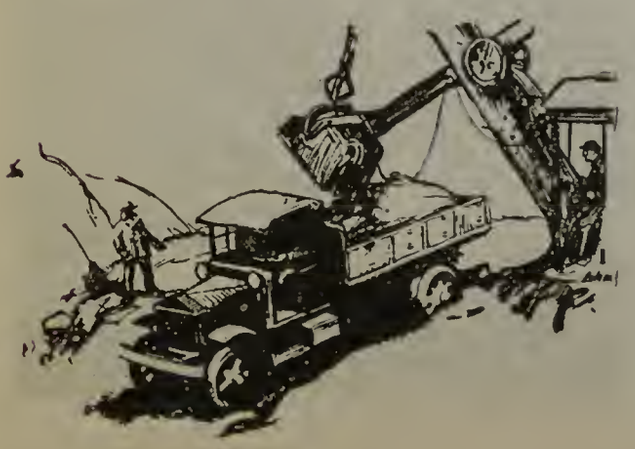
The general construction workers are employed in the paving of streets, building of highways, power dams and tunnels, constructing industrial railroads, as for lumber companies, and the like. Their employers are general contractors, electric, railroad and other corporations. The employees are boarded and lodged in camps, where the food is most often bad, the conditions insanitary and the pay low.

These conferences will outline a program wherewith to secure more wages and better working conditions such as hours, housing and food. Also consider ways and means to carry on extensive organization plans this year.

It is recognized among the general construction workers that only extensive organization will get them anywhere, and that this can only be secured through well-planned campaigns. They recognize that the day of beneficial individual or group action has long gone by; and that this is the day of big contractors' associations, from whom the workers can afford to take a few lessons.

Big contracts have been awarded in California; and 310 is, accordingly, much interested in pushing organization plans and combatting the so-called criminal syndicalism laws, which are applied and interpreted just for the purpose of preventing labor organization there. Three Ten is pushing organization elsewhere as well.

As the Chicago and Omaha conferences show it is as concerned with organization in the Mid-West as on the Pacific Coast and in the Northwest.



# Lumber Workers' Growth

LUMBER Workers' Industrial Union No. 120, reports the recent enrollment of 2,000 members in the forests of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. This is the first real stride that the IWW has made in the lumber industry of the east. It shows the eastern trend of the entire organization, too.

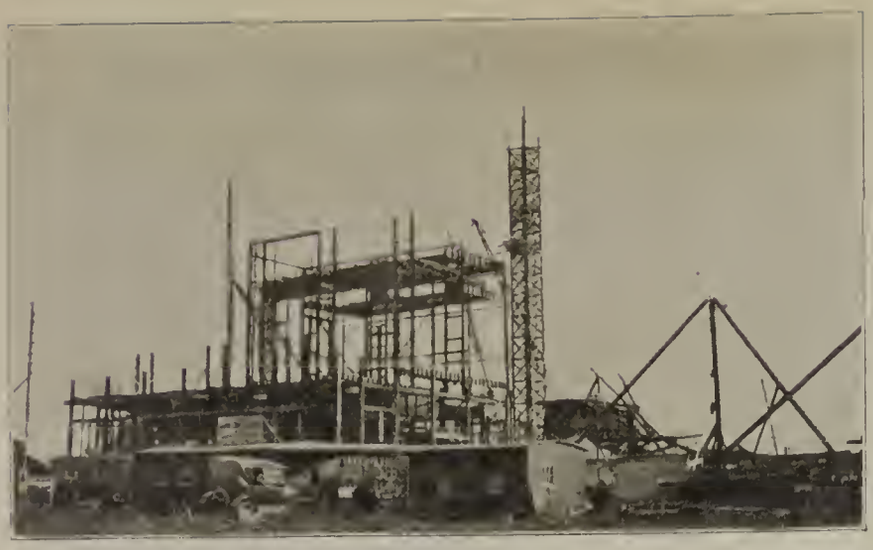
Number One Twenty is also actively at work organizing the lumber workers in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan. The conditions in the Mid-West are worse than in any woods in the northwestern section. Organization is the cure.

Another victory for Number One Twenty is the vote of the annual convention of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of Ontario OBU in favor of joining the IWW. This convention was attended by No. 120 traveling organizers.

The Northwest Lumber Operators' Association has inaugurated a blacklist against radicals and IWWs. Some idea of its task may be judged from the fact that it believes four years at least will be required to weed them out.

In the meanwhile, No. 120 is building up organization. Not only is it expanding territorially, but it is also making efforts to interest saw-mill workers, as well. Industrial expansion is also the 120 aim and object. This is in line with its continuous growth.

No. 120 is backing the strike of the 15,000 lumberjacks at Cranbrook, B. C., Canada. All its branches and delegates are actively at work raising finances and otherwise endeavoring to make this strike a success.



## A 10-Million-Dollar Project

Building Superpower Plant, Grand Tower, Ill.

Electricity, generated from "white"—or water—power is the superpower that is silently, without drums and trumpets, forming the basis of the new capitalism.

All over the world, railroads and industries are undergoing electrification. This country especially is literally dotted with great electric power plants. They are built on waterfalls and along waterways.

Apparently, many corporations own these different plants. But really a few big trusts control them all. They are known as the public utilities and hydro-electric trusts.

## General Construction Foreman

And Assistant Are Two Well-Known Wobblies

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Enormous capital is invested in steam machinery. The capitalist groups owning it are retarding its displacement by opposing electrically-driven machinery. But steam-power is doomed. Superpower is its executioner.

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The accompanying pictures were taken at Grand Tower, Ill., about 100 miles south of St. Louis, on the Mississippi River. The general foreman of construction and his assistant are two well-known wobblies. Cost, about $10,000,000.

# New Orleans' Costly Scabs

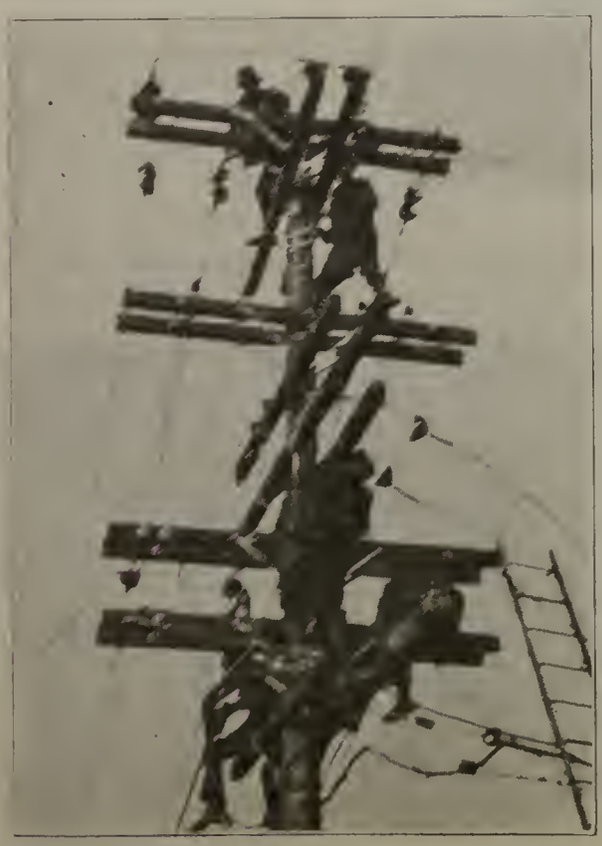
THE strike of the electrical workers in New Orleans still continues with prospects of victory in the near future for the strikers, and if the scabs don't get more efficient in the work they are performing at present, we can see that the gas company, or the hardware stores will have difficulty in supplying the demand of the residences here for gaslight or oil lamps as a substitute for electricity.

For instance we have a plant of the Henry Ford Motor Co. here, noted for efficiency in turning out products of labor. Now through a contract that the Ford company has with the Public Service, the latter has to pay them at the rate of $500 per hour anytime they cut off the juice; and through the blunders of the scab electricians this plant was shut down for four working hours recently, for the want of power.

As yet we have had no definite figures as to what amount of profits the bosses are out through this strike, but it must be enormous with paying for police protection, housing and employing from six to eight strike-breakers where two union men can do the same job more efficiently and in less time. —Note picture No. 1.

Picture No. 2 goes to prove the type of animals the bosses are co-operating with to beat the rooming-house, where the scabs are herded.

The business men in the vicinity are protesting about the low character of the beings in this hangout, with the result that to safeguard the property on either side of this menagerie, they were forced to build fences out in front of both buildings adjoining same, to prevent these low down scabs from looting their property.



PICTURE No. 1

PICTURE No. 2

We have already published some pictures of these scabs in our recent publications, with the result that they are sneaking around under police protection, which caused the arrest of our official photographer.

Propaganda Committee, New Orleans Br. MTW.

## DISARMING

The Tramp (who has entered a country grocery, but notices a policeman)—"And so I humbly ask if you would kindly—give a fellow—your daughter's hand."—Kasper (Stockholm).

## AN ARGUMENT

They were arguing. She insisted that revolution was dependent on the lowest strata of workers. It was a thing that issues from the bottom up. He contended that revolution was the result of forces outside of all classes—of social factors, like invention and war. Who is right, he or she?

**GOOD THINGS COMING! SUBSCRIBE FOR INDUSTRIAL PIONEER!**

# On to the Workers' Administration

**To organize and administer industry will be the function that industrial evolution will impose on wage earners in the industrial democracy that appears to be coming over the horizon of civilized development.**

**To the proper performance of this function, a knowledge and understanding of present day industrial organization and administration are absolutely necessary. Without them evolution will be impossible and chaos alone will ensue.**

**The three articles that follow will contribute to these desirable ends. The first is an ideal description of the General Electric Co. This corporation is representative of big corporations in general. The author of this article is an electrical engineer, thoroughly competent to describe the organization of this great body.**

**The second article analyzes the distribution of a dollar of gross income of the General Electric Co., taking as a basis the company's own tabulation. It is compiled especially for Industrial Pioneer by a well-known economist.**

**The third article treats of the latest phases of development in the Ford Co., and is by a Pioneer staff writer.**

**Read and ponder!**

## Setting Up an Industrial Corporation

BY C. M. RIPLEY
Electrical Engineer, Schenectady, N. Y.

A corporation is an organization. Many years ago, Herbert Spencer defined organization as:

"The means for bringing all available energy and all available knowledge to bear upon the particular problem in hand at the precise time when needed."

The chart accompanying this article shows how the General Electric Company is organized. It does not show the organization of the Manufacturing Department, or the Sales Department, or any of the Engineering Departments but it shows the "Corporate" organization beginning with the 34,000 stockholders who live all over the United States, and includes all of the "general officers" of the Corporation.

The common stock of the company is owned by 34,000 people and 33,000 or 99 percent of them live in the United States.

Every year a flood of ballots pours into Schenectady in the Annual Election of the Board of Directors. Each common stockholder is entitled to one vote for each share of stock he owns.

The directors in turn elect an executive committee which tends to business between meetings of the board.

The directors also elect the general officers as shown on the chart. These general officers meet in an advisory committee for the purpose of exchanging information and co-ordinating their efforts, and the efforts of the departments under them.

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These general officers are as follows:

Chairman of the Board of Directors, Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, Honorary Chairman of the Board of Directors, President of the Company, nine vice-presidents, a Comptroller, a secretary and a treasurer.

Looking at the company as a ship, the president of the company is the captain of the ship, while the chairman of the board is the pilot. The president has full charge of the operation of the ship, while the chairman maps out the course of his ship with respect to other ships in the ocean—other companies in the business world.

The Vice Chairman acts in the absence of the chairman and the honorary chairman is in general charge of technical development in this country and abroad.

Referring to the chart, let us take up the duties of the different General officers shown in the bottom row.

The Vice President in charge of Engineering directs laboratories and engineering departments which convert discoveries of research experts into new designs of apparatus and supplies which people will buy; which constantly improves the company's many products and helps to "make G.E. goods the best."

The Vice President in charge of Patents is head

of a Patent Department which works with inventors and secures patents which protect G. E. inventions in all parts of the world. They arrange for royalties and licenses.

The two Vice Presidents in charge of sales are the leading officials of the selling force in all parts of the country; they are responsible for getting orders, studying market conditions and advising the manufacturing departments accordingly.

The Vice President in charge of manufacturing heads the Manufacturing Committee which directs the building, equipping, operation of factories, the supply of materials, the production of apparatus necessary to fill orders from customers. He directs the organization which "delivers the goods."

The Vice President in charge of accounts and the Comptroller head the department with branches in 100 cities; are responsible for the correct keeping of accounts by which are determined the amounts due from 35,000 customers, the cost of the product, and the amount to be paid for materials and labor, totalling millions of dollars per month.

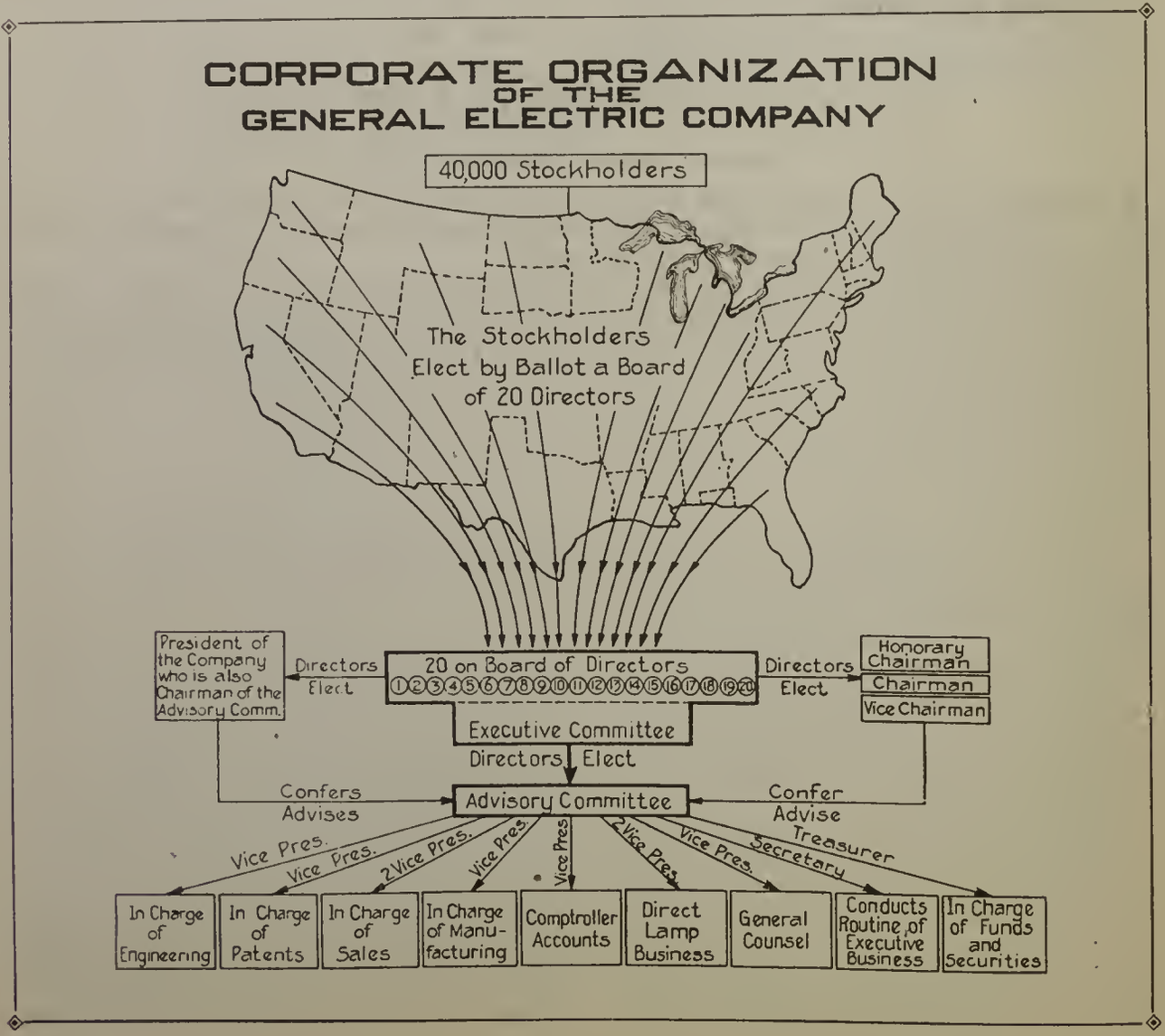
The two Vice Presidents who direct the Lamp business are in charge of the development, production and sale of the incandescent lamps in numerous factories and sales offices.

The Vice President who is general counsel directs the Law Department and advises the directors and officers on questions of policy and general business relations.

The secretary conducts the routine of executive business, keeps records of meetings of stockholders, directors and officers and informs all departments as to decisions which affect them. Also has charge of all insurance, including employers' Group Life Insurance, and manages the company's pension system.

The Treasurer is in charge of funds and securities, is responsible for the custody and safekeeping of all money, stocks and bonds owned by the company, and for all payments.

The chart is a brief outline of the business side of the organization which Dr. C. P. Steinmetz chose to work in. He used it as an instrument or tool to make his ideas and inventions useful to the human race.



# Lo, the Poor G. E. C. Stockholder

## He Not Only Eats His Cake But Has It 1½ Times Over

[Compiled for Industrial Pioneer By A Well-Known Economist.]

THE General Electric Company publishes a chart showing the distribution of a dollar gross income ..received for the years 1918 to 1922 inclusive. This shows that for each dollar received for goods sold the company paid out 42-1/5 cents for materials, supplies, depreciation and losses, 40-9/10 cents for salaries and wages, 3-3/5 cents for taxes, and 2-7/10 cents for transportation, leaving 9-3/5 cents as the share of property or capital. Of this, 1-1/10 cents was paid as interest on borrowed money, 4-4/5 cents as cash dividends, and 4-7/10 cents was left in the business as surplus—being, of course, the property of the stockholders. Thus, owners of property received slightly less than 10 cents of each dollar taken in.

This may be intended to show that the owners of the company are not receiving an exorbitant return. If their property were all turned over to the public or the workers, there would be only 10 cents more out of each dollar of sales to apply to reduced prices or increased wages. On the basis of the $200,194,294 worth of sales in 1922, this would mean about $20,000,000. If all of it were used to raise wages, we can figure that the employes, approximately 85,000 in number, would receive an average of $235 more apiece per year. It is probable, however, that even under public or co-operative ownership the whole amount would not be used for increased wages. Some would have to be left in the business for expansion, and some might still be paid as interest to bondholders. A conservative estimate of the extra amount which might go to the workers through increased wages or reduced prices of the product is $115 apiece per year.

The percentage of profit to sales, however, by no means tells the whole story of the reward of ownership in the General Electric Company.

The company was formed in 1892 by the merger of the Thomson-Houston Electric Co., Thomson-Houston International Electric Co. and Edison General Electric Co. Subsequently it has absorbed many other companies and plants. For many of these properties it has either paid directly in stock, or in cash received from sales of stock to the public. The total outstanding stock which had been issued either for cash or its equivalent, was in the spring of 1923, $120,853,248. If we wish to calculate the total investment of actual cash or real property made by the public in the concern, we must add to this the outstanding bond issues, on which money was borrowed, amounting to $22,-677,440. The total of the stock sold and money borrowed on bonds is thus $153,530,688.

### Conservative Argument Overthrown

Conservative economists argue that a return on money thus invested is necessary, because if a man saves up money and invests it he endures a sacrifice of the enjoyment which he might have had by spending the money, and thus is entitled to a reward, as a stimulus to saving. If capital were not accumulated in some way, society would not enjoy the benefits of large-scale production.

The people who invested this money have received a considerable reward for doing so. In some of the early years dividends were not paid, but for the greater part of the period the stockholders have received 8 per cent annually. Thus a man who invested $100 in 1892 for a share of stock has now received back, in cash dividends on that stock alone, $260, or the entire original sacrifice plus 160 per cent more.

This is by no means all, however. In addition to getting capital from investors, the company has made such large profits that after paying cash dividends out of them, it has put aside $143,530,688 of capital from its own income. Obviously no individual investor endured any particular sacrifice to save that capital. The sacrifice was rather on the part of the consumers who paid the prices and the wage-earner who accepted wages at such rates that the extra profit could be made. This extra capital is almost as large as that secured from investors, amounting to 48.6 per cent of the total capital of the company. (See Table I).

Nevertheless, the stockholders of the company have received a reward for the accumulation of this surplus capital also, just as if they had individually saved it up and invested it. This has occurred through the gift by the company to its shareholders of extra stock. Such gifts are known as "stock dividends." After stock has been distributed in this way, it receives cash dividends at the same rate as stock which has been bought. In July, 1902, the company issued a stock dividend of 66-2/3%—in other words it gave to each shareholder two-thirds as much stock as he already owned. In January, 1913, it issued a second stock dividend of 30%. Beginning in 1918 it issued common stock dividends of 2% every six months, up to January, 1922. Since then it has issued stock dividends of preferred stock at the rate of 5% annually. Thus a total of $72,430, 563 worth of stock has been given away to stockholders, leaving in the treasury $73,-167,048 more of the capital accumulated from profits.

The net effect of these stock dividends has been, for anyone who owned a $100 share in 1892, to increase his holdings to $238,65 of common stock and $10 of preferred, **without the investment of another dollar on his par.** He now draws annually in dividends about 20 per cent on his original cash investment. All this extra reward has come to him

without any labor or foresight on his part since his original investment—unless we count as labor or foresight the signature of a proxy for the annual election of officers. Since the rate of dividend in 1892 was 6%, his annual return has more than doubled.

### The Worst Is Yet To Come

This still is not the whole story. We have said that the company obtained part of its actual cash capital by sales of stock to "the public." This is not strictly true. Such stock was offered in reality to existing stockholders. It was offered at par—or $100 a share. Yet at the same time the stock was selling on the stock market far above par. For instance, in 1918 the company sold to its stockholders $12,296,730 at $100 a share. Yet in 1918 the lowest price of the shares on the stock market was $127.75. The highest was $158.50. Thus the company made a present to every shareholder who purchased this stock, of at least $27.75 for every share he bought. If the buyers wanted to turn around and sell their new shares to the public, they could make an immediate profit of anywhere from $27.75 to $58.50 per share—anywhere from 27 to 58 per cent. The company itself could have raised that much more cash capital if it sold its shares directly to the public. Instead it gave an immediate and tremendous reward to those of its existing stockholders who cared to invest again and had the cash to do so.

There is no reason why this process of piling up the property and returns of the investors should not continue, as things are now. Their rewards as time goes on will bear a larger and larger relation to their original investment. It is difficult to see how large rewards are either deserved on the basis of the investor's "sacrifice," or are necessary to provide for the accumulation of capital or the extension of machine production.

It should be noted in passing that the General Electric Company is by no means alone in this matter of large gains to the investor. Almost all large corporations in the United States—and many small ones as well—have followed the same policy. Many of them, in fact, have done even better by capital.

**TABLE I.**

**Sources of General Electric Capital**

| | |
|---|---|
| Capital from investment: | |
| Total Funded debt, Oct. 29, 1923 | $22,677,440 |
| Outstanding stock, sold for cash or equivalent | 120,853,248 |
| | $153,530,688 |
| Capital from profits: | |
| Stock dividends | $72,430,563 |
| P. & L. Surplus (Not including reserves) | 73,167,048 |
| | $145,597,611 |
| Total capital | $299,128,299 |
| Per cent of capital from profits to total capital | 48.6% |

Buyer of one share in 1892 @ $100 would now own $238.65 of common stock and $10 of preferred. He would receive, at the regular rates of dividend (8%on common, 6% on preferred) $19.09 on his common and $1.20 on his preferred, or a little over 20%on his original investment.

**TABLE II.**

**Stock Dividends**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July, 1902 | 66-2/3% | $16,812,600 |
| Jan., 1913 | 30% | 23,297,000 |
| Jan., 1918 | 2% | 2,030,300 |
| July, 1918 | 2% | 2,270,900 |
| Jan., 1919 | 2% | 2,317,500 |
| June, 1919 | 2% | 2,363.800 |
| Jan., 1920 | 2% | 2,410,098 |
| July, 1920 | 2% | 2,705,200 |
| Jan., 1921 | 2% | 2,756,500 |
| July, 1921 | 2% | 3,321,500 |
| Jan., 1922 | 2% | 3,427,900 |
| | | $63,713.298 |
| 6% Preferred stock issued as stock dividends, Oct. 14, 1922 (To be issued at rate of 5% annually) | | $8,717,265 |
| Total stock dividends | | $72,430,563 |

# Where the Workers Work

ACCORDING to the 1919 census there are 290,-105 manufacturing establishments in this country. Of this number 16,437 employ 101 workers or more. These 16,437 establishments employ 6,435,861 workers out of a total of 9,096,372. That is, one-eighth of the industrial plants employ nearly three-fourths of all the workers in American industry.

Out of the 290,105 establishments there were 1,021 in 1919 or 0.4 per cent which employ more than 1,000 wage workers and 2,770 or 1 per cent employing over 500. There were 235,884 or 81.3 per cent, which employed 20 or under, with only 10.3 per cent of the wage-earners.

The remaining plants, namely those employing between 20 and 500 wage earners, number 51,451, or 17.7 per cent of the total, and employ 50.1 per cent or just one-half of the total wage earners.

## THE RIGHTS OF MEN

THE rights of men are a byword; the bones are not yet dust
Of those who broke the shackles and the shackles are not yet rust,
Till the masters are forging new ones, and coward lips are sealed,
While the code that cost a million lives is step by step revealed.

**William Herbert Carruth.**

# The Fords and Billionairedom

## Are Getting There, Thanks To The Exploitation of Labor.

**INDUSTRY today is not, as formerly, a one-man affair. No longer does one man know or do it all, as in the days when the shoemaker not only made shoes but tanned leather as well.**

**Today industry is a co-operative, collective enterprise. It is an affair that engages the attention of many men and women, all working together. These men and women do a wide variety of things, but all of them work as a unit to produce certain commodities or "goods."**

**Some are engineers, others chemists, some accountants, others managers, some mechanics, others laborers—but all work as one and their achievements result from that fact, wholly and solely. Let any great part of them cease their operations and their unity is destroyed. So is their effectiveness as producers. The result is that industry either ceases or is badly crippled, indeed!**

**What is every great strike, like the steel workers', or miners', or shopmen's, but a startling demonstration of the truth of the co-operative, collective nature of modern industry? These strikes involved nearly a million and quarter men, and produced a near-revolution in effect, disabling American society and evoking unusual legal repression!**

But, though modern industry is co-operative, and collective in character, operation and effect, it is private in ownership and control. That is, these great co-operative, collective undertakings, are owned and controlled by private individuals and are conducted primarily for their profit.

In brief, modern industry presents the anomaly and the injustice of being a social institution for private aggrandizement. In no case, is this so evident, as in the case of the Ford Motor Company. Here we have, virtually, two individuals, father and son respectively, reaping the rewards of the labors of 120,000 individuals, co-operatively and collectively united into one productive whole.

### No Deception Here

Other corporations boast of many stockholders, who though dominated by a few financiers, give the appearance of wide ownership and control. But, in the case of the Ford Co. there is no such deception. The Ford Co. is plainly and only Henry Ford and son; and not, as in the case of the General Electric Co., say, with its advertised 34,000 stockholders, J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. predominantly.

The story of the Ford Co. is the story of all big corporations. It is a story of growth and accumulation, in which the muscle and brain of countless numbers have contributed from the very beginning.

### How Ford Began

Henry Ford was a poor wage-slave, working as an engineer with the Edison Co. in Detroit. He did not invent the automobile, but hit upon one that could be cheaply made in large numbers. As he himself has said, the machines for doing this were only evolved after much experiment by many workers. And so with the auto now bearing his name; he gave it a crude beginning, while others perfected it. It is quantity production, by improved machine methods and armies of workers, that has spelled success for Ford.

Ford's beginnings were dependent on the capital of others. He had to incorporate and sell stocks to others, who helped in the original corporation's development; but whom he was latter enabled to buy out, thanks to enormous profits and his hold on over 50 per cent of the original stock.

The first Ford plant illustrates Ford's dependence further. It was only an assembling shop. The various parts entering into the manufacture of his car were made by others. The Dodge Bros., as drop forgers and founders, produced many parts, including engines. They were formerly a part of the Ford Co. and its development made possible the big fortunes they are now investing in their own ventures. Many other concerns made other parts of the Ford car, with similar results.

### Gobbling Them Up

The next step in the Ford policy was to concentrate all these braches in the Ford plants. This required the development of engineering, accounting, financing, construction, and other departments under men of great ability. In this way there arose what is now known as the Ford industrial machine. "The Ford industrial machine," says John Keracher, in 'Brains and Industry', "has embodied in it men with more brains than Ford himself. Thousands of wonderful machines and appliances that called for more ability in their invention or construction than Ford's little improvement or invention itself. The inventors of these machines in most cases are unknown and unrewarded. The Ford System, as it is sometimes called, is but an example of the highest development of SOCIAL PRODUCTION" for private profit.

### A Horizontal Trust

This profit is immense and growing more stupendous "every day in every way". It is being invested in allied industries. Blast furnaces, steel mills, ore mines, lumber forests, glass and lamp factories, rubber plantations, railroads, cloth mills, water power plants, etc. etc., are being swallowed up by the profits of the Ford system. The result is the creation of what is called a "horizontal trust," This is a corporation that interlocks component industries into an immense industrial scheme. It is the result, not of a premeditated plan, but of growth. This growth is largely dictated by competition—by the need of freedom from outside controlling elements and of cheapness in production wherewith to undersell and outdo others. It is also made necessary by the need for investment

—and what investment would be better than in allied industry that insures freedom, cheapness and additional profits galore?

**Fortune Excites Discussion**

The Ford fortune, together with its tendencies, is exciting wide-spread wonder and discussion. Wall St. recently has given it an analysis that is astonishing in its disclosures. According to the New York Tribune:

"The money handlers of New York have made recent appraisals of Henry Ford and his doings, and, after carefully revising figures, they have set down the following high points:

"1. The Ford wealth today, represented by the market value of the Ford Motor company, is close to $840,000,000.

"2. In the twelve months ended February 28, 1923 the company earned upward of $119,000,000, after deducting $34,000,000 for taxes.

"3. The Fords are accumulating wealth at the rate of about $400,000 or $450,000 a day, or, in round numbers, $150,000,000 a year.

"4. Giving Henry Ford ten years more of activity (He is now 65 years old), the money experts of New York say that on Jan. 1, 1934, he will possess $3,000,000,000.

"5. By that time Mr. Ford and his son will be piling up wealth at the rate of $1,000,000 a day.

"This staggering sum surpasses the annual surplus of the United States government, a surplus which is engaging day by day the time of Secretary Mellon and congress. Cutting it in half by eliminating the anticipated decade, the surplus is still probably greater than that of half the civilized nations of the world, some of them with large standing armies.

**"Other Sources of Wealth"**

"Motor production is not the only source of the Ford wealth, for the manufacturer owns railroads, coal fields, mineral deposits, cotton belts, hundreds of thousands of acres of cutover Michigan forest lands which he is reforesting, and, on top of the other things, Mr. Ford owns all or substantial parts of companies that sell coal and transportation. He could sell his manufactured cars without profit and still have an enormous profit from the sale of parts and accessories for his motor cars and tractors.

"The Ford policy is to turn back into the business year by year the greater part of the enormous earnings of his company, thus keeping the federal tax on corporate net income at a minimum.

"He is constantly extending his control of raw materials and supplies; constantly reaching for water power, and transportation. His zest for expansion shows no sign of abating; ....and he is able to look Wall street in the eye and tell it to go plumb to, since he has all the money he wants and is lending Detroit (on good security) a million or two a month whenever that municipality runs short.

**He Is Not a Spender.**

"He spends little or no money on hobbies, and does not believe much in education or philanthropies."

What a climax!

It stands to reason that this climax to co-operative, collective effort is absurd and unjust. What is co-operatively and collectively operated and developed should be co-operatively and collectively owned and controlled. This should logically be the next step in the evolution of the Ford system. This system should be made democratic, i.e., converted into an industrial democracy, as befits its inherent character and growth, both present and prospective.

**Small Potatoes**

But Henry Ford, great man that he is said to be, is essentially as small as are all capitalists. He like they, will do anything for the workers but get off their backs. He will make no attempt to fit them for a higher destiny than that which they now fulfill. His conception of a new society is one full of more wage slaves—machine automatons—Robots, in brief—for Henry Ford. Truly, a magnificent ideal; yet no different from that of Judge Gary, for instance!

However, there are the wage slaves to consider. How about them? Will they forever remain oblivious to the stifling effects of the Fords and their systems? Will they ever awake to the co-operative, collective character of industry, and all that it implies? We wonder!

# White Goods Girls' Strike

(Continued from page 14)

were paying me too high wages· that they could not afford and on that account discharged me. This was a violation of the agreement with the union and I brot pressure to bear that the boss be tried and he was tried with the already mentioned results. I lost my job because of the strike and that was all I gained. But it was all worth while. There was but a little fight and it was poorly done, but when the material is taken into consideration, i.e., poor basic principles, non-class conscious young working girls and weak, incapable leadership, not to say dishonest, the gains were worth the efforts.

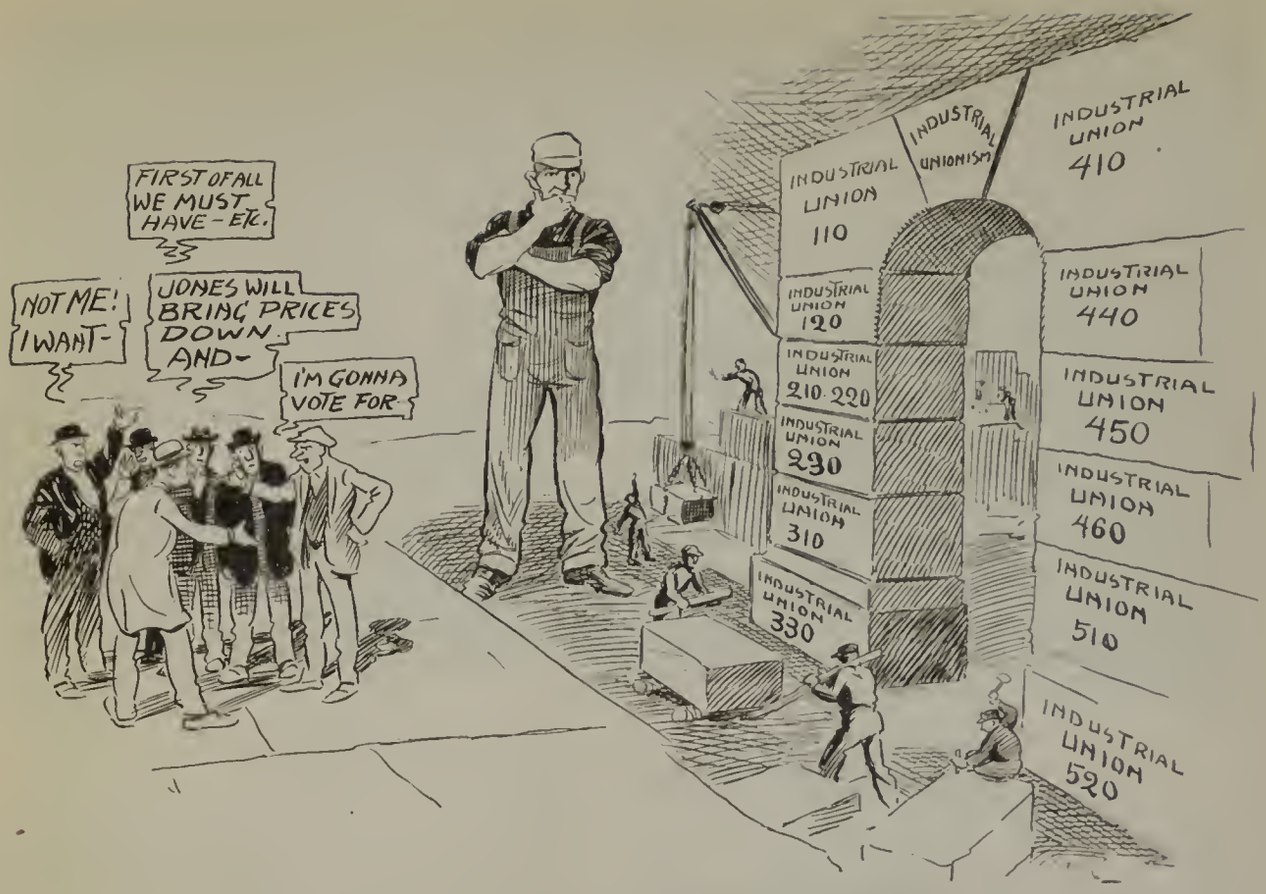
Given correct principles, competent leadership, a class-conscious spirit, and infallible industrial union organization, coupled with a vision of a future society and the deductions must be clear to any who are willing to see—a world won for the workers, and a sacrifice that every member of our class must be proud to make.

## CONQUER CALIFORNIA!

THE conviction of Tom Connors in California will only cause the IWW to redouble its work of organization within that state and to make the boycott more effective outside of it.

The unjust methods by which this conviction was secured are emphatically resented. Connors is one of the ablest IWWs and it was his qualifications that most likely caused Busick's unfairness towards him.

We'll conquer California in retaliation for Connors.




**Building The New Society In The Shell Of The Old**

# Producers Unite!

THE above motto was substituted by John D. Rockefeller for "Producers Compete," in 1870 when the Standard Oil Co. was first organized. The fact that the motto, "Producers Unite," was adopted is all too evident.

Surrounding himself with such men as William Rockefeller and S. V. Harkness, within ten years John D. Rockefeller, through the Standard Oil Co., controlled nine-tenths of the oil refineries of the country.

The position of the Standard Oil Co. was rendered still more secure by its control of the pipe lines, rebate contracts with the railroads, and by its ruthless war on stubborn competitors.

To understand the relative power of the U. S. Government as represented by the Supreme Court and the Standard Oil Co., a few figures are necessary.

### Government Impotency

On May 11, 1911, the Supreme Court handed down a decree declaring the Standard Oil Co. a trust in restraint of trade. Standard Oil Co. stock at this time had a paper value of about 98 million dollars. The market value in 1921 of the Standard Oil Properties, as they are called, was held at 3,276 million dollars or about thirty-five times the capital value in 1911.

These figures show the utter impotency of governments when confronted with economic power, such as is wielded by the Standard Oil Co.

It would appear that the oil workers, the actual producers, would have learned from the object lesson set by the organzation of the Standard Oil Co. and have developed an organization that could have met such an organization of the owners of the oil industry in the daily and continual struggle that the workers are compelled to maintain. But such is not the case. We find the workers in the same position that the owners of the industry were in 53 years ago. The same competition that proved a hindrance to the owners of the industry is proving to be more than a hindrance to the workers; it has become a positive menace.

### Workers' Unity Necessary

The competition among the workers for the ever fewer jobs grows more intense, and as the army of the workers grows larger with the new methods of production, the amount of labor power needed is lessened, and a more intensive exploitation of the labor power employed takes place.

"Producers Unite," is the motto that has to be adopted by the actual producers, viz., the workers, with the same purpose in view that prompted the founders of the Standard Oil Co.

In unity there is strength, but unity of purpose demands organization to carry out that purpose, and on the degree and structure of the organization depends the success in accomplishing any desired end.

The IWW with its industrial form of organization, is the only organization through which the workers can hope to cope with the colossal power wielded by the owners of industry. "All workers in any one industry, in one union, and all industrial unions welded together in one big union," is the weapon that is all powerful.

The strength and importance of industrial unionism as advocated by the IWW is not underestimated by the master class. In spite of the abuse, slander and ridiculous charges made against it by the master class through the kept press, it continues to grow. Witness the recent strikes on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and the complete tie-up in the woods of the northwest last year, for the betterment of working conditions.

The workers are beginning to realize the necessity of industrial unionism as never before and they are looking to the IWW as the only organization through which the solidarity of labor can be acomplished.

Craft unionism with its officialdom and complete division of the workers has outlived its usefulness. To meet the One Big Union of the employing class, there must be One Big Union of the workers. To the motto, "Producers Unite," we would add, "Oil Workers Organize," you have nothing to lose, but a whole world to gain.

**Conferences**

Conferences of OWIU 230 will be held in Taft, and San Pedro, Calif., in the first part of March. There will be a conference of delegates and members held in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, March 17, 1924, to map out a program for an organized drive in the oil industry this summer. Any members in the California district who cannot attend the conferences there and have any suggestions or resolutions they wish acted upon can send same to the branch secretary at San Pedro or Taft. Any member who cannot attend the Oklahoma City conference can send resolution or suggestions to J. H. Miller, 218 Culbertson Bldg., Oklahoma City, Okla.

# Co-operation 100 Per Cent

A BIG restaurant concern states in its company paper that, "The modern industrial corporation requires of every member of its organization for smooth and efficient functioning: 100 per cent co-operation." It is true. Without this co-operation it would be absolutely impossible for big industries to function.

Now we aren't interested in the successful functioning of industry for profits. But we are interested in the building up of an industrial organization that can take over the industries and make them function for the benefit of the working class. This too, will require co-operation.

We are living in an age of social production and achievement. The fatal flaw in the capitalist system is that all wealth is produced co-operatively by the workers but is owned and controlled by a few individuals.

The capitalists know that the success of their business depends on the co-operation of all their employees. They beg for it in their press, in the name of patriotism, Christianity or some other myth. They try to get it by kidding us with vague promises of individual advancement. These efforts failing they compel it with threats of discharge, but regardless of how they get it, **they must have co-operation.**

We workers have learned part of our lesson in 100 per cent co-operation. We have built up great industries that produce all the necessities and luxuries of life in abundance. And what have we gained? Wage slavery, poverty, misery and disease. Are these things the result of too much co-operation? No, they are the result of the blind, unintelligent co-operation of the many workers for the benefit of a few parasites.

We must now learn to co-operate 100 per cent in the building of an organization strong enough to demand the co-operative ownership and control of all the wealth that the workers have co-operated in producing.

The historical successor of the capitalist system is the Workers' Co-operative Commonwealth 100 per cent.

**A. C. H.**

# A New Opportunity

SOCIETY has always been divided into two classes—those trained to give orders and those trained to obey orders. In the former latent executive ability is developed to the highest degree for the purpose of exploitation of the latter, who are shut out from the opportunity for the development of their own executive ability, either in school or in industry.

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The labor movement seeks to develop the latent executive ability of every worker. The door of opportunity is opened to all. This service to the working class yields efficient and competent managers and executives—not for purposes of exploitation, but for co-operative service.

## CASSABIANCA TO DATE

The boy stood on the burning deck,
With bootleg trickling down his neck.
His daddy beckoned—he could not go,
Because he knew he'd stagger so.

**Watty in Tulsa Tribune.**

**PHILADELPHIA, PA., M. T. W. HEADQUARTERS**

**At 928 E. Moyamensing Ave. Conducts open forum every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock. Branch is holding meetings on the waterfront and hopes to have the longshoremen, who are coming back, lined up by spring.**

# City Labor vs. Country Labor

By J. M. BEST

THIS article is an original contribution to Industrial Pioneer from a town in Kansas. It is not what one would call an orthodox IWW article. Nevertheless, it is printed here, as it expresses the farmer's standpoint, while, at the same time, reflecting his desperate condition. Its value, on the latter account, is great!

Industrial Pioneer will be pleased to devote a page or two of each issue to a discussion of the points raised in this appeal. Should you desire to take part, make your contribution as brief as possible.

MY whole life has been spent among the laboring people, both in the country and city, and today their condition is largely due to the fact that they do not understand each other, and the problems which confront them as farmers and city laborers. For fifteen years it has been my good fortune to publish a country newspaper. I say good fortune because it brought me in close contact with God's best people. Later I became the publisher of a weekly paper in one of our metropolitan cities in Kansas, and it was there that I mingled with the city's laboring people. Again I learned people who were God's chosen ones. People who were giving their life blood and energy in keeping the wheels of industry moving. When we looked into the faces of these men and women, and saw the havoc the daily struggle was playing in their lives, our hearts went out to them, and their problems became our problems.

If it were possible we would like to switch the whole condition around, putting the farmers in the city and the city laborers on the farms. Nothing would do more to teach each class, whose interests are identical, that they both have a common cause. If this were done and all could see the light, one big union would be the result and they could dictate to one of the rottenest systems in the world.

Why do farmers read farm papers and farm literature and city laborers read literature dealing with the problems of city life? Why not the city man read the problems confronting his brother on the farm and the farmer read of the industrial slavery in the cities?

Am I my brother's keeper? Yes, you are each one of you responsible to the other and to your God. You are either going to educate yourselves to the true condition of affairs or you are each going hand in hand to the worst slavery in history.

My Brother, what do you owe to the world? Let me answer it. You owe the best there is in you for the good of your posterity. If you live in this old world and just kind of slide through, with no thought of tomorrow, you are one of the most deplorable persons in the world. You owe the best there is in you to your fellow creatures, and that will only be brought about by you getting right

down to business and using the thing your father gave you, your head. This old world is being hobbled by having the rank and file of the people on a vacation. You have quit thinking. You must take it on yourself to think the problems through.

The other day we were talking with a fairly intelligent laboring man, one who was above the average, insofar as he was a good mechanic and was capable of drawing down a good salary. He said: "What is the use, it is fixed anyway." Thousands say this same thing to themselves, and this is just the reason we are where we are as a people. Education and agitation are the only things which will bring action, and God hasten the day when the farmers and townspeople can understand each others' problems. When this comes about, and the laborer of the city and the laborer of the country vote together, they can rule the world. When this comes about let's hope they will deal out mercy and justice.

We have watched the hatred grow between the men who are forced into the harvest fields, and as we see it, it is all because we do not understand each other, and the propaganda put out by the ruling class broadens the gulf which keeps them in the saddle. It is true that some of the men who come into our harvest fields are unworthy, but many are brothers in the truest sense of the word, and have loved ones at home whom they are trying to provide for. The pin headed, and those who do not want to be fair, class the honest man from the city with the bad element. We know the feeling here in the country and it bides no good for the masses, and some solution must be worked out. We must become educated in the vital questions that confront us. We would like to see the condition come about which would make these harvest expeditions unnecessary, but while that is coming about we would love to see a plan worked out whereby the advent of our city brothers into our midst would be welcomed.

The world does not stand still and as it is now we are drifting, and where? Did you ever look your dear wife and babies in the face and ask yourself this question, "What am I doing for you to perpetuate your future?" The man who has lived and has not contributed something for the betterment of his people had just as well never have existed . You have a head and why not use it? This country is yours and you deserve something better than the crumbs you are now getting, while many are living on the fat of the land.

In conclusion we ask you this question, "If you continue as you are, what will the harvest be?" Buckle on your armor, get out of this indifferent state and enjoy the freedom our forefathers fought to gain.

# Grounds for Encouragement

THE labor movement everywhere is in a deplorable condition. The rise of the working class that the world war made possible, had the class-consciousness to seize the opportunity been present, seems further away now than ever before. Even in Russia where the breakdown of the pseudo-feudal system made revolution imperative, the proletariat are retreating in favor of the peasant interests and of a statecraft that is dictated by capitalist considerations and necessities. In Italy, Hungary, Finland, Germany and other places where the workers have had a temporary hold of power the results have been the same, namely, bloody disaster and reaction. Apparently, the outlook is desperate and disheartening. Apparently, there is no prospect of the working class ever gaining the ascendancy either in the USA or anywhere else.

We say apparently, for judging from present day appearances, the working class is foredoomed to perpetual slavery. It cannot break the chains that bind it; try as it may, it is forever and eternally damned.

### The Hope of History

But history gives us hope to believe that now, as always, appearances are deceptive. History is repeating itself, not as comedy but as a festival for encouragement.

Following the Napoleonic wars, the English and French working classes were terribly oppressed and enslaved. Associations and combinations among them were outlawed and conditions were of the very worst. Exploitation reached its lowest point, its fiercest phase, then. Nevertheless, the English and French working classes continued to organize and improve their conditions despite obstacles to the contrary; until their labor movements were among the most powerful in pre-war Europe. The same was true of the German labor movement. In Germany, the Bismarck anti-socialist laws crippled and well-nigh destroyed working class organization, only to see its rise in a manner that far surpassed that of all other European countries.

We have also only to compare the Paris Commune with the rise of Russian communism to grasp the fact that evolution may have not only its retrogressings but also its leaps forward on an unprecedented scale.

And look at the history of this country! Consider the wreck and ruin in which the Civil War aftermath left its labor movement. And then recall the million textile workers, miners and shopmen on strike in 1922! What a contrast! In one case, impotence and despair. In the other, vast organization, high hopes, and near revolution!

And so why despair? Let not appearances deceive us; let the light of history brighten our way when the outlook seems darkest. There's no telling what will happen next; especially as capitalism appears to be going through another stage of development

(Concluded on page 40)

# Training for Freedom

## The Great Achievement of the Strike of Lumber Workers in the Canadian Rockies.

BY J. A. MACDONALD.

**IN the Canadian Rockies the thermometer was forty-five helow zero. All around was the snow and the almost unhearahle cold, a cold that burns almost like fire, that stings like needles, that gets in the lungs and half freezes the thin partitions of the air cells. The white hills stood in solemn aloofness as though defying puny man to venture out. It was such a day as has heen featured in many a romance of the Canadian West only much colder for this was the coldest day for many years. It was the first of January, and instead of the fiction of the writer sitting in his steam heated flat imagining what cold is like, the stage was laid for one of those great, true dramas of humanity that show the intrepidity, the determination, verging almost on the superhuman, with which men are able to do and dare when they get the vision of the future that is possible for labor and contrast it with misery, slavery, extortion and oppression of their present lives.**

**In spite of the hiting rigor of the coldest day in years, while those trained to the softer ways of the cities were cursing the janitor hecause he had the thermometer in their rooms at forty-five ahove, at ninety degrees lower the men in the Cranhrook District of the lumher areas of British Columhia were challenging the power of the lumher trust and of the elements. It was no summer vacation on which they were leaving the camps. They were leaving to attain for themselves the status of men, the rights of men and that power which organization alone gives to the industrial slave. They were staking their misery, low wages, inhuman conditions against the profits of their hosses, and nothing, not even a killing cold could freeze the edge off their determination. The sleigh haul which was to hring in the logs which had been produced all summer was heginning, and they were going to win their demands or there would not be any sleigh haul this winter—and to date there has not been.**

Never with climatic conditions so hostile was there a response so heroic. When one remembers that these were the men who could not be organized, one must marvel at the vast new forces that are operating at the basis of modern industry, and at the organization that is moulding the world to the conciousness of greater things lying within the lap of the future, and is operating in the hearts of the workers of the world giving them an aim, ambition, incentive and initiative that makes all things possible.

### The Romance Of Achievement

To my mind as personifying some of this new spirit which the IWW is to the working class comes the memory of Fellow Worker MacNeil, just one of the many heroic figures in the saga of the working class of which I have recently been a spectator. Slow speaking, hestitant, with the gift of thought but not of expression, without the figure that attracts attention, one would say that he was just an ordinary lumberjack, and he is, but at a time when no lumberjack is ordinary, when around all of them is the glow of great deeds done unassumingly. When I saw him in Cranbrook, there was about his unromantic figure the romance of achievement. His nose had been frozen, and his ears nipped and both were peeling. He had won these insignia of rank in the army of labor calling out camp after camp after travelling long distances on the first day of the strike.

As he himself humorously expressed it, he would have frozen to death only for the knapsack of hot IWW literature that he had on his back. Whenever there was a flying squadron to go out, wherever there were things to do for the movement, he was there always insisting that he serve, without sleep, without reward except the inner consciousness of service. With others he would walk to a camp, breaking trail for twenty miles through the snow; then with those that had been called out he would make a campfire, one of the many campfires of the new society that have flared in the Rockies during the last month, with a light that is undying as long as Capitalism exists. Then he and the others would walk back to the station, wait there for hours without food, and back to the headquarters insisting on more service.

### Mine Own People

There are hundreds of men like MacNeil. Men who gave all that was best of themselves, and gave willingly on long hikes that would kill men less rugged, and often without food for a day. Men who would go through hell and back for the IWW, strong, self-reliant thinkers who put their thoughts into action, men who thought in deeds not words, and who saw nothing great in their actions, who would be non-plussed by any suggestion of praise. They were of many races, of many languages, but there is something great in the thought, "these are mine own people, these are the kind of people on which our principles and our organization rests."

Most of them are new members. Only a few in the strike zone have been in the organiztion more than a year, for the splendid foundation of industrial solidarity in Canada is only the achievement of a year. Only a year old—yet the achievements of that year and the resolution and ambition that it has given to the labor movement of Canada is a gigantic labor achievement. Only a year old—yet in that year strategists in the industrial struggle have been developed who have given to the labor movement new tactics that are wonderful in

their effectiveness. Only a year old, yet in that year has been developed an intelligence, a co-operation, a driving force that makes the present strike superior to any I have ever seen.

Out of the workers who were a year ago untaught in unionism, through education, through great sacrifices and efforts has been developed an organization that is a revelation of the forces lying latent in the working class which can be made through organization to function for labor.

### More Than A Union

To these workers, who, while a short time ago unorganized are now carrying on one of the greatest struggles of labor, the IWW is more than a union. It is a science frigid in its analysis of modern industry. It is a light of hope in the jungles of slavery. It is a bugle call to supreme effort in which the individual is merged in the class. It is a vision in the night of the present system of the dawn when mankind is free and science, thought and organiza- have redeemed the world. Around the movement is concentrated all their powers to think, to feel and to live. To them solidarity is more than a philosophy; it is life expressing itself in action. It is a great moral force in their lives, an elevating power, a force expanding their possibilities, giving them inspiration and hope.

### A Moral Lesson

When in one of the papers of the city of Cranbrook the Chief of Police made the statement that the manner in which the IWW conducts strikes is a moral lesson to the citizens, he was stating one of the significant facts of the strike, that the IWW is a great moral force, and this largely because it does not found its morality on the shambles of capitalism, and the lie of class superiority; on a system that while preaching a shoddy morality at the same time places a premium on lying, cheating, theft, and the survival of those who are most ruthless in trampling on the necks of others to power.

The IWW is a great moral force for the reason that it brings to the surface all that is best in the worker, all that higher nobility in men which only a movement with a vision and a mission can touch.

### A Moral Force

Before the organization of the IWW in the lumber camps of the present strike zone, five men would go to Cranbrook, and within three hours at least two of them would be staggering through the streets mumbling the idiocies that come out of bottles. Two days in the joints and the brothels and they would be without money—wrecks before the bright lights of the bootlegging dens, victims of the avaricious steely glints in the eyes of harlots. Their winters' work would enrich the powers that prey on them in the cities as the bosses prey on them in the camps. Then—often back doors, the begging of men on the street, and back to the dismal toil of the camps again. Nor is this difficult to understand when one knows the degradation which the capitalist system produces. It is natural that men who are worked like brutes, housed like brutes, and fed like hogs should seek to regain the fleeting memories of the manhood that the bosses are crushing out of them for profits in the illusions and false invigoration of what is called whiskey in the lumber towns. Men work so hard, and live in such a stultifying environment where there is no organization on the job, that they demand the kick of the booze before they can feel human even for a few hours.

### The Material Of The Movement

Often in the lumber areas in the past, they have been pointed out to me, and sometimes by men who made their graft out of the bootlegging joints, or through ownership which means partnership with the harlots, through the rent on the houses they occupy, for nothing is more unctuously righteous that the capitalist with his foot on a nickel. They would say: "There they are, in town two days, drunk and broke, and this is part of the working class to which your movement wants to give the management of the industries of the world. They are unstable as water, incapable of organization, utterly hopeless; nothing can be made of such material."

Anything with the power to toil is good enough for capitalism. The more hopeless, the less gifted with the power of thought, the less trouble the worker will be, the harder he will be to organize. Capitalism wants hands, not men, for men would demand conditions. Anything with a little more highly developed imitative powers than the gorillas, and with the gorilla's strength will suit the lumber bosses.

### Men Wanted.

But the IWW wants men, real thinking men to fight the struggles of labor, to lead labor to its historic mission and goal. Capitalism deforms the workers into mere work animals. The IWW reforms men to a militant manhood, develops all that is best and highest in them, arouses the impulses and aspirations that the bosses have stifled. This is the underlying fact that I met forcibly as the motive behind the struggle of the lumber workers of eastern British Columbia.

Now the men are the same, but how different are their actions. The enthusiam of a great ideal has entered their lives. They are not a mass of milling individuals, for in the white heat of strife all that is best in them is fused in a common struggle, a common hope and a common endeavor into a wonderful unity. To my mind comes the actions of one of the strikers who claims that he was the biggest "booze hoister" who ever worked in a logging camp in Canada, too great claim perhaps to be taken seriously, although the statement was made in the presence of more than one who had achievements of his own in that particular field, with none denying his superiority. But this man is now organized. He has something better to think of, something higher toward which to direct his energies. He is one of the most active men in the strike, and is working as hard to punish the boss as he was in the habit of punishing the booze. He is no longer in that frame of mind

(Continued on page 36.)

# French Syndicalism in Perilous Condition

By E. MAST, Paris, France

THE labor movement of France is passing, at present, through a critical period the outcome of which may have a very great influence upon the future development of the labor struggles in that country.

French syndicalism always prided itself on being absolutely independent of any political party, and by its "declaration of principles" at the Amiens Congress—usually known as the Amiens Chart—proclaimed syndicalism not only as a means towards an end, but as the end itself. "Syndicalism suffices to itself" was the proud motto of the French labor movement.

But all this was before the war.

Then came the bankruptcy of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) at the outset of the war, when it accepted that war as a war of liberation and went in for the "sacred unity" with the ruling classes of France. Syndicalism, then—at the only period in its history when it should have shown its strength and its independence—did not seem to suffice to itself in the eyes of its leaders.

After the war, the germ of discontent began to spread faster and faster within the Confederation. The need of an independent labor movement was again the need of the hour, and about two years ago, the revolutionary opposition inside the CGT opposition that had organized itself into Revolutionary Syndicalist Committees within almost all the local branches of the CGT met in convention assembled. The CGT was then shamelessly expelling from its midst the unions that revolted against its reformism. The convention had no other way but to decide to leave the CGT and build up a new labor organization that would fight capital with better arms than the League of Nations and the International Labor Bureau of that League. The newly-formed body — the CGT **Unitaire** — managed to unite almost half of the old CGT membership.

### Politics Win

But it was very soon felt that this new offspring, which gave its adherence to the Red Labor International at the latter's second congress in Moscow, was being systematically driven into purely political channels. Simultaneously the Communist party of France introduced its system of encircling the labor movement by the setting up of "syndical commissions" attached to the local branches of that party whose members were to carry out, inside the unions, the decisions and the dictates of the Communist party. It soon became evident to the non-party elements of the CGTU that the latter was becoming nothing but a tool in the hands of the politicians.

French labor cannot bear politicians and political trickery. It is a tradition. It feels that they exist to mislead, that their aim is to use labor as a tool for their own ends.

It thus came about that very soon the revolutionary anti-political elements within the CGTU came to loggerheads with the majority of that body over the question of the independence of the labor movements from the encroachments of any political party.

The two congresses of the CGTU—at Saint-Etienne in June, 1922 and at Bourges in November, 1923,—both dealing with its affiliation with the Red Labor International and with the relations between syndicalism and party politics, clearly indicated the dangerous turn French syndicalism was taking by submitting to the dictates of a political party. This situation led to the anti-political element of the CGTU forming a revolutionary syndicalist minority whose watchword became: "Syndicalism in danger."

The struggle came to a head on January 11th. On that day the communists of Paris were going to hold a meeting in the "Maison des Syndicats" (Trade Union Hall), and speak upon labor problems. This incensed those of the French syndicalists who considered that the increasing impudence of the party men in hiring the very Trade Union Hall for the purpose of holding a meeting upon questions that were admittedly in the sole competence of labor organizations, had to be met by a vehement protest.

### The Cry of "Dictators"

The meeting was crowded. Passion rose high. The small handful of syndicalists—about 40 in all in a crowd of 3,000—was repeatedly provoked by one of the communist speakers, Treint, who pointed repeatedly at them, taunting them for their opposition and shouting at them, accusingly, "dictators," "dictators," "dictators." This seemed to have been a signal, because immediately afterwards shots rang out. Men began falling; two men, severely wounded, were transported to the hospital where they died shortly afterwards. About 20 others received more or less serious wounds.

A shout of execration rose from every corner of working France against this dastardly outrage. Upon investigation it was found that all the bullet marks were in the wall that sheltered the band of 40-odd syndicalists. Of the two workmen killed, one of them, **Poncet**, is an anarchist-syndicalist; the other—**Clos**—is a syndicalist metal worker, member of the revolutionary syndicalist minority of his union (the metal workers' union is under the control of the communists); all the wounded belong to the syndicalist group. It was thus clear to everyone as to where the shots came from and for whom they were meant.

The funeral of the victims was a pretext to get to Paris the representatives of all the oppositional groups within the CGTU and deliberate upon the attitude to be taken towards the meddling of communist politicians into labor affairs and towards

the CGTU itself which, by its silent connivance could not be considered otherwise than an accomplice in the tragic events of January 11th.

One salutary effect of the tragedy was that at a council meeting of the Administrative Body of the Trade Union Hall it was decided that the hall will, henceforth, be let only to bona-fide labor organizations!

### Opposition's Program

The provisional delegates of the oppositional groups inside the CGTU met on the day of the funeral and passed a general resolution upon the events within the labor movement of France leading up to the tragedy of January 11th. Here are some of the more important paragraphs of that resolution:

"The Congress of the CGTU at Bourges has confirmed the hold of the Communist Party over the CGTU. In allowing a political party the possibility of conducting a specifically labor propaganda, the Executive of the CGTU has proved its powerlessness to carry out the syndicalist program which, more than ever, must be cleared of every vestige of party demagogy as nefarious to the working class as the theory of the common interests of classes.

"The Congress of Minority, painfully shocked by the tragic events that took place in the Trade Union Hall, confirm the declarations sent out to the press by its executive and frankly declares that it considers the Communist party as responsible for and guilty of the slaughter.

"Faced by the abdication of the executive of the CGTU before a political party which dares to speak and act on behalf of the working class; the Congress reminds the entire organized proletariat that such incidents are the logical and unavoidable consequence of the interference of political parties in the syndicalist world; they bring with them nothing but the germs of hatred and discord and reduce to naught the revolutionary spirit of the labor organization.

"But anxious, before everything, to save—as against the politicians—the higher interests of the working class, and in full accord with the Amiens Chart which invites all the workers, without distinction of opinion, to group themselves in the union, the Congress declares that labor unity alone is capable to carry out the labor onslaught against the employers and cleanse syndicalism from any political influence.

"Taking into consideration that neither the formula of united front, nor that of the open door, promulgated by the two Confederations, could lead to such unity, the Congress empowers its bureau to get immediately into touch with the two CGT's and demand from them the calling of a Congress of Unity as the only means to carry out the general unity of the working class." . . .

### Unity at All Costs

It will be seen from these excerpts the main plank of the labor movement in France is, at present, that **of unity at all costs,** because it is felt that since the existence of the two Confederations, there has been no struggle worthy of the name against the common enemy—Capitalism—but just wrangling and squabbling within one's own ranks.

But it was needed that shots should whistle through the air and that killed and wounded should be carried out, to make the French syndicalists aware of the danger they are running when politicians begin to meddle in labor problems. Now that fratricidal blood has flowed, the workers of France are beginning to get restless about the fate of their unions and are looking for a way out of the dilemma that is before them: reformist, with no fighting backbone, CGT—or dictatorial, political, under the heel of a politicians' party, CGTU?

The situation called out by the tragic scenes of January 11th has strengthened the hands of those who were claiming independence from either of the two Confederations, and a spirit of autonomy is now blowing inside the ranks of French syndicalism. The old CGT has become a body unable to undertake any fighting on behalf of the working class; the CGTU, entirely controlled by the communist party, sees every struggle in the light of the conquest of power by that party . . . on behalf of the proletariat!

The true revolutionary elements of France are thus between the devil and the deep sea. They entrench themselves behind autonomy, with the hope that they will become the ferment that will raise the future unity of the French labor movement outside politics and politicians, based upon the complete independence of syndicalism, and upon the capacity of the latter to undertake not only the abolition of state and wage system, but also the reconstruction of a federalist commonwealth of labor.

### Disgusted

A great many workers who until now refused to consider the danger of politics, are now disgusted. Many refuse to continue to pay their membership dues to their unions, under the pretext that their affiliation to the CGTU renders them responsible for the political line taken up by that body. The Council of the Paris One Big Union of Builders—the strongest and most revolutionary union within the Paris area— has resolved to withdraw from the CGTU and remain autonomous—i. e., independent of the two existing Confederations. Owing to this decision, the Industrial Builders' Federation of France (affiliated to the CGTU) in which the Paris Union of Builders is the largest and most important unit, is obliged to follow suit. It may be added that the great majority of branches of this Federation are wholly in agreement with the Paris branch.

We thus see that the wave for unity spoken of above—the main plank of the Revolutionary Syndicalist manifesto— is preceded by a wave of autonomy, of independence from both Confederations. This looks, at first sight, paradoxical. Let us just see how the events might develop within the early future:

In conjunction with the decision of the Conference

(Concluded on page 36.)

# What the Movie Photographed at Centralia, on Armistice Day, Nov. 11, 1919

## Pathé Agents Made Inexorable Record of Mob Attack on IWW Hall

BY RALPH CHAPLIN

STATE OF WASHINGTON )
ss
COUNTY OF LEWIS )

Walter Bland, being first duly sworn on oath deposes and says: That he is a citizen of the United States from 21 years of age residing in the city of Tacoma, Pierce County, Washington; that on or about the 15th day of August, 1920, while riding in a Northern Pacific train between the city of Seattle and Yakima, Washington, he had a conversation with a man whose name is to him unknown who stated that he was a traveling agent for the Pathe Film Company; that said agent of the Pathe Film Company stated to this affiant that he and his assistant were in Centralia on November 11, 1919, [redacted]; that they had been instructed to have their camera on North Tower Avenue opposite the I.W.W.Hall to take pictures of the raid; that in pursuance of said instructions said agent and his assistant were located opposite the I.W.W.Hall on Tower Avenue and had taken pictures of the raid, said pictures showing the soldiers rushing the hall and showing soldiers dropping who were shot while breaking into the hall; that immediately after said raid said agent and his assistant were thrown into jail and kept there six hours; that their camera, worth approximately Seven Hundred and Fifty Dollars ($750.00), was completely destroyed and demolished and after their release they were ushered to a train and told to leave town immediately; that thry did leave town without any resistance whatsoever.

Further affiant sayeth not. [redacted]

Walter Bland

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 6th day of July, 1921.

NOTARY PUBLIC IN AND FOR HE STATE OF WASHINGTON RESIDING AT CENTRALIA.

THE volley that was fired in self defense by the embattled loggers consumed but a second or two of time. Omitting the pursuit of Wesley Everest and the ensuing death of Dale Hubbard the actual shooting was over almost as soon as it started. The shooting at best was ghastly enough but it might conceivably have been worse. It is hard to set bounds to desperation and there were only two really desperate men among the loggers, Wesley Everest and Hanson, who escaped. In view of the provocation it is surprising there were not more like these two. Had the majority of the loggers been in the frame of mind of Everest and Hanson the entire group would no doubt have taken a stand, Alamo like, and fought until the last man was dead. But as it happened things worked out differently. The majority of the loggers felt justified in defending their lives and their hall as they did. Having acted within their legal rights they felt they had nothing to fear in court—if justice were accorded them.

By one climacteric and tragic act they had called attention of the world to the unrebuked and unpunished mob lawlessness that had been directed against their organization for months and years. By resorting to this desperate measure they had achieved all that they wished to achieve. Had their minds and hearts, as was claimed, been set on bitter and remorseless revenge more members of the mob would have died than those whose names are

recorded. The act of the loggers was not only an act of self defense; it was an act of protest as well. By exercising restraint they showed the public that wanton killing was far from being their purpose.

The above facts were plainly evident to all fair-minded persons who attended the trial. It was facts like these that the prosecution and the Judge sought constantly to cover up and confuse. And it was facts like these that the defense attorney, using all means at his disposal, attempted to bring to the attention of the jury.

### Unanimous Testimony

One of the outstanding features of the courtroom testimony was the unanimity of nearly all witnesses regarding the firing following the attack and not preceding it. Discounting, for the sake of argument, the testimony of the loggers themselves on the ground that it might be "self serving"; there still remains the testimony of numerous impartial eyewitnesses who viewed the parade from various points along the line of march. This testimony was never successfully rebutted in the courtroom. In addition there was the testimony of legionaires and paraders who, in justification of their manhood and honesty, were impelled to testify for the defense. Besides this—and even more convincing—are the damaging admissions of guilt which Attorney Vanderveer wrung from the reluctant lips of witness after witness for the prosecution.

Starting with the somewhat flippant admission of Dr. Bickford, it may be safely said that the case for the defense might have been proved under ordinary circumstances out of the mouths of the prosecution's own witnesses.

It must be borne in mind that everything the jury learned, or could learn of the facts of the case was from verbal testimony—one side claiming one thing; the other another. The jurymen were high-strung, nervous and impatient for facts—tangible facts; and they were given little else to consider but words. Out of these words—this veritable deluge of words—these twelve men had to form a picture in their minds of the actual happenings of November 11th. The facts were simple enough, but it was a case of "not seeing the forest for the trees." Also the judge seemed determined that they should not learn of the facts.

### Positive Evidence

In these days of mechanical progress it often happens that evidence of a positive and definite character can be offered for the consideration of men in the jury box. Many ingenious and scientific devices and processes have been invented to prove innocence or guilt with a fair degree of certainty. The fingerprint system is pretty well established. Many a man has been convicted or acquitted by the silent testimony of "thumb prints on the scenes of crime." "Here is the gun or knife that did the job," the jury is told, "and on it the impression of a whorl or loop identically the same as or altogether different from the index print of the defendant." If the fingerprints are not forged, their evidence is considered valid and the jury influenced accordingly. The dictaphone has been used to good advantage, and the photograph also.

In the Mooney case both of these wonderful devices were used to show that Mooney was framed and that he could not possibly have been at the place the prosecution claimed. In the Sacco-Vanzetti case enlarged photographs of the barrel of the Sacco gun prove beyond doubt that it is of different caliber and could not therefore have fired the bullet which killed the man for whose life he is asked to pay the extreme penalty. In the Centralia case little technical evidence of this kind was submitted. One instance, although of comparative unimportance, is worthy of note. It may help to indicate the value of weightier things which were not permitted to be given to the jury at all: Earl Watts and Ben Casagranda were shot, the prosecution claimed, while standing around the corner from the IWW hall. Both were shot with hard nosed bullets. But Attorney Vanderveer from the prosecution's own witnesses had established the fact that the only hard nosed bullets used were fired from the inside of the hall. This would put the prosecution, if it wished to press its contention, in the impossible position of claiming that these particular bullets swerved from their natural course, followed Watts and Casagranda around the cornor and there did what bullets are supposed to do. Evidence of this kind is conclusive. It enables the brain of the juror to grasp the image. It makes the fact almost visible. It enables one side or the other to demonstrate its case clearly before the jury and to build up a true picture of the point or points in dispute.

### Eloquent Testimony

Photograph, fingerprint and dictaphone are considered strong evidence. When genuine exhibits of this sort are placed before a jury they reveal more eloquently than words the facts of the case. The word "genuine—" is used advisedly, for, with the exception of fingerprints, such evidence is almost impossible to fake. There is but one thing on earth that would make more unanswerable testimony as to the truth or falsity of conflicting claims in a court room—the moving picture. A full sized, life-like reproduction on the silver screen of a man committing a crime would convict that man before any jury in a minute. The identification would be positive. It would remove all doubt. Also it would free an innocent man unjustly accused, because the jury, unconfused by verbal testimony, could see in a flash the difference between the man on trial and the man who did the job. A burglar, for instance, would not relish the idea of the jury viewing a moving picture of himself crawling out of a certain window with a bag full of swag. And if the burglar, or one of his pals, could lay hands on that reel of film before the trial, they would be likely to try to destroy it. This brings us to one of the most dramatic incidents in the history of the Centralia Conspiracy—the roll of film taken

during the raid and afterwards destroyed by men who feared to have their dark deeds come to light!

**Movie Shows Attack**

Strangely enough the defense almost secured cinematographic evidence of the mob attacking the hall to present to the jury. This would have done in a minute or two what thousands of words of evidence were unable to do—brought the actual happenings on Armistice day before the eyes of the jury. It would have saved weeks and months of the jury's and every one else's time. It would have established the innocence or guilt of one side or another in an incredibly short time.

How the moving picture machine happened to be stationed opposite to the union hall on Armistice day and who sent it there is another story; the fact remains that the machine was there. Some enterprising director of the Pathé Corporation in the northwest had dispatched an operator and his assistant to the IWW hall in anticipation of the raid. And the Centralia Armistice Day raid had been expected for some time even in Seattle. No doubt this director sent the movie man to Centralia just as he would have sent one to a town that anticipated a flood or one that stood in the way of a forest fire. The catastrophe might not be serious, and then again it might. You never can tell. And it's good business to have your man stationed where things are likely to happen.

Somehow or other, moving picture managers—the kind who feature weekly news stuff of the spectacular kind—always manage to get in on the ground floor. Their "nose for news" invariably leads them to get the material that will give the public a "kick." Whether it be a mine explosion, a train wreck, a booze raid or a marriage of distinguished social parasites, the movie camera always is found sticking its inquisitive nose into the scene. And so it was at Centralia.

The Pathé man, in all probability, was not aware of the fact that the mobsters intended the raid to result in tragedy. No doubt he believed the legionaires would merely "roughhouse the Reds a little," and let it go at that. Newspaper reports of incidents of this sort had been appearing with monotonous regularity; they were fast becoming too stale to feature. But a moving picture of such a patriotic ceremony (with appropriate captions) would make a real hit. There could be for instance the neatly dressed and firm-faced legionaires entering forcibly the dark den of iniquity and dragging its occupants into the light of day. A close-up could show a laughing soldier holding a ragged logger by the scruff of the neck and saying, "Get out, you Bolshevik; there's no place in this town for you." This picture would have tickled the funny bone of whatever good citizens were in the audience. Main Street would have applauded heartily—the women and the men and some of the kiddies.

All this might have been, and no doubt would have been, had the movie man guessed right. But he didn't guess right. How was he to know that the paraders carried ropes and that their purpose was sinister? How was he to know that instead of the customary quasi-comedy of 100 percent militant there was to be tragedy in the grimmest sense of the word?

A reproduction of one of the affidavits giving hitherto little known facts about the movie camera and its operators is reprinted elsewhere. It is noteworthy of serious consideration. The mind cannot help but dwell on what a convincing and unanswerable bit of evidence this reel of film would have made for the defense. . . . .The parade passing and returning to the hall; the legionaires bunching up, rushing the hall door and crashing it open with blows . . . A bewildered pause, men dropping in their tracks. . . .And all the time the movie machine turning inexorably—recording a truth that could not be gainsaid.

Some reader may say the above, perhaps too plausible outline was sketched only from disputed verbal testimony given in court, and that this remarkable film, had it not been destroyed, might have shown the very opposite—the loggers shooting the paraders down in cold blood. Then why, I ask, were these films destroyed by certain dignitaries of the City of Centralia, and why was the camera wrecked and its operators driven from the city as soon as it became known that the pictures had been taken. Only guilty men had reason to fear those pictures. The defense did not fear them. The defense would have welcomed them gladly and staked its whole case upon them without fear or reservations. We are positive that those pictures would have been worth the lives and liberties of eleven innocent men if they had not been destroyed in order to cover up the action of the real Armistice Day criminals.

Let the prosecutors explain to the Centralia jurymen and to the world why these films were destroyed!

## STRIKES IN NEW YORK

Strikes in New York in 1923 involved 122,179 workers and caused a stoppage of work totalling 1,009,520 working days, according to the report of the bureau of mediation and arbitration, state industrial commission. One hundred five strikes are recorded, in which ten or more laborers were involved. Of the strikers, about 10 per cent, or 12,000, were women. More strikers emerged from the needle trades than from any other industry, it is asserted.

Go west, young workingman!—and get arrested for "criminal syndicalism" whatever that is—whenever you go on strike for higher wages and better conditions.—**Covington Hall.**

"Dead men tell no tales." Say, bo, did you ever listen to Lloyd George and Hughes laying out a moral issue? If you did, you wouldn't talk thataway.

# Training for Freedom

(Continued from page 30)

which made the booze necessary to him. He is no longer dispirited, hopeless, with nothing to look forward to but slavery, and nothing to look backward on but the unrequited toil and the fleeting emancipation from capitalism which comes in bottles. He has been active and like hundreds of others has not touched one drink since the strike began, and he will not, for no one in the strike zone would sell him a drink; he has been so active in making the bootleggers obey the laws of the province as long as the strike lasts at least.

### Can't Fight Booze and Boss

Five men could and did do more drinking before the IWW started organizing in the strike zone, than two thousand five hundred organized men are doing at the present time. "You can't fight booze and the boss" is the motto, and fighting the boss is so much more interesting, so much more elevating and important that the booze is forgotten even by those who in the past were lethargic, fought the booze, their own interests, everything but the industrial robbery on the job.

I have seen men who had broken solidarity, and whose cards had been taken away from them for drinking cry like children to be given back their cards. Invariably they were told that the cards would be given back when the strike was over if they remained sober for the remainder of the strike. That a card which merely represents the power to struggle for higher goals for the workers, to sacrifice for an ideal, should mean so much is itself an indication of the nobility which the IWW is developing in the working class, and the grandeur of the movement which the card represents.

In addition to being the greatest of all labor organizations because it is the weapon of Labor united as a class, the IWW is also the greatest moral movement in the world. It is developing not the slave morality of a slave society, but the morality of the future when man can be his highest and greatest because he is free and fitted for freedom.

### Victory Over Themselves!

Victory over the bosses in the strike area would be merely a small achievement in comparison with the victory that the men on strike have achieved over themselves, the petty prejudices that divided them along lines of nationality, language and creeds and that disorganization and bickering which was holding them in slavery. Now they are united, and in such unity, and the vision and ideals that actuate them is the hope of the working class of the world. In the chaos and welter of a money crazed industrialism they have developed the spirit that fits them for freedom. This is the crowning achievement which makes other achievements possible. This is the lesson of the present strike, its grandest victory. No other can compare with this.

# French Syndicalism

(Continued from page 32)

of the Revolutionary Syndicalists on the day of the funeral of the victims, an invitation was sent by the bureau of that Conference to the two Labor Confederations, asking them to call a united congress of all the unions of France with a view of re-establishing one single national organization. The invitation concludes with the following words:

"We consider it useful to inform you that in case of refusal (to call a congress), the minority, anxious as it is to reach its aim and placing itself above all questions of 'shop,' reserves itself the right to consult directly all the labor organizations and to convene if, as it hopes, the local bodies will increase their desire for unity, the Congress which you will have refused."

It does not seem probable that either of the Confederations will reply with a plain affirmative. Each of them will put certain conditions which the other side will be glad to declare unacceptable.

What will happen then?

The minority will, as it threatens, itself call together the Congress and will invite to it all the unions of France over the heads of the two Confederations.

### Another Confederation?

There are sufficient chances to believe that most of the unions, thus invited by a "third party," will remain true to their respective National Executive Committees and will, therefore, refrain from attending the hybrid Congress. The only practical result of such a Congress would be—**the creation of a third Confederation of Labor!**

Too many cooks spoil the broth, we are told. Three Confederations will certainly not endanger the existence of French Capitalism!

But it will become clear to all concerned—at least to those who are earnestly striving towards the building up of a powerful labor organization capable of withstanding the onslaughts of reactionary France—that the fusion, under the guarantee of absolute independence, of all the unions of France into one great National Confederation of Labor, is the only remedy of the French working class.

The next few weeks will clear the atmosphere and will show whether the creation of a third Confederation will be averted by bringing the CGTU to its senses by a return to the revolutionary traditions of French syndicalism, or whether the wave of autonomy will sweep over the whole country and compel the two existing Confederations to bow before the will of the workers to exclude definitely politics from their midst.

## MAY THEY INCREASE!

Our idea of a union man: The chap who says, "No, thanks, I know it's a great show and I appreciate your inviting me, but my union meets tonight and I make it a point never to be absent."

# WOBBLES

## SOME DECAY

It was a regulation company "blow-out." The superintendent, in the absence of the parasitic principal stock owner, who was in Paris enjoying himself in an entirely different way, was "doing the honors" i. e., acting as the royal patron to the employees present. He was passing out some sandwiches. Among the cheese sandwiches were several of limburger.

One of these the "super" handed to a Negro workman. He tasted it very gingerly and it could be seen he was having an awful struggle getting it down. Finally he asked, "Say, Boss, is this cheese really good?" The "super" reassured him and the Negro continued, "That's sure strange stuff. I wonder how they tell when it's spoiled."

At this Mike butted in: "Sure," said he, "they can never tell when anything is spoiled under the present system. Capitalism is limburger gone to decay, but the capitalists know it least of all."

## SOUND PSYCHOLOGY

Following a dinner of savants, a certain professor of psychology thought he would test a colored cloak attendant as to his memory. Although the professor pretended to have mislaid his check, the boy without hesitation handed him the right hat.

"How did you know this one is mine?" asked the learned man.

"Ah don' know dat, suh."

"Then why do you give it to me?"

"Cause you give it to me when you come in, suh."

## ANOTHER "ECONOMIC RETREAT"

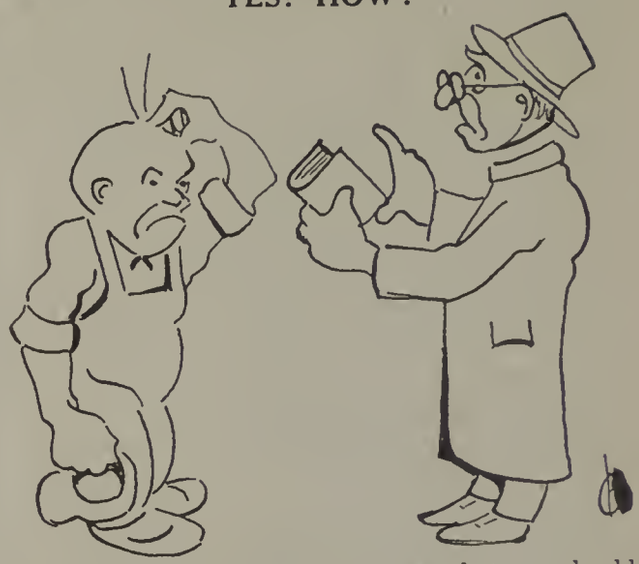
The speaker of the evening: I will answer the first speaker last as I want to take him up at length. Why, Comrade, you have forgotten your Marx or you never knew it. Marx doesn't say, . . . . And do you expect that by organizing the workers in industrial unions to be able to change the system? Why, there will still be the army, the navy, the police, who are going to fight you . . .

A voice from the audience: Yes, that's right. But when the comrades start a revolution, the government will at once pack and ship arms and ammunition to the Chicago office of the Proletarian Party, so that the comrades will have weapons to shoot down the army and navy with.

A laugh from the audience, and the speaker makes for the nearest stairway to avoid answering the usual after-the-meeting questions.—J. D. C.

## SUBSCRIBE FOR THE PIONEER.

## YES! HOW?



Preacher—The good book says that we should both work and pray!

Mike—Begorra, thin the good book is no good to me. Fur I hav no wurrck; so how in the divil kin I pray, thin?

## A DRAMATIC MOMENT

His jaw dropped.....

A tremor passed over his frame. He sat bolt upright in his chair with his fist doubled in his pocket—He turned deathly pale and shook like a leaf—"Great God," he said, "I lost that dime.....my last one!"

## NOTHING ALARMING

Walsh: "All the passenger trains in the country are going to stop tomorrow."

Clothier: "Good gracious! What's wrong now? It's surely not another strike?"

Walsh: "Oh, no. It's just to let the passengers get off."

## MARIONETTES

"Journalists are the tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are the jumping jacks. They pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities, our lives, are the property of other men."—**Jerome K. Jerome.**

## AN INTERNATIONAL CONUNDRUM

When is oil not a lubricant?

When it causes friction between nations.

# We Upon the Firing Line

By LESTER SWEET

COMRADES, can't you hear us calling,
Calling from the firing line,
Hear our voices echoing faintly
Through every age and every clime?

Comrades, we are gray with waiting,
We upon the firing line,
With a courage some call stupid,
Others designate divine.

From Europe's plains to Mexico's mountains
Winds and twists its changing way,
Now advancing, now retreating,
Now flares up, now dies away.

Here the bold slave fought his master,
Here daring serf fought feudal lord;
Now a thin, red line of workers
Challenges King Capital's horde.

Just beyond his servile followers
Beckons us a wondrous sight—
Marble structure, jeweled columns
Flicker in the fitful light.

We it is who best can view it,
We who bear the battle's brunt,
When the furious fires of conflict
Brighten up the space in front.

Hence has murderous Mars been driven,
Lean Poverty has followed him;
And that vile hag, old Prostitution,
Fled outward down the road of sin.

And there 'mongst palaces of marble,
Shall dwell a fair and noble race.
Music, science, sculpture, painting,
All shall beautify the place.

Look! along great Russia's vastness
See the thin, red line advance!
Where we thought the foe was strongest
And our old valiants had no chance.

Crash! the foemen break like thunder
And a mighty surging wave
Sweeps through all the earth, in wonder
Stirring each astonished slave.

Slaves who toil behind in shadows
With a thin, white mask upon the head,
Slaves who cringe before the trenches,
Though your brains be dyed in red.

Millions, look there! See the red line,
Reinforced a thousand-fold,
Despite the foemen's furious war cries,
Enter in the city's gold.

Hurry, Slaves, the line is broken!
Crowd them in their waning might,
Where now stands but one old warrior
Tomorrow let a hundred fight.

Forward, Slaves, the chance of centuries
Perhaps may never come again,
Throw your white masks to the ages,
Let your red blood leap. Be men!

See King Capital's minions, frantic,
Crazed with futile rage and fear,
Try to close the breach, gigantic,
While it widens far and near.

Let tomorrow's new light see thee
All upon the firing line,
Pressing in the jeweled city,
There to live true lives, divine!

■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

## SOME SUGGESTIONS

Anent party conventions and platforms let me suggest the following:

The Party Without a Name. (Call us whatever you choose.)

"We point with pride to—nothing;
"We view with alarm—everything;
"We pledge—anything you want."

The standard-bearer of such a party, running on such a platform, would sweep the country.

—W. G. Daniel.

## GOT HIS RIGHTS WRONG

Pat was on a sinking ship and was watching with interest the frantic passengers grabbing life preservers, putting them on and jumping overboard. "Shure," said he, "if everybody is stealing, I can too." Immediately he picked up a heavy piece of iron and jumped overboard with it.

## ZIPS FROM RADIO

Be sure you are right, then organize.

***

Sometimes you can believe the weather reports in the capitalist papers.

***

Those stories about Judas hanging himself and again about him falling down and his bowels bursting out must be all bosh. Judging by the number of traitors now-a-days he must have gone forth and multiplied.

***

When you see a hundred percenter put a clothes pin on your nose, the accent should be on the cent.

***

Deflation is the name of a new compound for reducing weight. It may affect the brain, though.

# The Miner's Dream

BY HAROLD ALLINGER

THAT vast parasitic organism that men call Capitalistic Society, has various strange methods of disposing of its human wreckage, after it has sucked the life blood out of its victims.

When the broken slave, his body weakened to the point where it is not possible to squeeze any more profits out of him, is told, curtly, that he is of no further use, as he drags his tortured body away from the machine, he has the choice of three alternatives. If he has raised a family and the members see fit, he may attach himself to them, with the accompanying humiliations that his position forces him to bear. Or he can go to the poor house; or he can become a beggar on the street. One of these ways are almost sure to be your end, fellow worker. Take your choice.

### With Spirits Unimpaired

In rare cases the victim, though ruined physically, still retains his spirit unimpaired, and resorts to desperate measures to revenge himself on a remorseless society, that has filched from him the rewards of a lifetime of labor. And others disdaining the insignificant pittance doled out in the name of charity, and realizing the folly of attempting to wreak their vengeance by individual action on the combined forces of society, relinquish entirely the will to live, and like the broken toiler in my story, seek only for a means to utterly efface themselves and hope in the silence of annihilation to win surcease from a world that gave them only disappointment, and robbed them of what they created.

My companion that spring night, by the camp fire in the forest, was a strange creature. His huge bony frame was twisted monstrously. One hand was twisted around so that when his arm hung at his side, the palm was outward with the thumb pointing back. And when he coughed, which was often, or when he spoke, you saw that the man was without teeth.

As I looked at him part of the line from an old poem came back to me across the years, describing a demon in Hell as he "toyed with a shrieking thing," and the thought came to me, that when the fiend had grown tired of the "thing," and threw it down, it must have resembled this man. Only another Hugo could do him justice.

Our meagre supper finished, we lay by the fire smoking, and my new friend discoursed on many things, till at last the thought that was uppermost in both our minds found voice in his tortured soul.

### A Great Chance

"Would you think?" he asked, "that less than two short years ago, I was as straight a man as you are. Yes, straighter! for you too have the bent shoulders of toil.

"You are a strong man, but I could have broken your back without much effort. I am not boasting of what has passed, I am speaking of things as they were."

Now no man likes to have his physical ability compared unfavorably with that of another, so I asked somewhat shortly, "Well if that is true how did you get this way?"

The horror on the far side of the fire laughed bitterly, and I shivered at the noise of it, there in the night in that lonely forest.

"I'll tell you in a very few words how I got this way. I was a good worker! I am not boasting this time either, God knows I am not.

"Yes, that was my reputation in every camp I ever worked in, for I was a miner. I know now that I was doomed to burrow beneath the surface of the earth, like a mole from the day of my birth; for I was born and raised in the mining camps and knew no other life.

"I have delved in the deep mines of Butte, and the 'hot holes' of the Comstock where the scalding water dripped on you incessantly. In Manhattan, Nevada, where the poisonous red arsenic stopes are like vast raw wounds in the world's living flesh.

"And always I chose the places of hardship and danger. Why?—you ask—why? Because they paid the best! Was there not a bonus, or higher wages where Death hid in a dangerous stope? Where a rock no larger then your head, if it fell from above, would change a man to a lifeless piece of clay?

"But falling rock is only one of many snares Death lays for the man who works underground. Some are slower but none the less certain in the end.

### A Living Corpse

"Lead, that finds its way into his blood, and twists him into a horrible, grotesque, toothless caricature of a man; gas that hovers unseen in the air of the drift: and most deadly of all the 'dry machine,' that chugging, roaring, insensate monster, that as it eats its way into the living rock, loads all the air with the dust of its endeavors, covering him who is at the same time its master and its victim, with a gray rock dust, and with every respiration the miner breaths in Death, for in a few years, often in a few months a strong, rugged man is changed to a pallid, sunken chested thing, a living corpse, a victim of the miners' consumption."

Once more that terrible cough, then a short pause, and my companion continued.

"Yes, I was a good worker, and I took a fool's pride in the reputation I had gained. But there was something else that drove me on. Only a dream? Yes, but what does any man strive for but that his dreams may be realized? My dream was to escape from the Slavery of the Pit. To live as I believe man was intended to live, on the top and not in the interior of the earth. I dreamed of breathing pure air, of drinking from clear running streams, and

feeling the warm sun on my face every day of my life. I wanted to have a home with bright faced boys and girls at my knee. And I believed I could win to that happy consummation by saving my wages and investing them. Ha, ha.

"Why should I recount to you my many failures. How each time I had laid by a puny hoard, collected at the cost of every pleasure that is the birthright of youth, it disappeared, and I began again the heart-breaking task of piling up another heap.

"But ever my dream beckoned me on. Ever I should say, till the lead got me, and the teeth dropped from my shrunken gums, and my manhood was a memory. That was last fall, and I left the hospital in the shape I am in today, I left the hospital with the knowledge also that I had the 'miners' con' and had about eighteen months more of life.

"I see now, that my life was one long hellish joke, and that I was the butt of the jest.

"I can realize now that it is too late; that the only way I could have helped myself was to have helped every other worker and accepted their help in turn.

"I know now, that the only way disease and death will disappear from industry is when profits are eliminated. The only way any worker can have a happy home is when every worker has one. That time can not come until they cease chasing the phantom of wealth by wages, and bend all their efforts toward establishing the Commonwealth of Labor."

My companion drew his threadbare coat closer about him, and again gave vent to that awful laugh.

"Yes; I was a good worker and you can see the results. But though I am feeble, my very weakness has been the key that set me free from the prison of the mine. Though burdened by disease it is the first time I have ever had a measure of liberty.

"This summer I intend to enjoy that liberty to the utmost, while the sun is shining and the streams are flowing; while the flowers are in bloom, and the woods are green. I have just enough left of what I managed to save through my lifetime of work to last me through the summer months, and I must satisfy the cravings of a lifetime before the snow begins to fall."

"But what of the winter?" I could not check the words.

At the question my friend laughed. That hideous laugh with a vein of madness in it.

"Why should I worry about the winter?" he cried. "Do you not know that a spoonful of cyanide is sufficient to end the cares, in the twinkling of an eye of any one who has grown weary of this existence? This winter holds no terrors for me. When the wind grows cold, and the snow begins to fall, what then is left for me but the poor house or the jail. But I will not go to either. I have enough cyanide to settle the winter problem for me."

My companion arose and shuffled away to where he had made down his bed. And I lay by the dying fire musing on the strange rewards the master holds out for the "good worker."

# Grounds for Encouragement

(Concluded from page 28)

in which the working class attitude will mean its life or death!

### Is Capitalism Prehistoric?

Is capitalism, as Mussolini contends, only in its prehistoric period, then its historic development will mean a more highly developed working class than has already appeared in its first twilight stages of growth! A more highly developed working class —that is already evident to all who think and thinking can anticipate the future!

Whether capitalism rises to greater heights or sinks into decay, working class solidarity is necessarily the one unavoidable feature of social evolution and social evolution is more of a necessity to the race than is capitalism, whether most highly or most poorly developed. Increased population and the danger of overpopulation will eventually require an industrialism and culture that is both collective and co-operative not only in operation, but also in ownership and control. Economic necessity, economic determinism, makes the latter one of the probable outcomes of the future.

And so does the changing viewpoint of the working class itself. Conditions, pre- and post-war conditions, have caused the working class to become more economic than political; and more technological than sociological. They scent the fact that economics and technology are more basic and important than are politics and sociology and that with their mastery through industrial union organization the mastery of all else is not only possible but certain.

Apparently, class-consciousness was never at a lower ebb than at present. But what is really the fact, is its high percentage amid such adverse conditions. The fair-weather revolutionists have deserted the revolution. So have the parlor and the political varieties. But the proponents of economic change grow and carry on despite all hell itself. And that is some reason for encouragement, also.

### Capitalism on Defensive

But the best reasons of all are to be found in the defensive tactics of capitalism itself. Everywhere capitalism bristles with militarism and force. Everywhere it crushes and intimidates; and lives in the very fear that itself creates! It was different only a quarter century ago. Then the proletarian revolution was considered as merely an academic theory, to be treated with disdain and laughed out of existence. Now it must be grappled with and **murdered** out of existence; i. e., got rid of by **every** and **any practical means** possible. Bribes, spies, jobs, fascism,—anything that will preserve and perpetuate capitalism is now resorted to!

However, that cannot go on forever. Labor notices the difference, and is encouraged by it. Capitalism now laughs on the other side of its face; and, in another quarter century it will not be laughing at all, but begging for its very existence. Times move and so does social development.

# Words of Cheer for the Pioneer

WRITING from Oklahoma City, Okla., Covington Hall says, "At Newllano, the Pioneer came in just before I left, but I did not have time to read it. It sounds strange, but one can't lay down an IWW paper there without someone grabbing it and carrying it off. Many complaints were made because the Wob papers were always carried out of the library. **This is a compliment to you all, I think.**"

***

Frank Jarvis pens these lines from Yakima, Washington: "As a member of the rank and file of the IWW, I would like to say a few words about our magazine. **If the January number could have been improved on, I cannot see how or where.**

"I intended when writing you about it to pick out some one article which seemed especially good. But, after reading from cover to cover, I saw it was not for me to judge, as every article is certainly 100 per cent.

**"What struck me most forcibly on opening the January number, and sure appealed to me, was the size, type and red headline of The Preamble. It has always seemed to me that the Preamble should always be in the most conspicuous place in all of our publications."**

***

Jim Manly, Missoula, Mont., mails in these words: "To my way of thinking, The Pioneer is getting better and better every issue. Keep it up!

**"In the January issue, 'What Might Have Been," by James Lance, is a hum-dinger. Let's have more stories like it; and it won't take so long to get what we, the working class, produce."**

***

Even from Liverpool, England, come these words of good cheer, sent by Joe Kennedy:—

"The Industrial Pioneer is well received here, the only difficulty being that it is a little expensive for the workers here, as their wages are all gone down to the starvation point.

**"But the fellows who get them tell me that they would do without a meal to get The Pioneer."**

***

Archie Sinclair writes from 'Frisco, "the golden gate," in "the golden state":—

"I want to tell you how much I think of The Pioneer. It's just fine! It is the only labor magazine on the market.

**"Until the people out here got accustomed to it we had some trouble selling it, but now the only trouble is in keeping supplied. Keep up the good work. While The Pioneer maintains the present standard it will be sold."**

***

Edward Lloyd writes the following letter from Cleveland, Ohio:—

**"Having a few minutes to myself, I thought I would drop a line and let you know that I am sending to the main office of Industrial Union No 440 for an increase of my order for The Pioneer.**

OAKLAND, CAL., PIONEER NEWSBOY

"I have been receiving twenty-five, but we will go one hundred per cent better and take fifty. I hope that by the end of next month we will go another one hundred per cent.

**"Everyone I have sold a paper to is very pleased with The Pioneer, and I was glad to see that a newspaper distributing agency is handling it in Chi.**

"I have a bunch of fellow workers here who go into all the news stores and ask for it, and they are beginning to wonder what it is. I think after a few more doses they will be ordering some of them. A non-member I sent a sample copy to in Midland, Pa., sent in a subscription.

**"Yesterday I received a letter from him asking me to send him an application blank for membership. He is a mechanical engineer and altbough I sent him a strong letter on Industrial Unionism, I am convinced that The Pioneer was the main factor in making him decide in favor of an application."**

## SELL A BUNDLE

The thing that gives the Saturday Evening Post its big circulation is its army of newsboys all over the country.

Help us interest the boys to sell The Industrial Pioneer. Get a bundle for some one of them to sell, and pay for it, until he gets going.

Or better still, tell them to write direct to The Pioneer. Bundles of five or more, 15 cents, returnable; 12 cents non-returnable.

# The White Collar Worker

By ARTHUR C. WARD

HARD may seem, and hard may be, the life of the migratory and "common worker," but compare him with his fellow slave of the white collar and it will strike the observer that there is another class whose efforts to keep the traditional wolf from the threshold are as great as those of his fellow workers in overalls. In California—"golden state," "the beautiful," land of injunctions, syndicalism laws, and penitentiaries; the haunts of virtuous movie stars, Better America Federations, just judges of the Busick type and these shining monuments of veracity and honor, Coutts, Dymond, and Townsend,—especially, the white collar workers are so thoroughly guarded against any possible intrusion of working class ideals that the labor movement as a whole is utterly lost to them, rendering them helpless to combat the almost intolerable conditions: unpaid overtime, and wages insufficient and inconsistent with the training and experience required of them.

The means of keeping this class free from the consciousness of its relation to all labor, from higher wages and better conditions? They are many and shrewdly applied. To get a clerical job one must answer advertisements, interview innumerable employers or pay a placement bureau from fifteen to thirty per cent of the first month's salary.

### What's Required

An advertisement usually requires that the applicant be ambitious, unafraid of work and must live home with parents. He or she must be ambitious (to prefer legendary "chances for advancement" to living wages), "unafraid of work," to take "an interest in the business" (at such wages); and to "live at home" because the applicant can then be dependent upon relations instead of the employers' insufficient wage.

If the job seeker chooses the interview he must submit to a searching verbal quizzing by the employer who conducts the examination not unlike a prosecuting attorney seeking to uncover some dark spot in the character or past of a defendant. The applicant is asked from what state he comes, what his religion is, what organizations (if any) he is a member of and what salary will "interest" him. If his figure is too high his name and address is placed "on file." If accepted he must fill out an application accounting for his time and employments for the previous five years, must be examined by a company doctor and pay him a fee, be instructed in his routine and be enrolled in the "employees' association."

The employees' association is a supposedly beneficial association which all large firms force their employees to join. It is supposed to give sick and death benefits, to arbitrate wage agreements and to carry on social meetings. However, when an employee becomes a claimant for benefits the issue is dodged and if possible ignored altogether. Sometimes the association, instead of paying death benefits conducts a collection as is the general rule in the Western Union Employees' Association. The "association" usually puts out an official organ which stresses "efficiency," "chances for advancement," and "are you worth the money your employer invests in you?" Besides these propaganda clubs supported by the workers under the direction of the boss and for the boss there is a bulletin posted in nearly every office of any size. These bulletins carry the same version the employees' association papers do. These bulletins are illustrated to impress the worker with the duty to the employer and usually carry mottoes like: "Have a kind thought for the man above you, a good action is better than a good word." Another bulletin with an illustration of a worker chasing brightly colored bubbles labeled "the new job" is intended to impress the slave with the futility of seeking better conditions by a change of jobs.

### Big Ability; Small Pay

The stenographer—that person who is supposed to be the very symbol of efficiency and speed—receives salaries so out of proportion to the amount of training, experience and ability that it is amazing how the number of girls and young men who are enticed into taking the stenographic courses is so large. A stenographer must have completed a two-year term in a secretarial or business school in addition to a regular high school education. On leaving business college the stenographer must start at from seveny-five to ninety dollars per month. A stenographer seldom gets more than $135.00 per month no matter how extensive his or her training or experience may be. When the costs of city living, carfare and ferries to and from the office, clothes, laundry bills and rents are taken into consideration it will be seen that the white collar slave of the city ekes out an existence probably as mean and more monotonous than the migratory worker of the camps.

Alas for the white collar man, his thoughts are planned even as his bosses plan and proscribe his work and very movements! His class will be the last, no doubt, to choose organization to misery because of the mental drugging they undergo each day.

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The Industrial Pioneer acknowledges receipt of two dollars, one from Covington Hall for the Lumber Workers' strike and the other from C. Q. Nelson for "the most needy fund." Both have been forwarded to Box 761, Cranbrook, B. C., Canada.

## BE A BOOSTER

Are you a subscription getter for Industrial Pioneer? Our subscription list is steadily growing.

Among our best subscription getters are the readers of the Hungarian IWW organ, **Bermunkas** (Wage Worker). They send in several batches every week. **Bermunkas** boosts The Pioneer in every one of its weekly issues.

Are you a Pioneer booster, too?

# Oil and the Germs of War

REVIEW BY GEO. WILLIAMS

THE world is swamped with books and pamphlets on every conceivable economic subject, and economics being a difficult study there are consequently many books of this trend that are trash. Besides, many writers with a real message on economics seem unable to serve what they have to say in an easy, digestible style, with the result that only a few are able to assimilate its contents. And even such books, it seems, require that the reader have more than common knowledge to understand them. Such books are wasted on the masses of people who have not the patience nor the intelligence to wade thru the statistics and professional phraseology that typifies this class of economic treatises.

However, there has appeared in circulation recently, a pamphlet by Scott Nearing, entitled "Oil And The Germs Of War." This pamphlet, as its name implies, deals with the dominating position that oil has acquired in international politics. It is presented simply and in such a comprehensible style that it is, as such, a distinct contrast to works of a similar nature. Nearing's pamphlet has the double value of telling you something and (by some unstandardized method) of keeping the facts in your mind ready to quote at any time. This is an achievement with any book and stamps it as worth reading.

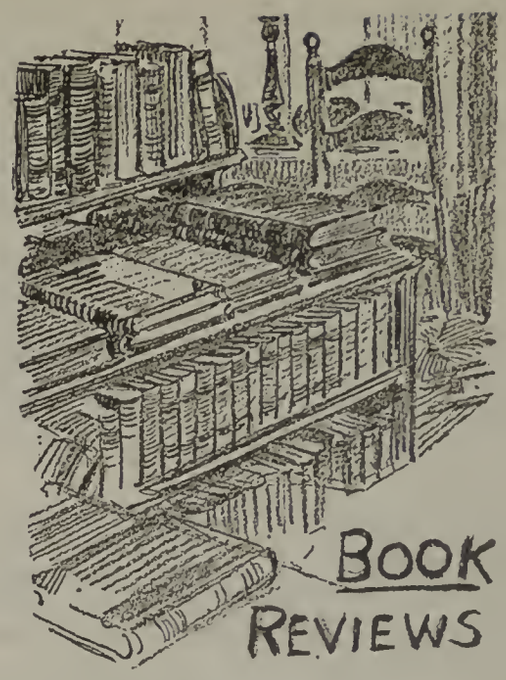
### The Magic Fluid

The economic interpretators of history having recorded gold, iron and other metals as germs of past wars are now learning that the magical fluid —Oil—rates as the first economic consideration in the manuevers of international capitalism.

Now, while oil may not have started the last world's slaughterfest, we are convinced entirely by Nearing's pamphlet that oil did end it, or, in other words, the lack of oil within the German lines and the ability of the Allies to get it in sufficient quantities, decided the victory.

But in the meantime, our friend oil, ending one war starts several more, and then yet more, until one is convinced that oil really did not stop the big fight but merely segregated it into many smaller wars, having in mind perhaps, to bring the contestants together again in one grand splurge of blood. When that transpires (which is as sure as death), what with former friends and allies(?) hacking at each others' throats and sending out their poison gas squadrons to pollute the atmosphere, perhaps then, some other force will have manifested itself; maybe an internationally industrially organized working class. But at present it **is OIL** and the ownership thereof that holds the reins of destiny in international politics.

We have known that agents of the large oil trusts have attended every so-called Peace Conference, and that the main (suppressed) topic was **oil.**




Only political platitudes reached the people and diverted their minds into a less inquisitive mood.

The dickerings of the various countries with Russia arose chiefly from oil considerations, France, the implacable enemy of the present Russian government has had injury added to rage by the clever soviet financiers who liquidated the old Russian debt to France by purchasing the Czarist bonds as ridiculously low prices. Yet France with all her animosity deals with Russia about a mysterious something. That something is **Oil.** And what of the latest scandal in American politics—**Oil again.**

The importance of oil comes, of course, because of its application to power machinery of various sorts: airplanes, automobiles, motor trucks, warships, submarines, are mostly all motivated by oil products. Thus the nation without oil is totally handicapped in the necessary implements of war; while nations controlling the supply of oil will dominate in international politics.

### Common Sense

That is common sense, and Nearing, to repeat again, tells it so that common folks can read and understand. And when common folks, or the working class, grasp the significance of these things, it will be only a short logical step to reason thus: If war and peace lie in the hands of those in control of oil, then we the workers who produce oil WILL organize and control the output of oil and the purposes to which it is put. In that way we can surely abolish all wars.

**(Oil and The Germs of War, Scott Nearing. Nellie Seeds Nearing, Ridgewood, New Jersey).**

# The Crane Doctor Who's an Ostrich

BY PETER FORBES

STRANGE things get into the articles from the pens of our celebrated writers In the Chicago American of January 18, Dr Frank Crane, advises us to "Get Away from The Cities Into The Open Spaces." And in so doing he makes it a little hard to tell whether he is trying to spring a little joke, or is merely a quack, as many other doctors are . Possibly he's not a crane, but an ostrich who sticks his head in the sand!

In trying to account for the presence of large numbers in the cities, the Dr. declares:—

"One reason, perhaps, is that the multitudes are cowardly and lazy. In cities they can easily go out and get good food, done up in attractive packages, at a grocery store. In the country they have to hustle for themselves—raise their own grain, and kill their own meat."

**Since when has it become possible for persons in the cities to go to the grocery store and get good food done up in attractive packages without having to hustle for it—excepting those, of course, that are fortunate enough to have others doing the hustling for them?**

Within the last ten days the Chicago-American printed a news item stating that in 1922-1923, 108, 000 persons had lost their farm holdings; and, according to John F. Sinclair of Minneapolis, President of the John F. Sinclair banking corporation, speaking in the interests of 310 small bankers in the four states of North and South Dakota, Montana and Minnesota, farm mortgages have increased there from $169,000,000 in 1910 to $530,000, 000 in 1920. The taxes paid by these same farmers increased from $90,000,000 to $206,000,000 and the short time loans raised by the farmers at high interest have swelled from $700,000,000 to $1,200, 000,000 in the same time.

In the face of these conditions, which are driving the farmers into the cities, the Dr., like the quack physician he appear to be, advises city people to go out into the open places! It sure is bad advice to give the inexperienced, when those of experience struggle so hard and fail!

I would suggest that Lloyd George and Dr. Crane go out into the open places and try farming for a few years and then come back and tell us how it is done! If they succeed they would thereby build a monument to themselves in the minds of large numbers of people that would rank equally with that of Moses, who also led his race out of the wilderness into the promised land. However, Lloyd George finds it more profitable to dabble in politics, while Dr. Crane finds it more profitable to write the twaddle with which his name is associated.

I believe that they both are well aware of the fact that to bring about the change that H. G. Wells speaks of, and to which the Dr. refers, necessitates a basic transformation in society—from the private ownership of land and industries to collective ownership; also from production for profit to production for use. But here's where the Doctor's malpractice comes in; he hasn't got the courage to say this; and so blames the drift from the country to cities, not on the economic forces that cause it, but on the victims thereof! Can such writers be aught else than jokes; or be taken seriously? Are they facing facts, or hiding from them?

I was born and raised on a farm in Central Illinois. Our folks finally moved to a small town, where I went to school for a year or two. Now, when I meet an old schoolmate and ask him or her where some of the others are, invariably the reply is, in some town or city. Why? Simply because there was no opportunity to **hustle** a living in the country!

# Protests Loss Personality

IN the October isue of the Industrial Pioneer was a reprint of a statement by a college dean on modern business organization. On the joke page is a good description of its human product in a story of a fellow who called himself a machinist because of working in an automobile factory putting on bolt number fourteen.

On bottom of business management reprint I attached the joke referred to (look it up in order to get the point). I gave the two combined clippings two titles respectively — "The Mountain heaved and brought forth a mole" (Old testament Bible) and "The Inverted Pyramid." Then wrote a brief note telling party clipping was mailed to that I hoped I did not offend by sending what I believe would interest him.

The interpretation of the above could be outlined thus—development of human resources of the nation is as important as conserving the natural resources of the nation; in fact, more important; for a nation is measured and strengthened according to the quality of its personal units.

If business, in the name of efficiency, backed by low cunning, **deprives a citizen of opportunity** to become skilled, resourceful, self-reliant and independent of any one boss or "one process" union for an existence, such employers commit treason as much as have the patriotic officials in depriving the navy of its fuel reserves. **Pennsylvanian.**

**BOOST THE IWW PRESS!**

**PUSH THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER**

**INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY**

**INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**

# Editorial

## THE DEATH OF LENIN

LENIN'S death has removed from life a statesman of immense ability and an idealist of the first water. A man of simple tastes, great courage and sacrifice, Lenin possessed a canny prevision, that prophetic foresight which enables true statesmen to anticipate and take advantage of remote developments. To these, he added the synthetic qualities of real leadership: the personality and power to weld and direct divergent tendencies together into one strong whole for definite ends. And his prevision and leadership combined made possible his constructive genius; those Napoleonic qualities that made him the foremost organizer of the Federated Soviet Republic of Russia.

Lenin was a great man who vindicated the great man theory. Around him and through him great achievements whirled and left their impress far beyond the confines of their origin and enactment. At the same time, Lenin also exposes the weaknesses of that theory. For, broadly speaking, it was not paralysis, but the burdens of dictatorship that killed Lenin. In him, the system which he personified broke down, as does, in the long run, every top-heavy system of excessive centralization. It broke down in Rome, destroying Rome as it fell. It broke down in Germany, in the labor movement particularly; crucifying the German working class. And now it is breaking down in Russia, killing Lenin.

Nor was Lenin, great man that he was, great enough to save the system of so-called workers' dictatorship itself. Born of a political misconception, namely, that all power resides in the state, the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat, which Lenin personified, had its course dictated by something even more powerful than the state, namely, economic development. Russia was and is most largely a dictatorship of peasant and foreign interests. They have deflected communist state craft and molded the Russian state in the likeness of their interests, just as state ownership under populism would make the proletariat subversive to the farmer interests, were such a thing ever possible here. To all of which Lenin, perforce, was compelled to give unwilling approval.

Of course, it is foolish to call Lenin, the destroyer of Russia and to hold him responsible for all of its misfortunes, including the famine and the serious impairment of its industries; though the excessive adulation of some of his admirers justifies such a course. Russia is far from being destroyed; and it is too vast a country for any one man to destroy. In addition, its misfortunes are not attributable to Lenin, but to the world war, blockade, white terror, drought, famine, and other evils too numerous to specify. It was these that not only overwhelmed Russia, but Lenin, too; making of him its heroic and yet broken leader—as heroic and as broken as is Russia herself. And praise, not condemnation, should be Lenin's just as it is bound to be Russia's. Amid terrific problems both have done nobly and well! The only misfortune has been, so far as the American workers are concerned, the attempt to fasten the policies born of Russian exigencies, on the labor movement of this country. To this is much misunderstanding due.

What can we say that would express our admiration for Lenin more than these words:

Oh, America, where is your Lenin?

Oh, for a Lenin here! Oh, for an American with the many sided genius and idealism of a Lenin!

## THE RISE OF RAMSAY McDONALD

THE rise to power of Ramsay McDonald does not seem to have affected the nerves of capitalism any. After the failures of both Lenin and Ebert, capitalism may have come to realize that economic determinism is, after all, the only voter worth while; and as he confers economic mastery on it by his ballot, there is nothing in the rise of a labor premier to be afraid of. Especially when such a premier is in favor of tory measures to relieve unemployment and is only representative of the left-wing of liberalism, owing his ascendancy to its trades and dickers.

Had Ramsay McDonald been a Bolshevist, projected into power as a result of social breakdown, his reception might have been different.. But as a creature of compromise, as a sort of coalition victor, a labor marionette, consulting with and fawning upon royalty, and acting in the interests of British imperialism primarily, what is there for the capitalists to fear in him? On the contrary, they can charge their own failures to Ramsay McDonald's alleged proletarianism and so give the cause of the workers another black eye, as they did in the similar case of Frederick Ebert before him.

Contrary to the capitalists, some workers see in the rise of Ramsay McDonald a recognition of the growing ascendancy of the proletariat. They believe Ramsay McDonald's election a great advance for the workers, reflective of its increasing strength. With English trades unionism at its weakest and the British army of unemployed at its highest mark, where is the basis for such belief? Is there increased strength in a weakened unionism and adverse economic conditions?

Evidently, history is repeating itself. Germany has taught capitalism the preservative value of political socialism of the moderate school—and Ramsay McDonald's political socialism is ultra-moderate, being essentially of the Fabian middle-class bureaucratic type, with its pronounced capitalist-liberal tendencies.

# Wilson

ELECTED to keep us out of war, he betrayed the confidence reposed in him.

Urging a "war for democracy," he later stated that that war was an economic and commercial war.

Espousing the new freedom, he fastened conscription, espionage, militarism, in a word, oppression, on this country, in the interests of the very capitalists against whom his creed was directed.

Posing as the world's idealist and liberator, he supported a league of extermination that persecuted proletarian internationalism, outlawed Russia and Germany, and promoted the most reactionary imperialism possible, namely, that of international capitalism.

Touring this country seeking vindication for his traitorous policies, the workers' heckling unnerved him, paralysis struck him down, and the electorate whom he once betrayed, subsequently repudiated him and relegated him to the obscurity from which Death has made it possible for him to temporarily emerge.

Dead, who among intelligent workers will think of Wilson if not to despise him?

A man who had the greatest of greatness thrust upon him, though most presumptuous he proved least equal to the opportunity.

His one virtue was his idealism, which his weaknesses always caused him to betray.

Wilson—forget him! There's great work ahead!

# Teapot Dome!

IN last month's Industrial Pioneer, in the article, "The Lumber Monopoly Exposed," it was shown that this gigantic and most profitable combination of capital was not founded upon superior ability, self-sacrifice, enterprise, or any other similar qualities, but upon bribery and theft; and, above all, upon corrupt corporate control of the machinery of government.

Now comes Teapot Dome, to show how other monopolies are built on precisely the same qualities of crookedness. Here we find the same imperilling of national and social safety for private profit through the corrupt use of corporate funds in high governmental places. Capitalists and governmental officials are all tarred alike.

Teapot Dome is also evidence of the one-hundred-percent patriotism of "our" capitalists and authorities. To pilfer the oil reserves of the nation for profit via corruption—'twas ever thus with the most strenuous flag-wavers and "red" hunters.

From the Roosevelts, Denbys and Daughertys, down to the Sinclairs and Dohenys, Teapot Dome proves once more the superlative scoundrelism of the superlative patriots.

THE WORKER

—THE FUTURE
CONQUEROR!

# Railroaders Boost Pioneer

FROM a railroad division point comes the following letter:—

For enclosed check of $4.00 please send to the following: (Here two names and addresses appear.)

This is from a conductor and an engineer who do their own thinking. There are many others that have not yet got to the point of getting under the burden.

**Believe me there are many of us that would belong to the IWW if we dared to, for we know that this is the only Labor Organization there is and ours is only an insurance institution or a banking affair.**

Please keep our names out of publication, as we are in hopes of helping the circulation of this fine monthly further in the future.

**Next Month! Next Month!**

**Articles on Coal and Oil Industries with Photos!**

# Is the Business Recession Ended?

THE technological journal, Management and Administration, discussing industrial and trade conditions, expresses the belief that the "period of recession appears to have ended." This will prove welcome news to those wage workers who are beginning to feel the pinch of unemployment. So also will the further statement, "the general upward movement should begin by March at the latest."

Management and Administration further declares "there must either be a recovery or we must proceed along present levels," which illustrates the uncertainty that always attends a business recession. There is no definite prophesy possible, as a result the technological prophet so qualifies his prophecies as to meet alternatives. But even there, he may be wrong, for conditions are just as likely to grow worse instead of better or remain passable. That's a way they have in periods of recession; the optimists to the contrary notwithstanding.

Management and Administration emphasizes the fact that there has already been "a very considerable recession in business." The Federal Reserve Board's index of production in basic industries declined from 146 in October to 144 in November. The index of production in manufacturing industries between the same months fell from 133 to 126. Railway tonnage declined from 126 in October to 125 in November, and then fell to 116 in December. (All these figures are based on the average for 1921 as 100.)

Management and Administration concludes "That there has been a sharp decrease in the quantity of goods produced is apparent, and a further decrease in the production in basic industries is likely. In view of the danger of overproduction which existed during the first half of 1923, however, this decrease is wholesome and may be considered as a necessary correction and adjustment in the industrial mechanism."

### Is There a "Correction"?

But is it a "correction"? The writer has lived through four recessions, depressions, crises, and panics, as they are variously called, and any talk of "correction" seems amusing to him. Each one appears to be worse than the other, creating war and nearly throwing civilization into the scrap heap, as a climax. Yes, it's "some correction" that the industrial mechanism undergoes. It reminds us of the lady who is certain that her latest operation is the last and the best of the half-dozen or more that she has already undergone, with worse results to herself each time. There's no lack of optimism, but the evidence is wanting.

Take Leland Olds, industrial editor, Federated Press, for instance. Contrast his views with those of Management and Administration. Says he:

"Difficult times ahead in which business men struggle to force business to hold its own is our forecast for 1924. Employment with some seasonal variations will gradually decline. Wage reductions will slowly overtake and pass wage increases. The end will be a new regimentation of the American working class in huge semi-skilled mass producing units like Henry Ford's in this country or the great Ruhr industries in Germany.

### "Difficult Times" Ahead

"The difficult times will not necessarily produce a financial crisis except for numerous individual concerns which still maintain their partial independence of the financial dynasty. These will be forced to choose between absorption into the great combines or financial ruin. In the process, labor's standards will be depressed and its independence curtailed.

"This forecast is based upon a review of the following facts:

"(1) The year 1923 has been one of forced business and industrial activity. Full industrial activity has been called forth by an investors' rather than a consumers' demand. The result has been further overdevelopment of the majority of industries similar to that which produces the cutthroat competition preceding the formation of giant trusts in the steel and oil industries.

"(2) Contrary to most forecasts of a year ago the peak of industrial activity was reached in April, since when there has been a very slow but real decline in industrial activity and a growth of unemployment. As a result of our immense gold surplus and the federal reserve banking system the passing of prosperity appears as a gradual fading rather than a crisis.

### Increased Labor Supply

"(3) The steady increase in labor supply resulting from a net immigration of over half a million, coupled with a migration from country to city of at least double that number has raised the number of applicants for industrial jobs until they largely exceed the demand of employers. The steady introduction of labor saving machines and efficiency methods is accelerating this process. Only a successful fight for materially shorter hours can counteract this tendency toward part time and unemployment.

"(4) The improvement in domestic demand for the products of industry has been exaggerated. The real increase in the farmers' purchasing power is nearer $200,000,000 than the $2,000,000,000 commonly described in business propaganda. Labor is not spending such wages as are left after the landlord has made his grab; the lesson of 1920-1921 is still fresh. This is shown by the increase in savings deposits.

"(5) In spite of higher prices the volume of wholesale trade in the New York federal reserve district in November showed a decline over the same month of the previous year. The decline from

October was 24 per cent while the normal decline is only 18 per cent.

"(6) The possible recovery of Europe is no longer recognized as a sure cure. Business men are by no means sure what effect this will have on American industry. The fact that the United States is now a creditor nation coupled with the vast expansion of Europe's productive power may cause Europe to come in not as a market but as a brutal competitor for our own domestic market as well as for the markets of Asia, Africa and South America. Low wages and long hours in Europe are a serious threat to the position of the American worker.

"(7) Business men feel that a period of "difficult times" is coming. They are bending every effort to defer those evil times as far as possible by forcing business to the best of their ability. But the powers that be know that such times must come and welcome the changes which will result. Generally speaking 1925 is looked upon as the probable time when they will arrive.

"(8) This situation was bound to result from the monopolization by a small group of private owners of all that each country produces over and above a bare subsistence for the producers. The surplus is collected by so-called protective tariffs and by excess profits and interest charges which so raise the cost of everything that the products of one group of workers will exchange for an unduly small proportion of the products of other groups of workers. This appears to the farmer and the wage earner as an increase in the cost of living, that is, as an increase in the amount of his labor which he must exchange for the bare essentials of life. If the rights of this small group of private owners to all the surplus could be eliminated the excess productivity of the modern world could be absorbed without creating unemployment, by the establishment of vastly shorter hours or a wider diffusion of comforts, or both."

In the meanwhile, what is there left for the workers to do, but to organize to the utmost, pending the coming of these "difficult times"? How else can they secure "the establishment of vastly shorter hours or a wider diffusion of comforts, or both"? How else can they prevent their own complete dehumanization in the regimentation plans of big capitalism?

Organize, workers! Organize not only in your own defense, but also for your own emancipation! Lose no time! Do it now!

### A SECOND EDEN

By RALPH JOHNSON

Do you wish this world were better?
  Then we'll tell you what to do:
Join the union of the workers,
  Help to oust the greedy few.
Rid your mind of selfish motives;
  Let your thoughts be clean and high;
You can make a second Eden
  Of this world you occupy.



## History and Civics

(Continued from page 8)

teaching profession been wedded to authority and conformity, it possesses no capacity for leadership. Our educators are a species of "domesticated animals"—with the psychology that accompanies these products of agelong submission and dependence. The real hope of education lies rather in the rise to power in the social body of the world's producers: the men and women who are closest to the soil and toil of civilization, the men and women whose enslaved lot makes conformity mean death and revolution mean life: hope lies in the rise of this class to supreme power and with that supremacy the elimination of all classes based on economic domination —the taking of the world's destinies once for all out of the hands of ignorant and cunning gamblers for the stakes of wealth and power for the few at the expense of the many, and the assumption of these powers by those whose very training in struggle has dictated a socially conscious partnership of all producers in the assurance of opportunity and well-being for all.

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The I.W.W. press consists of the following 12 publications in ten different languages:

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Drop a postal for sample copies.

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## *Remember the California Boycott*

*It Is Nothing to Sneeze at!*

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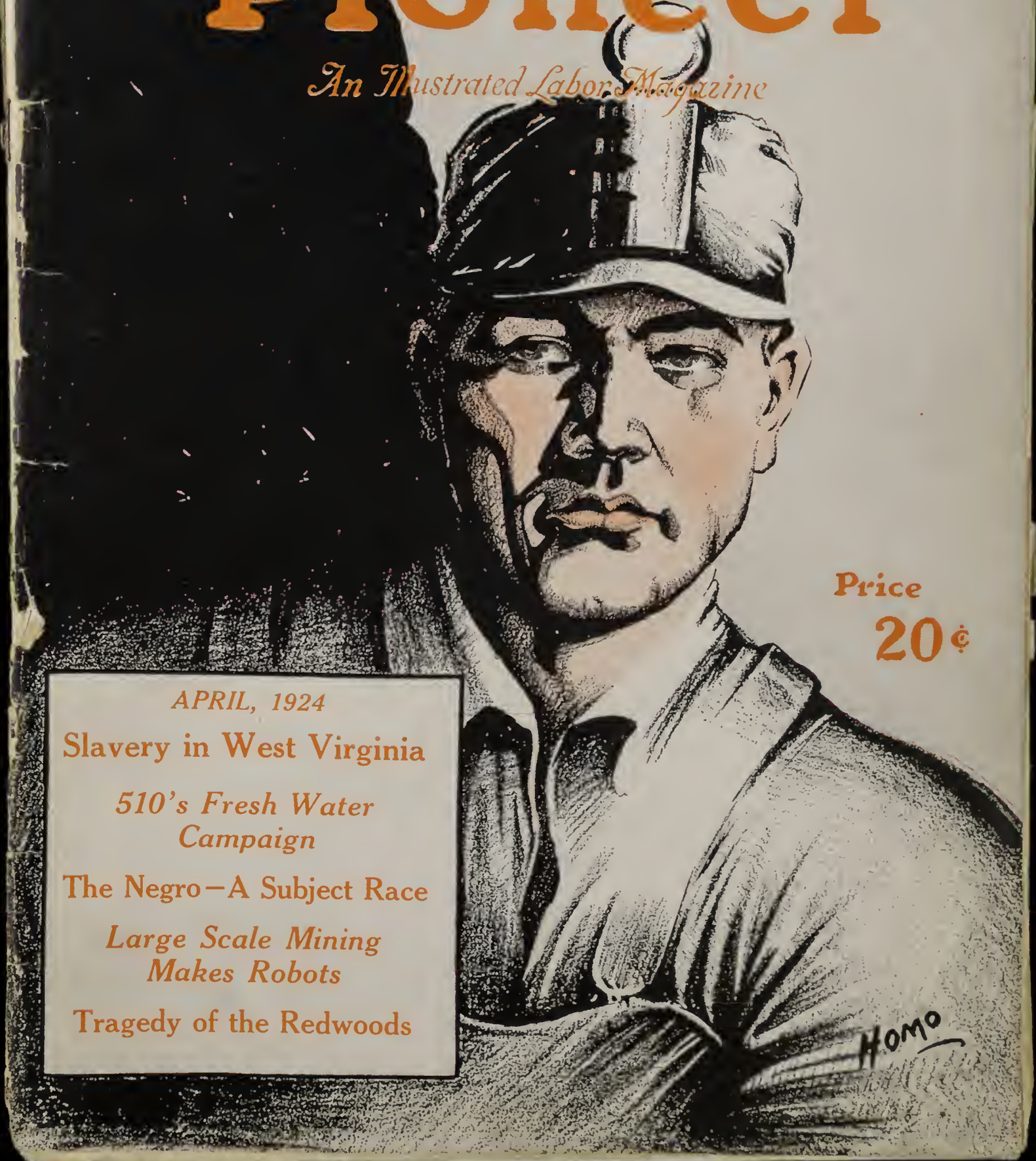
An Illustrated Labor Magazine

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APRIL, 1924

Slavery in West Virginia

*510's Fresh Water Campaign*

The Negro—A Subject Race

*Large Scale Mining Makes Robots*

Tragedy of the Redwoods

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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Edited by John A. Gahan

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# The Battle of Passaic

By JIM DARCY

*"In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold;*
*Greater than the might of armies magnified a thousand-fold.*
*We can bring to birth the new world from the ashes of the old,*
*For the Union makes us strong."*

**BITTER class war is raging in Passaic, with the martial strains of this famous Wobbly song rising mightily from the throats of 12,000 wool and worsted mill strikers who have risen from the mire of dumb, degrading poverty and are in revolt for higher wages and other demands.**

**With heads of families regarding themselves fortunate if they were making $22.50 a week, and a large number receiving as low as $15.00, it will be seen at once that the strike is a desperate blow for elemental necessities. In spite of living costs constantly going up, wages were cut ten per cent last autumn, and the workers began to organize.**

**In the early part of February the 5,400 workers employed by the Botany Mills came out, and before another week had passed the Garfield Worsted Mill and the Passaic Spinning Company were struck. Shortly after this the Forsten-Huffman Mills spinners joined their striking fellow workers of these other plants, and one week later the Gera Mill workers walked out.**

This kind of solidarity enraged the mill owners, and at the sound of the Wobbly war songs the "bulls saw red." Followed the usual scheme invoked for such situations the bosses ordered the police to use their clubs and smash the life out of this rebellion. A large parade of strikers marched from Passaic through Clifton and Garfield where some of the mills are located. At the Ackerman bridge between the latter two towns they were met by the police who rushed the crowd of men, women and children clubbing indiscriminately.

The parade was a peaceful demonstration, in which there were even baby carriages pushed by mothers. However, the police exist to serve industrial autocracy. In this case their reprehensible service was so vigorous that even a part of the conservative press in near by cities protested editorially.

More important, though, was the electrifying effect this savagery had on the strikers. No longer would they struggle simply against the wage cut. They formulated the following demands and presented them to the mill masters:

1. Ten per cent increase over the old wage scale.
2. Return of money taken from them by wage cut.
3. Time and a half for overtime.
4. A 40-hour week.
5. Decent sanitary working conditions.
6. No discrimination against union workers.
7. Recognition of the Union.

Demonstrations of mass picketing brought new police onslaughts. This time clubs were supplemented by tear-gas bombs in an unsuccessful attempt to disperse the pickets. But when the tactics of police violence reached this disgraceful extreme the World War Veterans came to the strikers' aid, furnishing them with gas masks and steel helmets. Thus are the devices of militarism pressed into service in modern class struggle.

Not only have the police been used against the strikers, in the ways already described, but fire department equipment has been used. Water driven with terrific pressure through fire hose nozzles has been poured on the massed workers. But the flame of revolt against their evil conditions of existence has leaped too high; it is too big and strong, to be extinguished, and only grows more intense after these savage assaults.

There are a number of Wobbly strikers who are doing much to sustain the fighting morale, and to promote the solidarity so essential to victory. In the great textile strike at Lawrence in 1911-12 the I. W. W. succeeded in welding together the workers of many nationalities and putting up a battle that was of worldwide interest. But the workers later forgot the One Big Union and drifted apart, easy prey for their trustified masters.

Mill owners fear that 40,000 silk workers of

Passaic and Paterson may join the strike. Add this large number to those already striking and an industrial contest of great magnitude would be in progress. In the strike it was early seen that old trade lines must be torn down in order to obtain the requisite solidarity. Tactics that have so long been advocated by the I. W. W. were advanced and adopted. The result is that more than 12,000 strikers are making a united stand animated by class consciousness.

Would you witness the misery of the mill slaves? Then come to Passaic's filthy streets lined with decrepit tenements and derelict homes, where the workers pass their lives when not sweating in similarly vitiated factory confines. See the mill strikers parading with a banner, thousands of women and girls in line with the men. They have lifted aloft a banner inscribed with the defiance of revolt. And it is surmounted by a mill girl's shabby hat—the only one she can afford on her niggardly wage, while every millinery shop and department store flaunts its treasures in her face. But she is a worker, and this damnable regime of rich loafers provides that one bummy, old hat is enough for her. And for the rich female parasites, what? Ease, luxury, hats and shoes and

apparel galore. It was like this when the Bourbons fell and when the workers toppled the throne of the tsar.

In Passaic you will see rickety children. Why are they rickcty? Why are they suffered to be mutc, wasting victims of malnutrition—slow starvation? Why are the tired workers so desperately drivcn, so bittcrly rewarded for their labors? Why are silks and wool for a class of leeches while shoddy and remnants and scraps arc the portion of society's useful members?

Again the thunder of iron hoofs rcvcrberates from the cobbles and sidewalks. The mounted police are glorying in their finkified role. The cossacks arc charging to crush rebellion out of these risen helots, to drivc thcm back to their dungeons of drudgery, and their babies back to starvation. Motorcycle cops are speeding, too; rushing into crowds, knocking down the workers, and clubbing their heads.

And the strike goes on, Wobbly battlc hymns ringing louder than this cacophony of suppression. The workers arc struggling for life itself. Truly they have "Nothing to lose but their chains." And though mill owners turn deaf ears to their demands the while these robbers order the violence that is daily and hourly enacted here, that mill girl's hat is on the standard and thousands of marching feet move to the inspiration of that ensign, like the red liberty caps of old that rose to mark the fall of tyrants.

Some time it will start in just this way—the revolution in America—a mill slave's worn, misshapen hat on a banner's top, and on another banner that demand for a greater, finer, happier life epitomized in the demand: "Bread and roses."

Bread! Yes, because we need it for our bellies, and roses and all the good things of life in a real civilization where human rights shall transcend property rights and where we shall be the masters of the machines instead of their slaves. And because we shall dare to challenge the plunderers, making "the thief disgorge his booty." Because in that glorious hour of revolt we shall shatter to fragments the power of capitalism to raise on the ruins of hate and oppression the new commonwealth of love and social justice.

The acts of the police so transgress all customs of human decency that they fear publicity, and they have overturned cars of cameramen, smashing their cameras. To circumvent this device airplanes are circling over Passaic taking pictures, and reporters are using armored cars.

The American Civil Liberties Unions has interested itself in this struggle and is fighting to insure freedom of speech, press and assemblage

**LOOKS TIRED, DOESN'T SHE?**
**The Pace That Kills Is the Textile Mill Pace**

for the workers, while doing other relief work. Among those prominent from this group is Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, whose experience in such struggles has extended over twenty years.

The wages cited at the outset must bring to the reader some visualization of existence pieced out on that niggardly pittance. The workers' lot must be intolerable on such coolie stantards, and it is gratifying to see the New Jersey strikers springing up from their sink of wretchedness. They are putting up a memorable fight and one that merits the heartiest support of the working class. And this support must be financial without delay if a speedy victory is going to be won.

The General Relief Committee of Textile Workers, 743 Main Avenue, Passaic, N. J., is appealing for donations to be used as strike relief, and your prompt aid should be given.

---

Since this article was received there have been thousands of workers added to the already embattled hosts. Continued police ruffianism in the towns where the struck mills are located, and where the strikers held huge demonstrations of mass pickcting, stirred 5,000 dye workers to quit and join the strike.

This brings the number on strikc to more than 16,000, and we have another vindication of the effectiveness of the industrial union idea. If the workers embrace it fully they can win, but if they let their solidarity be broken they are sure to return to the old conditions. Trade unions can not win industrial battles with monopolies.—THE EDITOR.

# Why the I.W.W. will Not Die

By JOHN I. TURNER
(General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W.)

**IT IS easy to keep up courage when there are no troubles and the world looks bright. And if a labor union is progressing without serious opposition, enthusiasm is everywhere to be found. But it is when difficulties confront it that courage and determination are needed. And I doubt that one could suggest anything better to a disheartened member of the I. W. W. than a little study in this organization's history, and an observance of how it has weathered many a stormy period and always came through determined to continue in its good work.**

One of the favorite pastimes of many of its enemies and many of its "friends," too, has been in pronouncing it dead—or nearly dead, and then falling in line for the funeral march. Their "death sentences," however, have not been effective. Somehow the I. W. W. as an organization has escaped the fatal strangling, although a few of its members have been victims of "neck-tie parties" at the hands of the employing class hirelings.

The first serious crisis in the I. W. W. came at the second convention in Chicago in 1906. Its first and only president, a man by the name of Sherman, had been suspected by some of the delegates of not having the interests of the organization at heart. Their suspicions were well founded as the events that followed proved.

### Early Troubles of the I. W. W.

The convention voted to abolish the office of president. Sherman and his gang surrounded themselves with a bunch of Chicago police and when the newly elected General Executive Board went to the General Office of the I. W. W. they were kept out and Sherman and the police held the building by force, and refused to turn over the records of the organization or its treasury of four thousand dollars that Sherman had in the Prairie State Bank. Two of the board members were beaten, and it was quite a while before the I. W. W. got control of the General Office and the funds. But while the fight for the possession of the general office building and the treasury had been going on, more serious troubles were brewing.

The Western Federation of Miners had become a part of the I. W. W., from its beginning, practically. It took in all miners regardless of craft or trade and recognized the class strugggle. This army of courageous fighters, as many a hard-fought miners' strike bears evidence of, was a vital factor in the I. W. W. and supplied much of its fine spirit and strength in its early days.

Now Sherman and his followers had won the support of the W. F. of M. officials, many of whom never had been in sympathy with the I. W. W. but had been forced into the organization by pressure brought to bear upon them from the rank and file of the miners. The controversy with the "Shermanites" gave them an opportunity to win the support of their less enlightened membership in a move to pull away from the I. W. W. In this they succeeded. It was a hard blow to the I. W. W., despite the fact that the more radical element of the miners remained with it instead of following the officials in the secession.

After the withdrawal of the W. F. of M. the socialists deserted the I. W. W. and declared that its end had come. Probably the loss of **their** support was little to worry about; but the moral effect of losing the W. F. of M. was of no little consequence to the new organization.

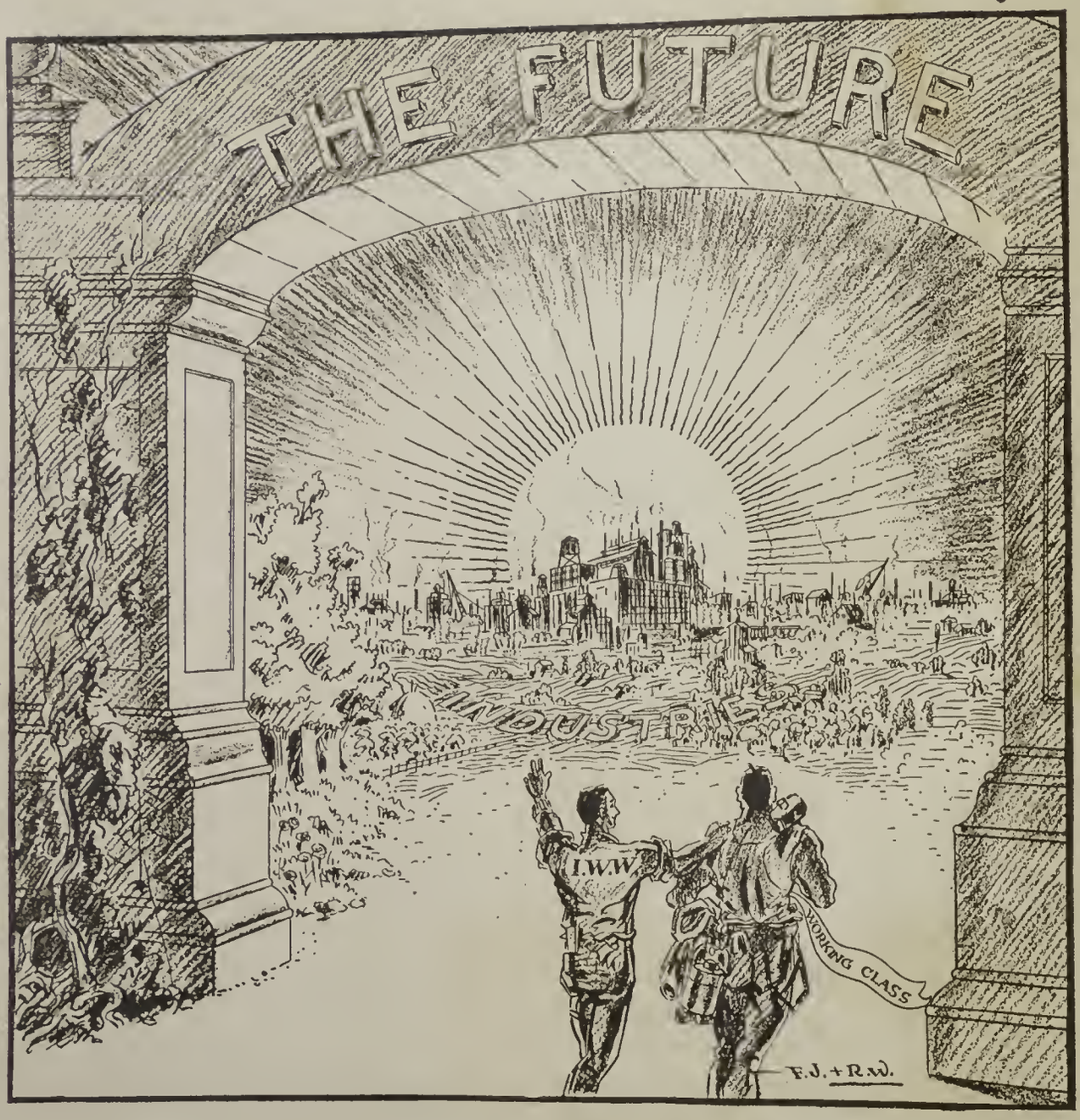
It is surprising to know that in the face of such a calamity the two years that followed witnessed much strike activity on the part of the I. W. W. The days of I. W. W. job control in Goldfield, Nevada, will long be remembered by the miners of the West.

### Fierce Fights Against Bosses

With the fourth convention at Chicago in 1908 came the fight over the "political clause" in the preamble, and it resulted in the elimination of that clause. To set forth as a clear-cut labor organization without the "political wing" was suicide. So said the parliamentarians, high and low.

It seems that the greater disaster that came from this move was to the "pollys" themselves. After they had sounded the death knell of the I. W. W. and were on the eve of an awful setback for the political wing, the "overall brigade," as the parliamentarians had termed their opponents in the fourth convention were preparing for some interesting fights with the employing class.

Two struggles of the year 1909 that stand out were the free speech fight in Spokane, Washington, and the strike of the Pressed Steel Car Company at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania. Here the I. W. W. strikers drove back the Pennsylvania State Constabulary (commonly called cossacks) after making good their threat to take the life of a cossack for every striker killed by them. This was the first time that these famous strikebreakers had ever been routed by striking workers.




Then in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912, came a walkout of the textile workers of the American Woolen Mills against a decrease in wages. The strike was called a "spontaneous walkout" on the part of the formerly suppressed textile workers. The I. W. W. sent its ablest organizers there and they lined up the strikers for what probably was the greatest strike that the woolen kings of Lawrence had ever had to contend with.

Many strikers were arrested by the police who were only too willing to do the bidding of the employers. Attempts of the strikers to send their children away to friends and sympathizers who had agreed to feed them until the strike was over, were met with police reprisals. Some of the women, mothers of the children, were beaten by the police as they tried to put them on trains to send them away. Three organizers were arrested and charged with the murder of a striking girl who was most likely shot by gunmen of the employers.

Against all this persecution, the strikers, representing many nationalities and speaking many different tongues, stood solid. After about two months of brutal persecution of the strikers the woolen trust gave in and granted large wage increases.

### Trouble With Decentralizers

The year 1913 brought the trouble with the "decentralizers," when it seemed as if these fanatics with their foolish ideas would completely wreck the organization. They did not get control of the convention that year as they had planned to do, but they did much harm with their cries of "Down with autocracy" against every effort of the organization

to establish discipline. They did not believe in discipline. They had a lot of dreams about "freedom." Freedom to them meant for every fool to have the unmolested right to do as he wished to do. How any organization that accepted such ideas could exist at all is something that this element never explained. And the chief cause of their failure to gain control of the I. W. W. at that time rested in their inability to organize themselves to carry on their fight. Men of such ideas cannot organize. They cannot agree on a concerted plan of action. They may be coerced or forced into united action, but they can not enforce discipline among themselves so long as they try to put their ideas into practice. One branch of the organization at Vancouver, British Columbia, started to make their own dues stamps. Others of the same school supported them in their senseless action. And again the I. W. W. for some months had to spend the greater portion of its energy in suppressing these foolish endeavors.

Many of the less patient of the membership became discouraged and quit. The enemies of the organization were sure that they heard the final count. It was a perilous time for the I. W. W. But it did not die.

### A Very Active "Corpse"

An organization drive in the wheat belt in 1915 revealed to the "prophets" the fact that the I. W. W. had not yet become a corpse. This drive aroused new courage and determination and led to one of the greatest strikes that had ever taken place in America. (Probably not the greatest in numbers, but the greatest from the viewpoint of tactics used). That was the strike of the lumber workers of the Northwest in 1917-18.

Following the harvest drive a concerted effort was made to line up the lumber workers for a strike against the long hours and other bad features connected with working in the woods and sawmills.

Organizers of the I. W. W. met with brutal treatment at the hands of lumber trust thugs. The famous beatings of organization members at Beverly Park, a suburb of Everett, Washington, and the murder of five or more organizers that tried to land there off a boat from Seattle, is an example of how the timber barons welcomed the I. W. W. in its attempt to organize the workers of the woods and mills.

But these brutalities did not stop the lumber workers from organizing. The conditions under which they had to work and live were bad. They were out for something better.

A convention of delegates elected by the lumber workers of the I. W. W. met in Spokane, Washington, in March, 1917, and drew up the demands of the workers as they had been instructed to do. The camps were to be made more sanitary. Clean beds, better food and an increase in wages were demanded, and foremost of all, they demanded that the workday be reduced from ten hours to eight.

These demands were presented to the employing lumbermen. Not realizing that the I. W. W. had become so strong in the woods and sawmills, they refused to consider these demands. So the strike came in the following June, and the Northwest lumbering industry was almost completely tied up.

The usual persecutions of strikers were made worse when the public press, loyal to the employers, proclaimed to the public that the strike was called to help the Germans win the war; for this country had then engaged in the fight to "save the world for democracy." Strikers were arrested and beaten. Then came federal indictments against officials and organizers, with long terms in prison for them. And it must not be forgotten that the copper miners of the I. W. W. in Arizona and Montana were striking at the same time. Arrests of strikers and deportations from the strike zone took place in Arizona.

THE I. W. W. HAS ALWAYS OPPOSED TRAGEDIES LIKE THESE; THE BOSSES MAKE THEM

Two months the lumber workers remained out. Then they did one of the most remarkable things that has ever been done by striking workers in the history of the American labor movement. They voted to "transfer the strike to the job." The idea was to slow down production until the employers would have to grant the eight-hour workday. Many thought such tactics could not be put into practice. The boss lumbermen thought so too. But they had not realized how well this "strike on the job" idea had permeated the minds of the lumber workers and how well they had organized and

planned to carry it on. Of course without organization it could not have been a success.

"If we have to stay on the job ten hours, we'll give them much less than we would even in the eight hours that we were asking for," they said. And they made good their promise to themselves. Also, entire crews would often quit and go home, or to the camps, when the eight hours were over. Workers "fired" for so doing went to other jobs to continue the same line of action. Discharged workers could not be replaced by other than organized workers. The strike was a great success.

After a few weeks of this demonstration of united action on the job by the membership of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W., the employers gave in and announced through the press that the eight-hour workday would be universal in the Northwest woods and sawmills. The other demands were also complied with and the strike on the job was called off.

### Criminal Syndicalism Laws

But the exploiters of labor never cease to fight organization of their workers. They strike back every way they can. The famous criminal syndicalism laws were enacted as a further means of sending workers to prison. (In Idaho, however, the "C. S." law was passed shortly before the strike started, and no doubt in anticipation of it, as they saw that the lumber workers of that state were organizing into the I. W. W.)

A mob of American Legion men, aroused by the lies and misrepresentations of the I. W. W. in the press, were used by the employers as "cat's paws" to attack the lumber workers in their hall at Centralia, Washington, on Armistice Day, 1919. Naturally they had to defend their lives against this mob. In the fight four of the Legion men were killed. A few hours later one of the defenders who had been arrested and thrown in jail there was taken out under cover of darkness and hanged by the mob of lumber trust lickspittles in a most fiendish manner.

Amidst the reign of terror that followed, as the capitalist press fanned the flames of hatred against the I. W. W., and lumber workers were hunted down, jailed and beaten, the men that defended their lives against the murderous mob were railroaded to prison for life.

It seemed that the organization could not live through this continuous persecution and terroristic tactics on the part of the employers and their hirelings. Many became discouraged, and abandoned the organization. But the I. W. W. lived on.

The spring of 1923 found the timber kings compelled to face another strike of this often killed organization. The strikers demanded the release of men imprisoned for union activity. While these demands were not granted, the strike was a fine example of solidarity and many believe that the men in the penitentiary at Walla Walla, Washington, might have been later released by the I. W. W.

VERY PLAIN LESSON TAUGHT TO THE LUMBER WORKERS BY I. W. W. STICKERS

campaign in their behalf had not the solidarity of the organization been greatly weakened by the traitorous conduct of the ego-maniac James Rowan, and his dupes with their "Emergency Program."

### Internal Foes Fail at Disruption

To gratify a personal grudge he had against officials in the General Office of the I. W. W., Rowan circulated bulletins and letters among the membership in which he stated that the General Secretary-Treasurer had stolen thousands of dollars of the organization's funds and that the General Office was run by gunmen and gangsters. At the convention called to investigate the controversy all these statements were proven to be false, but the turmoil created as the result of Rowan's outrageous lies has forced the organization to spend much time and energy that but for such confusion could have been spent in the education and organization of other workers.

This gang of cut-throats that tied up by a court injunction the funds of the I. W. W., including money for the release of members in prison and for those awaiting trial, have about played themselves out. However, they are still issuing a lying sheet from Portland, Oregon, that they have the nerve to call the "Industrial Unionist." They counterfeit the seal and dues stamps of the I. W. W. and they, this bunch of would-be union wreckers that refused to recognize a convention of delegates elected by the rank and file of the membership to investigate and ascertain the cause of all the

trouble, are still trying to make workers believe they are the I. W. W. And occasionally some uninformed worker is led into their trap and joins them and pays dues to support these enemies of the working class.

Just as the I. W. W. has overcome other disruptive tactics at the hands of its enemies, it is overcoming the admittedly bad effects of the "emergency" stab in the back. The organization has made mistakes and will no doubt make others, as workers have ever done in their struggles with their oppressors. But by their mistakes they learn. And the fact that the I. W. W. has endured these twenty years of attacks from within and from without should serve as an inspiration to every workers to drive him on to greater activity and determination. The idea of industrial unionism as outlined in the preamble of the I. W. W. is an idea born of conditions that have made it inevitable. A knowledge on the part of the toilers in industry of the developments of capital creates an army of workers that forms the nucleus of an ever-growing industrial solidarity. The attempts of its enemies to disrupt and to suppress it add to the determination of the militant membership of the I. W. W. to carry on the fight until the ideals for which they have fought so hard have become a reality.

**In Fighting the Poison of Capitalist Newspaper Propaganda the I. W. W. Press Has Always Played a Leading Part, and Continues to Teach The Truth to the Working Class**

# DRIVING 'EM OUT

SWOOPING DOWN on the brood of vultures comprising the alien I. W. W.'s, the Anarchists and the Socialists, everywhere hatching discontent and misery, the great American Eagle is driving 'em out!

Hard, cruel, destructive, uncompromising and murderous, these brutes in human form are seeking to destroy industry, all that industry creates, and Christian civlization itself.

Pressing their hideous doctrines upon the lowest element, their propaganda leads to chaos and explosive dangers.

They have resolved that the honest laborer must go or become their pawn.

Lacking the power to reason, they are wolfish and vicious.

Without cause they resort to the torch and terrorism, sparing neither life nor property.

The American Eagle, backed by the American Flag, is determined to drive 'em out and keep 'em out!

Refusing to reform and become decent, law-abiding Americans, they have no rights under the American Constitution.

The old Eagle has his eye on 'em and he's going to sweep 'em out.

Every loyal American in every walk of life should help the sturdy beak and talons in the unrelenting fight.

Start to-day!

To-morrow may be too late!

# It Sticks to Your Shoes

By DANIEL TOWER

**The drawing on the opposite page is a reprint of capitalist anti-radical spleen by which we are graphically reminded of the sweet solicitude, on the part of America's owners, for preserving the free speech, press, and assemblage "guarantees" in the sacred Bill of Rights. For a while dormant, there is now a reawakening of the birds of prey, as is powerfully described in this article, the first of several to be contributed by Daniel Tower. Next month there will be another.**

**IS THERE freedom of thought in this country? There is. It gets into your hair and sticks to your shoes like fly-paper.**

**Out in Oregon there is a law which compels all aliens who conduct grocery stores and butcher shops, apartment houses, and amusement emporiums to hang out signs telling their nationality. The motive of those who passed that law, I understand from a man who lately hurried through Oregon, was that all hundred per cent patriots would boycott anybody whose sign showed he was an outlander, and that he would then be constrained to become a loyal American. And during the two years or more that it requires to obtain naturalization papers he and his family would be free to eat grass in summer and go south with the birds in winter.**

Wisconsin is another state notable for broad-minded lawmakers. It cherishes a legislative act providing for the condemnation and confiscation of history textbooks which reflect upon the founders of this republic and their motives in the struggle for independence.

### More Work for Bookleggers

Fisher's "True History of the American Revolution" is one textbook which could be brought into Wisconsin only on a dark night by a booklegger. For in relating how Samuel Adams and other rebels dealt with persons who were not in favor of the revolt against England, Fisher writes:

"Men were ridden and tossed on fence rails; were gagged and bound for days at a time; pelted with stones; fastened in rooms where there was a fire with the chimney stopped on top; advertised as public enemies, so that they would be cut off from all dealing with their neighbors. They had bullets shot into their bedrooms; money or valuable plate extorted to save them from violence. . . . Their houses and ships were burnt; they were compelled to pay the guards who watched them in their houses; and when carted about for the mob to stare at and abuse they were compelled to pay something at every town."

Porter's "History of Suffrage in the United States" is another work which is kept out of Wisconsin by law. Porter says: "Much personal property and even real estate were unceremoniously appropriated by the armed forces of the Revolution, at least under some slight color of legality, although often it was barefaced robbery."

James Oneal's book "The Workers in American History" is a third volume which cannot enter the schools of the great cheese-bearing commonwealth north of Illinois. For Oneal, in recounting the development of the turning against England, says: "Nor did the 'patriots' rely on persuasion alone. The more effective arguments of tar and feathers, physical assault, the boycott and exile were employed against those who regarded the claims of the 'fathers' with suspicion or openly opposed them."

### Kansas Editors Get Excited

Kansas newspapers have started a campaign to keep school children from hearing anything derogatory to the state in which they reside. Geographies used in the schools have been attacked, on the ground that they contain information which conflicts with the slogan which Kansas has spent many thousands of dollars to spread: "Kansas Grows the Best Wheat in the World." The newspapers discovered statements in the school geographies to the effect that Rochester and Minneapolis were the great milling centers of the country, and that the finest wheat growing section was the Red River District in the north. Various editors have demanded that the state textbook commission change the present geographies for others which will speak well of Kansas as a wheat producer.

Mississippi is on the alert for any unexpurgated education which may endanger its young people. The Deer Greek *Pilot* declares editorially: "It is with a great deal of pleasure that we announce to the people of Mississippi that, at last, we have gotten out of our textbooks all matter that reflects on the South in any way and all objecionable matter in reference to the theory of evolution. We believe that we have for use in our agricultural highschools next year the only textbook on biology that does not mention the subject of evolution."

But perhaps the longest step forward in the field of law-making has been taken in the town of Kensott, Arkansas, where the city council, following an extended drought, enacted an ordinance prohibiting all persons within the municipal limits from singing, whistling, humming or otherwise uttering the song, "It Aint A Goin' To Rain No More."

### Mr. Muzzey Believes Too Much

History purifiers have been busy in Washington State, where the Seattle chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution appointed a committee to examine the teaching of history in the public schools. This committee, headed by Harry Denton Moore, condemned Muzzey's history, and asked the school boards and textbook commissions to discontinue using it. The committee declared that Muzzey's book was "not a well balanced economic history. . . . He believes that our mining laws have robbed the people of a great heritage, not knowing that they made possible the development of our mineral resources."

"Pupils are interested in broad, powerful descriptions, vivid and colorful," the Seattle committee goes on. "They should be made acquainted with the facts which lead them to understand that liberty is a priceless jewel; that they should be proud of their country and its representative system of government.

"The field of historical criticism is no place for sixteen year old school children, and it is proper for them to accept the statement of facts made by the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who were living at the time and who pledged their lives and fortunes in its behalf, rather than to embark in a discussion of the justness and propriety of the acts of our forefathers in refusing to longer remain under the authority of the British crown. Muzzey says that the dispute involves a 'debatable question.' What is the object to be attained by impreaching the Declaration of Independence? What matters whether King George the III, or his ministers were mainly responsible for the war or not! What the pupil needs to know is this: The colonists believed themselves to be oppressed and so believing they stood ready to sacrifice all in the cause of freedom."

Concluding, the Seattle book-deodorizing squad states: "We want our children to become red-blooded American Patriots, ready to do and die for the land which gave them birth, to say with Decatur, 'My Country, may she ever be right, but right or wrong, My Country', and to preserve the principles for which our ancestors fought under the blazing sun of Bunker Hill, and left their bloody footprints in the snow at Valley Forge and Princeton."

IT IS TO SECURE THIS SLAVE-DRIVING THAT THE ANTI-RADICAL DRIVES ARE MADE

### Smoked Glasses for Iowa Kids

Officers of the American Legion In Iowa also have been concerned lest the works of Muzzey or other historians assailed by the Sons of the American Revolution get before the eyes of the school children in that state. These historians include Hart, West, McLaughlin, O'Hara, and Ward. One statement by Muzzey which irritated the Iowa Legionaires was this: "The next move of the administration (1812) was an attempt to bribe England and France to bid against each other for our trade."

McLaughlin and Van Tyne are unpopular with the Iowa Legion because in describing conditions at Valley Forge they wrote: "There his (Washington's) soldiers suffered from want, partly because Congress could not get money from the states and partly because unfit men in the Army supply department neglected their work."

West got himself disliked by the Legion because he said in his history that: "Many officers

HE LOVED FREE SPEECH SO WELL HE WOULD HAVE STRANGLED IT WITH HIS EMBRACES

(Revolutionary) were incompetent, self-seeking, and treacherous."

Everett Barnes, who wrote a "Short American History for the Grades" was in bad with the Sons of 1776 because he referred to John Hancock as a smuggler. But Barnes is in right again because he has rewritten his book and now asserts that Hancock was a "sterling patriot."

### New England Gets News Slowly

Under the United States Constitution, which went into effect on the first Wednesday in March, 1789, freedom of worship is guaranteed to the multitude. But as this is written the state of Massachusetts has not heard about the Constitution going into effect. News travels slowly in New England.

Anthony Bimba has just been tried in Brockton, the shoe-town wherein Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested in 1920. Bimba was prosecuted under a 229-year-old state law on a change that he had denied the existence of a God. He was prevented from taking the stand in his own behalf by an old court decision barring an atheist from appearing as a witness. The fact that the defendant had not been proven an unbeliever did not worry the trial judge. Finally he was acquitted of blasphemy and convicted of sedition.

If Thomas R. Marshal had lived, this might be a religious country. I remember the thrill which I got from a news dispatch on October 11, 1921, telling of a speech at Montclair, N. J. by the eminent ex-vice-president. Mr. Marshall declared that every child in the United States should be compelled to attend church. He assailed those persons who interpreted the "freedom of worship" clause in the Constitution as meaning "that they did not have to worship God at all."

Religion is receiving judicial attention in Williamsport, Pa. One reads in an Associated Press account that: "Albert Hart, 41, has his choice of attending the Billy Sunday services every evening for two weeks or serving a jail sentence for assault and battery upon his wife. This sentence was imposed upon him by Alderman G. B. Allen." And in Greensburg, Pa., the crime-wave is flattened out in the same way: "Three youths, pleading guilty to entering a building with intent to commit a felony, were ordered by Dom, J., in the Criminal Court, to attend church and Sunday school regularly during the next two years."

Freedom for coal corporations in Alabama which get their digging done by convicts is assured by word from Birmingham that John George, 84-year-old Confederate veteran, has been put into the state-leased mine at Flat Top, to serve there a six-months' sentence for alleged moonshine operations. Flat Top is a gaseous mine, and John George will be free to breathe all the gas he likes during his stay.

Streets in Passaic, New Jersey, are now kept free form wine, women, and song. The councilmen there don't like music, and when mill striker's went about town singing about wanting more bread and butter the council passed an ordinance on the sixteenth of February prohibiting all persons from singing on the public thoroughfares. This includes "hymns and everything," the authorities have explained.

HOW WILL THIS MUTE TYPE, DENIED FREE SPEECH, REPLY IN THE HOUR OF REBELLION FOR THE SILENCE OF CENTURIES?

# CAPITAL

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

I'm a poor and ignorant crittur,
  There's no denyin' that;
So will you please, good business men,
  Come tell me where I'm at?
This talk of economics
  Has got me all het up;
I know as much about it
  As the oneriest pup.
They say that Labor can't be used
  Without some Cap—i—tel:
But does that mean the Man or Means?
  Will some one up and tell.

Somehow it seems to me, you know,
  That Cap—i—tel is but
The things we use to produce with;
  —But then I'm such a mutt!
I sorta thot that railroads, mines,
  Looms, woolen mills, and such,
Along with hands, were Cap—i—tel
  That somehow got in "dutch."
The land, my friends, is Cap—i—tel,
  For it produces wheat,
Assisted by the kindly aid
  Of farmers' hands and feet.

The mines, it seems, are Cap—i—tel,
  For they produce the fuel,
Abetted by the laborin' man
  And also the mule.
The fact'ries too are in that class,
  Railroads and 'lectric lights,
And telephones and telegraphs—
  No wonder there is fights!
But what I'm aimin' at my friends,
  And wants to understand,
Is, if the owners went away,
  COULD WE NOT USE THE LAND?

Or if the bosses left the mine
  WOULD WE NOT HAVE THE MINE?
Or shook the railroads, phones and lights,
  WOULD THEY NOT STAY BEHIND?
It seems to me when all is said,
  That all the ginks could take
Would be the frosting, excess coin,
  While WE WOULD HAVE THE CAKE.
The carving then would merely need
  Someone to wield the knife;
Why hell! there'd be a bigger slice
  Of cake for kids and wife!

I'm asking then for god's sake why
  You cover when they say
That if you strike they'll up and take
  Their cap—i—tel away?
Their backs would have to sure be broad
  To lug off mills and trains;
And as for gold—why let that be!—
  The REAL gold still remains.
Sure Mike, we need the cap—i—tel
  For laborers and such,
But don't confuse with capitalists
  Who merely have a clutch

On Cap—i—tel, and in themselves
  Are parasites on it . . .
Why don't you have the guts to rise
  And order them to git?
I'm a poor and ignorant crittur,
  There's no denyin' that,
But I'll bet a nickel 'gainst a dime
  I've got the dope down pat;
And if with all my ignorance
  I ferret out such stuff,
Why don't you working stiffs help me
  To call their rotten bluff?

# SWAN SONG

By FRANK HAGAN

GAYLY flung as a white ribbon on a flower-printed frock of green winds the long valley road, bordered by pastures where dairy cows are grazing. It is springtime. Strong winds are blowing from the hills, big and pure and free. Nature is glorying in her best mood. This the scarlet tanager seems to know as he vies with the blue jay for honors in winged beauty. Bob white and his mate, followed by their newly-hatched covey cross the road in stately file to hide themselves under a hedgerow. Nest-building robins are calling, interrupted by a staccato drumming. The woodpecker is busy high on a pole close by. From waving meadows of tender green, daisies, violets and wild roses lift up their pretty faces and feel the wind's caress.

A little wood stands to the west, labyrinthal in leafy coolness, against the late sun's flaming glory. Seeming loath to quit this lovely scene he drops slowly behind the world's edge showering a farewell gift of gold. It sifts between boughs, blossoms and leaves enriching the earth where shadows have lengthened. This charming peace, with fragrances, murmurs and colors commingles to animate joy of life, or rather a more passive state like some mystic soothing that holds with time no account, but is destined to go on forever.

From such a spell Joe Bates roused himself with an effort, moved his head from the pack on which it had rested, and sat upright. He noticed the nearness of twilight. He must hurry on, so drinking again at the spring in the grove where he had tarried he siezed his pack and took the road. As he swung along soft breczes soughed through elms and beeches like an evening hymn. With action in his limbs day-dreams vanished. He merrily whistled improvised airs that startled the birds along the way, and a squirrel scampered off to eye the boy's figure suspiciously. Joe was happy with youth's unquestioning, undoubting happiness.

Youth! What a fine estate! Before it the vista of promising life. New joys on each horizon's rim; fresh treasures where every rainbow ends. Straight, strong bodies; minds innocent of care, cherishing a plethora of saving illusions. Frothy-sweet is life's cup at the brim, and here youth drinks. The cup is bitter only near its dregs. Age drinks this distillation of reminiscence and regret.

No marvel, then, that men nearing the dregs shrink. No wonder that they would cheat time and turn back the leaves in the book of existence. The fleshless finger beckons inexorably and our folklore is ever freighted with the anodyne witchery of magic pools wherein the aged may bathe to lose their burden of years and emerge virile, beautiful and young. De Leon's folly is writ on history's pages; Faust is immortal to literature because, broken by the weight of thought, ugly with the stigma of time he made his pact with Beelzebub, winning youth at the price of his soul.

Joe was eighteen, erect in posture, sanguine, full of a spirit to win to high places, to make his mark. His ears had been attuned to the words of our wise men, and his heart was light because he believed. It had opened to the inculcation of individual initiative as trustingly as the petals of a fresh jack rose for the dew's kiss. He was an American, thank God! A heritage in itself, to guard jealously, augmenting its treasures as did the good servant the lord's gift of talents. Anyone could multiply this gift in the sweet land of liberty.

Living on a farm all his life and feeling his father's house falling into poverty's deeline the boy saw no indueement for his ambitious nature on the land. The farm was not paying. Each year matters grew worse. A mortgage on his father's broad acres was held by the bank in Hazlewood. Not that his father was either inefficient or lazy. No, he understood the business of farming and was tireless in his labors, but in the pit of the stock exehange gamblers were using him and thousands of his kind for pawns in grain futures. The "baekbone of the middle class" was disintegrating, leaving their land by eompulsion, to go cityward and join the faetory hands.

Joe did not elect to remain with this failing yeomanry, sweating sixteen hours a day in the interests of bankers. If fail the farm must there was the eity, an alluring ehimera, whose siren call has ever gone to far fields, thrilling and irresistible to so many sturdy sons of the soil. To the city — symbol of opportunity — he was bound as we discovered him in the eool grove where he had paused to rest and to queneh his thirst.

It was twenty-seven miles from his sire's mortgaged acres to the nearest eity, a "metropolis" of a hundred thousand population. To Joe it seemed almost the largest plaee in the world on those two visits he had made in ehildhood. He was making the journey on foot because his father had opposed his departure and refused to advanee train fare. Mothers are different. Stealthily she had pressed a few dollars into her boy's hands. But as he would need this sum getting started in Jonesboro he ehose to walk to his Meeea.

Night had marshalled its velvety black forces under the trees by the time that Joe, elimbing up the road to a high point, saw away below the myriad lights of this eity of his dreams gleaming a welcome. The boy halted and drew a long breath. There lay the Promised Land right before his very eyes, tangible, pulsating, the hum of its life rising to him on the still air. It waited, fruitful, to present its benefactions to the "right-minded." And Joe was right-minded. He had just enough imagination and memory and faith to sustain him.

Had not the high priests and the low priests of Ameriean Success taught him, as they had taught millions of his penniless kind, that before the altar of their god one must appear with supreme eonfidence in the up-and-doing eult of making one's pile? Had they not urged assuranees that earthly paradise must be the reward of him who practised good works? That meant first of all willingness to work hard, then determination to prosper, and finally an unfaltering faith in the happy issue of the elect.

The cult had its saints; a railsplitter and a eanal boy had overcome environment and beeome presidents. Newsboys and bootblacks, waiters, elerks and gandy-daneers had risen to millionairedom. Let the lazy seoff, theirs were only loser's eries, the despair of unworthiness. "At the top there is always room!"

Ardently believing, his being suffused with hope, the boy descended from the clean hills, coming presently to a place where the road merged into a blaekened highway, flanked by factories, the stacks on several of them still belching smoke and sparks. He erossed some railroad traeks where a switching engine was energetically at work. Then he pushed on toward the labor market of the eity. That night he slept the sleep of the just, the tired and the lamblike in a eheap lodging-house bed neither so soft nor so elean as his own eot at home elose to the eaves where doves nested.

Aceustomed to rising early, Joe was up at five. "The early bird catches the worm," he thought as he dressed himself.

A few minutes later he was on the street. Very few workers were stirring. The hum of the city had not yet begun. On the eobblestones a milk wagon rumbled and the beats of the horse's hoofs rang out distinetly. The early sky was like lead and a light, ehilling rain was falling. Had Joe known about employment agencies he might have waited a few hours and presented himself for sale on the labor mart. But being ignorant of the ministrations of job sharks he was aware of only one approaeh to the precious job. Straight to the faetories he was going.

But he was very hungry. Into an ill-smelling restaurant he stepped, where he was served with some pancakes the like of which he had never known. They were burned outside and raw beneath. "Quiek Luneh" was right! Washing the eakes down with strongly ehicoried eoffee he paid his bill, and felt equipped for his quest.

Trudging the rain-splashed streets, black with long-aeeumulated filth, he went across the city, over a bridge high above the railroad yards, and past some warehouses and faetories whose doors were still elosed. He had been traveling to the manufacturing district almost instinetively with no sense of diserimination between the motley industries. Then suddenly he remembered Harry Grover. Harry had gone to sehool with him, and he had lived on an adjoining farm. The lad had gone to Jonesboro two years before and found work in a rubber faetory.

This seemed as good a clue as any. He might meet his friend. Joe did not stop to eonsider that there might be several plants manufacturing rubber goods in this eity. He made inquiries. A sleepy-eyed night watehman, just ending his long vigil, informed him that there was a rubber factory about two miles away, straight ahead.

Hurrying on, Joe came to a low-lying marshland that stood between the main body of factories and a few scattered outfits farther on. Signs were stuck in this wasteland advertising real estate values for manufacturing sites. Beyond the

waste the land rose slightly, and as he drew nearer the boy saw a plant of several buildings the largest of which carried an inscription along its entire length: Consolidated Rubber Company.

There it was! He almost broke into a trot so eager was he to reach it. By this time workers were going toward this plant and others around it. Applicants for work at the Consolidated were lined up along a wall on a side street where the employment gate stood closed. For the most part they waited mutely, indisposed by the inclement morning and the spirit of competition from addressing one another. Those nearest the gate felt an advantage, while the others strung out in the line were envious.

Joe took his place at the line's end. Although it was not yet seven he was about Number 79 in the row. A few minutes passed and the watchman opened the gate. Immediately those nearest it began to push forward.

"Cut out that pushin'," yelled the watchman. Yuh can't git in till the boss comes."

Someone timidly asked when the hiring would begin.

" 'Bout seven the boss'll be comin' along," replied the keeper at the gate.

He had but one arm and one side of his face showed scars from a terrible burning. Indeed, the optic on that hapless side was missing. Yet he stood there like the proprietor of a landed estate in the presence of his serfs, and his remaining eye glared at the applicants.

Meanwhile, at the "Employee's Entrance" around the corner workers were swarming into the plant, and the time-clocks were being punched rapidly. Then the whistle blew.

Joe looked at the young man beside him and ventured:

"Wonder if they'll hire many?"

The one so addressed didn't know. Said that for several days he had been coming to this place looking for a job.

"Got a bum place in line this morning. It starts to form right after five."

Here was an "eye-opener" for the country youth. Urban dwelling humans were thought to be still slumbering at such an early hour.

"You ought to get on," Joe encouraged. "You've stuck to it."

"Maybe..... Anyway it's tough to be 'way down at this end today. Looks like they're going to do some hiring....."

"Don't they hire every day?" Joe wanted to know.

The other seeker thought this an odd question.

"Hell, no! Why until yesterday they've been hanging out a sign at six-thirty that no help'll be put on. There's no sign out now and it's after seven, so I figure they'll hire some."

A movement of the line, something tense in the air, halted their conversation. The foreman had appeared to decide their fate.

Contrary to general expectation he did not choose those nearest the gate. Instead he paced the length of the line slowly and then made selections. The chosen ones were told to go inside the gate. Outwardly his choice did not seem to involve much critical inspection, but he did bring his discernment into play, and the company regarded him as an expert in hiring the "right" kind of men. His eyes fell swiftly on Joe. The inventory was almost instantaneously concluded. The boy's lucky star was with him.

"Go inside the gate and wait for me."

Now, Joe did not know that he was chosen because he looked quite strong, which in truth he certainly was. Neither did he understand that his youth stood in his favor. Subsequently he was to learn about this particular factor.

At the moment he went briskly inside the gate, like one of the saved entering the portals of paradise. Faith in success surged warmly through his veins. He was starting where all the national saints of America had started..... at the bottom. He would rise. He would work hard and keep the rules. Promotion would come. Had there been a strong sex urge in the lad he would probably have drifted in blissful wanderings of the mind to the happy land of soon-secured opulence and an early marriage with the boss's beautiful daughter. Tales of this pattern constitute no insignificant portion of the saccharine pabulum given to young Americans, and he errs who thinks that the stories are designed exclusively for bucolic consumption. In large cities and small cities public library shelves are lined with much-thumbed tomes of the Alger variety on whose sustenance lean sons of the tenements prepare themselves for leaner manhood, going it alone, bound to win their way on individual grit.

Joe was given an application blank by the foreman.

"Fill that out tonight and hand it in at the office in the morning," instructed the foreman.

"Yes, sir."

Then through the factory precincts to a department called the gas press room. Joe could have felt no prouder with a D.S.C. than he did at that moment with the application sheet. This questionnaire of his personal history and his opinions seemed like a commission to him. Everything was beginning so well.

Of all the processes contributing to the production of rubber articles in the Consolidated there was none so strenuous, so wearying as the work done in the gas press room. Be it further noted that there were no "snaps" in any of the departments of this neo-Taylorized industrial rapids. Everything was done at high speed and the flood of commodities

rushed swiftly on. "Speed" was the company's slogan. Speed was constantly preached to the workers. Only those conforming to its utmost requirements remained long on the payroll. Speed was exalted as a virtue; it was exacted as a business necessity. The workers were solemnly advised that their prosperity depended on speed. The department managers outdid one another in bringing "efficiency" to the nth degree. The foreman scratched out their hair trying to think up new ways to increase production. Of course the word "efficiency" was always used, but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred when bosses talk about industrial efficiency they are thinking in terms of rushing their employees a bit faster. This pervading motive was felt throughout, and the general superintendent of the Consolidated even dreamed about speed.

Thus Joe Bates fell into this maelstrom of the speed obsession where it whirled fastest. The gas press room was fairly dizzy with speed. It was one continual round of rapid motion, with only a single break during the day. At noon a period of fifteen minutes was set apart for lunch. The plant operated on a ten-hour basis.

There were no lost motions in the gas press room. The work was so arranged that every effort counted, and to waste any movement was equivalent to getting behind in one's work, with no opportunity of again catching up.

Joe's first impression of the room in which he was fated to spend so many long hours, was that it was uncomfortably hot. Along one side were ranged a number of presses, near the windows. These presses were operated by a hydraulic system controlled by turning valves.

The first day was comparatively easy. Joe was given a box on which to sit before another larger box containing cigarette holders that had not yet been through the vulcanizing process of the presses. They were rather rough and in their heated state adhered to each other. Joe separated them into individual pieces.

"This is only for today," the foreman told him. "Tomorrow you'll go on a press, so keep your eyes open on how it's done."

"Yes, sir," he replied promptly.

Thereafter he quite mechanically broke the soft stems apart, his eyes on the nearest pressman. This worker was about twenty-five years old, very active, working, in common with all the pressmen, with the precision of a good machine, speedy, rhythmic, true.

That night Joe filled out the application sheet in the lodging house, and being a novice in the industrial scheme he had no difficulty in giving accurate answers. He did not feel, as so many workers feel, resentment at the probing character of the sheet. It even wanted to know his mother's maiden name! Joe had worked only on a farm and had never belonged to a union. He very truthfully answered the question regarding his opinion of unions that he did not believe in them. Also that he belived it his duty to report any other worker he should see acting at work in any manner injurious to the company's interest. And he meant that, too.

The next morning he handed the application to a clerk in the office, and proceeded to his work place. Here he was stationed beside a pressman and directed to assist him. As soon as Joe had mastered the operations well enough to handle the job he would be given a press.

The first operation was to smear long, wire pins with grease. Then these were run through the length of the rubber stems. The pins were quite hot so that the grease melted on them without the loss of time. Then the stems were placed in metal molds, twelve stems in each separate mold and twelve of these molds. The covers of these molds were almost exactly like the parts into which the rubber was placed. A mold ready for the press weighed forty pounds, and forty **hot** pounds. It was necessary to handle these molds with pads, but with all the care that Joe took to protect his untrained hands they were cruelly burned.

Every fifteen minutes a bell rang and that was a signal to reverse the valves. This opened the gas press. Then he would quickly remove the twelve hot molds, placing them on the metal table where he worked. As soon as the press was cleared he would throw in the other twelve molds ready for the process. A twist of the valves and the press was closed, automatically increasing the heat.

Then he was obliged to open the molds and remove the finished stems, pulling out the greased pins. This procedure was repeated over and over again, forty times a day. The temperature in the room was 120, everything he touched was hot, pins, molds, and the rubber after vulcanizing. The table on which these articles were prepared was heated by gas burning underneath.

For the first few days Joe's job seemed impossible to master. He was driven to the use of every ounce of reserve energy to stand the grind. In one ten-hour shift he was compelled to feed that press and to disgorge it of 38,400 pounds of hot metal! Over 19 tons, not to speak of the other operations, all of which were performed like "chain lightning," as one of the men put it.

At night this strong farm lad, used to hard work and willing to "hit the ball," was exhausted. He could scarcely drag his feet. His muscles ached, and he had hardly sufficient energy to eat. On the second day his wrists had begun to swell, and these he had bound. Normally interested in looking about at new scenes he now fought his way, uncaring, into the packed street cars each evening and soon enough, although it seemed an eternity, he would be prostrate on his cot, so tired that sleep came only after hours of anguished wakefulness.

After a few weeks he grew hardened to the

exactions of the treadmill. The man who had chosen him from the line as likely timber had not made a mistake. Joe was good material; he was gritty. He stuck to it. He meant to succeed. Already he had received two letters from home asking him to come back to help with the many tasks that were crowding his parents. But he had cast the die. He intended to make good where he was.

In July his stamina was pushed to the limit. The heat in the press room was terriffic. The place was an inferno at 135 degrees, but the management would not grant a lay-off. The men were forced to keep on with the usual amount of production. By this time Joe's work was considered up to the standard required, and he was paid fifty-two cents an hour.

The hot spell passed at last. September brought relief, and autumn soon enough chilled into winter. And the speeding of the gas press room went on and on. One day was like the next, working to a state of near-exhaustion, pushing almost madly to climb aboard crowded street cars. Packed into their foul-smelling confines or hanging on at the platforms and steps. Sardines are arranged into cans in order; human beings in nearly all American cities during the rush hours are jammed in the transportation "systems" without even a pretense of order, and without the creature comfort accorded the lower animals in cattle cars.

Two years of this and Joe was eager for a change. He did not intend to leave his job. No he was still hopeful; he still had a chance to win to better station. But he did want something more than the humdrum, wearying routine, and he fell a victim to marriage.

Another year went by and he was a father. The little family lived in a very small cottage on the outskirts of Jonesboro. Life had its gentler hours now for the tired factory slave. But try as he might he could not "get ahead." There was always a lurking fear of a shut-down, or a slackening of the work and the economic hardships this would bring. But the factory ran steadily enough.

Then it came like a flash from clear skies: a notice was posted to the effect that a ten per cent wage reduction was to become general in all departments the following week. There was some talk of unfairness, and some of resistance. Those so convicted, or even suspected, were promptly discharged.

Joe's wife heard the bad news with her heart beating fast. She, too, had bad news. She was pregnant again.

The pay for the following week had ten per cent sliced from it as announced. There was an additional fault in Joe's, a small shortage. He told his foreman and was directed to the office to have it rectified. In the office he stood outside a plate glass partition at the pleasure of the paymaster. This personage then called him inside. While stating his case Joe glanced through the open window at the paymaster's side.

Here was a part of the factory ground he had never seen before. It was a lovely spot. The company had gone other firms one better in providing pretty views faced by office windows. Consolidated Rubber had a lawn which sloped gently to a tiny lake. In the center of this was a little flower-grown island, and on the clear surface of the water swans were gracefully enjoying themselves. In the background rose a high wall entirely covered with ivy.

While the paymaster was figuring, Joe's thoughts went back to the years of his childhood and adolescence. He saw the fleet of white ducks on the pond at home and the sweet memory of the peaceful scene was like an unguent on the raw wound of life. The check matter adjusted, he looked again at the beautiful swans, so white and so cool on this hot June day, and then he went back to the press room.

From that time on he often thought of these swans. In the press room, the stinging sweat over his tortured body, fairly oozing from his course shoes, with the heat around 130, he would seize on the thought of the great, stately white swans so cool and so contented in their silvery lake.

On crowded street cars his mind went back to the swans. At night he began to dream of endless reaches of placid waters mirroring walls of green ivy, and swans everywhere.

Then for the first time he broke a rule of the company and went to that part of the property where he could watch the immaculate birds. He was seen and ordered back to his work and reprimanded, having missed his first "heat," as the fifteen-minute periods were called.

After the wage cut and the news of his wife's second pregnancy ambition seemed to quit his spirit, leaving him a disillusioned factory hand, just one of the millions of industrial slaves that serve the factory system without hope in their hearts, sodden, dispirited, resigned to the compulsion of their places as cogs in the scheme of things.

Day after day the monotony of his driven existence went on, and when he was hottest, weariest, he thought of the swans almost with the fierce yearning of one lost in a desert without water.

The image of that lake and its happy swans became an obsession with Joe. Overwork, marital worries, the devastation of hope's city in his heart were working curious changes in his mind. He began to be late in returning home from the plant. A habit was growing on him which he could not curb no matter how his wife scolded when he was late. Joe was sneaking on the forbidden ground after the shift was over to watch the swans.

July came and just before it sweltered into August the mercury in the gas press room marked 138. One of the men collapsed.

"He's been here too long," the foreman confided to Joe. "They are good for about eight years if they don't start too old. We never hire any over thirty."

And this was Joe's fate. A few more years and he would be too broken to keep up the pace..... He heard the bell, turned the valves, lifted out a dozen hot molds, forty pounds to each; swung up a like number and closed the press. Over and over again, more than 19 tons of hot metal handled by him every day.

The last "heat" came. The blast of the whistle ended his worst day. He punched the clock. Then across the yard to the swans. Over the lake shading maples watched their quiet images in the mirror below. Not a leaf stirred. But the swans were cool. Joe watched them.

Why was he doomed to endless labor in that stifling press room? Because he was a man. He had previously looked on the gliding birds with fondness. But now his head was hurting him. He wanted to plunge into the water, but he checked himself. Then he stood like a statute and reflected. He felt hopeless. He began to hate the swans. The emotion mounted. He began cursing at them, but they paid no heed. He looked about him on the grass for a stone. Back to the yard he ran to find some, and then, with his pockets filled and a missile in each hand he rushed back to the lakeside, hurling the stones as he ran, hurling them at the dignified swans. They glided in fright behind the little island.

Then began a race to hit them. Around and around the lake he ran, and around and around the island the birds swam.

In the office the superintendent was preparing to leave. He came near the windows on the side where the swans had their idyllic home.

"My God! What's up?" he shouted, rushing around to the door to stop this mischief.

"I'm going to kill 'em! I'm going to kill 'em," Joe was screaming, as he dashed around to get better aim at the swans.

The superintendent couldn't catch him. He called for help.

Three foremen, late with their reports, came running up. Together they managed to corner the culprit.

"Why it's Joe who works in the gas press room!" one exclaimed.

Joe was writhing to free himself.

"Are you crazy?" sternly demanded the superintendent. "What do you mean by throwing at those swans?"

"Swans, swans!" he yelled with fresh struggles to get away. "I hate those swans in their nice, cool lake. Hate 'em. Hate 'em!"

His captors realized his condition. They gripped him more firmly.

"Quiet, Joe, go easy," soothed the superintendent. "Get a hold on yourself and act like a man."

"A man!" screamed Joe, his face red and streaming sweat from his great exertions. "What the hell's the good of being a man? Huh?"

Then, resistance going out of his body, he sobbed, "I don't want to be a man. . . . Too hard, too hot. . . . . I want to be a swan!"

They led him away sympathetically, and all the way to the psychopathic ward he kept muttering:

"Beautiful swans, so beautiful..... so cool, so cool..... I want to be a swan. Do you hear me? I said I want to be a swan."

**Recently the business manager has announced that the cost of publishing and mailing this magazine is 16 cents. With bundle orders selling at 12 cents a copy it can readily be seen that the loss is great. With increased circulation the cost per copy for production can be reduced, and in no other way. But while we are striving to build up the circulation the magazine must be made attractive and informative, and this costs money.**

**The will of our membership, expressed in the last General Convention, was that no paid advertising be taken by this magazine, and as nearly all periodicals depend very largely, and often almost entirely, on soliciting such advertising matter, we are at a disadvantage in this respect. The theory among us is that advertisers influence or control publication policies. However, we are not going to discuss the validity of this reasoning. It is sufficient to say that as we can not look elsewhere for the financial support required for the life and effectiveness of this magazine, we must depend squarely on our readers. And that is where we want to get support at all times.**

**No matter how much we dislike the fact it is none the less true that our magazine does not reach a larger number because most of the workers are still moron-minded, and we must build up steadily among those with intelligence to value our publications. You, who support this magazine are showing the way, breaking the trail, in truth, pioneering.**

**We urge that in your branch meetings that you consider the advisability of raising the price of bundle orders to 17 cents and singles to 25 cents a copy. Other labor magazines, that none of us think are anywhere nearly as good as the Pioneer charge 25 cents a copy. Take this matter up without delay and when you have reached your decisions write to the business manager. Let us meet our problems in a reasonable manner, and make provision for the self-sustenance of The Industrial Pioneer.**

JAMES SULLIVAN

# Jawbone Business

By HUBERT LANGEROCK

WE WERE on a railroad construction job on the desert. Torn tents, flies, fleas and all the rest of the insect population of an insanitary camp; long hours, alkali dust and poor water. Bathing and washing facilities were absent. On Sundays the men were too tired even to think of washing clothes and it was not long before the stock of entomological specimens in and around the camp increased in geometric ratio. Which is only a polite way of stating that the crew got lousy. Then providence appeared in the shape of a Chinese laundryman, a pioneer in his humble way. Out of some rocks and a few discarded pieces of corrugated iron, he rigged up what, for the location, was a fairly decent laundry establishment. But there was no money in camp and when the crew remained away from his place of business, he went after the trade in person.

"No money, John," came the doleful plea.

"Me savvee jawbone."

Now jawbone is western slang for credit and, on that basis, the celestial business man delivered his bundles and deferred his bills till payday. He had some system, though. He produced a little book and asked his customers to put down, themselves, their name with the amount of their indebtedness.

One practical joker wrote down: Theodore Roosevelt. Others took the hint and, pretty soon Lincoln and Jefferson and Washington and many more historical names were on the Chinaman's ledger.

When the paymaster made camp for the first time, the laundryman was there and produced his book.

"Very distinguished customers, indeed," stated the paymaster, "but how do you expect to collect?"

The Asiatic failed to understand but, with the stoicism of his race, announced:

"No mo' savvee jawbone."

Thus the camp once more became an ideal place for an expert entomologist to carry on his studies in insect lore. It was alive, it fairly moved; men refused to stay, they came and went in a steady stream. Jawbone had ruined the camp.

### Symbolical of Country's Plight

In the course of the last year, I have often thought of this true story. To me it has become almost symbolical of the plight which this country will be facing pretty soon with its huge increase of installment buying and selling.

Last year installment sales amounted to a gross total of five billion dollars, one-twelfth of the national income.

Is this credit business making ready for the working class a terrible day of reckoning? Is jawbone liable to ruin this country as it ruined our camp in the desert?

For the workers, credit buying has, in the past, assumed a character which it would be silly to overlook or forget. In the East, there were credit men selling, especially to immigrants, those "phony" luxuries which, to the newcomers, meant America. The inner truth of the whole matter was that they did not intend to sell at all. No honest attempts were ever made to collect installments, when due. The merchants stood in with the justice courts and, after a few payments, they got back their goods on a writ of replevin and tried the trick on another greenhorn.

### As Viewed By British Employers

Those were small swindlers but there also were and still are more respectable fakers. In the sale of houses on the installment plan, in the sale of industrial insurance, the bulk of the profits do not come through a completed sale but through what are called lapses which means the inability of the buyer to live up to his contract with the resulting loss of all his previous payments.

Some real estate men have sold a cottage ten times and they still have it in their possession. The friendly judge always forecloses the deal as soon as illness or unemployment or any other of the economic upheavals of a speculative age cut off the worker's income and the more the buyers lost their payments the louder the kept press kept on shrieking: "Own your home, it is just as easy to buy a home as to pay rent."

And, in spite of these lessons, during the last two or three years, installment buying assumed such a huge volume as to become a characteristic feature of American life.

A commission of the Federation of British Industries recently visited the U. S. and, in its report, it pointed out how the post-war depression had been largely overcome, on this side of the Atlantic, by trusting the people, extending liberal credit and financing installment purchases.

In the February Atlantic Monthly, Mr. Pond, whose splendid studies on the evils of standardization form such a vivid contribution to the study of the machine process, that many industrial unionists will readily remember his name and work,

warns us on sound economic grounds, of the undeniable dangers of such a course.

.Installment buying has taken recently such huge proportions that it has made necessary the creation of an entirely new economic mechanism to handle this particular situation.

Open any magazine of bourgeois or middle class appeal and hundreds of opportunities to buy nearly everything under the sun, on credit, with little or nothing down, stare you in the face. The buyer promises to pay so much a month and, quite frequently, signs promissory notes to that effect. The seller cannot afford to wait until the notes become due to get his money. His profits are depending upon the number of times that he turns over his working capital. So, he offers the notes to a bank, but banks refuse to deal in long time paper. Ninety days is generally their limit.

Therefore a new middleman or intermediate concern springs up, the discounting or financial company. It buys the seller's paper and re-discounts it at the bank. For every four dollars which it borrows from the bank it uses generally one dollar of its own.

So numerous have those new concerns become in the last two or three years that they have founded a national association with a present membership of six hundred companies and many eligible corporations not joining.

Their earnings may be surmised from the 1925 figures for automobiles sold on installment credit. A total of $1,020,000,000 of cars was sold and the volume of credit extended on those sales was $1,280,000,000. The difference between the two figures represents the profit of the discounting concerns for the single item of motor cars. The rate of discount of those financing concerns is usually from 2 to 3 p. c. above the going bank rate.

So large have the profits of those new middlemen become that the usual thing has happened. The larger concerns are getting ready to kill the smaller profiteers in order to grab their winnings themselves. Negotiations are being carried on right now as a result of which, automobile manufacturing corporations will become more of a financial institution and discount their own installment notes instead of selling them to a financing company.

How and to what extent does this new economic condition affect the workers?

The success of installment buying is largely due to the false social philosophy which the A. F. of L. has inculcated into the American workers.

### Aping The Middle Class Is Wrong

The crime of the A. F. of L. is not so much its structural inefficiency nor the inner circle of professionals who use the organization to sell out the American workers like cattle in the market of the false social philosophy which it is presenting to the workers of this country, as a social ideal, the desirability of becoming a pale and flabby imitation of the middle class instead of a new and definite social type proudly rising on its own merits and with its own characteristics.

The motto of the middle class is: "We are what we appear to be." So the A. F. of L. craftsman, like the middle class neighbor whom he is aping, feels uncomfortable when the man next door begins to sport something bought on credit and, not to be outdone, he buys the same thing by the same method. Many a working girl, instead of joining a real union to improve her working conditions, tries to achieve a measure of individual success by the ownership of a suitable wardrobe that she can only afford, if at all, on the deferred payment plan.

Any time the worker who is ignorant of the teachings of class-consciousness discounts his future earnings and obligates himself to pay for questionable luxuries, he paralyzes his economic action as a worker and delivers himself into self-imposed peonage. As soon as he goes into debt, gone is also his militancy and his peace of mind and, even, the efficiency as a producer upon which he relies to hold his job.

It is a high price to pay for the questionable privilege of being taken by a few simpletons for a hundred per cent denizen of Main Street.

Elementary economics will teach one the difference between the acquisition of an improved tool on the hire-purchase plan and the buying of luxuries. The improved tool can be paid for out of its own earnings. But the largest volume of installment buying is done in goods which show a high depreciation in a short time and offer no returns whatever to their buyers.

That the resulting situation offers grave dangers for the economic and financial condition of the nation at large is admitted by the leading bankers themselves. They called a special meeting in Chicago last December and adopted certain rules to regulate the installment business, but the competition between credit concerns caused those rules to be disregarded.

The situation is becoming positively dangerous. There are many applications for delays in meeting installments and more broken agreements in which partly paid articles are replevined by the sellers. The National Retail owners and the National Hardware Association have recently become vocal to the extent of asserting that the middle class and the craftsmen who ape it are cutting down on essentials in order to be able to pay for luxuries.

The national officers of the Typographical Union admit the existence of such a condition, as far as their membership is concerned.

### Methods Productive of Panics

There exists only one logical conclusion to such a situation and it is called a panic. The deep-seated cause of a panic is the compulsory under-consumption of the workers whose wage cannot buy back the commodities which they produce, but the immediate cause of a panic is generally the over-expansion of credit created in a frantic effort

to dispose of the mass of commodities which the workers have created but cannot buy back with their wages.

Installment buying may look rather inoffensive when money is easy, but what of it when money becomes tight?

With the huge amount of outstanding debts created by installment buying, a panic would strike the middle class and the craftsmen harder than ever before.

In the past, the proletarian who was able to survive physically the sufferings of a crisis found himself, as soon as conditions began to improve, with the full and untrammeled enjoyment of all what he was able to earn in the shape of wages. Not so the middle class and the craftsmen. They had a local standing, perhaps a partly paid for home, they could get credit and it took them nearly half way in the direction of the next panic before they were able to get clear of the indebtedness contracted to outlive the previous one. That was one of the causes why, in the past, middle class people, real and imitation, hated the hobo so cordially. If a panic strikes in the near future, craftsmen and middle class will have to settle for that average five billion of credit goods besides their subsistance debts before they will be square with the world.

If the recurring economic cycle leads to a panic in the near future, we shall once more witness the growth of a bourgeois reform party. The basis of petty bourgeois reformism is always debt. The reformer is but a would-be capitalist who wants to use political action to get rid of some of his debts. The free silver craze of 1896 was not based upon an even rudimentary undertanding of the theory of bimetallism. Free silver to most of its votaries meant a legal trick to get rid of most of the indebtedness contracted during the panic of 1893.

It needs no demonstration to prove that such a huge mass of credit, as that which is now outstanding, could not be established without a considerable relaxation of the usual credit requirements. A salesman endowed with a modicum of common sense realizes that he need not lie awake at night figuring out how to break what he calls sales resistance. It is much easier and just as safe to take a long chance. In fact, he takes a good many long chances. I am satisfied that the facility of getting goods on credit has created a small army of deliberate swindlers. Easy installment buying has been a contributing factor in the spreading increase in criminality.

Before the installment boom, bad payers, known as "skips," were estimated at 7 per cent of the total of time buyers. In three years their number has almost doubled. It reaches now nearly 14 per cent of the total of sales. Dodging the installment collector is becoming a new sport and the skips have provided the vaudeville actors with a new source of jokes.

### Clever Youth Slips Something Over

Recently, in a large city on the Pacific Coast, a clever young man got wise to the fact that the investigators for the credit houses had adopted the rule to approve all applications for credit entered by people who owned their furniture. So he bought thirteen dollars and fifteen cent's worth of second hand furniture and made application for credit to an even dozen of clothing houses. Each one provided him with a suit of clothes and an overcoat upon the statement of his landlord that he was renting an unfurnished apartment. Then he skipped but he did not leave town. He appeared before the secretary of the Retail Clothing Men's Association, introduced himself as the only genuine 100 per cent skiptracer and was employed at once. The first batch of skips that was handed to him for investigation consisted largely of his own aliases. He was paid five dollars a day to look for himself and fired for inefficiency when he failed to locate himself inside of thirty days.

Skips on automobile sales can not fail to be numerous since the machine itself provides an excellent vehicle to dodge the collector.

The conscious industrial proletarian is no reformer, he is a revolutionist. When class consciousness keeps him from the prevailing craze of installment buying, it saves him dollars and cents and, in another wider sense, endows him with a larger probability of survival generated by the rational husbanding of his energy.

From a social point of outlook, the commodities generally bartered in credit selling fail to appeal to the industrial proletarian as strongly as they do to the middle class and its imitators within the ranks of labor.

### A Word on the Artistic

The craze for flying over the country with such a speed that one has no chance to take a decent look at the landscape, the more or less artistic reproduction of music by mechanical means, the canned jazz of the radio and phonograph fail to captivate the mind of the proletarian to any great extent.

Such devices transform him too much into a passive spectator. The function of art is relaxation from the strain of the productive process in his case and, as he emerges into a definite social type through the teachings and practice of revolutionary industrial unionism, he shall establish his own formulas of art and beauty.

Art to him will become social, it will rest him by providing an outlet for those of his faculties which the machine process leaves dormant. Social art will provide a wholesome emotion in which the proletarian will become an active participant.

The class-conscious proletarian will be of a finer and higher moral type than the would-be bourgeois who likes to show his contempt for a mere pedestrian by deliberately knocking him down with a partly paid for automobile.

# The Lesson of West Virginia

By GEORGE PUTNAM

## Photographs taken in Powell Creek Tent Colony, near Little Coal River in Boone County and Printed here by courtesy of the Federated Press

NOWHERE TO GO

This Little Girl's Father Struck Four Years. Strike Lost. No Food or Money Left. She is Wearing Cast-off Boy's Clothes Sent by Sympathizers

THERE is no country in which industrial development has been so swift and so spectacular as in this sweet land of liberty with reservations. For these reasons the United States offers among its many widely advertised opportunities a really matchless chance for studying class warfare concomitant with unique capitalist expansion. If you were to take an outline map of this country and mark with rings of red the locations of its fiercest industrial battles the blood-mottled relief would be startling.

Over West Virginia's coal fields you could throw a large stain to stand for a regime of company terrorism seldom equaled in the vicious annals of bourgeois bloodshed and abrogation of human rights. Industrial feudalism is not new to coal districts, but is a yoke that uniformly oppresses the miners wherever they have failed to make a united stand in their own interests, or where their fight has met with failure.

In 1921 the whole country was amazed by accounts of thousands of miners mobilizing in Marmot, Kanawha County, West Virginia for the aid of their union fellow workers desperately battling in Mingo County, 65 miles distant, against the operators' reign of terror. On the mountain roads these marching miners were opposed by an army of company gunmen, who used bombs, gas and machine guns. The union men put up a good fight, capturing both machine guns and finks in many skirmishes. Their act was an outstanding exhibition of solidarity with rare courage and military strategy to recommend it.

But even at that time the miners said one fact more than any other explained their inability to win against the bosses. The union railroaders kept hauling scab coal. Solidarity of labor has often been shown by the miners, though its natural gestures have been bound because of the Lewis machine, but solidarity of labor to the sixteen separated railroad unions is meaningless. They do not give each other solidarity and they have been consistently at the service of their masters, no matter what the effect on miners or other groups of workers.

Last month we witnessed another disastrous retreat by the miners of West Virginia, when the U. M. W. of A. international office called off a four-year and two-year strike involving 15,000 workers and their dependents. They had been receiving a semi-monthly relief of $1.50 a person. Now they have been advised to secure what jobs they can.

The strikers have been living in tents and such ramshackle quarters as are shown in the photographs accompanying this account. The scene of the conflict is along the Little and Big Coal rivers, on the Paint and Cabin creeks, and on other tributaries of the Kanawha. The operators evicted the workers from company property long ago, and hardships beggaring description have been endured.

Although it is a fact not obscure even to fakers like John Lewis that aggressiveness is essential to working class victory, and that folded arms would not avail against the guns of company murderers who systematically launched bloody expeditions on the miners' homes and persons, the tactics formerly used in West Virginia were stopped. This weakened the miners. It prevented adequate defense and offense by which to smash the teeth of company thuggery. Kill the militant spirit of a union and its power to achieve working class good is killed. The Lewis act in this matter placed the miners at the mercy of coal company gunmen who were responsible only to law administered by the judicial hirelings of the coal operators.

With regard to the railroad workers: again they failed to come to the miners' assistance continuing throughout to haul the coal mined by scabs. And until there is effected a solidarity between these bodies of workers, miners and railroaders, whose strategic advantage is so great, the operators will have comparatively clear sailing. The lesson of England, where fear of united action by transportation workers to assist the miners caused the powerful British government to subsidize the miners, insuring the the wage level demanded, should be learned in America.

THE KIND OF SHACKS MINERS LIVE IN

Log Cabin Home of Elmer Mitchel, Four-Year Striker. He Has a Wife and Seven Children and No Job

NO COLOR LINE HERE

White and Black Workers Stood Together For Their Common Cause

Dragging out the strike over such long periods, while giving evidence of determination, results disastrously because times of strike are times of great sacrifice and intense suffering for the workers. To subject them to such drains on energy and spirit is unwise as a method of class struggle. The employers can endure protracted conflicts much better as their lives, if not their profits, are secure. Short, powerful strikes recruiting the maximum of solidarity are more effective. Even threatened solidarity often secures demands.

West Virginia conditions steadily worsen. The workers have suffered severely, but their spirit of revolt is not dead. In time it will again blazon oppression's night that marshals under the dark wings of corporate greed, such as United States Steel.

# Editorials

**ANTHRACITE STRIKE FAILURE.** — Examination of the provisions in the agreement accepted by the Lewis machine to end the strike of hard coal miners in Pennsylvania reveals sweeping defeat, the more galling in that it calls upon the miners after the long struggle from September until February dumbly to acquiesce in their own betrayal for a period of five years. That, practically, is what the covenant requires. The whole scheme of treachery suited the operators, and after the usual barrage of newspaper lies and villification, including the works of allied agencies of capitalist misinformation directed to the strikers' undoing, a priest blessed the settlement with encomiums for Lewis at the hand-picked Scranton convention in which the agreement was railroaded upon the workers.

At the outset, to many at any rate, prospects for victory by 158,000 workers in this basic industry seemed very bright. On the miners' side was an inspiring solidarity. The operators made no attempt to run the collieries. Yet defeat was the miners' fate. When unorganized or only partially organized workers lose strikes it is easy to understand their failure. And it is not difficult to grasp the reasons for loss of strikes involving workers untrained to protest and without union resources.

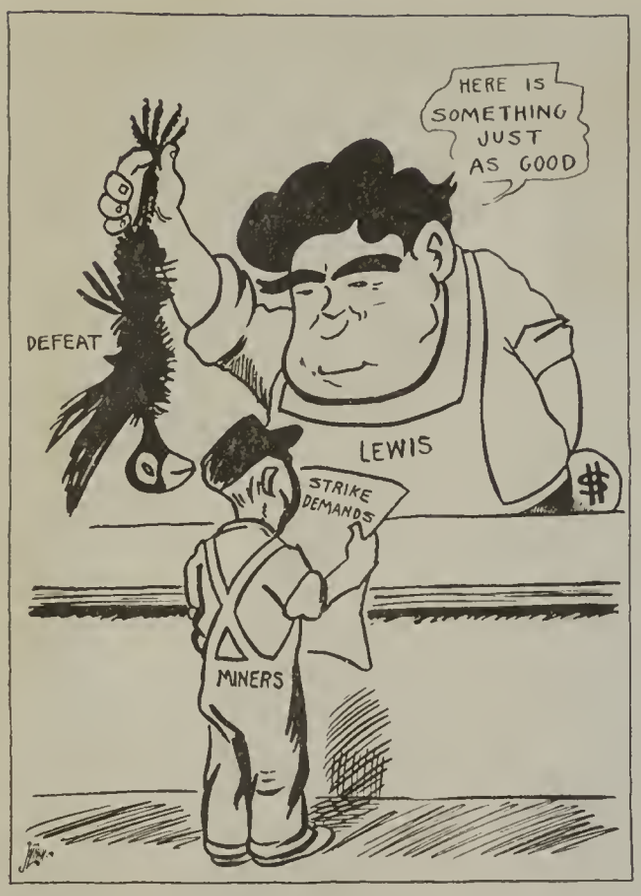
But in the anthracite strike we found an organized body of men possessed of great numerical strength, with a wealth of actual experience in contests against their employers, and backed by a large union treasury. Why then, with so many powerful factors in favor of their chances to triumph, did this host of strategically placed workers lose so completely?

The Hearst publications oracle, Brisbane, comments didactically on the inglorious termination, suggesting that the miners should have employed counsel before pursuing a strike policy. He said that no great corporation embarks on any important course without receiving the expert advice of the most astute legal minds. Let us suppose that an honest, informed, intelligent opinion could have been secured and used for the miners' guidance, what would the counsel have been?

Simply that as trade unionism is obsolete as a weapon against employing class industrial concentration, so, too, district division among mine workers foredooms them to failure when opposing the hegemony of mine operators. To illustrate: when one district of miners strike, or a single branch of the industry, the operators in other districts intensify production to supply the demand for coal. This method is common to all other great industries, and in the 1919 steel strike it was recognized that all plants must be struck so that transfer of orders could not be effected. Were the mine workers grouped in autonomous bodies bounded by districts their tactics, however futile, might be consistent. But they are united in a union embracing hundreds of thousands of members in Canada and the United States with general headquarters.

Their experience has been that strike settlements by districts are disastrous, just as the prosecution of strikes in that manner precludes possibility of victory. Entering the anthracite strike they should have made is as general as their entire membership, and they should have called on transportation workers for support. Fighting in that formation how could they lose?

Instead, a part of the miners strike, the majority continue to dig coal, while transportation workers haul whatever coal is




needed to fill the bosses' orders. The result is never in doubt, and it is a crime against the fine courage of the striking miners to send them before industrially organized operators a regiment or a division at a time.

**ANOTHER DEPORTATION FRENZY.** — Purporting to be engaged in an effort for ridding this country of foreign-born gunmen and other unnaturalized persons occupied with illegal pursuits, the Immigration Office of the Labor Department has instigated a campaign to corral these "undesirables" and deport them to the lands of their birth. Newspapers in a number of cities are taking up the hue and cry, with Chicago in the lead. The paladins of good citizenship, who think that only the gunmen on company payrolls employed for intimidating labor and breaking strikes should be encouraged, are making a noisy pretense that they want to see our fair shores cleansed of gun-toting foreigners who act on their own initiative.

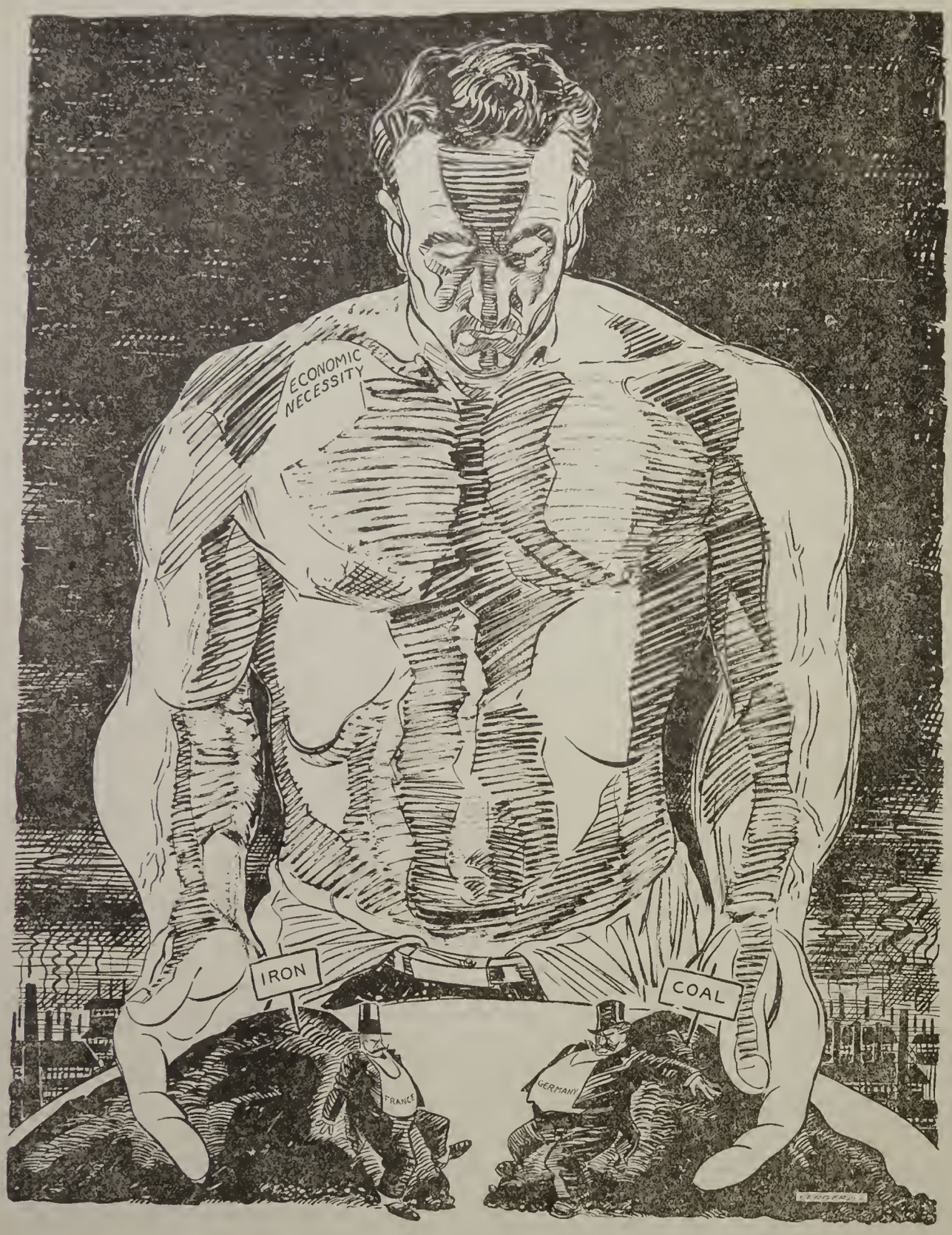
This propaganda is in line with other policies that have been advocated by the president and the Labor Department head, such as finger print registration of all foreign-born. Here is surveillance with a vengeance in the interests of American monopolists. It is a fact that labor organization in steel plants, packing houses, mines and other important industries rests squarely on the problem of unionizing the foreign-born workers. With finger print supervision these workers will be discouraged from organizing because they fear deportation. The press is psychologizing the Scissorbillica so that they will regard all foreign-born workers as dangerous to "the peace and dignity of the state."

All of this activity seems to be paving the way for deportations of radicals on a larger scale than ever before, and a consequent blow at labor organization. The only effective answer to this onslaught is increased industrial unionism. That is what employers fear more than anything else.

**"THEY SHALL NOT PASS."**—This was the grim-lipped oath sworn by the French at Verdun, so we were thrillingly advised during the late unpleasantness abroad. To make good this vow over a hundred thousand French wage slaves, in uniforms of course, lost their lives; to smash that Gallic resistance about four hundred thousand Teutonic wage slaves, likewise in uniform but of another color, were murdered. Half a million fatalities at this particular shambles.

Today the capitalists of both countries pass as they please and are on very fraternal terms in the slight matter of exploiting the working classes of Germany and France. This applies prominently to steel, coal, iron, coke and potash production. Referring to an understanding between German and French monopolists in the latter commodity Monsieur le Cornec, director general of the Societe Commerciale des Potasses d'Alsace reminds his colleagues that:

"One value of the pact must be emphasized. It lies in insurance against labor troubles. If the German potash workers go on strike, there will always be the




French supply to fall back on and thus there can not be a potash shortage."

Here is a plain statement of policy revealing the practicability of business combination on an international basis. It amounts to an industrial unionism of these French and German employers, and the slaves that they are so thoroughly robbing

can not stop the encroachments nor win to a better level of existence unless they adopt the same tactics, industrial organization without respect to geographical cleavages and political boundaries. That must be their reply to those who so confidently expect to use them against each other in times of strikes.

**LUMBER WORKERS' CONFERENCE.** — At Portland, Oregon, on April 1st Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120 goes into conference to consider the problems of organization with which the workers are confronted. It is a fact that through I. W. W. organization, conditions in the woods were made immeasurably better, especially by the 1917 strike.

But many blows have been leveled at the I. W. W. in this industry, among the worst being a vicious blacklist system and the introduction of piece work. Doubtlessly the Portland Conference will seek methods to circumvent the former, and to abolish the latter. In this connection it is opportune again to point out that William R. Langdon, American consul at Antung, China, recently made a report to the United States Commerce Department containing these words: "The enterprise of Pacific Coast lumber manufacturers and cheap water transportation across the Pacific have closed all the 23 sawmills in Antung."

We have heard a lot about coolie labor, haven't we? But here is very eloquent proof that the workers of the Pacific Coast woods are more profitable than Orientals, so much more profitable that the latter can not compete with them.

Several years ago the writer, while making a study of hours of labor in the whole lumber industry, came across complaints from Japanese lumber interests that they were having the greatest difficulty competing with American lumber companies because of the advantage the gyppo system brought to the latter.

It may also be remarked, incidentally, that my investigation of hours worked in the American lumber industry showed positively that in the states where the I. W. W. had effected greatest organization, hours, and all other aspects were better for the workers than in states where the organization had been unable to make much progress. A similar study in any industry will show the same facts: where unionism is strong wages are relatively higher, hours of labor fewer and conditions generally improved over those prevailing where organization is either weak or non-existent.

Therefore, we look hopefully to the deliberations at Portland for tactics which will bring a revival of the great fighting spirit that challenged industrial tyranny in lumbering and forced from the criminal employers so many of the requirements to a higher standard of living for lumber workers. Nothing but I. W. W. organization ever got these workers anything worth while in the years that have passed: only the lack of I. W. W. organization is responsible for bad conditions now prevailing in the camps; and the I. W. W. is the only power big enough and militant enough to bring the lumbering situation to a successful issue for the workers when they recognize the tremendous power of this industrial union weapon. More power to L. W. I. U. No. 120, and to the Portland Conference!

**TELL THEM THE TRUTH.** — Trade unionism's first appearance in the drama of American class warfare aroused the hyena howls of a judiciary groveling at the feet of its masters. Anxious to serve the rising capitalists this slimiest agency of the bourgeoisie branded exponents of the new economic associations of workers conspirators. To unite for the purpose of raising wages or effecting other changes in the conditions of their employment was criminal; the unions were illegal combines, and their members outlaws.

But economic pressure forced the outlaw unionists to persevere. A long struggle followed and defiance against the black-gowned damnation won for the workers the right to organize. However, history has many evidences of reformed outlaws

and in time a degree of respectability was attributed to the erstwhile law-breakers, which contemporary trade union leaders are so eager to preserve that they prostitute themselves in many ways for the gratification of modern employers.

Trade union officials grow hoarse repeating that the aims of their organizations are patriotic; that they are "safe and sane;" that they stand in four-square opposition to "radicalism." During the late war, with nationalistic piety they handed over many an unwelcome "red" member of their ranks to the tender mercies of the secular arm.

Having failed to understand the real meaning of a labor movement confronted by the unfolding of capitalist imperialism they remain isolated from the class conscious hosts of wage slaves throughout the world. And in conflicts against a phalanx of economically united bosses they are predestined to defeat because the use of obsolete methods in these contests is like trying to beat "Big Berthas" and machine guns with cross-bows and flintlocks.

Our business is to propagate the truth among workers, convincing them of their class position in society and of the fact that they have a class mission to accomplish, namely, their self-deliverance from wage slavery. If the labor movement is to advance it can stand for nothing less and one has a narrow vision, indeed, who can compass no more than a living wage just in front of his nose like a bag of oats on the pedlar's broken-down nag. Draft horses, oxen and other beasts of burden are given enough on which to live. The working class, capable of producing all the wealth of this world, and able to create infinitely more when rid of its parasites must surely aspire to finer heights than a modicum of animal comfort, gained only after most unremitting drudgery.

**ON THE RUBBER TRAIL.**—Newspapers of this country have given widespread publicity to complaints against Britain's practical monopoly of the world's rubber market. Eastern Asia's rubber growing area comprises about 4,000,000 acres under British control, with a valuation of approximately £700,000,000. Large automobile manufacturing concerns in the United States, heavily interested in the purchase of rubber, are responsible for the press propaganda.

This becomes easily understandable by their latest plan through which seven lead-

ing industrialists of prominent motors corporations have formed an organization committee to gain control of lands specially suited to rubber production. They anticipate buying up all small organizations outside of British control. The firms with members composing the land-buying nucleus are General Motors, Mack Truck, Nash Motors, Dodge Brothers, Packard and Studebaker. Purchases are to be made of lands in Sumatra, the Philippines and Brazil.

Meanwhile the cost of rubber goods has taken a sharp rise, and the following should be interesting:

> "There is about ten pounds of crude rubber in the average standard tire. The British rubber control has advanced the average price of that crude rubber about fifty cents a pound.

That accounts for a $5 advance in the cost of making a tire. But a thirty-three by six Goodrich balloon tire and tube, which cost $30 before the British advance now costs $54, or an increase to the American buyer of $24. We have found that the Englishman got the $5, but who got the other $19?"—Thus Representative Shallenberger, answering Secretary Hoover's charge that government protected foreign monopolies were the chief offenders in raising crude rubber prices. And he undertakes to answer his own question: "The big tire companies all show the greatest net profits for 1925 of any year in their history. The Fisk Company more than doubled their previous profits; Goodrich netted $15,000,000; Firestone earned 26 per cent." And he adds, "It seems to me that instead of investigating English rubber, we had better get after the American tire manufacturer."

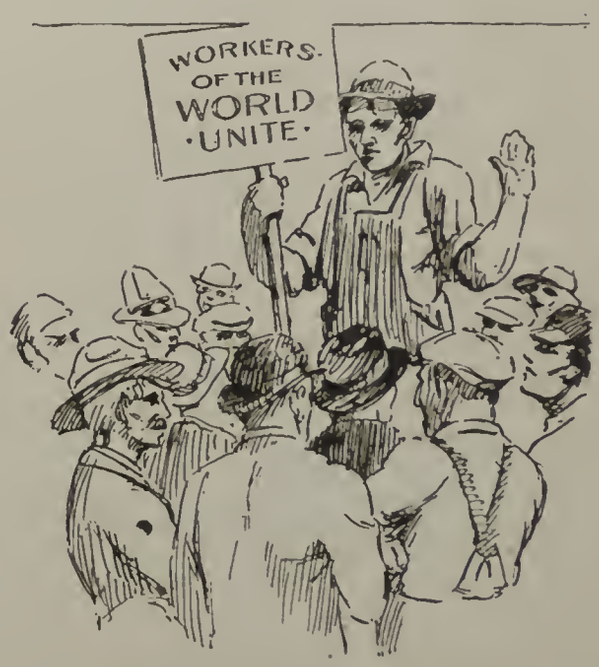
Watching developments of this latest movement of Dollarica business expansion is sure to be an engrossing pastime, and Filipino nationalists should regard it as a blow to their aspirations for political independence. The sinews of industry are binding the islands more firmly to American imperialism.

**NEWSPAPERS AND PASSAIC.**—With all their scheming together the capitalists sometimes let their wires get crossed, and the Passaic situation furnishes us with the sound of jarring notes among the parasites. Mill owners and those who possess the ordinary daily liars are both employers, both beneficiaries of the profit system. As such they should harmonize when workers go on strike, and, of course they almost invariably do so. But their policemen sometimes whack the wrong heads, and then we see bourgeois papers indignant over the matter of police brutality.

The club-invested town clowns of Passaic upset an automobile in which newspaper photographers were riding, breaking their cameras and molesting some of the reporters. This excessive indulgence of the policemen's love of anarchy should have been checked by the textile exploiters. The result was that a number of papers, among them the New York WORLD, commented editorially on police inhumanity, and in the exposure were drawn into depicting what the law was doing to the strikers. By this police indiscretion a very large number of workers were made aware of what was going on in Passaic, where the mill slaves are striking for the right to exist at least as securely as other beasts of burden.

When exploiters fall out workers gain. It reminds one of the Italian censorship. American newspapers generally did not regard Mussolini's drastic methods fit subject for adverse criticism until his machine began to pinch the American newspaper men. Then the papers affected set us a loud wail. Dictatorship was represented as having very objectionable parts.

Likewise, in Passaic it was not so very wrong, in the opinion of the bourgeois rags, for the woolen companies to resort to any means, no matter how outrageous, for suppressing the strike, but the **modus operandi** suddenly assumed villainous proportions when newspaper representatives and newspaper property were attacked. The moral to draw from this is: Buy I. W. W. papers and get the truth about the working class movement all of the time.




LEARN TO SPEAK, TO AGITATE, TO ORGANIZE YOUR FELLOW WORKERS!

# Craft Form Versus The I.W.W.

By J. A. VAN DILMAN

"Bring To Me the Wealth of the World, and I'll Give You Just Enough Wages to Exist on," Says the Capitalist, and the Ignorant, Disorganized Workers Suffer and Die to Obey Him

THE I. W. W. is a revolutionary, international, working class union which avoids confusing issues by recognizing no enemy but the exploiting class; no binding interests but those of toilers united for action by industrial alignment.

Craft form of unionism once effective in enforcing demands on isolated employers is no longer fitted to cope with a master class that swayed neither by prejudice nor sentiment detrimental to its material interests proceeds with infinite care to perfect what its miseducators so assiduously sneer down among us, namely, a one big union of "its" own breed.

Craft organization is to all practical purposes so dead as to stand in need of immediate burial before its rottenness disgusts to the point of revulsion. Witness for instance the spectacle of one great railway brotherhood degenerating into a banking institution and worse; into a direct exploiter of labor so unfair in its tactics as to draw venomous fire in convention from an affiliated body whose rights it trampled in the mire as ruthlessly as any frankly capitalistic master might do.

The history of this conservative form is replete with class collaboration, policies inconsistent with labor's aims, contracts conflicting as well as useless, jurisdictional disputes and outright scabbery to qualify for job control by encouraging confidence not of its membership or of the workers as a whole but of masters whose interests it more than half consciously serves.

In spite of all this or rather "because" of reactionary conservatism, its strength is but fictitious and incapable of withstanding vigorous onslaught when the ungrateful beast it seeks to pamper, turns to rend unit by unit its various battalions. A craft strike is pitiful in that the often heroic resistance of its rank and file usually winds up in compromise detrimental to them by leaders who have much to gain from skilful manipulation of conflicting interests. Its continued existence is permitted only through the ignorance of workers who cannot conceive the existence of a "class struggle" nor their unavoidable position in it. Craft form will have proven, once the final chapter is written, harmful more than useless to Labor's progress, since it not only blinds the latter to its own potential strength but in desperation to survive its day of usefulness strives openly to antagonize workers toward the only method able to combat capital on terms that promise eventual success. In other words it is a pretty toy still retaining in some of its phases a semblance of utility, but one which prevents its users from grasping the powerful bludgeon of revolutionary industrial unionism which bases its hope on solidarity of the workers, opposed to capitalist forces in distinctly drawn battle lines, thus preventing confusion which under craft union guidance throws us into a slavery contemptible because so unnecessary.

Even those blinded by mistaken self-interest should not fail to grasp the significance of a master class hatred vented so openly on the I. W. W. as to disclose its instinctive dread of an organization whose very principles spell doom for the oppressor, and even whose immediate demands are calculated to loosen its grip on the throat of suffering humanity.

It is up to us as workers to lay all prejudice aside that we may more clearly conceive the distinctions between antiquated craft groupings which survive by grace of downright servility and class collaboration and one basing its program on "a struggle that must go on till capitalism shall have been overthrown."

Craft unionism is an obsolete staff that proves but a broken reed in times of industrial stress and a sham which hoodwinks its members by various subterfuges till continued inconsistencies kill final faith in all organizations, good, bad and indifferent. This of course does not apply to rebels who, having clear vision, can not be thus misled; but how many such are there in conservative unions?

Broad study of subjects concerning our welfare as workers, and moral courage to act are vital, nor will cowardly attempts to evade serve other purpose than that of having trouble inevitably thrust upon us "after" we have reached the stage where resistance will be well nigh impossible.

Only full recognition of revolutionary industrial unionism's practical merit, by at least a militant minority, can clear up an issue whose import stands clear and distinct beyond all other "isms" that face a world in throes fated to bring forth freedom or slavery.

Which shall it be? It is up to us, who vainly boast of a red-blooded manhood we have as yet failed to prove, to tear a recent page from British labor history where solidarity so ably expressed its potential strength and—should we still be inclined to hold ourselves intelligent and men, let us live up in deed as well as word to our own implication.

Snap out of it! We cannot stop the tides. Let us learn to swim now for deep waters are ahead where nothing else will save; more especially not the proverbial straw of craft union form that fails utterly of its purpose.

ORGANIZE! Not tomorrow but NOW into the unions of your class.

ORGANIZE industrially along scientifically correct lines.

ORGANIZE your fellow workers and friends for numbers are necessary to power in a working class union and power alone can guarantee consideration from those whose concepts of mercy and justice are but hollow mockeries to lure us deeper into the horrors of wage slavery.

Join the I. W. W. today!

# Christian Science

By COVINGTON AMI

The sun is but the tail-end of a monstrous firefly,
The moon is but a big glow-worm acrawlin' 'cross the sky;
The comets they ain't nothin', sir, but gasbags full o' wind,
Just iridescent hotair by the seraph statesmen spinned.

The things they call a planet, an' the things they call a star,
Ain't nothin', sir, but cat's eyes aglowin' fum afar;
The earth's a hollow bubble, just a ghost-skin 'round a hole,
An' full o' creepin' microbes what believes they is a soul.

The whole of all creation is the shadder of a dream,
The mortal conjuration, sir, of things that only seem;
An' it's a fact past doubtin', which can never be gainsaid,
We's never really livin' an' we's never really dead.

# The Political and Economic Aspects of American Agriculture

By SAM MURRAY

**In Addition to Analyzing the Breach Between Workers and Farmers, This Writer Describes the Forces at Work to Take this Broad Smile Off John Farmer's Face**

THIS will be election year. A new congress will be elected this fall. The affair will probably command less interest than a presidential election, or for that matter not as much as a similar event a few years ago, inasmuch as the passing of politics as a determining factor in the affairs of the country is being more and more recognized. Yet, we can expect to be deluged with the usual appeals, entreaties and admonitions to vote for this candidate or that measure, and assured that this is to be the most momentous campaign of history and that the destiny of the race depends on how we vote.

As usual we can expect at least three political groups whether they unite under one flag or separate under the banners of the Progressive, Socialist and Workers' parties again to come out with an appeal for the workers and farmers to come together and elect their candidates, promising all kinds of blessings to be showered from above as soon as the two great branches of the army of industry stand shoulder to shoulder on the political field.

### The I. W. W. Not Against Voting

Although the writer of this article has no present intention of casting his sacred ballot at any one or any thing the coming election he is willing to grant that privilege to the rest of the fellow workers. The I. W. W. has never denied the right of a member to vote as early and often as his conscience may dictate, so long as he feels that his interests can be served in that way. However, as an organization representing the most advanced interests and seeking the most important matter in the way of educational material for the industrial workers, we are interested in the soundness of any proposition that may at any time be put forward by a group purporting to be in the interests of these workers. If there is any common ground where the workers and farmers can get together for the benefit of both we want to know about it. Knowing just what we want ourselves, the main problem is to find out what the farmer wants, whether it is practical to get it for him, and how it will affect us in case he does get it. Also, the chance of securing his support for the things that we want will bear investigation.

### In Spite of Paternalism and Privilege the Farmer Seems to Be Always in a State of Poverty

There is no group in America that has been as much pampered as the farmers. Homestead laws, public experiment stations, free instructions through bulletins and correspondence, public irrigation projects, cheap government loans; in fact, anything and everything in the way of encouraging the individual to set himself up on a small piece of land. Yet the farmer is always being held up to us as a subject of public sympathy. In spite of all this help he seems constantly to be getting himself in deeper and deeper water and laying the foundation for more paternalism, more help and more sympathy.

J. N. Watt, master of the Sacramento County

(California) grange, gave a rather gloomy picture some time ago of the condition of the American former, which, on top of what we have been hearing from some of our prominent spokesmen the last few years, is somewhat startling. Our statesmen and writers for the capitalist press have been resenting anything in the way of comparing the "great and prosperous American farmer" with the peasants of Europe, especially of Russia, and have been leading us to believe that instead of being a poverty-stricken peasant he is a very prosperous, shrewd and intelligent business man.

However, according to the authority mentioned above, the average income of the American farmer for 1924 was $876.00—a sum considerably below the cost of a decent livelihood, while nearly a hundred thousand farms were deserted during the same year. The value of farms shrank fifteen billions in five years. The latter fact is the more serious when we remember that the shrinkage often represented all that the farmer had in his farm, the holder of the mortgage getting the balance. Thirty per cent of the population and 25 per cent of the country's capital is engaged in agriculture, and receives 18 per cent of the total income. These are the facts. As a remedy he proposes that no more land be reclaimed by government aid but wants the government to assist in the matter of marketing, and in general recommends a policy that would mean higher prices for us who have to buy.

### Nothing In Common

In fact, the only remedy that any of the farmers' "friends," from the president down to the curb-stone communist, has to offer is a higher price for the farmers' product. Viewing the matter from the standpoint of a cockroach mind they never seem to suspect that there may be something wrong with the productive end of the game. They never ask themselves why it is that Henry Ford with his flivver getting better and cheaper all the time can pay nearly three times what the average farmer pays, while our loaf of bread and sack of spuds is either constantly going up or shrinking up. Then, too, Henry's bank account is increasing while John Farmer's is usually in the form of a mortgage held by the bank. If Ford were to attempt to build a flivver by the methods of production corresponding to those in vogue on the average small farm, it would cost him five thousand dollars and you would be afraid to ride in it when finished.

The claim that the farmer and wage worker have much in common has generally been accepted by most workers without question. However, these same workers will tell you that they have no desire to secure employment on a farm, and generally crab about the price of farm products. If asked to explain this apparent kink in their logic they try to tell you that the trouble is with the middleman. While it may be true that there is considerable profiteering and waste in the distribution of farm products, it is doubtful if it is any greater than in other lines. Most commodities sell for several times their necessary cost of production, and most farm products are difficult to handle and may suffer considerable loss in transmission.

Although the I. W. W. preamble states that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common," and the farmer is a member of the employing class this circumstance does not necessarily prevent the worker from taking advantage of the differences that arise between the farmer and other sections of the employing class. Employers benefit by taking advantage of our disagreements so there can be no objection to a farmer-labor party from the standpoint of that principle. If it were true that the farmer is producing as cheaply as could reasonably be expected and that his product is being unduly inflated by the middleman, it might be possible for the farmer and city wage worker to get together and both gain something to their advantage. But the farmer is not producing cheaply and I think the facts will bear me out when I say that the history of farmers' marketing ventures proves that they have had a tendency to inflate rather than reduce the price of their products to the consumer.

### Is the Farmer a Producer?

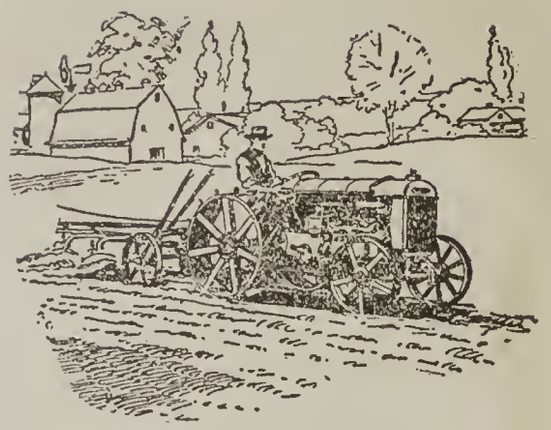
The trouble is that the farmer-labor advocates consider the farmer only in his capacity as a producer and that without any consideration of his ability in that line. The fact is that his place in society is a complex of several functions—employer, food speculator, real estate speculator and least of all, a producer. I think it can truthfully be said that the farmer is far more concerned about raising the price of his product or inflating the value of his farm on the real estate market than in increasing the quantity of his yield or cheapening the process, except where it can be done through a reduction of wages. As a producer he is especially inefficient. Most farms are small and the process of production is carried on in a more or less primitive manner. Most farmers are grossly incompetent. In the directing of operations, in the care of the soil and the breeding and care of stock, farming is both an art and a science capable of almost unlimited development. It is safe to say that two-thirds of the farm land in this country is in the hands of persons no more competent to manage a farm than I am to operate a steamship line. Probably the worst feature of the present farm situation is that due to incompetent farming, the total output is far below what it could be made. This incompetence and inefficiency render low wages and hard conditions a necessary complement to farming on a small scale. As a food speculator he is at war with the whole of society and if successful he only encourages the planting of more crops and in the end wars on himself. As a land speculator he is hopelessly bound up with the real estate shark and whenever he enjoys a short period of prosperity the price of land is forced up so that when-

ever it changes hands it requires more money to swing the deal. This means heavier mortgages and more interest to the bank so that in the next crisis you hear a greater howl than ever about the farmer being robbed, and the same old demand for lower wages, higher prices and helpful legislation to save the "poor farmer" from bankruptcy. It is a question if the American system of individual ownership of small tracts of land that we hear so much bragging about is not inferior, from the standpoint of the farmer himself, to a tenant system similar to that prevailing in some parts of Europe. It would seem that the American farmer, owing to the complex and contradictory character of his several social functions is the victim of a vicious economic circle, so that any action to raise him up will create a reaction that will drag him down again.

I hold that this is the economic law governing the price of farm land: Land is worth that sum of money which if placed on interest would yield an amount equal to the income of the land minus the cost of labor and upkeep. I hold that the small farmer's income can not rise beyond farm laborer's wages plus interest on investment. Since a large part of the interest on investment goes to the money lender while the farmer is compelled to assume all the risk, he would be much better off if land were cheap and wages high. But the individual farmer is so completely tied up in his investment that he is forced to war on both labor's interests and the interests of the farmer class as a whole. But supposing that it were possible permanently to render the farmer prosperous, how would that affect the rest of us?

### A Copper-Riveted Reactionary

Since the farmer is essentially a "petty bourgeois," and the most reactionary type at that, a prosperous farmer class would form a bulwark of reaction that would be a serious stumbling block to all progress. It will be noted that the farmer is always the special pet of the reactionary forces that are constantly trying to narrow our visions and circumscribe them within the bounds of nationalist and provincial bigotry. Between the farmer and the more advanced capitalist interests, the industrial worker should always stand for the latter. As for the middleman: if the farmer succeeded in eliminating him and gaining control of the marketing of his product we would be more than ever at his mercy in his frantic and never ending scramble for higher prices. In fact, there is no other branch of the employing class of which it can more truthfully be said that the working class and they have nothing in common than the farmers. Insofar as the demands of progress are concerned, there is no farmer problem except that of eliminating the small farmer and industrializing the agricultural industry. We have the machinery, but owing to the fact that the land is cut up into small holdings unsuitable to large-scale production it cannot be used. The small farmer is a permanent obstacle



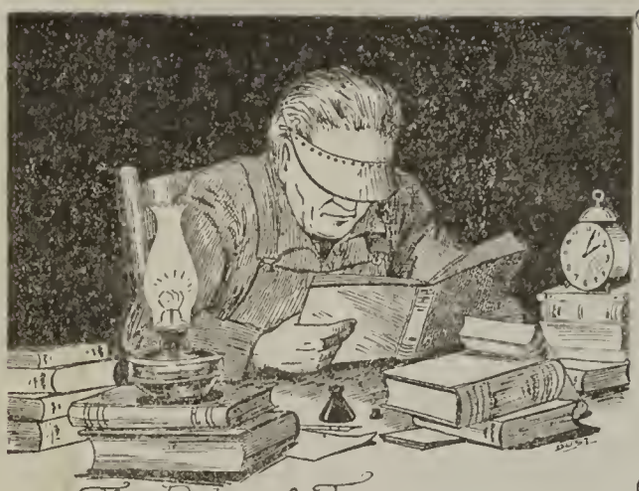
MACHINERY PLAYS AN EVER LARGER PART IN AGRICULTURE

to the progressive development of the industry.

We sometimes hear complaints that the government can find time to grant the railroads a rise in rates, but no time to help the farmer. They forget that the government is run in the interest of progressive industry, and further, the railroads have had their rates regulated downward and the hours of labor as well. If the government would first regulate the price of farm products to that which would render a reasonable return on the investment where agriculture is carried on by the most advanced system of machine production and then establish an eight-hour day it would be more reasonable to ask for aid in a crisis. The farmer has enjoyed absolute immunity from government interference. Child labor laws, eight hours, workmen's compensation. Nothing regulates the farmer. He enjoys special privileges granted to no one else. While workers are sent to the penitentiaries for organizing to raise wages he is aided and encouraged to organize with the deliberate purpose of gouging us with high food prices. The more immunities he enjoys the more he will regard himself as a member of a privileged class, and the less sympathy he will have for labor. About the only time he shows an inclination to be "radical" is when conditions are such that he begins to have visions of himself as a wage slave. It is plain that the workers should never allow themselves to be wheeled into supporting the farmer-labor movement. It is easy to see why craft union leaders have shown an interest in the farmer lately. Since the record of the craft unions for defeat the last few years has been practically one hundred per cent complete, the farmer-labor movement is a splendid crutch for a crippled labor leader.

### The Nemesis

Most of the land in this country was cut up into small tracts before the era of machine production and where large scale farming was sometimes practiced in isolated parts of the West the location was such as to render marketing more or less difficult and rotating and fertilizing impractical, so that it was more profitable to sell small tracts to suckers who would work their families to death to pay in-



*The Ruler of Tomorrow*

# Book Reviews

**SLIGHTLY SHOPWORN CHRISTIANS**

It is an axiom among radicals that missionaries go to save the heathen from happiness, and to save money for the capitalists who finance the missions. Recent actions of the young men and women of China have abundantly confirmed us in this opinion. But it has not occurred to many that there is a field for investigation among these strange and romantic creatures, the missionaries themselves. I suspect that one would have to have been born among those who feel "called" to "push the heathen to the gate" to understand them as Raymond Weaver, the author of a new novel, "Black Valley," seems to understand his material—the missionary settlement in Kurodani, a small, probably fictitious but probably typical out-of-the-way town in Japan.

Very likely Weaver is really telling his story in the story of Gilson Wilberforce, Japanese born son of a huge missionary man who is a regular wild bull of Bashan for energy, and tactlessness, and a self-sacrificing missionary mother who quite cheerfully lets herself die by inches from a cancer in the breast, and conceals it, until the last stages, for fear that her pain would interfere with the happiness of her very noisy, and very literary husband, or of her clever young son.

For the son apostasizes: He gets too darned Japanese, by growing up among the little Jap kids, and by taking short cuts through the local red-light district, and bandying repartee with the ladies who call to him. He cultivates the acquaintances, also, of Buddhist priests, and Shinto fortunetellers, and it all has a very bad effect on his proper, puritanical outlook on life. Even the proprieties and conventions of New England he disregards, in order to go swimming with the natives in the river.

"For Japan had not begun to cultivate those final flowers of Christian civilization, the smirk and the innuendo; and being genuinely modest, nakedness, as such, was to his Japanese friends casual and uninteresting. This innocence is now being jeopardized however, by national vanity; for Japan is tenderly solicitous of foreign approbation. And Japan may end in being filthy out of a pious endeavor to appear respectable. Until recent years it was a universal native custom to go swimming naked in mixed company; a state of affairs that shocked both Christians and tourists. Some years ago, to preserve international confidence in native decency, there was promulgated from the throne an Edict commanding that every Celestial put on a bathing suit before taking a plunge. The Edict was most literally and wholesomely interpreted. Down to the beach came congregations of Japanese with their kimono sleeves jauntly waving in the breeze. Off came the kimonos, each bronze body stripped and shameless in the sun. They played ball on the beach, napped, gossiped and idled. But immediately before going into the water, each squirmed into a pair of trunks, touchingly obedient to the Edict from the Throne."

However, Gilson clung to the gods of his fathers until he got away from Japan. The author suggests that his unbelief was being prepared, like a photographic plate, but was not developed yet. Mrs. West seems to have developed it. She was the sixty-year-old, shrewish but kindly, and cynical and skeptical old widow he met on the steamer, on his way to America to be educated.

Some idea of the clash between Mrs. West and the missionary ladies can be gained from her conversation with one of them at the breakfast table, two weeks out in the Pacific.

"Isn't prayer wonderful!" says the little missionary lady. "Yes, prayer is very wonderful," loyally asserts Gilson. And the reason is developed under Mrs. West's questioning:

"You were one of the few not seasick last night. You are a good sailor?"

"Oh, no!" pleaded the little woman, "I am not a good sailor. It is the power of prayer. All my friends in China are praying for me, and I haven't been seasick all this trip."

"A shrewd preventive," was Mrs. West's com-

ment. "And your husband and your sister missionaries?"

"Mr. Westbrook has been just awful," the small creature woefully drawled with an earnest wag of her head.

"Weren't his friends praying for him?" Mrs. West continued with malicious curiosity.

"Oh, yes!—But Mr. Westbrook has a weak stomach!"

Gilson returns from his "education" in America, to find the cattish lady missionaries, and wives of missionaries, sitting in groups and rending to tatters the reputation of a good woman of fifty, who has suddenly fallen in love with a sea captain and has come from the field of the Lord in China to marry him in Kurodani. He finds also a pretty young converted Japanese girl, whose father stayed Buddhist, and is mightily angry at her for leaving the parental rooftree. The missionaries hide her away, and Gilson falls in love with her. But the capitalist Caucasian and all his agents are always a caste apart, in the Orient, however much they may preach of the fatherhood of god and the brotherhood of man, so Gilson is only tempted to marry her—he doesn't quite.

He finds also Alurid Wilberforce, his father, panting for him to become a servant of the Lord, and push the heathen to the gate for a while in Kurodani, leaving the old man free to finish his big book, twenty-five volumes already and still going strong, Historia Imperii Japonici. This old man seems to be the regular archtype of a missionary:

" . . . Over six feet in height, the upper reaches of his legs decently extinguished in billows of frock coat, he sent his voice rolling up from the cavernous depths of his giant figure to thunder out through the wilderness of his Assyrian beard. He was not designed for trivialities; though unredeemed Japanese urchins, it is true, had been known to dare —always at a safe distance—to jeer at him as a hairy devil. But Alurid took the flaunt with becoming dignity,, and recalling the Biblical parallel of the naughty little Jews crying 'go up, thou bald head; go up, thou bald head' to the prophet Elisha, he did as Elisha had done; 'he turned back, and looked at them, and cursed them in the name of the Lord'. When in Hebrew he recites appropriate verses from the Twenty-sixth Psalm: 'Judge me, O Lord; for I have walked in mine integrity: therefore I shall not slide.—I have hated the congregation of evildoers; and will not sit with the wicked. Lord, gather not my soul with the sinners, in whose hands is mischief. But as for me, I will walk in mine integrity'."

His opinion of the Japanese he was saving was unflattering to them: "The Japanese fancy themselves highly affronted," he wrote in the tenth chapter of the tenth book of his Historia, "by the endeavour of some who busy themselves to draw the original descent of their nation either from apes, from the lost tribe of Israel, or from the Chinese or other of their neighbours. They claim a birth much higher and nobler, and esteem themselves no less than offspring of their very heathen deities—all of which deserves no credit, and must be entirely rejected as forged and fabulous. The Japanese are, moreover, at a loss what to answer when asked how it came about that Amaterasu O-Mikami, a being endowed with so many excellent and supernatural qualities as they ascribe to her, begot so poor and miserable a race as that of the present inhabitants of Japan."

It will be seen that what with Gilson's backsliding and his matrimonial preferences, and the old lady from China and hers, the author has created a situation in which the air is charged with something more than the Holy Spirit.

When twelve days go by without the fiance of the dear old lady showing up to marry her, and when the Japanese convert begins secretly to meet her lover in the mission garden, the spiritual side gets more possibilities.

Then when the old lady goes for a walk in the garden at night, and find Gilson and the Japanese girl in what would have been a connubial embrace, had they not dispensed with one of the rites of priestcraft, the old dame has a cat-fit. The author does not really tell us whether it is because her maiden modesty is outraged at the sight, or whether she suddenly is made aware of the hopelessness of there ever being anything half so beautiful in her life as this illicit love passage of these two not-quite Christians who find more to please them in the mission garden than the mission church.

So when the captain comes with a perfectly good excuse for being late, he is dumbfounded by being howled at, raged at, accused of philandering, and driven ignominiously from her presence by the bride herself.

The captain does not know any Japanese, has never been in the town, and wanders forlornly about until two of his own Japanese sailors find him and take him straight to the red-light district. Everybody is so nice to him that he thinks he is in some perfectly proper hotel, and proceeds to drown his sorrows in drink. The more he drinks, the more respectable he feels, and when he is made aware of a woman brazenly entering his room he throws her out. After that "the heathen rage" and they and the captain just naturally get to fighting, and a mob gathers, and the missionary settlement is rudely awakened by a Japanese policeman who hammers with his sword on the door and in three or four very crude Anglo-Saxon words of one syllable states just where it is that the captain is, and that he is fighting—will the ladies come and get him out?

It takes the whole mission force to get him away —and that is about all there is to the story. The plot is rather thin, but the yarn is rich in embroidery, in clever little quips at the expense of missionaries, and delightful half-page revealing descrip-

tions of their attitude. I know of nothing better than the spectacle of the drunken captain, barred within his room, the curious crowd of disreputable characters and police watching, and Alurid Wilberforce, (Gilson's father) soundly lecturing them all on their sins. Standing on the steps of the brothel, he felt the urge to speak thuswise to them all:

"These whoremongers! — These adulterers! — These drinkers of damnations!" — Alurid burst forth, as Gilson sat on the lower entrance step, occupied in his haste to get his feet out of his shoes. "These open sepulchres, filthy with concupiscence, and fornication, and uncleanliness, and lasciviousness, and idolatry, and witchcraft, and hatred, and wrath, and strife, and sedition, and treaty-breaking, and drunkenness, and persecution, and blasphemy, and unthankfulness — — "

"Treaty-breakers," ah, that's a significant word in the mouth of a missionary. Trade follows the flag—but the cross precedes them both and prepares the way, the soldier and the missionary are the agents of capitalism, in all of its slave raids into the Orient.

The picture of the missionaries, in spite of individual cases of great heroism and devotion, is that of slave raiders, enslavers, who regard the heathen as so much raw material to be worked on, so many souls to be "saved" and so many bodies to be worked. The best that can be said is that they are just as cruel to each other as to the natives. When Gilson's mother does die (as a matter of fact Mrs. West murders her to relieve her sufferings), the ladies are rather pleased.

"Funerals are such beautiful occasions," * * * "especially the funerals of the saved. For while we're alive so many things do sometimes happen. But once they're dead, then you know they are same." **Card 794514.**

**BLACK VALLEY, By Raymond Weaver, published by The Viking Press, New York. Price, $2.**

**Business Plus The Stars And Stripes**

Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman have collaborated to produce a study of American territorial acquisition and business expansion that for comprehensiveness and clearness has never been equalled. The following statement uttered by President Taft in his Inaugural Address, March 4, 1909, was "the first avowal of the policy which, under the Taft administration, won the title of 'Dollar Diplomacy' ":

"In the international controveries that are likely to arise in the Orient growing out of the question of the open door and other issues the United States can maintain her interests intact and can secure respect for her just demands. She will not be able to do so, however, if it is understood that she never intends to back up her assertion of right and her defense of interest by anything but mere verbal protest and diplomatic note."

But while the genesis of the phrase "Dollar Diplomacy" dates from 1909, its spirit is much older and Taft was simply reasserting an avowal which governed the State Department especially from the time of the McKinley administration. It means that Big Business—predominately finance capital—in its foreign spheres of investment will be aided in every way by the Government of the United States, including the use of armed force.

The authors review the manifestations of this diplomacy in their various aspects; peaceful economic penetration prosecuted by business houses; economic penetration under government control; economic penetration with political interference—political regulation; armed intervention; acquisition without annexation; acquisition by conquest and then purchase; the evolution of American imperial diplomacy; the Dawes Plan, and so on, with appended copies of the different documents by which the leading acts of this diplomacy have been made classic examples for the technique of the American imperialists.

Here in 353 pages, including the index, is a vast amount of information set down very much to the point and with ample evidence to constitute the volume of damning, irrefutable indictment of this hypocritical government that finds no acts of oppression too inhuman to inflict and no phase of its exploitation and violence not amenable to the noblest of explanations compatible with the largess of benefaction.

Canada is cited, with numerous statistics, as an example of peaceful economic penetration, and the fact is made clear that the United States investments in the Dominion are greatly in excess of those of Great Britain which led there until the World War. Capital introduced into a country which gives it the right to operate is shown by such cases as the Argentine Government permit to Swift and Company to build a dock at La Plata, and of the Cuban Government permit to the United Fruit Company legalizing the company's docks at Sama. But greatest of all is the Bolivian loan which is secured by the Republic's bank, its revenues and the property and revenues of certain Bolivian railroads. A fiscal commission exists to administer the provision of the contract, and the whole financial system with far-reaching political checks is in the hands of Wall Street bankers. Should it become necessary for these bankers to call on the State Department of the United States for assistance in gaining the discharge of the Bolivian obligation this government, by its diplomatic creed, is pledged to use all the power it commands in aid of the financiers.

The book shows how the revolution in Panama was instigated when the Columbian Congress adjourned without giving the United States the land wanted to build the Panama Canal. Panama, under the protection of American warships, and with the direction of the American State Department, was established as a republic, and a strip of land ten

miles wide was ceded to this government. It took fifteen days to accomplish this revolution from the time the warship commander was notified to prevent Columbian troops from landing in Panama until President Roosevelt recognized the minister of the new republic that American statecraft had created.

There are accounts of the Hawaiian Revolution (American manufactured) by which the islands were annexed; of the suppression of the Philippine Republic in the interests of American business and military strategy; of the many devious maneuvers by oil and other American interests in Mexico backed by this Government to the point of military occupation and diplomatic direction of the internal affairs of a supposedly sovereign power; of the Cuban occupation; of marines in Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua; of the purchase of the Virgin Islands and the oppression endured by the inhabitants under the "free flag of the United States."

In discussing the Dawes Plan the authors explain how the German people are bound over for an indefinite time to their victors who have exacted from generations still unborn economic tribute of a magnitude never before known in history. This is a case of strong powers inflicting heavy penalties on other strong states.

There is an explanation of the Open Door diplomacy by which American capitalists forced their way into Manchuria to set up a "sphere of influence," and then secretly negotiated with other foreign powers to shut the door again on those not yet in the exploiting ring.

The story of Admiral Chester in the Near East is most absorbing. Chester got concessions in the Mosul district (rich in oil and a large number of other resources) and these were later contested by England and France. Together nationals of these governments and of the United States have formed a company to exploit the Near Eastern oil fields. This is the Turkish Petroleum Company. It is interesting, to say the least, to read this remarkable statement issued from the United States Bureau of Naval Intelligence:

"We have extensive interests in the Near East, especially in tobacco and petroleum. Early in 1919 several American destroyers were ordered to Constantinople for duty in the Near East . . . The possible development of the economic resources of this port of the world were very carefully investigated by representatives of American commercial interests. These representatives were given every assistance by the Navy, transportation furnished them to various places, and all information of commercial activities obtained by the naval officers in their frequent trips across the Black Sea given them . . . The Navy not only assists our commercial firms to obtain business, but when business opportunities present themselves, American firms are notified and given full information on the subject. . . One destroyer is kept continually at Samsun, Turkey, to look after the American tobacco interests at that port. . . The American tobacco companies represented there depend practically entirely on the moral effect of having a man-of-war in port to have their tobacco released for shipment."

It will readily be seen how intimate is the connection between American business concerns seeking bargains, loot and expansion in foreign lands, chiefly "backward countries," and the State Department when the vigilant commanders of the Navy are employed not only to act in a police capacity as at Samsun, but as ferrets to find the quarry and give American business "full information on the subject." The American worker seeking an elusive job in the hours of industrial crisis tramps or rides box cars; the American investor questing economic prizes afar receives the proffered hospitality and protection of war vessels, and "full information."

This great work of Messrs. Nearing and Freeman floods with light the machinations of the American Empire, and in this light we are enabled to understand better the cryptic utterance of Admiral Fletcher, of Tampico infamy, that: "Navies are the insurance for the wealth of leisure classes invested abroad."

The authors have shown many presidents up in their true colors, among them being McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding and our own matchless dumbbell, Calvin. Those who still think that the late Princeton prexy was an idealist should be sure to read about his deliberate lies in the interest of American oil kings, and of his very practical switching whenever the big bosses cracked the whip. Wilson often let his love for words lead him astray but he always ended these ruminations when the hard heads of American capitalism called a halt, and by reading this book one is certain to get quite a revealing view of the spell-binder who "kept us out of war"—like hell.

It may be well to bring these remarks to a close by giving you a Hughes quotation which appears in the volume. The former Secretary of State said: "Foreign policies are not built upon abstractions. They are the result of practical conceptions of national interest." This national interest is the interest of the financial monarchs, of predatory powers growing fat and arrogant on the surplus value extracted from wage slaves in America, and they use this surplus further to enslave our fellow workers across the seas. It is our business to organize industrially and put an end forever to this exploitation by putting a summary end to the wage system.

—Robert Grayson.

**DOLLAR DIPLOMACY, Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman, B. W. Huebsch and the Viking Press, New York. Price, $2.50.**

**Uncle Sam Hangs Out Three Balls**

This is an excellent reference book. It has 421 big pages, packed with "the dope" on the doings of American financial imperialists. There are six pages of bibliography for anybody who wants to dig deeper into the misdeeds of Wall Street. There is an index of tables and lists, another of countries and geographical areas, another of corporations and persons. These are in addition to a very full and descriptive table of contents. When you want to find anything in this book, you can find it.

The material there is worth finding, too. It seems to have been gathered in the true scientific spirit of digging up and exposing the facts to public knowledge, without much regard for public propaganda, and without any extravagant claims to omniscience. Indeed the last sentence in the book is rather charmingly modest, in view of the real value of the revelations; it says: "The information contained in this volume, while not guaranteed, has been obtained from sources which are believed to be reliable and correct."

The first two chapters tell the story, largely with figures, of Uncle Sam's change from the status of a debtor to that of a world-wide creditor. Throughout practically the entire life of the nation, up to 1914, the U. S. A. borrowed money, principally from England. It lent a little to countries still less developed, but on the whole it borrowed—for it was establishing a great industrial plant.

The plant seems to have been pretty well finished and in operation just about the time the great war broke loose in Europe. Probably America would have ceased borrowing money anyway, even without a war, but the needs of European nations, particularly the needs of the allied countries, made the change quick, easy, and spectacular. In 1914 American capitalism was about three billion dollars in debt to Europe; during the war two bililons of this was bought back, and in addition, a billion and a half of private loans were contracted in the U. S. A. by European capitalists or governments and considerably over seven billion dollars was raised by the U. S. government and lent to European governments, mostly in 1918. Remember the "Liberty Loans"? That is where the money went.

Very little of this has been paid back; interest is accumulating on some of it, and more and more has been borrowed since the war. The year 1924, a full decade after the fatal autumn of 1914, saw the biggest peace-time loans of all—$125 million to Japan, $110 million on the Dawes Plan to Germany, $100 million to France to save the franc (after a while the franc backslid from salvation again), $90 million to Canada (to the government), $50 million to the Belgian government, and $40 million to Holland. Since then, there have been other loans, but the figures on which Dunn's book is based do not go much beyond 1924. They do include the prophesy of the New York Times that the loans and investments abroad by the capitalists of the United States (including the government itself) will amount to twelve billion dollars by 1926. Whether the figure has been actually realized or not, we do not know, but probably it was a good guess.

A large section of the book, and the part most useful for reference, probably, consists of material arranged under the names of various countries, all victims of the great American Eagle.

We open at random, and turn up Equador. This is not a very large, nor a very important country; it lies in South America, and it is rather undeveloped, as compared with some other of the states in that continent. But the first sentence under the name catches out interest, it is symbolic of the whole recent process in international finance. "Our investments in Equador are now estimated at $30 million, or six times the figure set by Ingalls in 1920" (and of course there is a footnote giving the reference to Ingalls—there are lots of such footnotes; whoever cares to follow them back to their source will get a wide and liberal education in diplomacy, statistics, banking, foreign and domestic commerce, etc.)

Then, still under the heading, "Equador," we find the names of the particular Wall Street vultures who have begun to feed on the living body of Equador's proletariat. We see at once the Standard Oil Company functioning under two separate names; and two other oil companies of lesser importance in active operation likewise. We find that the South American Development Company mines gold "most of which is exported to this country." (Trust your Uncle Sammy for that!) The S. A. D. C. sent us about a million dollars' worth of gold in 1922. We find just which shipping lines and which railroads are owned by Americans. And proof is given that the electric light and power system, and the street railways of the capital of the nation are likewise owned by Americans. It would indeed be a fair deduction, for one having a knowledge of the ways of American street railways and power companies, to suspect that some of the people in the capital city of Equador are likewise owned by these same American capitalists!

So it goes with all the countries of the world. A very good book to look into when you suddenly find it stated in your Daily Liar that such and such a South American or Asiatic land has forsworn civilization, and is simply begging for stronghearted, hard-fisted American marines to come and keep it from "committing excesses."

The last half of the book is a collection of sample contracts, granting concessions, bankers' loans, and regulating government obligations. These contracts are all interesting, but too long to paraphrase here, or even to give the story of the swindle, the graft, the treason and corruption that accompanied their birth in most cases. Wall

Street seems to have adopted Walpole's most famous principle, "Every man has his price," and added thereto, "When the price is too high, start a revolution." Anyway, they have all the little states of the Caribbean nicely mortgaged with, in most cases, the U. S. government made a partner to the deal, and the Latin-American government told in pretty plain words just when to borrow, when to pay up and how, in what manner to revise its constitution, to avoid having the marines landed. The use of the U. S. Navy as collector of bad debts has extended to Europe, and even Belgium finds that when she borrows money from the bankers of Manhattan, she has to have the blessing of Manhattan's agents in the War, Navy and State Department Building at Washington. Of course when France borrows from Morgan, the U. S. Army is not mentioned. France has an army too.

Dunn's book considers very briefly the future of this sort of thing, but in this relation only, the question of the probable extent of future loans abroad. The possibility of the debtor nations (their capitalist classes) adopting that method of liquidation of debts which was once popular in the Mississippi valley region, by which hot lead is made to take the place of cold cash, is not adequately investigated. Indeed it probably lies outside the proper scope of such a work as this. As we have no room for it here either, except to point out again what all students of history know, which is that France, one of "our" biggest debtors, when she owed Germany a considerable sum of money toward the end of last century seriously debated the question as to whether it was cheaper on the whole to pay or to fight. If she had owed a little more, she would have fought. And Europe now owes the U. S. A. a tremendous sum. It is no accident that as France more and more realizes her obligations to America, anti-American propaganda occupies a greater place in the theatre, in the press, in the utterances of public officials in France.

—Vern Smith.

**AMERICAN FOREIGN INVESTMENTS, by Robert W. Dunn, published by B. W. Huebsch and The Viking Press. Price, $5.**

After a silence of a decade Theodore Dreiser has written a long novel—An American Tragedy. In two volumes of more than 800 pages he follows the progress of a life from childhood poverty to the electric chair. Clyde Griffiths is the son of street evangelists, poor, miserable, tenth-rate, unordained preachers who are ever urging their unfaltering faith in the God who will sustain them. The precocious boy, wiser than his brothers and sisters, wonders why the divine aid is always in the offing, when it is so desperately needed in the existence of the poverty-stricken family.

**A Study of Environment**

At little street meetings, all but deserted, passers-by often pause to wonder at the smudgy fire of faith in the ill-clad group and at the wail of belief the parents raise to meet the strident noises of the city. The boy is ashamed. This is frequently noted by the observers, and they pity him. He frees himself at the first chance from these humiliating, freakish prayer-meetings by going to work. He is first a drug clerk, then a bellboy, in Kansas City and Chicago.

By the time he is twenty he is in Lycurgus, New York, where his father's rich brother owns a large collar and shirt factory. Clyde, after months at a very menial place in the plant, is put at the head of a department, over a group of girls. One attracts him. She responds favorably, and a liaison ensues. Soon, however, he is taken up by a rich girl, introduced to her set, and he wants to forget the factory girl, Roberta. Rich Sondra is lovelier; she moves in a world that to the young man, used to poverty, is enchanting. All might have been arranged well enough, only Roberta becomes pregnant. Clyde tries to have an abortion performed, but he is very "green" and fails. Then he drifts, puts off deciding about the girl, while she is lonely and desperate because her reputation is at stake. She wants him to marry her. Her parents are impoverished farmers, and very religious.

Then he is tempted. He plans her death by drowning. She thinks they are on the way to a place to get married. It is summer, and they row out on a beautiful lake. It is very lonely. He fails at the last moment, losing his nerve. He can not kill her. She sees the strangeness of his eyes mirroring she knows not what terror. She rises to assist him. She stumbles. He strikes out, a camera in his hand. She is struck. Then they are in the water, and Roberta can not swim. Now that the accident is doing for her what he could not go through with, he leaves her to drown, and strikes out for the shore.

He is apprehended, convicted on circumstantial evidence, and the prosecutor fights to kill him because the prosecutor wants to become a judge at the fall elections. Clyde is condemned to die. His mother comes on from the West to try to save him. A frightful year passes in the Auburn death house. A youthful clergyman sympathizes with him, and becomes his friend. This minister and Clyde's mother go to see the governor, who refuses executive clemency.

Dreiser's description of that death house with all its horrors is the most damning denunciation of capital punishment that has ever been penned, and even Hugo's masterful "Last days of a condemned man" seems peurile by comparison. Dreiser tells of the score of condemned Chinamen,

Negroes, Jews, Irishmen, a cultured lawyer and Clyde, victim of circumstances that rode him to his doom. On a night before one of their number is to die the condemned can not eat—"Sometimes it is so bad that even the guards can not eat." At four in the morning curtains in front of the cell doors are drawn. Every victim is awake to die with the one who is pushed beyond the last door and forced into that chair of annihilation. The shuffle of feet follows the screening; then a clergyman's intonations from the psalms. Then the victim calling out, "Good-bye, boys, good luck." The same circuit that shocks life from the doomed also illumines the incandescent lights in the cells. When the lights suddenly dim, and after a minute of indescribable dread, dim again, and then again, someone calls out that all is over, and the "survivors" renew their deadly vigil, dying over and over again.

Clyde suffered in this way for about a year. Some are held for two years. The clergyman thought he had succeeded in converting Clyde, but the boy doesn't really know if he is guilty of murder. He can not repent because he wanted to have nice things, and to be somebody. Contrition is struggled for but he does not feel its comforting power. He is young and wants to live and to be happy. He does not want the credit of eternity, but the cash of here and now. And he must die. The minister thinks he has saved a soul, but when he sees the boy die he wishes that he had done something to save his life.

Toward the last Sondra writes a short note. It is on plain paper, typewritten and unsigned. Her social position and that of her family have been guarded throughout, she being referred to in the trial as Miss X. Clyde feels how futile was his daring plan of destruction. For Sondra he got into the fatal scrape. She was going to marry him. And now at the point of violent death just an unsigned note of sympathy. Already she probably was looking for another prospective, and this time socially respectable, husband. Clyde senses the unfathomable social gulf between the class into which he was born and her class.

Scattered though the many pages are word pictures of rarest beauty. exquisitely charming and compelling. The characters are not mannequins or caricatures. They are real people, living and breathing and loving and hating and idling and working. This vivid artistry more than makes up for the imperfections of construction that rouse the dogs of critical damnation, who with all their ability to parse and to analyze and to castigate are as so many small fry before this literary giant in the labor of creation.

Dreiser sees much, he looks into the hearts of men and women, and he seems sorry for their sorrows and weaknesses. With unforgettable strength and penetration he exposes the inhumanity, the shallowness and callousness, the injustice and barbarity of modern society. His strokes sear the brain with white hot shafts of truth—showing the individual to be destiny's plaything. That is the way he sees life, and as an artist so he represents it.

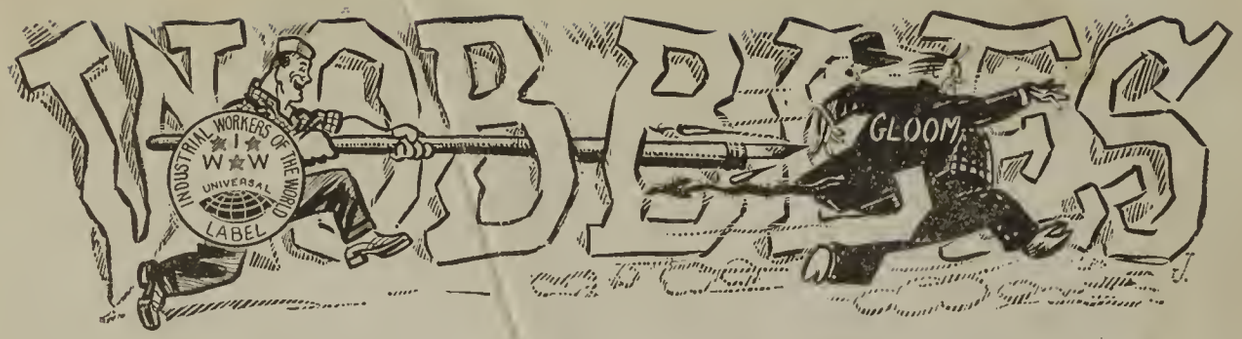
Beyond that he need not go. The social revolutionary must go beyond. He must be a physician wherever necessary, and a wrecker and builder when the hour of his class strikes, when the wage slaves advance a united cause to upset the regime of plunder. Among other duties and privileges of the new society of industrial freedom shall be that of abolishing the fearful taking of life by the social group. We shall tear down the walls and bars of prisons, for as today society is the real criminal, so on that glorious tomorrow, the cause of crime vanished, dungeons shall have no purpose of class oppression and social brutality to serve.

—Harry Silverson.

**AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY, by Theodore Dreiser, Boni and Liveright, New York. Two volumes. Price, $5.00.**


## *In The May Day Issue:*

**Dr. Robert Whitaker,** author and lecturer, now editing The Open Forum.
**Albert Wehde,** author of "Since Leaving Home," etc.
**Daniel Tower,** Newspaperman, author and research expert.
**Eugene V. Debs,** Socialist orator and writer.
**T. P. Sullivan,** formerly M. T. W. I. U. 510 Secretary-Treasurer.
**Covington Hall,** Revolutionary author and poet.
**Ralph Chaplin,** Wobbly poet, artist and speaker.
**Clifford B. Ellis,** Teacher, writer and lecturer.
—And Many Others Will Make The Pioneer a Great Treat. Subscribe At Once!




## WEAR YOU WELL?

At times the **welfare** of the people is a very thin shell "affair"—**shell fare**—much resembling cell fare.

To put it mildly, it is **fell fare** compared to the succulent **jell-fare** of the parasites. And I fear, **lest the slaves organize,** that their **welfare** means **knell-fare**—for, even now, the dumbest of critics call it hell-fare. Fare thee well.

—T-b. S.

P. S.—It gets my goat when people who can't tell **fare** from a **sows-ear** yell "fair," leaving the impression that here and there slaves dwell fair, or on swell fare—just as if they were getting something that's good enough for 'em.

**Nothing but the best is bad!**

## OREMUS

Editor Omaha Daily News:

I promised the heavenly Father I would write to the Omaha Daily News if a certain prayer was answered. It was, and many more. I am praying for something that will mean much happiness to me. Will others pray for me?—(Clipped from the eminent Omaha Daily News).

## LAW REBUKES PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN

Saying "Here I lay me," a migratory slave, minus gainful occupation, went to sleep in a lodging house bed for which he had paid his last six bits. In the morning, looking for inspiration, being a religious person, he opened his pocket Bible. At the first turn he read the instruction, "Take up thy bed and walk!" As he had no more bed than a jackrabbit he rolled up the landlady's blankets and started to walk. John Law nabbed him. Taken before hizzoner the migratory explained that he had merely obeyed biblical instructions. The judge couldn't see it that way and gave him thirty days.

## MALE HELP

WANTED: Construction superintendent with a capacity of 1,000 barrels a day.

## THE WIPE

A famous London comedian who need not be named was invited to a peer's house during the festive season. After dinner he was reciting a few of his best yarns, and in the midst of one of the choicest was interrupted by a guest, who said to him: "Excuse me, but your handkerchief is hanging half out of your pocket."

"Thank you very much," said the actor gravely, as he adjusted it. "You know the company so much better than I."

## HIS DAD WAS A UNION MAN

Teacher: "Johnny, if four men are working 11 hours a day—"

Johnny: "Hold on, ma'am. Nix on them non-union problems, please."

### IT'S ONLY TOO TRUE

Writer: I'm trying to write an article on what the miners got out of the coal strike, but I can't think of enough to fill half a page.

Adviser: Well, why don't you write on what they didn't get? That ought to fill a book.

### SOUNDED THAT WAY

Anthony: "Where's Cleopatra tonight?"
Maid: "Oh, sir, she's at home with tonsilitis."
Anthony: "Another of those Greeks, I suppose!"

# The Industrial Pioneer

An Illustrated Labor Magazine

Price 20¢

Special May Day Number

*No. 744, Missing in Action*

*The Meaning of Revolution*

*Maurice Becker*

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
I W W
UNIVERSAL
LABEL

# May Day Song

(AIR: "Flag of the Free")

By RALPH CHAPLIN

O, Labor Day, O, First of May,
  Welcome and honored on land and sea.
Winter so drear must disappear,
  Fair days are coming for you and for me.
We, of the old world, building the New,
Ours is the will and the power to do;
  Then let us sing, hail to the Spring—
Hail to the Day we can strike to be free!

Banner so red, high overhead,
  Hated and feared by the powers that be!
In every land firmly we stand;
  Men of all nations who labor are we.
Under one banner, standing as one,
Claiming the earth and our place in the sun.
  Then let us sing, hail to the Spring—
Hail to the Day we can strike to be free!

O, Labor Day, O, First of May,
  Warm with the gleam of the bright days to be!
Join in the throng, fearless and strong—
  One mighty Union of world industry.
Shoulder to shoulder, each in his place,
Ours is the hope of the whole human race.
  Then let us sing, hail to the Spring—
Hail to the Day we can strike to be free!

# William Weyh

A member of the I. W. W. Served loyally and faithfully the working class until the day of his death, March 7, 1924, from tuberculosis contracted in Leavenworth Penitentiary. His illness was made fatal by the neglect of prison authorities. He was one of the Chicago Defendants, sentenced to five years.

# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Edited by VERN SMITH

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# International Labor Day

WINTER is a repression, a fettering, and a sleep for all things that live. Winter is the time of crystalline beauty, yes, of ice, and snow, of fantastic things, but of stillness. The seed lies unsprouted, the cold grain is buried in the frosted earth, the stream is silent, gripped by an icy clutch, all wild animals move slowly, and sluggishly, or move not at all. It would seem to a creature whose life were not longer than six months, that this stillness, quietness, this deadly order, like the regularity of the tombstones in a cemetery, is a thing that must last forever, and probably has lasted forever. Just as a college professor regards the capitalist system would such a creature regard the Winter.

But this is May and about this time of the year a change takes place. The queer old world swings over, and the sun is closer. The seed that was cool and sleek as a stick of dynamite bursts, and with irresistible force cuts, pries and upheaves—there appear green and growing, expanding, living things where but a few days before was only torpidity and stability. The bare and beaten branches of old brown trees take on great glory, and the scent of leaves and of flowers spreads over the land. It is a revolution.

*

Prisoners in their lonely cells peer out past polished bars and painted gratings, look out over barren earth quadrangles, and from their fortresses of masonry and steel which enshroud them as cocoons envelop silk worms, see distant hills once as white and sterile as the whitewashed cell houses, shed their palls and become energized. Heat is energy, sun's heat is life, and the prisoner reacts with a deeper breath and lighter heart. Hope springs again; he looks and listens eagerly for the news of marching thousands on May Day, for the tune of the Internationale—in his mind's eye the Red Flag flaunts itself in the dawning sun, and spreads along the Western sky at evening, victory perched above it, and the name of a new society written on its ample folds.

*

Just so, we prisoners of the system. No bars of steel constrain us, but the impalpable bars of custom and law cut across our pathway and keep us pent like driven cattle, lowing for pastures we may not tread upon. We are worried and harried treadmill slaves, who turn and turn and strive and strive, always along the little runway the master has prepared for us, always grinding the grist of others, and shrinking from the lash, the whip, the spur of necessity, from the stern command of those who are wardens in the bleak jails of industry.

Even as the chill of Winter lies over all Nature, so does the fear of our Master lie over the whole of industry, pervading all crevices of our minds, choking the noble heart, and making it to beat slowly, chilling the generous imagination, and tuning it to the deadly monotony of the business man and the hack. Fear is our ball and our chain, ignorance clutches at our legs like a shackle; despair is round our throats like the collar of a serf, and over all is the pall, the cloud, the monotony and dull

order, the restraint of the system. We are no less frozen than December, no less prisoners than the numbered men in San Quentin.

*

We need revolution; the world needs recurrent revolutions; all progress is by waves, and this is the ebb tide, and the space between the waves. It is hard to break old habits of obedience, and we have no sun, as the seeds have, to burst off our cramping shell, and let the new society flourish and grow great. We may know, in a dry, statistical way, what is wrong. We may think about class struggles, but man does not advance by thought alone. We are creatures of tropism, suggestible creatures, we will not do things because they are logical, or because they are correctly thought out. We must think, that is true. He who does not think hardly exists. But we need emotional reinforcement. We need something hotter than cerebration, something more generous than a syllogism, something with passion and drive in it.

*

The time has gone by when revolutionists thought that the enunciation of the truth would alone be sufficient to set us free. We do not any longer shout with Stirner, "I blow my breath, and kings and empires totter." We know enough psychology now, if we have not learned anything else in the last few decades, to realize that men, even working men, are prejudiced things. The thought, the theory that seems good to them, that they can readily believe, that they do believe, is the thing that is habitual with them, so long as it be not too obviously challenged by material circumstances. This makes of them a great, dully resisting mass, full of opposition, not logical but psychological, always passively, sometimes actively, resisting the new thing, even if it is for their own interest, always afraid to take economic power into their hands, afraid to use such social power as they may happen to possess, delaying until the very last possible moment to open their eyes to the inference of their surroundings, when these inferences contradict the teachings of their youth.

The few forward spirits that the world calls radicals, the far-sighted, the fiery, the impetuous, hack and lunge at this clogging, obstinate force of conservatism, until they are worn out. Then they become "tired radicals." When a "tired radical" falls in with any progressive or revolutionary zealot he feels ashamed of himself for quitting, and looks around for excuses, which, of course, any intelligent person can find. At least he can find excuses good enough for himself, and on the basis of these reasons for being against radical action, he usually builds farther and farther to the right until he ends as a reactionary, maybe as a Mussolini, or a Rossoni.

We must, therefore, in self-defense, deliberately give ourselves up occasionally to an emotional bath, that will cleanse the battling mind of the dirt and sweat, the poisonous vapors of the detailed fight with reaction. Who goes to May Day celebrations this year will not be a "tired radical" for two years to come. We are able, quite consciously, to give ourselves the emotional energy that will sweep out for some time at least the petty discouragement and gnawing weariness of the every day struggle. On May Day those who have been for too long a time too close to their work can step back and get a perspective, forget the resentment towards other fellow workers, and broaden out.

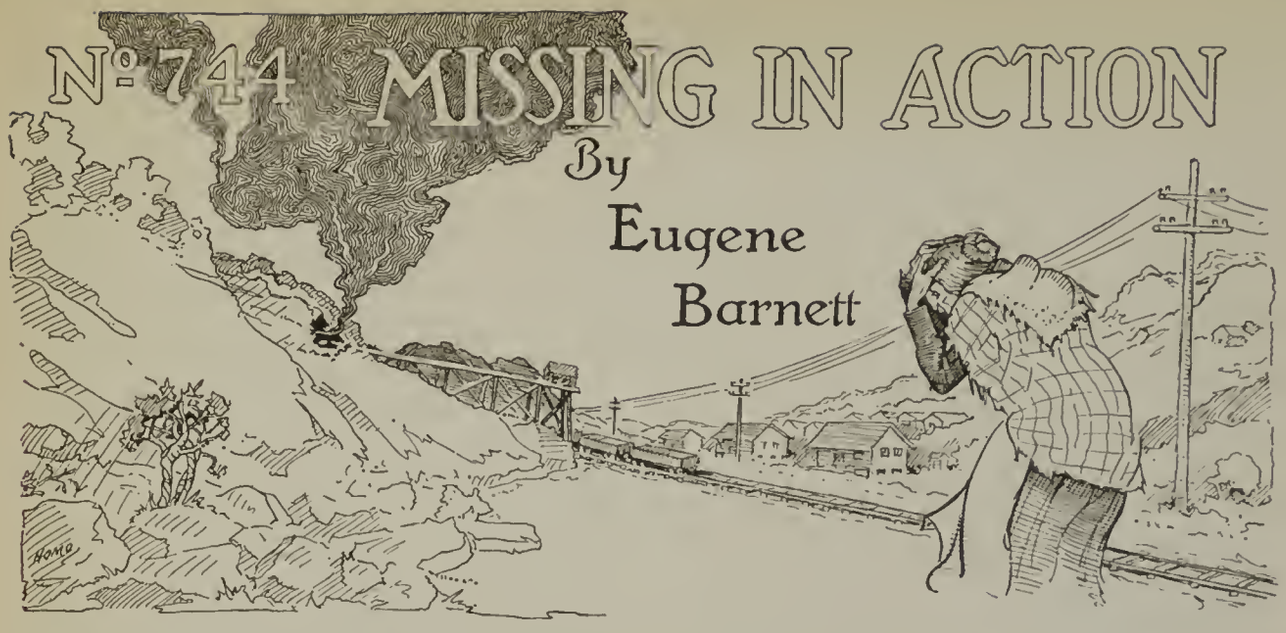
Our pagan ancestors celebrated the first of May with green boughs and bay leaves, with mistletoe and the May Pole, a beautiful symbolic representation of the resurging of life.

For us, who live in a sterner age, our color is red. The green love of nature that inspired primitive communism may come again, but the way to it is signaled by the red flag of international working class solidarity; it is a hard and glorious road to a goal already within sight.

The first of May is when we practice revolution—millions of men in Europe and the Americas will lay down their tools and divest themselves of the livery of slavery; the great processions will wind thru cheering streets, and red flags will flaunt themselves by thousands and thousands in hundreds of towns never heard of across the seas. May Day is a gigantic demonstration of the solidarity in spirit of the rebels of the working class, however they may differ in organization theories and tactics. May Day is the emotional reinforcement that makes possible another year of revolutionary deeds. May Day is the sun of freedom, the burst of color and of growth; it is one more wave thundering against the rotten citadel of capitalistic oppression—make the waves come stronger and stronger, each year greater than the last, until the bars and the bonds of all prisoners are struck away and the red flag waves triumphantly over "the commonwealth of toil that is to be."

# No. 744 MISSING IN ACTION

By Eugene Barnett



**This Bit of Fiction Offered to You by an IWW Class-War Prisoner Is a True Description of Coal Mine Life**

IT was seven o'clock a. m. in the little mining village in Somerset County, Pa. A beautiful glow was in the eastern sky, heralding the rising sun and giving promise of one of those balmy Indian Summer days that reach perfection in Pennsylvania. The low rolling hills were gray and brown and the woodlands were resplendent with the gay colors of Autumn, the beech, maple and dog-wood leaves having changed to the most gaudy colors, while the other hardwoods rivaled the rainbow with their various hues. To all this the hemlock, spruce and pine furnished a background of evergreen that blended so harmoniously into the picture that an artist would have turned green with envy, or been driven into ecstacy on beholding such exquisite beauty, which he might forever strive to imitate but could never equal.

The "Chickaree" as the pine squirrel is called in Pennsylvania, scampered through the leaves in quest of nuts for his winter's store or perched on the stub of a dead limb of some tree and gave voice to his chattering song for the sheer joy of being alive in such a beautiful world on such a glorious day.

But, alas! All hearts were not as light as Chickaree's on that wondrous morning. The first "man-cage" had disappeared into the bowels of the earth with its human freight of ten souls. Men were grouped around the mine shaft awaiting their turn to be dropped into the subterranean darkness. In a minute and a half the cage would reappear and hesitate for a moment while ten more miners would crowd onto it after which it would again drop into the darkness like a plummet dropping into the dark depths of the sea. Men were coming from all directions and joining the waiting group at the shaft gates. As each newcomer arrived he went to a large board on the power house wall and picked a brass check bearing a number from among the hundreds of checks hanging on hooks on the board. Many of the old miners placed that check in their wallet as carefully as you would a twenty-dollar goldpiece, for well they knew that before the day was done that disk of brass might be the only means of identifying their mortal remains.

There were many small boys among the men. One little fellow, smaller than the others kept looking wistfully at a group of boys playing ball in a school yard on a hill near the mine. He knew the boys and could identify them even at that distance. There was the Super's boy at the bat, the Doctor's boy on first and the boss's boy was pitching. One by one he picked them out and they were all of the privileged class, not a miner's son among them, for Somerset was non-union and fathers were forced to take their boys into the mines as early as possible to help make a living for the family. "Liberty and justice for all" the boy thought bitterly as he looked at the Stars and Stripes waving over the group on the school ground and then at the deep dark shaft with the smoke and steam rising out of it into the fresh clear air.

The little boy was of fair complexion with finely moulded features, big blue eyes and light brown hair. He was of slight built and although he was nine years old he did not appear to be more than seven. The miner's dinner bucket he carried hung down almost to his ankles. He had been born in Tennessee and he had often stood at his grandpa's knee and listened to how his great-grandpa had stood barefooted in the snow at Valley Forge and fought the "Red Coats" to free America from the tyranny of a foreign king. He had been told of how his great-grandpa had been one of

those mountaincers who had done such deadly execution with their old, long muzzle-loading squirrel rifles that a British general had reported to 'is Royal 'ighness across the sea that "The Americans don't fight fair. They take aim."

Then he had been told of how his father had left Kentueky as a small boy and joined the Union forees to free the black men and drive chattel slavery from the land. His father had earried a drum in Sherman's march to the sea and he told of "How the turkeys gobbled when they heard the gleeful sound. How the swcct-potatoes even started from the ground. How the Darkies shouted when we marehed through the towns while we were marching through Georgia." While all these stories were passing thru the boy's mind and he was gazing wistfully at the boys on the hill or at the woodland he loved so well, it came his turn to go on the eage for the sudden drop into the dark recesses of the mine. But his attention was so absorbed with his thoughts that he did not notice that the men ahead of him had gone onto the cage until a coal and iron policeman sprang from behind one of the huge timbers that supported the tipple and which he had been hiding behind listening to the conversation of the men, trying to catch some miner grumbling over the many grievances they all had against the company. The big burly guard grabbed the little lad by the shoulder and shoved him roughly toward the waiting cage, cursing him profusely and ending the tirade with the query, "What in hell wuz ye ganderin' at?"

The little fellow made no reply. The abuse had bewildered him and besides he knew from past observation what happened to anyone who attempted to talk back to these armed mercenaries of the coal barons. He was so flustered he did not even shudder —as he usually did, when he saw the signal given for the cage to be dropped from beneath his feet. Somehow he never eould get used to that cage and the sudden drop into the mine. It always seemed as if his body fell faster than his intestines, so that they seemed to rise up inside of him about a foot every time the eage dropped. As the cage got below the surfaee of the ground and all became inky blackness, one of the miners blurted out his just indignation against the guard who had man-handled the kid. "The damned beast couldn't do that in an organized camp," he said.

"Hush, Pete," whispered a miner near him, "You know that is how old man Stone got murdered last month—talking union. I tell ye ye can't tell who to trust in this eamp."

Fifty feet from the bottom of the shaft the falling cage was eheeked in its swift descent and slowed down until it finally eame to rest on the two wooden sills at the bottom of the shaft. Electric lights strung along the roof for a distanee of two or three hundred feet made it quite light and miners were grouped around the lights priming their carbide lamps, preparing for the two or three mile hike to thcir working places. The little lad adjusted his light and trudged off into the darkness.

Half a mile in he found the "stone gang" already at work cleaning up a fall of rock which must be gotten out of the way before the motor could take in a trip of empty cars for the diggers. The little lad climbed over the fall and passed on up the dark entry alone. At the end of two minutes hc came to a large oak door of double thickness that reaehed from rib to rib and from top to bottom. A canvas flap was even fastened to the bottom of the door to keep any air from passing under it. The big door was what is called a trap door in the mines and his job was to keep that door elosed as mueh as possible. For every minute the door was open the air current was broken and the lives of the diggers farther in the mine made more miserable by the accumulation of smoke and foul air in their working places. So he must only open the door long enough for the motor to pass through with its trip of cars and then close it again. Never must he allow himself to fall asleep during the long intervals between trips whieh to him all alone with his dim little light seemed doubly long. For then the motor or a runaway trip (as often happened) might run through the door and break it. He put his bucket in a niche in the rib then busied himself digging the coal from under the bridle of the latches where the traek branched off into another entry.

At last noon came. The last trip before dinner had gone out. The BOOM! BOOM! BOOM! of the first shots had already set the air aquiver. At every BOOM! the trap door would vibrate against its jambs and rattle as the very air surged back and forth jerkily. The little lad had seated himself on an empty powder keg behind the door, with his bucket between his knees. The big mine-rats were coming closer in the gob (rock piled along the side) and squealing for a part of his luneh. One old fellow was squealing angrily and chattering his teeth in a menacing way. The boy pulled the rind from a strip of bacon and threw it to him. Just then a windy shot made the old mine rock and half a seeond later a terrific explosion swept through the mine tearing the big door from its hinges and hurling it on top of the boy. A minute later a second explosion a hundred times more terrific than the first roared through the mine carrying cars, timbers, ties and huge lumps of coal before it.

When thc heavy door hit the boy it stunned him and he lay under it unconscious when the second explosion came. The fact that he was still under the door when the second explosion oeeurred probably saved his life. When it roared through the dark passages of the mine lighting them up with the fiery glow of a blast furnace it snatched the door off the boy and smashed it to smithereens against a row of props a few yards down the entry.

(Continued on page 29)

Pulpwood on the Michipicoten River. It is floated 120 miles to the Soo and the paper mills.

# Canadian Pulp Wood

## THE INDUSTRY THAT PRODUCES THE CONTINENT'S NEWSPAPERS

By E. L. CHICANOT

IF the millions of fertile, cultivated acres in Canada were suddenly to lose their fruitfulness, if the prolific fishing grounds off both coasts and the inland waters should unaccountably dry up, if all the fur-bearing denizens disappeared from the woods, and the exploitation of the great and varied mineral wealth ceased, the Dominion of Canada would still occupy a prominent and enviable position in world regard, and especially in that of the United States, by reason of the magnificence of her forests. This is particularly true because every day these wooded fastnesses are coming to a greater extent to supply the raw material which enters into the manufacture of the newspapers read in every city and town of the United States.

In the glorious expanse of Canadian forest, stretching from coast to coast, lie the continent's last extensive timber resources, and the source of its newspapers for the next century. In the lavish and prodigal manner in which the United States has treated her own immense timber wealth lies the cause of the Republic's necessity to look across the international border for her present and future supplies of wood and wood products. Very largely it is this insistent and never ceasing demand which has developed the Canadian pulp and paper industry into the Dominion's premier industrial activity.

Canadian manufacturing industries, for the main part, become dwarfed when compared with similar activities in the United States or Europe, but this is not true of the pulp and paper industry, of which any country might be proud and Canada is justly so. In its every phase it is a mammoth industry in which nothing of expense in construction or engineering, nothing of human conception or endeavor has been spared. The world's largest single newsprint mill is at the plant of the Abitibi Com-

pany at Iroquois Falls, Ontario; the fastest newsprint machines are those of the Laurentide Company at Grand Mere, Quebec. The world's largest ground wood pulp mill is owned by the Chicoutimi Company at Chicoutimi, Quebec; and its largest kraft mill by the Wayagamack Company at Three Rivers, Quebec.

The Canadian pulp and paper industry is the first manufacturing activity of the land and is only relegated to second place by agriculture among all the sources of Canadian revenue. In the export trade of the country it has come to take second place to agricultural products, even animal products giving place to it. At the present time it is practically impossible to determine to any approximate extent just what relative position it is going to occupy in Canadian economics, for despite its premier importance it is anything but staple, but continually expanding Considerable increases in the various capacities took place in 1923, whilst others are under way, and still others projected for the immediate future.

The forests of the United States were so rich and boundless, so inexhaustible in any but expert opinion, as the demand for newsprint and other paper products increased, pulp and paper plants sprang up so profusely in every wooded sector, that the Republic reached a position in the industry where it seemed she would remain supreme for all time. But lavish usage, criminal wastage, and an awakening to the needs of conservation that was too late, played havoc with such terms as "inexhaustible," and at the present time Canada is, in one phase of this industry at least—newsprint production—rapidly overtaking the United States, and in the output of other pulp products the United States maintains her premier position merely through drawing heavily upon the Dominion for the raw materials.

Paper has actually been made in Canada for over a century though the actual development of the industry has taken place within the last forty years, its real birth synchronizing with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1881. Its rapid growth may be briefly summarized in the facts that in the four decades concerns making pulp and paper in Canada have increased from 5 to over 100; the invested capital from $92,000 to close upon $400,000,000; the number of persons employed from 1,000 to more than 30,000; and the annual value of the products from $122 in 1890 to $160,000,000 last year.

The Canadian pulp and paper industry is increasing so rapidly that it is a most difficult matter to keep accurate track of it. The government statistics for the year 1922 show that there were 104 plants throughout the Dominion in that year in which there was a capital of $381,006,324 invested. This latter was divided among the provinces as follows:—British Columbia $32,763,965; New Brunswick $16,310,952; Nova Scotia $6,667,234; Ontario $133,749,364; and Quebec $191,514,809. It is thus made clear how the industry has come to cover the entire Dominion in its scope, mills being located in every province from coast to coast where suitable timber resources are found. Even the so-called Prairie Provinces, with relatively small timber resources, have been called upon to aid the industry and 1923 saw the first prairie mill located north of Winnipeg.

It is interesting to note that while the Canadian pulp and paper industry has largely been built up to its present important status through the United States demand for its products it still remains an essentially Canadian industry. In 1920 when a census of industries was conducted by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics the total value of securities of incorporated joint stock and incorporated companies in pulp and paper industries was $294,551,000 Of this it was discovered that 69.5 per cent was held in Canada, 20 per cent in the United States, 7.4 per cent in the United Kingdom, and 3.1 per cent in other countries. Thus, contrary to popular conception, the Canadian pulp and paper industry is largely operated by Canadian capital.

Just what this United States demand has become is made evident in the trade figures of the last calendar year. The value of the pulp and paper exports of Canada in 1923 amounted to $140,798,453, as compared with $115,863,742 in the previous year, an increase in value of $24,934,711 or more than twenty per cent. The greater part of this increase was accounted for by newsprint which increased from $68,362,817 to $85,611,258,

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## WE ORGANIZE IT!

On March 1, the ballots of the referendum vote were counted by officials of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, section of the One Big Union of Canada, and it was discovered that this large organization had voted to join the IWW. This means that in the very part of the country described by E. L. Chicanot in this article, the revolutionary I. W. W. starts an organization campaign with a membership of 2,000 as a beginning. It is to be hoped that some of the information in this article will be of use to the job delegates who go into this Canadian Pulp Wood territory.

An incident in the life of a marine worker.

# "Oh, for the Life of a Sailor!"

By Publicity Committee,
New Orleans Branch,
MTW of IWW

**MORE stories have been written about sailors than perhaps any other group of workers and these stories have run the gamut of love, adventure, murder, piracy, romance, and in the last few years, since the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, rum smuggling has been a favorite theme for the imagination of our fifteen cent magazine writers.**

**If the stories have not been written around the captain's beautiful daughter, whom some low ruffian wanted and incited the crew to mutiny in order to carry out his brutal designs, only to see them fail because of an heroic college graduate who is sailing before the mast for adventure's sake, they have been about some "bucko" mate or hard-boiled captain who made the crew understand that they were kings and masters on the high seas. During the last few years, since the MTW of the IWW has made itself felt in the marine industry, there have also been a few stories by doubtful authors about the terrible "bolsheviki" or agitator who tried to take possession of the ship but did not succeed because some of the one hundred per cent Americans in the crew would not stand for it. And so on, ad nauseum.**

These are the stories read by the workers ashore and consequently they gain a very false impression of life on the rolling deep. They come to believe that a sailor's life is one continuous round of pleasure and excitement; balmy breezes, dark-eyed senoritas, palm-fringed lagoons, fine weather, brave, firm officers, who always treat the men fairly and justly—in short, a bed of roses.

Nothing would give us greater satisfaction than dispelling these illusions and getting the real truth about the life of the marine slaves before those who serve the master ashore and in this article we attempt to depict the hardships of a sailor's life and show conditions as they really are. We will also try to present a few contrasts showing the difference between the quarters and living conditions of the men who sail the ships and those who, having sufficient money, take pleasure trips on Mother Ocean.

Whenever any of the latter class decide to pass the time aboard one of the liners which plough majestically through the ocean in a hundred different directions, they have for sleeping quarters a nice, comfortable stateroom similar to the one shown in the picture on the next page. After they have gotten their sea-legs and are able to appreciate food, they take their meals, and they are always good ones, in a dining room similar to that shown in the picture to the right.

While they are eating or resting after one of the big meals their thoughts may turn to the "tramp"

While the sailor braves the stormy sea, the parasites going down to Cuba for their year's supply of Haig & Haig are feasting and flirting, clean and dry.

steamer they can see in the distance; they may feel better after seeing her; the ocean is a lonely place and a ship seen after two or three days' gazing at an empty wilderness of water gives one a feeling of confidence. Their thoughts may turn to the men toiling on the deck and in the stoke-hold of the cargo tramp and being full of stories of the sea and sailor life, they may wish that they, too, were aboard her as she plugs her monotonous way across the trackless waste, living life in the raw, and enduring like the heroes with whom they have become acquainted through the columns of the fiction magazines.

### A Chasm Between Classes

But if they were aboard the tramp their ideas of the romance of a sailor's life would receive a rude shock. If they had to sleep on the foc's'le head, like the sailors shown in the picture, in order to escape the vermin-infested, filthy quarters provided for the men who toil aboard ship, they might not think life on the ocean wave was such a romantic proposition after all. If, when they needed food to furnish energy for mankilling toil in the stokehold or long hours' labor on deck or at the wheel, they had to wade across a deck waist-deep with water in order to get to the galley instead of having that beautifully appointed dining salon in which dainty tid-bits, guaranteed to tickle appetites of jaded parasites are served; sailing as a life work would go down several more notches in their opinion. And if they had to eat the grub

Where the Monied Idler Has to Sleep—Artificially Cooled.

The Luxurious Quarters of the Crew—Too Hot to Go Below.

usually handed out to seamen, you can gamble that back on the liner they'd wish to be.

Yes, friends and fellow workers, the life of the men who "go down to the sea in ships" is a little different from that described on the pages of our fiction magazines; and it is also a trifle different from that of the passengers on the liners.

In contrast to the enclosed promenade deck of the passenger ship we have an open, wave-swept deck, as shown in the pictures, to cross in order to get to our work; for no matter where our work lies there is no other way to get to it. There is no escape for us; between foc's'le and galley, between "lookout" and wheelhouse (if there is a wheelhouse) we must face that open deck.

Then, if you still think that there is romance to be found aboard ship, take a look into the stokehold where the energy that drives the ship is produced. There the firemen and coal-passers sweat and swear for about five hours at a stretch, twice a day, in a temperature of from 120 to 150 degrees, with a seven-hour rest period in between—if it is possible to rest. The reader, who possibly never handled a slice-bar or hook, may say that it is impossible to perform such strenuous labor as shoveling tons of coal in such a high temperature, but if you think so—just ship as fireman on one of the coal-burning cargo ships—you'll find out it has to be done.

### Bugs Not Romantic

Two four-hour watches a day making steam and one-half to one hour either before or after his regular firing duties, hoisting ashes from the stokehold, is the lot of the coal-burning fireman on the tramp steamer. He comes off watch, winter or summer, grimy and sweaty from head to foot, gets his pail and goes to the galley for water, then across that open deck to a little cubby-hole of a bathroom hardly large enough for one, and awaits his turn while three, four or six men bathe and wash their clothes. After that he rolls into a bunk filled with bedbugs and cooties—and tosses in sleepless agony for four or five hours unless the weather is warm enough for sleeping on the foc's'le head. Some life! Some romance!

(Continued on page 42)

# The Meaning of Revolution

By ARCHIE SINCLAIR

**In this forceful article the writer points out clearly and dispassionately the forces at work in modern capitalistic society which are making for its replacement. He stresses the difference between the real meaning of revolution and those commonly attributed to it by those who see in our chaotic present-day society the apogee of possible human achievement and shows that violence is not a necessary companion of revolution. In addition he points out that revolutions never come until there are good and sufficient reasons for wanting a change and emphasizes the fact that when these reasons exist, and the evolutionary processes occasioned by them have progressed to a certain point, any attempts to prevent revolutions, are, and always have been, futile. Perhaps his active participation in the class struggle in one of its most bitter phases, the Criminal Syndicalism persecutions in California, has enabled him to see things in a clearer light than people not so situated. At any rate he has presented the subject in a manner which should not fail to interest both those who are trying to make California and the rest of the world a better place to live in, and those who are trying to retard such progress by inhuman persecution. We recommend a close perusal of this article to both.**

IN "English Synonyms, Antonyms and Prepositions," by James C. Fernald, we find a very good definition of revolution, and also a clear distinction between the different synonyms that, to some minds, are identical. The synonyms given are: **anarchy, confusion, disintegration, disorder, insubordination, insurrection, lawlessness, mutiny, rebellion, revolt, riot, sedition, tumult.**

"In defining the word revolution, the author says: The essential idea of "revolution" is a change in the form of government or constitution, or a change of rulers, otherwise than as provided by the laws of succession, election, etc; while such change is apt to involve armed hostilities, these make no necessary part of revolution. The revolution by which Dom Pedro was dethroned and Brazil changed from an empire to a republic, was accomplished without a battle and almost without a shot. "Anarchy" refers to the condition of a state when human government is superseded or destroyed by factions or other causes. "Lawlessness" is a temper of mind or condition of the community which may result in anarchy. "Confusion," "disorder," "riot," and "tumult" are incidental and temporary outbreaks of lawlessnes, but may not be anarchy. "Insubordination" is individual disobedience. "Sedition" is the plotting, "rebellion" is the fighting, against the existing government, but always with the purpose of establishing some other form of government in its place. When "rebellion" is successful it is called revolution; but there may be revolution without rebellion; as, the English revolution of 1688. (When William of Orange replaced James the Second; parentheses are mine.) A "revolt" is an uprising against existing authority without the comprehensive views of change in the form of administration of government that are involved in revolution. Anarchy, when more than a temporary disorder, is a proposed disintegration of society, in which it is imagined that social order might exist without government. **Slaves** make **insurrections; soldiers** or **sailors** break out in **mutiny; subject provinces** rise in **revolt."**

The distinction between the words supposed to be synonyms is clearly defined. The purpose or lack of purpose conveyed in each term is made plain, as for example, sedition is the plotting, but when it breaks out in fighting it is called rebellion; revolt is a spontaneous outburst against some wrong. Revolution is always successful, rebellion never successful.

### What About Provocation?

The author might have added that in all cases there is a reason for dissatisfaction and agitation that precedes any kind of demonstration against the existing order, or against those in authority. Soldiers do not mutiny unless they are being unjustly treated by their officers, or because of starvation or some other cause equally disastrous. Subject peoples rise in revolt only when they are being abused. Revolutions come only when the conditions are ripe, they are the culmination of evolutionary growth.

Still another phase of the question was overlooked or ignored by the author; that is, that not all revolutions are of a political nature. In fact, if we read history we find that all political revolutions are preceded by industrial revolution. Industrial revolution is brought about by the steady growth of change in the mode of production. Old, worn out methods of production give way to newer and better methods. Laws and governments based on the archaic mode of production—all government, and all laws are based on the mode of production prevailing at the time of their birth—cease to function properly. This causes political disorder and confusion which may or may not result in political revolution. Capitalism, in turn, gave place to ultra-capitalism about the year 1890 when the trustified form of production came into being. This, too, was industrial revolution.

Ultra-capitalism, plutocracy, the Oligarchy, call it what you will, is quickly becoming passé and is no

longer able to function efficiently. This causes disorder, wars, rebellions, industrial unrest, political upheavals and the disintegration of several countries, namely, Czecho-Slavia, Jugo-Slavia, the Balkan states, and even Russia and Germany. This is not the fault of any group or political government. The rulers are impotent to stay the change. The masters are not to blame, neither are the people who are no longer able to bear the burden. It is a natural result of industrial change that will culminate in industrial revolution. Our rulers, industrial and political, sense the coming change, but do not understand; they never do understand. They seem to think as did the Bourbons of France, that the workers are somehow to blame. The Bourbons firmly believed that the workers and peasants were revolting out of pure malice, that conditions were ideal; they were—for those who were on top.

**Revolutions Come**

Industrial change is going on all the time, and industrial revolutions come whether we believe in them or not. It is not necessary that the people of California believe in earthquakes, the earthquakes come to that benighted state every week or so whether the natives believe in them or not. Ask a real estate agent in Los Angeles whether they have earthquakes there or not and he will probably tell you that San Francisco has them but there are none in Los Angeles, whereas Los Angeles is visited by them every week or so. So it is with the industrial change that is going on all the time. We may deny that such is the case, or we may deplore the change, as does the Sacramento Bee, that would like to see the clock of progress turned back to the era of the petit bourgeois, but the wheels of progress do not turn backwards, they always forge ahead.

Super-capitalism is crumbling, the masters are impotent to retard or prevent, they are unable to efficiently carry on production under private ownership of the machinery of production. With all the great wealth producing machinery, one hundred times as great as fifty years ago, the mass of the people are ill fed, ill clothed and poorly housed. This causes discontent and industrial and civil strife. The law enforcers, judges, police, jailers, sheriffs, etc., not understanding anything of the underlying causes of this, punish those who are forced to revolt against the conditions that have caused all the unrest. The only reason that the authorities punish the workers who revolt is because they are the servants of the men who have the industrial power. They are cruel and oppressive because they are stronger than the ones who revolt. One is reminded of the little boy who was whipped by his father and on being asked if he knew the reason his father whipped him replied, "Sure, because he is bigger than me."

The rulers are ignorant, distressingly ignorant of the change that is manifesting itself in industry, and being reflected in the political life of the country. They are blind as bats, and like the rulers all through history refuse to heed the signals. The whole economic and social fabric is pointing the way to social ownership of the machinery of production, but they refuse to see. They sincerely believe that industrial unrest is being stirred up by a few professional "agitators." And the pity of it all is that the workers themselves refuse to see the coming change. The stupidity of the workers, their apathy and indifference is appalling. Nevertheless, the change is coming, and coming quickly.

There is one way that the workers can make ready for the coming change. The transition period from private ownership to social control can be made as peaceful as the changing from summer to autumn, by the workers organizing industrially. If they could only see that by organizing in industry, solidifying their forces; they could not only run industry as they do now, but would also be able to step into the executive positions the rest would be easy. "By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

# Don't Call Me a Scab!

**(A Scab has been defined as one who is a traitor to his class)**

YES, I'm an outcast, a tramp and a bum,
I am friendless and down and out;
I don't care a rap for your smile or your frown,
Not a whit for your praise or your flout.

I live like a beast, as you say in your scorn,
I'm a flaw in society's plan,
And you're right—I'm all these and more than all that,
But—I have never yet scabbed on a man!

I'll steal when I'm hungry, and fight when I must,
And lie—when it pays me the best;
I'm lazy and shiftless and drink like a fish,
And I'd murder, perhaps, if hard pressed.

I'm a vagabond, worthless, a curse to the race;
I admit it, so just save your gab;
I'm crusty with dirt, but I'd have to go some,
To be dirty enough for a scab.

I'm low and degenerate, scarce fit to let live,
A target for every cop's sap;
A hand-out my banquet, the gutter my bed,
As I travel the face of the map.

You may call me scoundrel, a liar or cur—
They'll all fit, so just take a grab;
I'll not kick at the dirtiest name in the lot,
But—for Christ's sake, DON'T call me a SCAB!

**—Anonymous.**

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Through seas of KNOWLEDGE we our course advance, discovering still new worlds of IGNORANCE.

# Labor Under Industrialized Agriculture

By JAMES LANCE.

**THERE was a time in the history of this country when nearly all of the population was engaged in agriculture. Just before the Revolution in 1776 only 8 per cent were not engaged in tilling the soil. Today we see an entirely different story; the last census shows that there are about 54 millions of people in the cities and only 51 millions on the farms. Quite a change, isn't it? The census also shows that the gainfully employed workers in agriculture now number only 10,953,158 while those engaged in manufacture total 12,818,524, almost 2 million more than those employed in agriculture. The onward sweep of the machine is daily lessening the relative number of farm workers and big business is bankrupting the individual farmer through economic pressure.**

**Government statistics show that 2 million farmers left the farms in 1922 and although figures for 1923 are not yet available there is little doubt that an equal number gave up the "independent life of the farmer" to become wage slaves last year. These same statistics prove that about one-third of the farmers left on the farms are bankrupt—a sad commentary on the glowing pictures often presented to us depicting the farmer as a man above the sordid struggle for bread; a man sufficient unto himself, a man on whom the world depends for food and clothing.**

And what do these lugubrious figures prophesy? Just what do they portend? Obviously, the farms must be worked; grain and livestock, fruit and vegetables, cotton and wool must continue to be produced; we must eat; and we must have clothing; therefore, as farming as it has been practiced up to the present is a losing game for those engaged in it, as it no longer affords them sufficient bread and clothes for themselves, let alone providing them for others, a change, a radical change will have to be made. And what sort of a change will it be? What will be the future of agriculture? The answer is self-evident. Agriculture will be modernized, fully mechanized, really industrialized as the other industries have been.

### Proletarian Farmers

The day of the hit and miss farmer has gone or at all events it is swiftly going. The agriculturist of tomorrow will not be the "independent farmer," the freeholder of a certain number of acres to cultivate as best his intelligence and experience permit —no, the agriculturist of tomorrow will be a wage slave; just as much so as his fellow workers in the manufacturing, mining or transportation industries. Already there are numerous examples of the trend of agriculture towards industrialization, a few of which we will deal with in this article.

And will wage slavery on the farms of the future be any better than that of today in the cities? Will the hours, wages and conditions measure up to a higher standard than that now prevalent in other industries? Or will industrialized agriculture mean a backward step for labor, one that will place it nearer to chattel slavery than emancipation? Perhaps a study of the findings of a government investigator in a region in which agriculture has already taken a long stride toward industrialization will be illuminating. He spent some time on "the eastern shore" of Maryland; listen to his report on conditions there. Says he:

> "Some time ago the children's bureau at Washington made a study of the truck farm regions of Maryland. Child welfare experts

THE SLAVER'S VICTIM.

say conditions on the Maryland truck farms are as bad as years ago in the coal regions, or in the textile mills and factories before the movement for protection of child rights got started.

"The infant 'floater' is perhaps the worst victim of the child labor exploiters and in the truck farm districts of Maryland his lot is especially hard.

"Boys and girls in migratory families are becoming transient laborers at 8, 10, and 12 years of age, and they are drudging eight to eleven hours a day in the fields.

"The families are recruited by padrones in the tenement sections of Baltimore, and they are herded in shanties, without privacy or sanitation, under conditions which make truck farm camps appear the 'worst slums in the civilized world.'

"Narrow pens, six feet long and four to six feet wide in tumble down shacks, form the living quarters of a 'floating labor' family. The pens are separated only by boards ten inches high, and men, women and children, as many as one hundred in a single shanty, huddle together at night and sleep on straw or the bare boards.

"This is one of the accompaniments of industrialized agriculture."

Pretty picture, isn't it? And it is even worse than he says. The writer of this article put in a summer on "the eastern shore," among the canning factories and truck farms and in all his wide and varied experiences in casual labor he never put up with as rotten conditions anywhere. Some of the things which happen on that eastern shore are almost beyond belief. No editor would print them. One little fact might get by; the eastern shore is the favorite hunting ground of the runners of the white slave rings of New York and Philadelphia. Girls, broken, physically and mentally, by the monotonous labor in the fields and factories are easy prey for those who offer "the easy way" out of wage slavery. Sometimes, after they have promised the runners, they attempt to back out; then indeed are scenes enacted in some of the shacks mentioned in the quotation which are unprintable. But the runner always gets his slave. The law is inoperative on the eastern shore during the truck season; that is, so far as helping any of the slaves who gather the berries, peas, tomatoes or other truck is concerned. The harvest hand in the midwestern wheat fields knows all about this kind of legal helplessness. "Just a floater," the officials say. "Why bother?" But this is a digression; let us return to the subject.

We go on a little farther in the investigator's report and the conditions under which these victims of industrialized agriculture try to live are described more fully. Listen to this!

"In May every year, when strawberries, beans, and peas are ready to be picked, families recruited by labor agents migrate from Baltimore to Anne Arundel county.

Cottage of a Modern Yeoman—A Lean-to Back of a Country Store.

"Any day trucks laden with household goods, kitchen utensils, and feather beds, with women and children seated on top, may be seen moving from Baltimore to the country for what the padrones picture as 'a nice vacation in the country at good pay.'

"Arrived at the camp, however, the squalor is often found worse than that of the city slums. Here is a description of the 'flops' out in the wide open spaces.

"Most of the camps contained but one building, known as a 'shanty,' which serves as sleeping quarters for the workers. This building, usually two stories high, was erected on piles or rough stones. In most camps it was weather beaten or unpainted and the windows usually lacked either glass or shutters or both.

"As a rule there was but one room on each floor, with stairs on the outside leading to the upper room. On each side of a narrow aisle down the center of the room the floor was divided into pens by boards ten or twelve inches in height. Each pen was about 6 feet long and four to six feet wide and covered with straw for a mattress.

"Each family was allotted one of these pens, the larger families sometimes securing those six feet in width. At night men, women and children partially clad, one family separated from the next by the plank ten inches in height, lay side by side.

"Many of the shanties containing two such rooms often were used for sleeping purposes by thirty to fifty persons of both sexes and all ages.

"Little attention was given to sanitation. More than one-half the families had no toilet facilities. Many families described the way in which they lived as 'like hogs,' 'like sheep,' and 'like cattle beasts.' "

So these are the conditions the future holds for the wage slave in the agricultural industry! For remember, Maryland today is just a forerunner of agriculture in general tomorrow.

We need not look at Maryland alone; we can go clear across the continent to the shores of the Pacific and see the same sordid drama enacted in the state of California. There, too, armies of women and children toil in the fields and canning factories and live under almost unbelievably rotten conditions while gathering the fruits and vegetables which form such a large portion of the products of the so-called Golden State.

There too, we can see other evidences of the future of agriculture. We can see the famous Miller and Lux ranches, covering whole counties; the Kerr county Company's holdings, the Baldwin ranch, the Moulton ranch, the Vina ranch and many others which are owned by companies and corporations and on which the workers are subject to the same rules and regulations as in any shop or factory in a city.

### Pitiful Wages

The middle west has its examples also; notably the Adams and Cook ranches in Iowa and the Rankin Farm in Missouri. New York state has a number of large agricultural holdings such as the Lipton Company and Welch's. Everywhere the trend is becoming more apparent.

And the hours and wages, what of them, in industrialized agriculture? Let the investigator tell what they are in Maryland.

> "The study indicates that the earnings are low even for whole families. At bean picking, for instance, daily earnings were seldom over $3 even for families of three of four members. On a sample day only ten families earned as much as $5, while forty families earned less than $2.
>
> "The survey found children of tender years spending long hours in the fields, not only picking berries and hoeing vegetables but also ploughing, harrowing, working machine cultivators, and transplanting. Many of them were younger than ten years..
>
> "With few exceptions children 8 and 10 years of age worked the same hours as older children and adults."

There we have the facts in the case; not in the wild ravings of what the bourgeoisie call "irresponsible radicals," but in the clear, cold, unbiassed language of a Government report. Undoubtedly much more could be said; these were the outstanding, inescapeable facts; facts that pushed themselves into view, that could not be overlooked or gainsaid. The conditions under which these men, women and children were forced to live in Maryland, the miserable wages that were doled out to them are what the future wage slave in agriculture may expect everywhere on the farms. This report shows us just what we will have to endure tomorrow.

### The Union Is Ready

And what are we going to do about this slavery which will be fastened on us? Is there any means by which we can prevent its realization and make the industrialization of agriculture a forward step for labor instead of a reversion to what is almost, nay, worse than chattel slavery? There is: one thing and one thing only can be used. The answer of farm, orchard and garden labor to the industrialization of agriculture can be nothing less than industrial organization.

And, fortunately, for the agricultural slave of the future, there is already an industrial union for agricultural workers. The Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the IWW is a union which understands the problems of agriculture, both present and to come. It is a union organized to meet just such problems as those presented by the report of the Government inspector in Maryland; it is a union which, in fact, does not need reports of investigators to enlighten its members as to what is going on in the agricultural industry because they are in closer touch with these conditions than any investigator ever gets. It is a union which has long realized the trend of the industry in which it functions towards industrialization and it has the proper program to offset the vile conditions, long hours and miserable wages, to which unorganized workers on the farms, orchards and gardens of tomorrow will be forced to submit. For several years it has successfully fought the battles of the agricultural workers in the wheat fields of the middle west and in the fruit orchards of the Pacific slope. Wherever the members of 110 have instituted campaigns for betterment of wages, hours or conditions, victory has been theirs.

In this union lies the hope of the agricultural workers; industrial unionism in the very nature of things, is the only possible instrument which can successfully combat the agricultural trusts of the future. If the wage slaves of industrialized agriculture hope to escape the slavery which lies in store for them there is only one way out; they must become industrial unionists and AWIU No. 110 of the IWW is ready and waiting for them.


## REMEMBER THE CENTRALIA CONSPIRACY

**The General Defense is now issuing Ralph Chaplin's "The Centralia Conspiracy," much revised and expanded by the author. There is a great deal of new material in this book; it is now a complete history of the way eight members of the IWW were falsely convicted of murder for defending their hall against a lynch mob in the lumber town of Centralia, and the revelation of trust rule that followed. The conspiracy took place in 1919; the world has yet to hear of it. Get this book and circulate it widely! Price 50 cents.**

# A Worker's Wanderings—from Italy to South America

By JOHN ASHBURN

Monday Morning In Spain.

(Continued from December Number)

AT sunset our vessel was still driving thru the broad Elbe waters, and we passed the Elbe's mouth shortly before ten o'clock p. m., where our pilot was taken off board by a motorboat and several German stowaways who did not hide themselves very well were unloaded. At noon time of the next day we steamed through the Channel of the Northern Sea and were able to see on one side the chalk-rockies of England and on the other side, in a foggy horizon, the French town, Calais; and then for four days we had no land in sight. During this time, I made acquaintance of my co-passengers.

Our steamship was of about 8000 tons and divided into two classes. It had first class and third class, a comfortable steerage which had cabins and common sleeping rooms (dormitories), a dining room, a library, a salon for women, and a smoking room. There was no second class at all.

### Enjoy European Summer

The few passengers of the first class were composed of South American ranch owners, German business people and emigrating German capitalists, who fled from Germany before the entire downfall, in order to save their money, sucked vampire-like, from the starving German working class, who famished beyond the sea horizon whilst those leeches enjoyed a life of leisure at the workers' expense.

The Argentinean capitalists enjoying the European summer in Germany or France returned to their native country in order to arrive in season for the South American spring and summer. With such a life of birds of passage, it is no wonder they feel alright.

On my usual morning walk on deck I became acquainted with nearly all of the steerage passengers. Besides the German emigrants there was a group of Bulgars, who brightened the whole steerage with their melancholic chorus songs resembling in manner, the Russians.

Two Argentine fellows, one of them a socialist, a good chap, who had studied the European situation, became a friend of mine. His parents came in the year of 1906 from Besserabia (Russia) to Argentine, but he was entirely romanized, latinized and argentinized, or whatever you would call it. He had travelled extensively. He also had been in the U. S. A. He gave lessons in the Spanish language to the German workers.

Then, there was a Viennese, a young man. He must have read stories of adventurers, because his behavior was like an adventurer's. He had only a few things with him. When we arrived at Buenos Aires, he was the next day already south-west-bound. Now he is a cowboy in the Pampas.

### Two Blackshirts

There were two Italians of Northern Italy going to Cordoba, Argentine, where they had relatives, who cultivated vine-yards in this region. They were glad to find somebody who could act as an interpreter, as none of the ship's officers spoke Italian. They made the voyage from Italy across Switzerland, through Germany, in order to save money on the passage, which was cheaper on a German vessel, including the railroad expenses, than to travel the much shorter distance from their native village to Genoa and take an Italian boat.

> The IWW aspires to be international. It is peculiarly fitted for such a functioning, due to the fact that the propertyless proletarians of which it is composed, travel widely, see and observe. This is the story of what one worker was impressed by in his journeyings.

We concluded an amiable friendship, but the next day both appeared in shirts, which I dislike as a bull the red flag, that is to say, they wore "black shirts." I took immediate steps and explained to my fellow-pasesngers . that these black shirts are worn by the Italian Fascisti and nearly all of the German passengers, mostly industrial workers inheriting Socialistic ideas, turned enraged

against these two Italian fellows. The latter came to me and accused me of propagating an unreal fact and asserted vigorously they are not fascists, but adherents of the "Partito Popolare," which is also a severe enemy of the fascists—its followers are partly Catholic workers.

### A Reactionary Idea

"But why do you wear these shirts, signifying a reactionary idea, against which the major part, not only of the passengers, but also of the crew is opposed," I asked the two innocent Italians. They promised to me they would never wear the black shirts again, and they kept their word. We became very good friends for both agreed that the fascists are scoundrels.

The much feared Bay of Biscay was passed without accident, and the passengers were glad to see, on the fourth sunrise, the Northern Spanish coast, in the aforementioned bay, there had sunk, some days before, a German vessel, the "Hammonia."

It was a pretty cold morning, a Spanish early autumn, with a sharp, cutting, metallic air and a cloudless sky, but as soon as the sun sent its rays upon the globe, it became pretty lukewarm.

We anchored in La Coruna, a little harbor of Galicia, a Northern Spanish country. Spanish vendors, selling many different fruits, especially grapes, drove a bum boat way round the ship. A shrieking, haggling, crying blustered and the crowd encircled around us; nobody could understand what the Spanish sellers said, and vice versa. It was a real Babylonian tower.

The German ship officers tried to speak to Spanish custom officers as well as they could, although most things were misunderstood. A good observer could notice how the Germans got a little more vivid and talkative, for, with the silent, moist, foggy, cloudy northern autumn landscapes, together with sullen folk, finally left beyond the horizon, the Nordics warmed up more and more as the latitude degrees neared zero, that is to say, the Equator.

### An Enthusiastic Mood

To hear again Southern people, with soft, poetical sounds on their lips, after travelling from beautiful Italy through the Nordic country, put me into a certain enthusiastic mood and I shouted emphatically, in my first-learned words, to a boat loaded with fruit, in which was seated a Spanish female youth as follows: "Hermisísima hija de España, deme uva." (Most beautiful daughter of Spain, give me grapes.) She smiled and handed a basket of grapes aboard.

Just before the departure of the vessel, the Spanish emigrants to Argentine, mostly agricultural workers, were embarked. They had only bundles under their arms, which contained all of their goods and chattels, and were dressed up in colors, women as well as men, as if they were going to work in some camps in the neighborhood. Brave charming folk! When the Spaniards secured their berths, the disciplined Germans were very reserved against this "lumpen proletariat," an unreasonable word; but the Spaniards soon broke the ice and concluded friendship with the distressed Germans. Most of these, single people and married people with children, were penniless, for they had raised the last money to be able to pay the passage, while the Spaniards had some travelling money of good value.

At four o'clock that afternoon, our steamship put to sea. The echoes of the whistle thundered back from the bald mountains. Before sundown we had a fine spectacle. Fishes jumped along the starboard side over the heavy waves, greeted every time by a roaring salutation from the Spanish boys, who were very much interested. The cold Germans could not understand why they made so much noise. Since we got our new passengers on board, life on the ship was entirely changed. There was now a spirit, a movement, a cheerfulness and everybody was amused.

### Magnetized Germans

Before we had arrived in the Spanish port, the two Italians, the Argentinean and I, romanized Goth, could not magnetize the Germans with joviality, but now the Germans forgot for a while their unknown dark future, wherefore they were grateful to us.

That same evening, wild Spanish dancing took place. The Spaniards are never in need of musical instruments, and we always had a Spanish concert. All laughed and cheered up, even the first class passengers looked from their deck and perhaps envied this amusing, unrestrained crowd. Among them were beautiful natural Spanish girls, who are not painted and dusted with pounds of powder like our modern flappers and foppish puppets, but with a natural color, given to them by mother sun and air.

In the late night, when all slept and a queer taciturnity possessed me, I hummed gently the melody of Ponchielli's opera "La Gioconda" "Cielo e mar" . . . (Ocean and Sky). I stood on the poop of the vessel and looked in sublime fancifulness northwards to the glittering and sparkling firmament. The polar star neared more

**Cowboys of the Pampas. They went on a great strike two years ago, and were shot up by the military.**

and more to the horizon line, until it was submerged entirely in the billows of the infinite ocean. Standing on the prow of the ship and looking southward one could observe the emerging of the wonderful constellation of the Southern Cross and the most gleaming fixed star, that is, Sirius. The waves situated within the shadows of the ship phosporesced. Our planet Venus reflected her light from the depths of the sea. She is shining more like a minor moon than a star beyond there. I asked myself and philosophied: "Is she inhabited?" "Are her beings living in a better and more advanced social system than ours?" Nobody replied. . . . Complete silence. . . .

### Nearing the Equator

After departing from Teneriffe, one of the Canary islands, where we loaded coal, and passing by the Cape Verde Islands, we neared the Equator. It was pretty hot, but nevertheless, I used to take sun-baths on the highest deck of the ship. It was announced by the Captain that the vessel would pass the Equator line about half past one that afternoon. The right time. It is customary among sea folk and sailors to celebrate this event with practical jokes. Three imaginary geographical lines drawn by man around the globe, namely, the Equator, the Northern and Southern Polar Circles are to be celebrated by stepping over them.

At one o'clock, Neptune, Roman God of the Sea, arrives with his court, composed of his wife, an astronomer, a pastor, two barbers, four negroes and others. They are all sailors. Sailor music opens the baptismal ceremony. Everybody who passes the Equator for the first time has to submit himself to same.

At first the pastor delivers a funny speech, criticizing the whole crew, beginning with the cook and ending with the captain, regarding their services.

Then the astronomer rises from his seat and asks the captain if he will permit him to take over the command of the ship, whereupon he looks thru big glasses towards the sky in order to ascertain if the Equator line is already visible to him, and then he announces with a great theatrical gesture, that we are on the geographical latitude of 0 degrees 2 minutes and three seconds, then 0 degrees 1 minute 1 second. After a short while he announces emphatically and solemnly that we are at the present time on the latitude of 0 degrees 0 minute 0 second. (There was given to him a hint from the officer on duty on the conning bridge) and the steamship whistle confirms his announcement. After that declared he returns the command of the ship to the captain.

### Neptune's Baptism

Thereupon the baptism ceremony begins. Firstly the fair sex is baptized. The girls and women get off very well, with only a little piece of ice and a glass of cold water poured down their necks. But the men have to submit themselves to a very unpleasant procedure, for they must be clean and purified from the sins and dirtiness of the Northern world. First they get shaved by a barber with a huge wooden knife, wooden shears and lathered all over the face with a big brush, and then they are thrown into the water.

Beautiful and ugly names and certificates of baptism are given to each person baptized. I got the name "Motorboat," and was therefore lucky. But others got names like swine-fish, stink-fish, etc. The fair sex got names like nymph, sea rose, etc.

With such variety in our amusement we hardly observed that our destination approached, and the German emigrants grew a little depressed and uneasy about their future in a new continent.

San Fernando, a Brazilian convict island off the Northern Brazilian coast, passed by. We arrived at Rio de Janeiro on the 25th of October. I arose very early that morning, about half past three, so as not to miss the rare opportunity of gazing on one of the three most beautiful cities on our globe. These are Constantinople, Naples and Rio de Janeiro. The first two mentioned cities I had already seen, and therefore, I could compare them all. Constantinople I saw from the ship, and its panorama, with its many minarets, made many impressions upon me. A typical oriental town. It was the panorama of Naples, the great bay bounded on one end by the always smoking Vesuvio, which brought me to exclame: "What a wonderful spot!" The Italians say "Napoli e dopo mori." ("See Naples and then die.") But it has an equivocal meaning. The term "mori" means to die, but "Mori" is also the name of a village in the vicinity of Naples. So you can choose between "to die" or to visit "Mori" after you have seen Naples. But Rio is an unforgettable city. It is a tropical garden town with the most magnificent, natural bay.

### World's Greatest Port

Rough weather prevailed throughout the morning. Lighthouses were visible on the horizon. At 6 o'clock that morning we entered "the greatest bay of the world," in which all warships, freight ships of all sea-faring nations could find place.

After passing the natural gate of the bay, formed by two strange mountains, one being called "Sugar Loaf," we still could not see Rio de Janeiro, so big is the bay. But then, an overpowering wonderful view was offered us.

The British immigration officer, a colored man, came aboard and examined the passports of the newcomers. These are admitted without extravagant difficulties, for they are very heartily welcomed by the government. Only married people are allowed to stay on the "Ellis Island" of Brazil as long as they have no other shelter. The Brazilians are the most nationalistic people of South America, and are very proud of their immense country, although they do not look down upon other races as inferior.

After getting permission to pay a visit to the town the Argentine fellows and I strolled thru

the main "Avenida," I forgot the name. The automobiles were chasing with a tremendous and dangerous speed through the streets. Imagine all taxis of New York driving with a speed like the fire brigades! Thereby many disasters occur.

### On Main "Avenida"

The main "Avenida" is not very long. Most of the houses are only one or two stories. The sidewalks are bordered by young trees. The automobiles, mostly Fords, are parked in the middle of the streets. Many chairs, belonging to the divers coffee houses, are posted on the outer side of the sidewalks.

Here one can find people at all times discussing different things from business to art, theatre and so on.

Accompanied by the Argentine Socialist, I went into such a coffee house and drank pure strong Brazilian coffee and looked with southern idleness upon the passersby. We were soon entangled in a discussion by our table neighbors, asking where we came from, and these people look, speak and treat one as if they have known one for several years, and one feels likewise. One misses, with joyfulness, the Nordic stiffness and the words sputter like bubbling water.

At noon time the streets are deserted on account of the hot sun rays, though it was early spring at the time. We then rode on a trolley car carrying us through an aisle of high palm trees. From time to time we could glance through gardens at the wonderful bay arched over by an azure air ocean. Nature, she is ambrosial at Rio!

### A World Exhibition

That evening we visited the world exhibition of Rio de Janeiro, at which nearly all nations were represented. Some pavilions were still in course of construction. Great Britain had a magnificent palace called "Britannia." My mind is still impressed by the relief map of South America in large size. The volcanoes of the Andes mountains, beginning from the fire land, stretch as far as Columbia, just over the Equator, and they gleamed and smoked in the electric light. When I stood by this map I had a desire to pass over these strange and very scantily populated ranges. My adventurous blood began to boil. Three months thereafter I realized my ambition and travelled as a tramp through these regions.

England exhibited mostly machinery, agricultural implements and so on. Norway had a very pretty pavilion which was erected in Norwegian framework style.

Norway exhibited its pulp industry and its products, and propagated Nordic ideas. There was a large picture representing the voyage of Eric the Red and his Viking fellows to America. Below the picture were written the following words: "America was not discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492, but by Eric the Red in the year of 1000 A. D."

South American Labor Poorly Paid, But Beginning to Think for Itself.

### Departure for Buenos Aires

Next morning at 6 o'clock, we departed from Rio, and we have been informed that the vessel is due at Buenos Aires the 1st of November. A third of the passengers remained on Brazilian soil. After a four day's southern course, the ship turned westward, and the waters of the Atlantic Ocean became green and then increasingly yellow. We entered the huge Rio de la Plata. On the north, the Uruguayan coast hove in sight. Very low monotonous plain-lands passed before our eyes during a day's ride, but, at last, there appeared some hills that evening, and we drove into the harbor of Montevideo, Look-out Mountain, the capital of Uruguay. After half an hour's stoppage we steamed on to Buenos Aires at a very low speed.

The Rio de la Plata is an immense river, the banks of which one can hardly see. In the middle of it there is a channel staked out, this being the only way for ships to Buenos Aires.

A wealthy German came aboard at Montevideo and greeted the German immigrants in the name of the German colony at Buenos Aires. He advised them what to do regarding settlements, getting jobs and so on. His main purpose was to tell them to avoid Buenos Aires, because it is overrun, and to start as soon as possible to the "campo" to do the hard work of a "peon." These "peons," agricultural workers, get very low wages, about 30 or 40 pesos, equal to between 10 and 13 dollars monthly, with living and sleeping in windy tents. The Germans, most of them coming from industrial centres of Germany, cannot compete with the agricultural Italians and Spaniards, and there is not much need for metal or other industrial workers, except in a few professions. (To be Continued.)

# Rebel Girls Help the Fight for Solidarity

By E. L.

**IN EVERY CLASS STRUGGLE THE IWW IS FOR THE WORKERS**

MEN and women trickling out of doorways and gathering in groups of five and six on the sidewalks. Faces appear in windows above; peer down on the assembling crowd along the street. Those below beckon to those craning above them, calling encouragement to the timid.

Moon-faced bosses sit on the upper sills, looking anxiously at the increasing number of people on the walks. A curious look of resignation settles on their faces as though their thought were one: "What is there to do?" accompanied with shrugged shoulders.

The little knots of girls and men begin to straighten into a wandering line. There is no semblance of an organized march; just this rippling impulse along the line towards a certain objective.

It is only another skirmish in the long labor war. Ladies' garment workers of Chicago are striking another blow at their greedy masters. The same quiet demonstration is taking place simultaneously in three different districts of the city. Rebel girls of the IWW participate with other militants in the fight with the garment bosses for better life.

Striking workers assemble in various dingy halls where Federation of Labor officials endeavor to arouse them with trite phrases and stale promises of "full support." After the mass meetings the real tactics of the battle are discussed in shop groups and each striker is assigned his place in the field.

Picketing begins. Everything peaceful. In a few days injunction notices have been posted on all the main shop doors and burly blue-coats are "picketing" with big-bellied sluggers. Arrests begin and multiply to wholesale dimensions. The bosses have run to their political friends for aid and "protection."

Settlement workers join the pickets and are treated to "joy-rides" to a filthy police station and charges of "disorderly conduct" along with the rest of the pickets. College students become interested and walk their "beats" with the pickets until nasty weather makes snug shelter more attractive. Snow and wind do not stop the strikers.

Brutalities against the active pickets are soon reported. Uniformed and plainclothes thugs beat the girls with their heavy fists and make grandiose gestures to intimidate the sympathizers. One little picket is knocked unconscious by a policeman.

Sheriff's men, mayor's men, state's attorney's men, and dirty plainclothesmen from private agencies (and heaven knows what foul pools of the underworld!) array themselves on the bosses' side and gloat over their arrests and beatings of defenseless girls. The bosses keep the throats of these hirelings well moistened with booze. They strut bleary-eyed after their "game."

The comfortable labor officials of the Federation feel an urge to demonstrate their interest and organize a Committee of Fifteen to investigate state's attorney Crowe, who properly should not take part in the strike policing, but who actually directs it with his most disreputable forces. The Committee takes a newspaper reporter's account of police brutalities to the mayor and protest. His lordship is moved to remonstrate mildly and winks violently with his left eye while he utters that beatings will stop, and the guilty officers be dismissed.

Brutalities continue. No action on the floor of the city council. The "labor" alderman, Oscar Nelson, will not "embarrass the mayor." He is attorney for the garment workers' International in the municipal courts. He raises the "red" cry at any hint of mass action by the Federation of Labor. The officials keep their comfortable seats.

A "Citizens' Committee" of liberals is formed and arranges for Public Welfare Commissioner Mary McDowell to call a conference of union officials and dress manufacturers. Strikers storm the meeting to tell their grievances. Members of the committee take turns amusing the crowd while the real conference goes on in another room.

**"No Compromise"**

The union officials are willing to let the liberals' god of Reason guide the conference, but the bosses won't appear. No light shall penetrate their darkness. The distraught "citizens" offer to thoroly investigate the strike or to report at once to the mayor. The little strike dictator chooses the latter and lives to regret. The Citizens' Committee report at length to the mayor and divest themselves of the whole annoying situation, as tho it were a dirty apron.

The labor Federation congratulates itself at last on the Committee of Fifteen's published review of the foul Crowe's activities as state's attorney. Thousands of dollars spent convicting labor in Chicago while bootleggers, thieves, murderers, swindlers walk their ways untouched! The old blackbird's feathers are pretty carefully picked by the earnest labor officials. The move is politically useful for them.

Meanwhile Judge Denis Sullivan, slippery old hard-boiled "his honor," sits in the misnamed "Equity" court as judge, jury, and public, dealing out fines and jail sentences for "contempt of court" to pickets caught under the bosses' injunction. The court room is full of dicks with roving, spying eyes, and perked ears. The lawyers have given each paid player his part before the farce begins. The dicks and sluggers' captain know the signals and can testify anything the occasion demands.

(Continued on page 41)

# Hellish Conditions in Eastern Kentucky

By ALONZO WALTERS

**The Industrial Pioneer in printing this article is following a definite policy: that of exposing rotten industrial conditions wherever they are brought to our attention. This is the fourth article of the same general nature printed. The first exposed the misery of the stockyards workers in Chicago; the second, "Labor Hells in Dixie," dealt with conditions in the state of Louisiana and last month "Slavery in West Virginia" was featured.**

**There is one outstanding feature in all of the above mentioned articles and this is also true of the following one: lack of organization, in every instance, lies at the bottom of the misery experienced by the workers. These articles carry with them a moral which thinking workers cannot fail to see and act upon.**

SOME time ago—in the October, 1923, number, I believe it was—the Pioneer published an article written by J. W. Leigh, entitled, "LABOR HELLS IN DIXIE." In that article are described the miserable conditions that exist for wage earners, white and black, native and foreign-born, children and adult, in the state of Louisiana.

Now, I want to call your attention to another spot in the Southland—much less distant than Louisiana—which is, in my opinion, one of the most detestable holes into which it is possible to drag workingmen. Down in the

### Coal Fields of Eastern Kentucky

men are working for wages that a Chinaman would scarcely accept. The MINIMUM wage is a little more than $2.00 per day—for "trapper boys," sand dryers, and the like; the MAXIMUM a little over $5.00 per day, for trackmen, pumpers, wiremen, blacksmiths and other skilled workers. The loaders are paid an average of 55 cents per ton, each ton being approximately 3,000 pounds. The employes have no checkweighman at any of the mines, and the "weigh boss" is invariably one who has worked himself into favoritism with the mine officials, and one whom said officials FEEL ASSURED THEY CAN TRUST.

Letters which I receive every week from friends in Eastern Kentucky give the information that the mines in that coal field are now, and for several months past have been, working only about half-time or a little better—that is to say three or four days a week. Thus the earnings of a coal miner, assuming that he is one of the most highly paid day men, will be, for a half-month period, about forty dollars. If he is a loader, and loads an average of—say twelve of the big company tons in a day, which would be doing exceedingly good work, taking into consideration all the "jack-rock" and slate which must be removed, his earnings would be $52.80, if we give him four days to the week. From this must be taken the cost of his powder, paper, fuse, carbide, lamp, tools, cost of "blacksmithing," etc. After all these items have been taken out, the earnings of the coal loader will be just about the same as those of the most highly paid day men—about $40.00 for a two-week period. When from this meager sum is deducted all the little pickpocket items which the company takes from the pay envelopes of their employes, more often than otherwise the miner finds himself

### In Debt at the Company Store

The prices which miners have to pay for goods purchased in those stores are outrageously beyond reason in price. But they have no other choice. In most cases there are no other stores near enough for their convenience. Even where there are, the coal miners are usually not well enough known to obtain credit at those stores, and, needless to say, their employers always see to it that they never have money enough ahead to pay cash. Knowing thus that they have the poor slave completely within their greedy clutches, the coal barons hold him up in the most shameful manner imaginable. They stoop to some of the most rascally little tricks and practices that it is possible to think of. To illustrate—Before an employe can do any trading at

the company store it is necessary for him to go to the office and draw "scrip" for the amount of goods which he desires to purchase. Before he can draw this "scrip" he must present at the window his "scrip card," which was issued to him at the time he signed up for employment. If this card gets lost or misplaced he is made to pay for a new one—the price being in most places fifty cents. Think of being forced to pay a merchant for the privilege of trading at his store! How much more outrageous is the custom of forcing an employe to pay for the privilege of handing back to an employer, who has already robbed him of the lion's share of the product of his labor, a part of what still remains of his slender earnings! This is only one of the many robber "stunts" that are practiced by the coal barons upon their serfs.

The mines in which the men work are simply

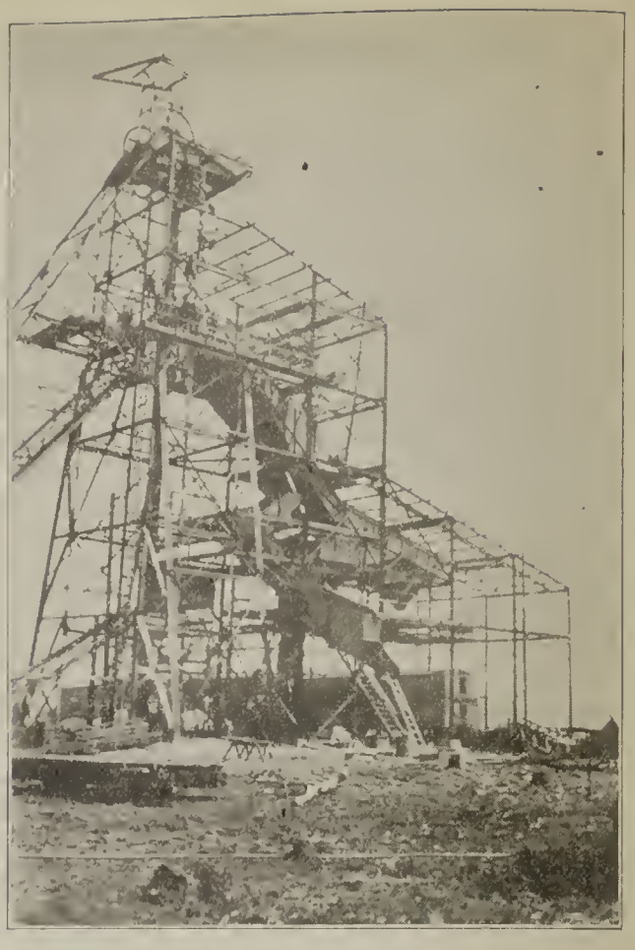
**Death Traps**

in every sense of the word. When a man enters one of them he is simply taking a gambler's chance of ever seeing the light of day again. I receive every week a copy of a local weekly newspaper published at Hazard, Ky. Almost every issue I receive has one or more deaths from mine accidents to tell about—accidents that have happened just within the vicinity of that one little town.

Most of these accidents could be very easily prevented. Most of them result wholly from criminal negligence on the part of the coal mine owners and the public officials whose duty it is to enforce the law, and make conditions safe, so far as is within their power, for the men who work in the mines. A short time ago a friend of mine was killed in the mine of the Hazard-Blue Grass Coal Corporation, at Hazard, Ky., by being caught between his motor and a "hog-back"—an uneven bump in the roof—which the company had failed to remove in compliance with the law. I am informed by people living in that camp that THE MINE HAD NEVER BEEN VISITED BY A STATE MINE INSPECTOR SINCE IT WAS FIRST OPENED, nearly ten years ago. The coal operators are heartlessly indifferent to the dangers amid which their wage slaves are obliged to work, and so, apparently are the state officials.

**Another Danger**

that stares Eastern Kentucky miners and their families in the face, and one equally as great, if not greater, than the danger of mining coal is the risk that must be run every year of being stricken down with typhoid and other diseases arising from the filthy and insanitary conditions in which they are forced to live. The outhouses used by the miners and their families are always in such a filthy condition, and situated so near the dwelling houses, that the odor which comes from them in hot weather is nothing less than stifling to the entire camp. The miners get their water for drinking and cooking purposes from wells that have been dug for their use in various parts of the camp, there being usually two or three wells for the entire camp. I remember one of these wells in a mining camp at Allais, Ky., which is within thirty or forty feet of a barn where



It Looks Like a High-Class Gallows—It's Really a Modern Coal Tipple.

the company horses and mules are kept. Of course the water that comes from those wells is full of the germs of typhoid.

Each camp has a PHYSICIAN, too. This physician receives a regular salary. A deduction is taken from the pay of each employe to pay the doctor this salary. In addition to this, the doctor "charges extra" for certain kinds of cases, such, for instance, as attending to a woman at childbirth, or for treating any kind of venereal diseases. But altho the doctor receives his pay from the men, he takes his orders from the bosses, for it is at their will that he holds his job. Hence he dares not, even if he wished, start a too vigorous "health drive," that is to say one that would mean the expenditure of any money on the part of the mining company—he dares not do this or raise too big a howl about the conditions which prevail within the scope of his practice. Such a course would most surely result in the loss of his position.

With the exception of a few scattering locals along the Cumberland and Big Sandy rivers, all the mines in Eastern Kentucky are NON-UNION. The officials of the United Mine Workers of America have shown very little interest in that coal field, altho at various times the men in that section have shown unmistakable evidence of rebellious and resentful spirit against their oppressive conditions.

As the situation stands today the

### Coal Barons Rule With An Iron Hand

Their will is the supreme law of the land. Their employes are absolutely at their mercy. If one dares to raise a protest against his conditions, he is promptly fired and blacklisted so that it is impossible for him to get a job anywhere in that field. In addition to that, since all the miners live in company houses, he and his family are thrown out of the house in which they live—out on the road to get by the best way they can. I knew one miner, employed in a mine near Hazard, Ky., nearly four years ago, who had refused to sign the "yellow dog contract"—which was then being introduced in Eastern Kentucky for the first time, and which is today prevalent thruout the entire region. This man, on the day after being discharged, made a trip to Hazard to try to find a house to move into. He knew, of course, that he was liable to be evicted at any time from the house where he was then living. While he was away the mine superintendent, assisted by some deputies and other scum went out to the man's home and piled all his household goods and his family outside. Not only that—he gave orders to the neighbors of this victimized family that if any of them took them in, even for one night or one hour, they could expect the same kind of treatment. There was some snow on the ground, and the wife was ill, she being at that time the mother of a little baby only a few days old; but these circumstances failed to soften in the slightest degree the beast who had evicted them. When the husband returned and found his family in such a helpless state, of course there was no choice for him other than to sign the humiliating "yellow dog" pledge.

One circumstance in particular which gives the coal barons such unlimited power over the men is the fact that, Eastern Kentucky being only in the infancy of its industrial development, coal mining is practically THE ONLY INDUSTRY IN WHICH EMPLOYMENT CAN BE FOUND. The coal miner, realizing this, quietly submits; for he never has enough money ahead to enable him to leave his unhappy environment, and seek employment elsewhere.

The Coal Kings of Eastern Kentucky also, as a matter of course,

### Own and Control the Public Officials

the public schools, and the local press. The judge is their servant; so is the sheriff; so also are all the others. One or two deputies are kept in every mining camp to "keep order." These deputies remain within reach of the beck and call of their masters, the mine officials, and are always punctually on hand to do their bidding, whatever it may be.

The PUBLIC SCHOOLS are taught in buildings that belong to the mining companies. In addition to his regular salary the teacher, in most cases, receives a regular monthly compensation from the

Kentucky Hillside Coal Mine.

mining company. They make no secret of this practice—it is an openly admitted fact. Nobody back there seems to wonder at it. Everybody seems to take the view that the poor teacher is justly entitled to all the compensation he receives—and undoubtedly he is, for is he not engaged in the noble, notable and worthy calling of training the children of dirty and ignorant miners to become one hundred per cent Americans; endeavoring, to the best of his abliity, to drill into them the particular kind of PAY-TRIOTISM that is most pleasing to their masters?

In some camps this teacher's subsidy is raised by deducting a "school tax" from the over-weighted pay-envelopes of the mine employes.

Such are the conditions which must be daily endured by the thousands of coal miners and their families who dwell among the rugged hills that wall in the winding valleys of the Kentucky River, the Cumberland and the Big Sandy. The only reason or explanation that can be offered for the fact that Eastern Kentucky has not become as publicly notorious as the coal fields of West Virginia, Colorado and some other states is the fact that the miners in Eastern Kentucky have always been kept SO COMPLETELY UNDER THE THUMB OF THEIR MASTERS, so closely and carefully held down, so utterly at the mercy of the tyrants who rule over them, that they have never had the opportunity to make themselves heard by the outside world. It is for this reason that I humbly request for them a respectful hearing in the columns and among the readers of this magazine. It is for this reason that I appeal to this magazine to plead the cause of a downtrodden and oppressed people, who, for reasons beyond their control, are unable to lift a voice in their own behalf.

■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

Promote self-development by ample facilities for wide reading in an atmosphere of freedom and morality.

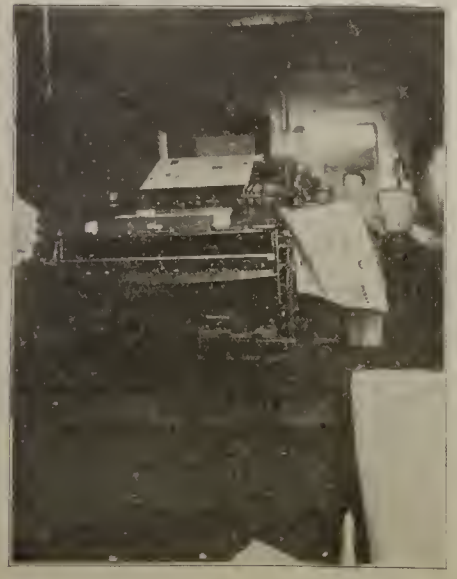
Books are the most enduring monuments of man's achievements. Thru them civilization becomes cumulative.

# Peeps at Your Pioneer in the Making

The idea hehind this group of pictures is to familiarize the readers of the Industrial Pioneer with the different processes necessary in making their magazine. Tbese six pictures only show the major operetions; there are several others, such as proofreading, making up the pages, correcting galleys, folding the covers, mailing, etc., whicb we cennot show here for lack of space.

In the picture at the left the first operation is shown. On this hattery of linotypes not only the type for the Pioneer, but also that for all other IWW puhlications printed st heaquarters, is set. When this picture wes taken, the operator at the first machine was setting copy for the Hungarian weekly, Bérmunkás; the man at the center machine was setting Pioneer copy and the one at the end machine was working on the Bulgarian paper, Industrialen Rahotnik.

The picture at tbe right shows the compositors putting tbe final toucbes to one form of tbe Pioneer. They are making page-proof corrections just before the form is locked up to go to tbe press-room. This form contains sixteen pages and three of them are needed for each issue of tbe magazine. These men, as are all others working in the shop where your Pioneer is printed, ere members in good standing in Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union, No. 450, of the IWW. It should interest memhers to know that tbeir magazine is made by fellow workers.



This view shows the Pioneer on the press. Note tbe size sheet on which it is printed. The sheet is 32x44 incbes and sixteen pages are printed at one impression. To print a complete copy of the Pioneer this press makes three revolutions, and to run each issue ahout thirty-six hours of press time are required. This press hesides turning out 90,000 copies of the Industrial Pioneer last year, also printed 84,000 copies of the Finnish magazine, Tie Vapauteen; 2,450,000 two and four-page leaflets and 500,000 pamphlets containing from eight to one hundred and thirty-six pages.

One of the principal reasons for the ignorance and passivity of the workers of the world is the sort of reading material dealt out to them hy our capitalistic masters. This press has heen doing its hest to offset hoss propaganda for five years and in that time has turned out millions of pieces of working class literature.

If every printing press in the country had such a record for workingclass propaganda and education, the end of the capitalist system would he in sight. Since tbe April numher of the Pioneer was printed, 15,000 constitutions, over 100,000 leaflets and 20,000 I. U. and General Office Bulletins have heen run off on this press. It's a husy machine.

Here we see the next step in making the Pioneer. This machine takes the press sheets, 32x44 and making four folds, reduces them to the page size of the Pioneer, eight hy eleven inches. Ahout thirty hours continuous operation of this folder are necessary for each number. The press in the background is the one on whicb the covers of the magazine ere printed. A sheet of last month's cover had just come off the cylinder as the picture was snapped.

This press and folding machine are also used in printing the Finnish magazine and ere valuable assets to our organization in its effort to educate the workers of the world. Just a little to the right, enough to keep it out of the picture is another folding machine on wbich the covers are folded, and behind the camera is the large weh press on which the newspapers are printed.

Here we see the Pioneer getting the rough edges trimmed off preparatory to going to the shipping room, from whence it is mailed, not only to every part of this country, but to nearly every country of the world. Rebels in Japan, Australia, China, Spain, Italy, England and many other countries look forward to the coming of the Pioneer with its revolutionary news and views of the American workers eacb month.

These pictures will give our readers some idea of tbe labor entailed in making the Pioneer, from a mechanical viewpoint. Of course, tbey do not show tbe multifarious duties of the editorial department, in gatbering material and pictures, and preparing the copy for your magazine.

The pictures will also give our members a good idea of the kind of print-shop our organization has and perhaps give them more confidence in their task of organizing the workers. No better way of spreading workingclass propaganda and education can he found than keeping these machines busy. Our print-shop is one of the hest owned by any labor organization in America and the Industrial Pioneer is its pet product. Boost tbe Pioneer. It's yours alone. A magazine written hy rebel workers, printed hy rebel workers, for rebel workers.

The picture at the left shows the bindery girls putting the covers on the Pioneer and stitching the folds. These girls also mail the single copies to suhscribers. Besides the Pioneer, these girls work on Solidarity, Il Proletario, Bérmunkás, Industrialen Rabotnik, Solidaridad and Tie Vapauteen. Tbey also make tbe little red cards, now famous all over the world; 80,000 of them last year. Song books, pampblets, leaflets, constitutions and industrial union hy-laws also flow from tbeir department in a steady stream. Time never hangs heavy on their hands—there's too much to be done.

# The Stuff They Fight About

By CARD No. 455306

Prevent War—Join Oil Workers' Industrial Union No. 230 of the IWW.

**THE black fuel oil burst from the pipes, there in the fireroom of the Horace Luckenbach, and gushed over the floor plates in an ugly mess as a fireman turned the wrong valve.**

**Followed furious work with rags and shovel before we emerged, sweaty and smeared.**

**"That's the goddam stuff the world goes to war about," remarked the water-tender who had been cynically watching us wipers swab up the mess.**

**He was right. That black, sticky stuff we were cleaning up there in the bowels of our big freighter, running north along the western coast of Mexico, is that "goddam" stuff that brings revolutions in Mexico and Central America, world conferences at San Remo, Genoa and Lausanne and may soon plunge the nations of the earth into a titanic "war for democracy" and oil.**

I have just been reading two volumes on the clash of world oil interests—just published. They are books that every member of the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union or the Oil Workers' Industrial Union, or, in fact, every class conscious worker anywhere would do well to read in order to keep posted on latest developments of this source of power and wars. Both the books are written from a capitalistic bias but they contain facts of importance to the workers whom the capitalists will expect to fill the trenches in the next imperialistic struggle for oil. One is the "World Struggle For Oil," by de la Tremerye, a Frenchman, and the other, "Oil and Anglo-American Relations," by two Englishmen, E. H. Davenport and Sidney Russell Cooke.

As I said, both are written from the capitalist viewpoint. The labor problem hardly occurs to the writers: they are unfolding the growth and development of titanic commercial enterprises which are competing for world power. Both books are written from a more or less nationalistic bias—the one French and the other English, but—fortunately for their value to American readers, the nationalistic blinkers they wear are not made in America. So both give the facts readily as they see them about the American government's relationship to Standard Oil, the relationship which is expressed very aptly by the Frenchman when he says: "The American Government bows down to Standard Oil."

**"The American government bows down to Standard Oil."** This statement sounds very commonplace to readers of the Industrial Pioneer, but these oil books spice up their conclusion with some real paprika facts drawn from the field of international oil diplomacy. Again and again they prove that the Standard Oil is the government, as far at least as the foreign policy of the State and Navy departments are concerned. They show, for example, the American government thundering its demand for the "open door" (for oil concessionaires) in Persia and the British government "bribing"—yes, that is the word used—bribing the American government, mind you, by a concession to the Standard Oil. The little concession was nothing less than half the oil rights of Northern Persia. The American government had been getting rough, not only as far as Persian oil fields were concerned but elsewhere, so this juicy morsel was handed its other self. Uncle Sam's identity with the Standard is again shown in a dispute for the "open door" in the great 4,000,000 acre Djambi oil fields in the Sunda Islands of the Dutch East Indies. Standard found herself barred and the black gold flowing into the coffers of Royal Dutch Shell. So our arrogant American oil lords walk right into the legislative halls at the Hague and demand the right to operate in the Dutch colonies. "Who is this?" asked Dutch legislators. "Is this just a private oil company or the American government that talks so boldly?" The answer was not long in coming. Whiskered Hughes sent a haughty note from Washington that showed Washington and Wall Street

were a little closer even than Siamese twins. Again we see Ameriean naval forces rushed to Central Ameriea at the behest of Standard Oil and the Washington government again on the job sabotaging Mexican governments that were slow in coming through to the bleeders of 26 Broadway.

Little of this Standard oil dope has been eoming out in the Teapot sewage. If you follow the scandal flow you will notiee that our progressive senators have been busy shoveling out the Sinelair and Doheny muck but that the Gargantuan cesspool at 26 Broadway has hardly been touched. The Wheelers, Brookharts and Co. are letting the masters of America alone.

* * * *

Just as the Standard is baeked by its government in its oil demands so the Royal Duteh Shell and the Anglo-Persian are backed by their government. So, if the American worker is thrown into the trenches in a eamouflaged war for democraey whieh is really a war for oil, he will be just a pawn in the game between the Ameriean and the British oil trusts.

Let us look more elosely at these three oil powers:

The Standard is still the mightiest and she is baeked by the most powerful capitalist country. Her annual turnover is more than 30,000,000 tons a year as eompared with the 16,000,000 tons of the Shell and the 3—4,000,000 tons of the Anglo-Persian. It is true that the Shell and the Anglo-Persian may eontrol greater undeveloped fields whieh will make them bigger faetors than the Standard in the future unless war wrests these fields away, but as far as the present situation is eoneerned the Ameriean saphead can still boast that his trust is the "biggest."

The Standard is hundred per eent Ameriean in its ownership and eontrol:

The Royal Dutch is basically British. Even her chief, Sir Henri Deterding, has dropped his original citizenship for the title of "Englishman." The Royal Duteh Shell is allied with the gold of the Rothsehilds and with the American banking house of Morgan; in fact, it has huge American interests, but for all that it is an English eompany and the British foreign office has again and again gotten behind it.

The Anglo-Persian is hundred per eent British. In faet it is a state owned octopus. Two-thirds of the stoek is owned outright by the British government and the other third is controlled by the Admiralty through the Burmah Oil Company. Its produets were formally marketed through the Royal Duteh Shell, but of late there has been eompetition though it stands with the Shell in a erisis as against the Standard.

So there they are: the three great oil giants. Giants, nay, Titans, sweeping governments in their trail and with interloeked eorporation eonneetions that make them invulnerable to anything exeept eaeh other and the power of labor.

The rivalry between the Standard and the British trusts has beeome more intensive in the last few years. That is beeause the evolution of industrial scienee has made oil enormously more important than it was a dozen years ago. The market has expanded while oil fields have been playing out. So the rivalry is both for the bigger and more luerative markets and for the newer oil fields from which these markets must be supplied.

In the days when Rockefeller got his start they burned kerosene in lamps. Today oil is running most of the ships of the world, driving stationary engines, speeding loeomotives, millions of autos and motor trueks and providing fuel for the airplane and the dirigible. World oil production is nearly as great in one year now as it was in the ten-year period from 1890 to 1900. And America, the most industrialized nation, and consequently the greatest oil user, has become an importer of oil. She still ships oil abroad, it is true, but this is far more than balaneed by the oil she ships in from Mexieo and other outlying fields. This new and erying need of American capitalism for outside sources of oil supply led to the seleetion of an oil president in 1920 (Wilson having been rather a Morgan-banking president) and has ehanged Ameriea's foreign relations.

The Standard is now showing unbridled haste in going after the world's oil resources. Unfortunately for her these fields are nominally under the control of her rivals. The old Standard—the oldest of all the oil trusts—had gotten kind of stiff jointed and allowed Royal Duteh Shell and Anglo-Persian to slip in where she now wants to be.

The Standard did not need to own the home oil fields to exploit them. By owning 69 per cent of the pipe-line mileage, by ownership of refineries and influenee with railroad eompanies she eould skim the cream off the independents' milk. But this didn't work so well abroad and today she finds that her British rivals eontrol the grat bulk of the world's potential oil supply. The Standard exploits most of the present production but the future production is in the hands of the Royal Duteh and Anglo-Persian unless the Standard can shift the balanee by foree or diplomaey.

This she is now trying to do. Her diplomaey, it may be explained, is a threat of foree, a threat of foree by the American government which she eontrols. Sometimes the foree is aetually exerted, as in the ease of Central Ameriea.

* * *

The case for war or not seems to depend on whether the Standard (Ameriean government's) threat of foree eontinues to work or whether she will have to make good by hurling her eountry's war legions at the British eombine.

We mentioned before that the British government bribed the Ameriean by giving the Standard fifty-fifty rights in Northern Persia. Britain gave away "rights" she had won by a long series of

bribes to Persian officials and by her military operations during and after the war for democracy.

It is the opinion of Messrs. Davenport and Cooke that this bribe won't work. It appears that the maw of Standard Oil is insatiable. The question is how far Britain will give way before she fights.

* * * *

If America goes to war for oil it will be comparatively soon. Think this over, workingmen, for you will be the ones to fill the trenches and graves of the next war and the only oil you will get out of it will be the oil that sticks to your hands in fueling the ships and the motor lorries that are used in fighting for the big loot.

The reason why American imperialism is playing her oil hand hard now is that every year she waits makes her rivals stronger in oil and being stronger in oil means being stronger in war. The oil fields Britain controls in the four corners of the world are largely undeveloped or else in the hands of Soviet Russia. The actual production needed to fight a war with still comes largely from the western continent. If a war broke now England would be in severe difficulties unless her tankers could bring oil from Mexico and other fields on the Carribbean Sea—and U. S. submarines would be in a position to play havoc with those tankers. But if the war can be delayed until after Mosul and Mesopotamian fields are in a well developed condition, England will be sitting prettier.

* * * *

Oil was not such a basic power factor in the war of 1914-1918 as it is today, but it was just this important that it turned the tide of war.

And American oil won the war. This fact is mentioned not from reasons of patriotism. I get no patriotic thrill out of America's part in the saturnalia of bloodshed that has just passed. It is mentioned only to show the strategic force of the situation.

The Allies won the war when the Standard Oil finally agreed in 1917-18 to forego its rivalry with the Shell. The Standard, which had helped to keep the American government out of it for a time finally saw the light and in its language to Lord Northcliffe said, "It's our war as well as yours."

A concrete instance of how oil changed the face of the war is shown by France. At the beginning she used railroads and coal. Her oil production in 1914 was only 476,000 tons. By 1918 the production was 1,000,000 tons. In 1914 she was shipping troops by railroad. By 1918 she was shipping them by motor lorries, driven by gasoline. That was partly because German shells tore up railroad lines, partly because motor lorries were a more mobile form of transportation. In addition she was using thousands of airplanes. Statisticians tell us that in 1914 France had only 132 airplanes, 110 motor lorries and 50 military tractors. By 1918 she had 4,000 airplanes and 8,500 motor lorries. And the German offensive in March of that year found itself resisted by adequately fuelled lorries and airplanes. American oil won, for France, over German coal.

It might be said in passing that the war put out of business the great German concern that was tending to dominate Europe—the Europeanische Petroleum company which went down with its government.

* * * *

The Standard Oil, the Royal Dutch Shell and the Anglo-Persian may go to war among themselves, with the Standard on one side and the other two on the other side. Again, it is possible that they will get together into a great world trust. That possibility is hinted at by de la Tremerye and the possibility seems more plausible when we consider the financial interlocking of the Shell subsidiaries with American capital.

BUT, in any case, the working class has a war with all of them—the class war for the industrial power they now have. Until the workers do take control of the industries they will be the military slaves of the oil trusts and allied concerns during imperialistic wars and the civil slaves during times of "Peace." (What irony in that word?)

"If the workers take a notion," as Joe Hill would say, they can stop all scheming oil trusts, by taking power themselves.

Both of the two oil books we have been considering give different tips to capitalist governments as to how to get world economic power. These tips are just as good to the workers.

The Frenchman's book lays all the emphasis on oil. "Who has oil controls the seas," he says. Well, that is in line with our program. So "oil power to Oil Workers' Industrial Union."

The Englishmen lay the emphasis on the seas. "Who controls the seas controls the oil. Seapower is first," say these Johnny Bulls, advising their government that unless they continue to control water transport their outlying oil possessions won't be of any value to them in case of war.

Again we agree. "All power on the seas to the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union," we say. The MTW will show these greedy plutes who's the boss on the water.

All power to the workers. The Oil Trusts are arrogantly parcelling out the world with the aid of their governments. The industrially organized workers must be just as arrogant as Standard Oil; just as arrogant as Royal Dutch Shell; just as arrogant as the Anglo-Persian.

The workers created all the wealth that Rockefeller and Henri Deterding are flaunting and they are going to take it with the arrogance that goes with conscious strength.

# No. 744, Missing in Action

(Continued from page 6.)

As the boy had fallen in a depression between the track and the gob the explosion passed over him without doing him further injury. Slowly consciousness returned to him. He opened his eyes.

All was quiet and so dark he could feel it. Luckily his light had been extinguished thus, probably he was saved from fatal burns while lying unconscious under the heavy door. He sat up. "Must have been a 'splosion," he commented. His cap and lamp were lost in the darkness. He began feeling around for them, but he could only search with one hand. His left arm was broken.

At last he found the lamp. Gas was still spurting from the tip. He placed the lamp between his knees to hold it while he placed his hand over the reflector to accumulate a pocket of gas before rolling the sparker. Then a thought flashed thru his mind—"Will there be another 'splosion when I light this?" He hesitated and sniffed for a smell of gas. He then breathed through his mouth. Ah! Black damp, dead air. He could taste it. He knew the taste. It made him want to spit and spit some more. He remembered how the taste had lingered for days after the time the fan was stopped for two days without the men being notified. And how sick all the men had been that second day when they had all gone out in a body. He remembered how some had fallen while walking out and were carried the rest of the way by their buddies. And of how many others had keeled over too weak to stand after receiving their first breath of pure air.

EUGENE BARNETT

**One of the "Centralia Boys." Serving a sentence of from 25 to 40 years in Walla Walla penitentiary.**

All these thoughts flashed through his mind in the moment he hesitated. But the taste of the black-damp warned him that he had not a moment to lose. He knew that even then every breath was bringing certain death nearer. So he rolled the steel and sent a flood of sparks into the tiny stream of gas spurting from the tip of his lamp. The flame did not look white like a gas light, but red like the setting sun, for there was but little oxygen in the air. He looked at the place where the door had been. Only the collar or cross timber at the top remained and one end of it hung loose. He could not find the door but he remembered a piece of canvas he had seen in a cross cut not far away so he hurried there half expecting to find it gone. But the cross cut had been out of the path of the explosion and although the wooden brattice in the cross cut was torn down the canvas was still there. He dragged it up to the place where the door had been and hung it over the collar the best he could then piled coal and rocks on the bottom of the curtain he had formed.

"Now," he said, "if the fan starts that coal and slate will hold the curtain down and force the air to go up the air-course and if any of the miners are yet alive—it may save their lives." Just then a heavy fall of slate in some remote part of the mine caused a hollow Boo-oo-oom! to reverberate through the mine and the little lad struck a trot toward the bottom of the shaft. He expected the whole mine to start caving any minute. He passed the still forms of several miners, twisted and burned beyond recognition. They had been in the main path of the explosion and some of them were literally torn to pieces. The poor kid shuddered and hurried on. At last he reached the bottom of the shaft only to find it jammed with wreckage.

On top another scene was being enacted. The tipple crew had just seated themselves with their dinner buckets in the warm sunshine against the power house when the explosion occurred. The shaft belched forth a mass of flame, smoke and wreckage very much like the eruption of a volcano. The tipple was wrecked and a section of it thrown high in the air. The men ran into the power house, the blacksmith shop or any place they could think of to escape the falling debris. Then from all the miners' shacks came a wail of despair and hundreds of women and children came running toward the shaft.

An immense cloud of smoke began to spread from over the shaft and settle over the camp like a black pall. As soon as the heavy debris quit falling the men rushed out from their places of refuge and took a look at the wreckage. The tipple was a wreck. Huge timbers lay criss-crossed in all directions and one side of the iron fence that had surrounded the shaft was down, leaving an open passage to the yawning hole that had been the shaft. Ends of timbers and lagging could be seen hanging out from the sides of the shaft and the whole shaft seemed to be working; grinding and creaking noises came up from below as the loosened casing settled. And frequently a hollow boom! would denote the falling of another timber to the bottom of the shaft. All the men began giving orders at once. Naturally all orders were different. While they were arguing an old man with white hair, a wrinkled face and sparkling

blue eyes came running from a house nearby. "Here, boys," he shouted, "don't argue, but do as I tell you." There was authority in his voice and not a bit of indecision. "Two of you put up that fence," he ordered, "and four of you keep the women from jumping into the shaft while the rest of us get the fan started and organize a rescue party."

No one seemed to question the old man's authority though none of them had ever seen him before. They seemed glad to take orders from the old fellow and started working feverishly at the tasks he had set for them. The old man with the rest of the men hurried to the fan-house and inspected the fan. They found that the explosion had not affected the air shaft at all. The fan was all right and all it needed was power to make it go. A stairway in the shaft served as a manway up which the miners could climb if any remained alive. The old man hurried to the power house and found the electrician working feverishly to get the power on again. There was a short circuit and a lot of grounded wires somewhere inside the mine, so he had to make some changes in the wiring and run a temporary line to the fan-house.

Upon inquiry the old man learned there was only one safety lamp and it was at the Super's house and him away attending a meeting of the operators called to devise ways and means of keeping the union out of Somerset County. The old man turned to one of the miners and said, "Get that lamp." The miner soon returned with it and no questions were asked as to how he got it.

The temporary line from the power house to the motor in the fan-house was connected up by then and as the current was turned on and the big fan began to roar, a rescue crew composed of the old man and eight volunteers were starting for the head of the stairway in the air shaft when a wail from the crowd of women caused them to look toward the shaft. Black coal smoke was rising out of the shaft in a veritable cloud. The worst had happened, the mine was on fire. The women screamed, some fainted as their last hope was killed, and others broke away from the crowd and ran screaming toward the shaft, intent on jumping into it, to perish as their loved ones had perished. It took the combined efforts of the men and the less hysterical ones among the women to keep them out of the shaft. Just then an angry shout from the road caused all to look in that direction. The manager and the superintendent had alighted from a large touring car and a dozen or more coal and iron police armed with riot guns were jumping out of other cars.

**Class-War Widows and Orphans**

**Wives and children of the members of the IWW incarcerated in Washington State penitentiary at Walla Walla. Mrs. Eugene Barnett is the woman in black to the right with small son standing in front of her. Gateway to prison grounds in back.**

"Hey!" shouted the manager, "Why in the devil don't you reverse that fan? The Super says you are driving the fire right into the development work."

"To reverse that fan means to burn everybody, dead or alive that is in the mine," said the old man who had been leading the rescue work.

"To hell with the bodies," said the manager. "They are dead. We must save my coal. Tell the engineer to reverse that fan."

"No," said the old man, "I will never tell him! It will be murder to do so if any of the men are yet alive and to value coal above a human body is certainly inhuman. You should be ashamed to burn the bodies of the men who have created your wealth."

"Who is this son of a——?" the manager asked turning to the Super. But he never heard the answer for the epithet had scarcely left his lips before he was knocked flat by a well directed uppercut to his fat chin. A rush was made at the old man by the guards, and one sneaking from behind hit him across the neck with an iron bar he had picked up as he sneaked through the blacksmith shop to get behind the old fellow. The manager got up as soon as he saw the old man felled by the gunman. "Fine work, Shamrock," he said.

"His neck is broken," said one of the other gunmen after he had turned the fellow over with his foot.

"Good!" said the manager, whose name was Slurwind, "Drag him out of the way and tell that engineer to reverse the fan."

When the little fellow in the mine found the shaft blocked he started for the manway that led to the foot of the air shaft. Through a narrow winding passage just wide enough for a foot path he hurried. At last he reached the end of the passage and came to a strong oak door. He often tried to open that door in the year and a half he had worked in the mine and never had he been able to do so. The air pressure in the air course on the other side had always been too strong for him and now with a broken arm he had little hopes of being able to do so. He placed his shoulder against the door and put his combined weight and strength against it. It opened so easily he lost his balance and almost fell on his face. In his haste and excitement he had forgotten that the fan was not running and consequently no air pressure against the door. The air was a little better now and he hurried forward to the foot of the stairs and began to climb in a down-pour of water that almost took his breath.

Up, up, up he climbed, around and around. The shaft was square and the staircase wound up in spiral, eight steps up, then a landing, then a quarter turn and up eight more steps and the water pouring down on the steps in front of the boy was continually spattering in his face and eyes.

He was weak from breathing the gas, and he suffered agonies from his injuries, but the grit that seems to be inherited in miners' families kept him at his task.

Shortly after he began ascending the stairs the fan started and although the fresh air felt good in his lungs it chilled his wet body and drove the water down with greater force than before. But he threw out his chest, took a deep breath and climbed with renewed vigor. Finally he reached a spot one hundred feet below the surface. The air pressure from the big fan was immense and it would have been impossible for anyone to have climbed much farther in the draft of that big fan. It would also have been folly to try to construct a stairway out of wood strong enough to withstand that gale. So for those reasons the shaft had been driven double width the first hundred feet down, and a wooden partition divided it in the center. One side was the air shaft and the stairway led up the other to the outside. A heavy oak door closed the doorway in the partition at the bottom of the double shaft.

Naturally, this door opened into the air shaft and the air held it shut. So great was the pressure that only a strong man could open the door. Try as he would the little lad could not open it. At the very moment the old man was trying to prevent the fan from being reversed the boy was tugging at the door crying and shouting for help. He was so near the top and yet so far from being out. His loudest cries were but a whisper in the roar of the big fan. To climb the slimy, water-soaked planks of the shaft casing would have been impossible even with two hands, so the poor kid sat down and cried. As he sat there trying to think of some way to open the door the air stopped whistling down the shaft. The fan had stopped.

Quickly he sprang to the door, pulled it open and began running up the stairs. The fan began to roar again and he felt a draft of hot air from below. The fan had been reversed.

By the time he reached the top of the third flight above the door the smoke was so thick he was groping his way feeling the stairs with his hand. The sulphur fumes in the smoke were choking him. The carbon monoxide gas was deadening his senses. Still he struggled upward. The smoke grew hotter and hotter. He felt like a spider suspended above a candle. He tried to hurry, to climb faster.

Only fifty feet more, he must make that.

The staircase burned through some place beneath him and he felt the stairs sag then tear loose above and start sinking toward the bottom. He made a blind rush up the stairs in a last mad effort to reach the top.

When he reached the place where the stairs and casing had pulled apart he ran around on the landing feeling for the next flight of stairs which was hanging in the air about a foot above his head. Could he have seen he might have climbed up and got onto them and climbed the remaining thirty feet to safety. But as it was he stumbled over the edge of the casing and fell in behind it, between it and the shaft wall. The fall rendered him unconscious so he did not know when the shaft became a seething furnace a few minutes later. The fan was soon a mass of warped steel and as it ceased to turn the flames began to recede into the mine again.

Several months later Shamrock was sitting in the Super's office and the Super remarked: "I can't see what became of that Brown kid that was trapping in the Main. His check is the only one we haven't found. He was sure a game little devil. We found one of those old curtains that we tried that fire-proofing solution on a year or so ago lying on the track where his door used to be and it had slate piled on one end of it. Part of the collar was under it where the fire could not get to it, so it looked as though he had tried to put up a curtain after his door was blown to pieces. We found his bucket there, but not a sign of him.

"That old cow of a mother of his has been talking to those newspaper reporters and we have had to buy off two that had slipped in. She told them all about her old man and the other two boys getting killed. She claims she had a dream and the kid came to her bed and told her he would have gotten out if we hadn't reversed the fan. I got a telegram from Johnstown, saying a traveling delegate for the IWW is headed this way. We must head him off and keep him out of camp, or if he gets in, see that he never gets out. If

that old woman ever got to him with her story and he got out of camp with it the jig would be up with us, for you know every one of the delegates are correspondents for their paper—Industrial Solidarity, and as it is owned and controlled by the rank and file we couldn't possibly buy it off. He may be looking for that old grey-haired duck that got his neck broke the day of the explosion, too. You know we found an IWW card on him."

A few days later a gang of men were putting a new casing in the air shaft when one of the gang found a charred body of a small boy in the crevice of the rocks, about forty feet from the top. It was burned to a crisp and could not have been recognized by anyone who had known it in life. But none of the crew had ever known the boy, for they were a new crew. The few men who had been outside the mine the day of the explosion had slipped away under cover of darkness to escape the brutalities they knew would be meted out to them by the Pennsylvania Cossacks if they were caught leaving. None of the men had known Bobby Brown but in the ashes that had been washed from around the body a brass check was found with the figures 744 stamped into it. That was the number that preceded the name of Bobby Brown on the company's books. One of the men took the check to the Super's office and reported the find. The Super hurried to the shaft and ordered the body left there until dark when it could be removed without attracting the attention of the women in camp. Then pulling the shift boss to one side, said: "It would never do for his mother to find out that he was that near out when we reversed that fan. She would make us no end of trouble; we are having hell with her at it is. You tell the crew to keep their mouths shut about it and they will each get a bonus when the job is finished. I will see the old lady this afternoon and try to get her hushed up."

That night Shamrock, accompanied by two other gunmen, took the remains of little Bobby from the shaft and buried them in the dump below the mine. As the dump was burning continuously, his ashes would soon be mingling with those of the old, grey-haired man who had so nearly rescued him on the day of the explosion and whose body had also been consigned to the dump.

When the Super called on the boy's mother he was as nice as pie. "Howdy! Mrs. Brown, I called to see if you need anything in the way of groceries or anything," he said.

"No, not from you," she replied.

"Please don't take that attitude, Mrs. Brown," pleaded the Super. "The company wants to help you. I have spoken to the manager about offering you a position if you can see your way clear to accept it."

"Oh! You want to buy me off again, eh?" she answered with fine sarcasm. "When you came to our little log-cabin home in Tennessee and persuaded John to sell our little corn and bean patch and come here, you pictured a paradise, with good schools and good houses and a good job for John at wages that would enable us to have a real home and educate our children. You made all kinds of fine promises. But after you got us here you put John in the most dangerous place in the mines. Then after you got him and the two oldest of our boys killed I was foolish enough to let you take my Bobby into that old place and get him killed too. I needed his help to feed the other children, but now,—but now,—" she had choked up and began crying.

"Please don't cry, Mrs. Brown," said the Super. "I know it's hard. But remember it is always darkest just before the dawn. We all have our ups and downs, but every cloud has a silver lining and we will help you if you will let us. It will pay you to listen to reason. You know you can't possiby win a suit against us. We have the best lawyers in the state and we have the contract you signed when the boy went to work saying he was sixteen years old. No jury would ever believe that you signed those papers without knowing what was on them. Personally, I would like to see you win. But I know you haven't a chance. We don't want to be hard on you, but we have to protect ourselves. Better think that offer of a position over and I will call again in a day or two. Good day!" He went out and down the hill muttering to himself, "Damn her! She is liable to cause us a peck of trouble yet. I know what I will do. I will have Miss Kaufman call on her in the guise of a Friend (Quaker) and talk her into dropping the suit.

The following day a demure little Quaker knocked on Mrs. Brown's door. "Good morning!" she said, when the door had been opened. "I am doing relief work among the families who lost their loved ones in the mine accident and I heard of thy trouble and have come to help thee. I brought thee a few groceries and some cookies for the children," she held out a basket and asked "Will thee accept it?"

Mrs. Brown took the basket and thanked her and then placed a chair for her. They talked quite a while and finally Miss Kaufman or Miss Baker, as she had introduced herself, managed to lead the conversation around to the right point for her to ask about Mrs. Brown's plans for the future, without arousing suspicion. In half an hour she had persuaded her to accept the job the Super had offered her. She promised to sign the contract the next time the Super called and Miss Baker took her leave. Half an hour later she stepped out of the company hotel and tripped over to the Super's office—a typical flapper. "Well, old dear, she fell like a ton of brick!" she exclaimed as she entered the office where the Super was awaiting her.

Next day the Super appeared at Mrs. Brown's door and asked if she had decided anything definite about that "position." "Yes," she answered, "I have

(Continued on page 48.)

# Canadian Pulp Wood

(Continued from page 8.)

practically all of which is to be attributed to United States demand. Paper exports to the United States from Canada increased in the year from $65,000,332 to $86,-625,488. Exports of chemical pulp increased from $27,546,783 to $31,-274,416. Mechanical pulp exports increased from $5,536,578 to $7,-522.477.

Over 77 per cent of Canada's pulp exports found their way to the United States, and more than 92 per cent of her newsprint exports. Of a Canadian production of 1,-263,000 tons 1,137,000 tons of newsprint were exported, this being the first time newsprint exports have crossed the million mark. Of this the United States took 1,115,-355 tons, leaving a total of 22,607 tons for shipment to overseas countries. The value of Canada's newsprint exports account for 60 per cent of the value of her total pulp and paper exports.

Laurentide Pulp and Paper-Mill

This newsprint phase of the industry is the significant one at the present time and the day is practically within sight when the United States will have fallen behind Canada in production, and the Dominion have a world supremacy in this regard. For some time the tendency has been evident for United States mill production to decline while that of Canadian mills rises. Canada's newsprint output in 1923 of 1,263,000 tons was 16 per cent greater than in 1922, and 56 per cent greater than in 1921, while the United States production of 1,485,000 tons for the same year was only 2.5 per cent greater than in 1922, and the first recorded increase for some time.

Canadian mills for the manufacture of newsprint are continually being expanded and added to as increased demand across the line calls for a greater output and a larger volume available for export. The total average daily production of Canadian newsprint machines in 1922 was 3,825 tons per day; in 1923 this capacity was 4200 per day; throughout 1924 recent additions are expected to make the average daily capacity about 4,700 tons, bringing the production for the present year in the neighborhood of the United States 1923 output.

The reason for this rapid increase in production is, of course, the declining supplies of raw material in the United States coupled with a steadily increasing consumption. In 1923 there were in the United States sixty newspapers alone which had a circulation in excess of 100,000 copies. During the year these dailies averaged 27 pages and the Sunday issues 101 pages, proportions never before attained. The consumption of newsprint by the Republic has shown a surprising growth since the commencement of the century. In 1923 there were 50 pounds of newsprint available per capita in the United States as compared with 15 pounds per capita in 1900. This increase of 230 per cent explains why the United States now consumes more newsprint paper than all other countries of the world combined, and the reason why, having largely drained her own resources, she must perforce call on Canada to supply her needs. From 1913 to 1923 Canada's exports of newsprint to the United States increased from 219,602 tons to 1,115,355 tons, or by 863 per cent; showing the inability of the Republic to keep pace through her own manufacture with her increasing consumption. As a matter of fact the United States has come to depend on Canada for 95 per cent of its newsprint supply, and the Republic consumes 85 per cent of the Canadian fabricated product.

The pulp and paper industry of Canada differs basically from that of the United States in its every phase by a sense of permanency. According to reliable computations few mills in the United States have raw supplies which will keep them busy for more than ten years longer. Canada's timber resources loom up magnificently vast because they have, as yet, suffered comparatively little exploitation or depletion, but with the same prodigal methods pursued definite limits could be placed to their length of existence. The permanent nature of the Canadian industry rests, not upon the illimitableness of resources, but upon the intelligent methods of utilization followed by the corporations owning them, and a close supervision maintained by the various governments.

# WOBBLES

## AND FOR GOOD REASONS

Three men met on a corner and started to talk about the different unions they belonged to. One was an AFL man, one belonged to the Brotherhood of Trainmen and the third was an IWW.

The Trainman asked the AFLite, "If you were not an AFL man what would you be?"

"Oh, I'd be a Trainman, then," answered he.

"And you," asked the AFL man, of the Trainman, "what would you be if you were not a Trainman?"

"Why, I'd be an AFL man," said Bill Lee's follower.

Then turning to the Wobbly they inquired, "Now, if you were not an IWW what would you be?"

Quick as a flash came the answer, "I'd be ashamed of myself."

## NEW BOOKS

Twenty thousand legs under the sea.
By Mack Sennett.
So I took the fifty thousand dollars.
By Albert B. Fall.
That old gang of mine.
By Harry Sinclair.
What to do when stung by a rattler.
By Henry Ford.

## THE JOY KILLER

The Editor may search and search
Through all the jokes in store,
But someone's always sure to say:
"Aw, I've heard that one before."

—Selected.

## FOOD FOR THOUGHT

Critics are funny fellows—when they do not take the pains to know completely what they are criticizing. Occasionally they remind us of an impulsive pup we once knew. His favorite outdoor sport was jumping at conclusions. Every automobile that passed, every horse, was an enemy to be driven down the street in ignominious flight. After causing each successive auto or horse to flee in terror, as he thought, that pup would lie down and pant with satisfaction. One day he spied a sleepy old nag ambling down the highway. As usual, the pup leaped at once to a conclusion: This time it was a mule's conclusion he leaped at; now that pup travels with a limp.—**Writers Monthly.**

Moral:—**Look before you leap; know before you attempt to criticize.**

## HE KNEW WHERE THEY WERE

An Irish sailor making his first trip was ordered by the captain to clean his binoculars. As the glasses were very valuable he was cautioned to be very careful and not lose them. An hour later he appeared before the captain. "Say, Captain, if you know where a thing is, you couldn't say it was lost, could you?" he queried.

"Why, of course not," answered the captain.

"Then your glasses are not lost," said the son of Erin. "They're at the bottom of the ocean."

## NO CHANCE TO ENJOY LIFE

"What kind of a fellow is that efficiency expert?"

"Well, he never enjoys an ocean voyage because there is so much salt going to waste."

No—Not The Angelus

# "Bill and the Boss"

## The Boss Gets a Rude Shock From Bill this Time

By LLOYD EMMONS

THE Boss was out to the camp again yesterday. He had not been out for several weeks owing to other important business. He had to aid Mrs. Rich and the children to get started on their regular winter trip to California, a trip their family physician said was very necessary to Mrs. Rich's welfare as her nerves were all unstrung from attending to her many social duties and supervising the work of her servants.

It is reported that Mrs. Rich gave to the Salvation Army over $1,200.00 worth of clothing, to be given (for cash) to the poor and needy of the city before she left for her much needed rest. Mrs. Rich was always very charitable to the poor, and often said she felt **so sorry for the** unfortunate **creatures.**

Of course it will be a hardship on Mr. Rich to be separated from his family for two months, but as his friends all know, Mr. Rich is always ready to sacrifice his own interests whenever the welfare of Mrs. Rich is involved, and he has already engaged "Dolly De Swift" (unbeknown to Mrs. Rich) to supervise the household during her absence.

The Boss, too, had to attend "The Lumbermen's Association" meeting as there were some very important questions to be threshed out.

Persistent rumors had reached the bosses' ears that the IWWs were busy in their (the bosses') camps and they must resort to some very drastic, concerted action or they (the Wobblies) would all quit work in the spring and their (the bosses') profits would suffer, so they decided to shut down some camps altogether and to run the rest only half force and that would keep many of the workers hungry and on the labor market, and they would be only too glad to "scab" when the Wobblies called the strike.

### The Old Soft Soap

That, too, fits in with scissor-bill psychology but it seems the bosses would know by this time that the Wobblies would as soon starve off the job as on it, and they would not be taking nearly the chances of being killed.

The boss on reaching camp, in his new Pierce-Arrow, had several questions and a lot of "bull" to shoot at Bill, but Bill is not as good a target for "bull" as he used to be for he has been studying and thinking for **himself** (instead of for the boss) and reading quite a lot of IWW literature, so the boss instead of finding him the plastic clay, the meek and humble slave, as in the days gone by, soon found he was fooling with TNT.

After a cheery "Good morning, Bill" and an inquiry as to Bill's wife and kiddies in Seattle, the boss soon warmed to the subject that was nearest his heart and pocket book.

"Say, Bill," says the boss, "you no doubt, being right on the job have heard some of those Wobblies hinting about striking this spring, and you know that prosperity **to me** means prosperity **to you**—but if those **damned wobblies** strike and are able to tie up our camp you can see I'll not be able to support my own family the way they are **used to,** to say nothing of supporting you and your family, but with the aid of you and some of the other men that I can depend upon **we** can keep them from tying up **our** camp, and then **we** can give them the laugh when they see that **our** camp is running, and . . ."

"Back up. Back up," says Bill. "Sure, I've been right here on the job, and it sometimes seems that a job is as necessary to me as a trunk is to an elephant, but when I've got a job all I get is abuse and a meager existence and I exist without the abuse when I haven't any job—so I've quit worrying about that. And as to the Wobblies **hinting** about striking—they are not hinting a **damned bit,** but say they are **going** to **strike** and **strike** and **strike** until **you** and **your** class of parasites open the jail doors and free the workers that realized they were in the working class as long as they lived, and were the **men** to tell the other workers that as individuals they were absolutely helpless and that they must organize into a union of their **own** class and fight **you** and **your** class at **every foot** of the way.

### The Cold Hard Facts

"And they are, too, going after higher wages, less hours per day and all around better conditions. And then they are going to **strike** some more until the **profit system** is a thing of the past, and that will of course end **'wage slavery.'**

"And say, boss, that **'prosperity to you means prosperity to me'** stuff—how do you get that way? Last year you made more in the lumber business than you ever made in one year before, but was I prosperous?

"Not so you could notice it. I slaved out here in the sticks every day until the winter shutdown and when I went into Seattle, in less than a month my money was all gone, the rent day rolled around as usual, and the grocery man (who is in business for profits) told me he could not trust me for he would be taking a chance as to my paying him, and if I could not, it would be killing the **profits** from his cash customers. The wife, the children and I could not get sufficient clothes and food so we went **cold** and **hungry.** I saw **you** and **your** family riding about the city in your limousine, dressed nicely and warmly, and none of you looked hungry. That was proof a-plenty that you made profits from the 'surplus labor hours' of your slaves when they were employed in the summer to keep **you** and **yours** in luxury and ease in the winter, with lots of profits to spare.

"Was your prosperity my prosperity? No!

"You sat in your office last winter and laughed at me as I **begged** for a job. **Yes, begged.** The jobs

are not mine so I have to **beg** the **privilege** to work to keep from starving. If I beg on the streets I am apt to get pinched.

"What is the difference from begging on the street to get something to eat and begging for a job to get something to eat?

"And you spoke of supporting my family and me. I used to believe that bunk, but a Wobbly delegate that was here a while back told us how the workers were born **bridled** and **saddled** and you **booted** and **spurred**, ready to jump into the saddle to ride upon their backs until their backs weakened; when you put them in the bone yard.

"He read to us the U. S. Government report which stated that the average daily value of production of the wage workers is about $15.00, and how at night time the workers could buy back about one-quarter of the $15.00 value they had produced.

"The three-quarters of the value that you took (but did not work for) he termed 'surplus profit' and said that the Wobblies were going to keep on reducing that 'surplus profit' until you could not detect it with a microscope, and then you would be out here in the sticks with us, in **overalls**.

"He said that one of the very big problems that you and your class had to solve was the finding of foreign markets for the **overproduction, (that had to be)** under the present **sickly, capitalist system,** and that after you had found the foreign markets, and fields to exploit—if you could not get them through **'diplomacy'**—you threw us into another war—and **we** fought the war for you—and you got all the gravy.

**"Fine system, eh? Yes, for you.**

"And he explained to us that there was really no overproduction.

"The **overproduction** was only because we could buy back at night only about one-quarter of what we produced that day, and because production was carried on for **profit** instead of for **use.**

"He said **all wealth** was produced by **labor,** applied to the natural resources, and he **proved** it, too.

"Say, boss, do you see those big fir and pine trees standing over there on the hill?

"He pointed them out to us how they might stand there for a hundred or two hundred years to come and would not have any value (except a small intrinsic value) until the **workers** got busy on them.

"When the **fallers,** the **buckers,** the **rigging crew,** the **loaders,** the **railroad workers,** and the **mill crew** and **other workers,** all did their bit on them they would have a value. Those trees would pass through an 'economic evolutionary' period, so to speak, and would be lumber.

"Then the lumber would be loaded onto the cars and shipped to the city; other **workers** would unload it and take it where **workers** were building a residence or commercial building. There the **carpenters** would fit and join it into its proper place and it would have attained its **'full value.'**

"**Workers** do **all** this, but you do not get any **pitch** on **your** fingers **at all.**

"You say **we** workers should be satisfied. Well, I used to try to be, and sung 'Oh, How I Love My Boss'—but now I'm going to sing 'Solidarity Forever.'

"Say, boss, you came out here to talk to me, but I've done most all the talking, and intend to talk more from now on. I suppose you'll send me down the road, but what the hell is the difference?

"I'll go singing—'To Hell With the Job I Left Behind Me!' "

# The Stain

By ADELINE M. CONNER

**(A Child's cry in the darkness curses deeper than a strong man in his wrath.)**

IN the fragrant, sunlit garden,
Where the palm tree casts its shade,
Little children are playing—
Gleeful and unafraid.

Their faces are bright and bonny,
They lift glad hands to the sky,
And call with songs and laughter
To each smiling passerby.

But I'm thinking of other children—
Wee, sorrowing ones of earth—
Robbed of the joys of childhood,
Its innocent, carefree mirth.

I hear their sobs in the darkness,
Their whispers of pain and fear;
And see in their eyes the longing
For all that a child holds dear.

Weary are they, and helpless;
Toil-worn are they, and sad—
Whose voices should thrill with laughter,
Whose faces be bright and glad.

O, men of a mighty nation,
Hosts of a far-flung land,
Do we need the wealth we garner
From a baby's toil-scarred hand?

If we smile when young hearts are breaking
And carelessly turn away,
Unheeding the woes of children
Too weary to shout and play:—

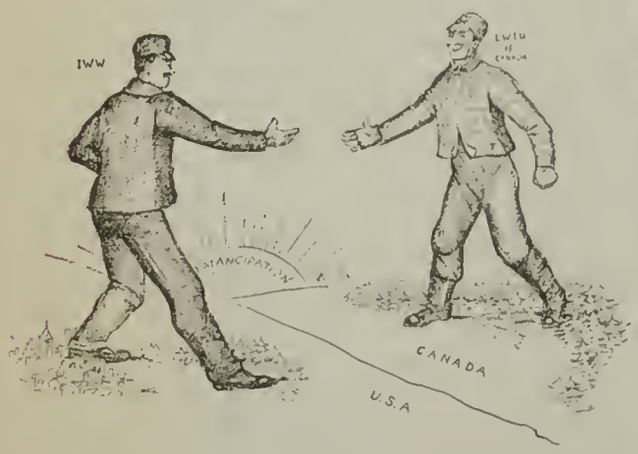
Some day at the bar of Judgment
We shall stand with this stain defiled,
And read our condemnation
In the face of a little child.

# Drawing the Lines of the Class Struggle

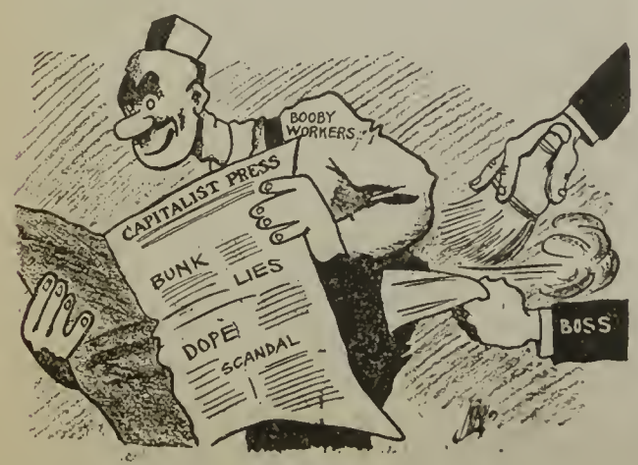
## Some of the Events of the Month as Seen by the I. W. W. Press

### Special May Day Number

All IWW publications issue special May Day numbers. Industrial Solidarity uses a special front page design and puts out an eight-page number. Industrial Worker prints an eight-page number in two colors. Industrial Pioneer has special cover design and May Day article. The foreign language press observes the day.




Above and below, two cartoons from Industrial Solidarity. The upper one illustrates the accession of 2,000 new members in Ontario where the Lumber Workers' Section of the One Big Union of Canada has voted to merge with the IWW. Below is a smash at the Capitalist Press. Evidence was unearthed in Chicago to show that big newspapers were bringing people to their "goldfish rooms" where they were beaten and tortured into giving exclusive news stories to the papers.



Above is a picture which shows an incident in the great British Columbia strike in the woods. A group of strikers is bringing in the fuel for a fire. This strike has now been returned to the job, with every possibility of successful termination.

Below is the special front page cover design of Tie Vapauteen, IWW Finnish language monthly; it is symbolic of the sort of education that is going on at the Workers' College and in Wobbly branch halls. The diagram on the table is the IWW chart of the industrial unions.

# Our Sham Civilization

By H. A. GALLOWAY

THERE is so much talk of men being free and equal, that it is hard to convince some that all of the people have not an equal chance under the present system. When a man cannot be fully educated, cannot exercise his full mental ability, through training and associations, he must degenerate from one generation to another, until he is either a criminal, poverty ridden laborer, beggar or imbecile. He must sink lower and lower in the social scale, while those having the benefit, advantage and opportunity of education, environment, money and idleness in and with which to develop their talents, are improving themselves and their offspring in the so-called civilized society, thus causing an over-fed, over-educated race superior to the over-worked, under-fed, poorly educated mass of working people who produce the wealth of the earth for the capitalist class of idlers. It takes very little common sense to see that the offpring of the overworked, underfed, uneducated people of the slums cannot have the same chance of wealth as the offspring of educated parents, who have the opportunity of developing their mentality and that of their children. Is that fair to the child that is brought into this world without his consent? No, I don't think so. Everyone, especially the child, should have an EQUAL CHANCE in life.

### "Where Men Decay"

This system is what makes the thieves, murderers, degenerates, prostitutes and fills the jails, lunatic asylums and homes for the aged, infirm and homeless, and the streets with cripples and beggars . The city from which I write (New Orleans) is filled with this last class. Everywhere in the city you can see crippled beggars, blind beggars, and degenerates of all kinds on the streets while in the saloons (which run wide open) you can see boys ranging in age from twelve years up, playing slot machines. This civilization was built upon profit. And profit has been the cause of nearly every war known to history and most of the sufferings of the human race—thirst for plunder, wealth, power and fame in varying degrees has set brother against brother for the glory of those in power and made the world a shambles time and again.

The masses are sinking lower and lower in the social scale every year while the wealth of the world is being accumulated into fewer and fewer hands. The only two recognized classes in society are the moneyed or capitalist class, and the wage earners or working class.

Small business men have little chance today. The chain stores, factories, and utility services see to that. Each year the labor supply of the world is increasing owing to the small business men being forced into the wage earning class and the gradual increase in the world's population. Instead of a decrease in child labor there is an increase owing to machine production and also the cheapness of this class of labor. In place of these children being forced to the point of production by the necessities of life, these jobs should be held by able-bodied men, plenty of whom are unemployed. Laws of nature force us to eat. Laws of man force us to hide our nakedness with some kind of covering. But laws of man do not compel Capital to give us these necessities of life unless Capital sees fit.

### What Can They Live On?

Investigators are continually investigating to determine just how low a wage Capital can pay and still keep the wheels of industry turning. Men are forced to underbid each other to keep body and soul together or else break the man-made laws of society and take the consequences of such infraction. Able statisticians say that eighty-five per cent of the people sixty-five years or over are dependent on others for support, and one of the largest employers of labor (Standard Oil Co. of N. J.) seems to want to lower this dependent age twenty years judging by a letter I saw in an employment office here a few days ago.

This letter was a complaint to a shipping master that he had sent a man on one of treir tankers who was forty-five years old, reminding him that the maximum age limit for employing men in this company was forty-five years. There is no sympathy or sentiment in Capital. It is strictly a survival of the fittest and devil take the hindermost, regardless of circumstances. A man serves his usefulness on a bare living wage under this system and is then cast aside to starve if charity does not take care of him. Sympathy and charity are not what we want. What we want is our just DESERTS and that is what we are going to get as soon as the working class realizes how foolish they have been through the ages and demand the full product and full revenue of their labor and thus eliminate Capital which is only stolen labor.

Then and not until then will we have equal rights and free speech. Then we will have no street beggars; our sons will not be forced into thievery, our sisters into prostitution, and our old grey-haired mothers into the alms-house. Then we will have little use for jails and insane asylums, for the cause of these institutions will pass when Capitalism passes. Join the IWW and speed the day when this sham society, this sham civilization will be but a memory!

# Learning From Henry Ford

By J. E. AND J. D. C.

## A JOURNEY INTO THE LAND OF MECHANICAL AND HUMAN AUTOMATISM—WHERE CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION MEET

**To describe the Ford Company is, vulgarly speaking, to repeat a "chestnut." It's an old subject, worn threadbare to some. To others it is ever new because of its many-sided interest, and its prime importance as a foremost phase of modern industrial development.**

**Below will be found the impressions of recent visitors to the principal plant of the company. They approach the subject from several new angles, that will, most likely, interest our readers.**

WE dropped off the municipal car. Before us was the Ford plant. We looked at the surface cars. They were inscribed in big letters. "The City of Detroit." And we looked at the auto works. Across their towering chimneys was spread the simple word, "Ford," in gigantic proportions. As we turned from the cars to the chimneys we realized we were confronted with two tendencies. On one hand was public ownership, on the other private, with the latter looming larger and dominating the scene.

Ford has been much be-written, especially by himself. Capitalism has plenty to sell and to defend, and the printed word is its greatest medium and bulwark to these ends. Further, Ford represents the last word in the machine process and too little is known of what he really personifies from this angle. Hence these lines.

We had come to see the Ford industrial system for ourselves and here we were contemplating one of its most conspicuous units from the outside! And this, at the most, is all that's permitted. True, visitors are allowed inside. You see and hear much. **But Labor is not heard;** and the inner penetralia of the works—the executive offices and meetings—are closed to you; and, essentially, you know as much when you leave as when you entered. And that's what is told to you.

But there we were contemplating the Ford Detroit plant. Before us was a very compact series of brick and steel buildings, with white stone trimmings. Five stories high, many blocks wide and hundreds of acres deep all told, they recalled the modern electrical power structures seen in large cities.

We moved towards them, and as we went we became conscious of a human rush. Men and women—the former mostly—came in currents from up and down the avenue. They focussed on a path, leading down a step into a semi-basement, into which they disappeared. As it was shortly after noon, we concluded that shifts must be changing. Nevertheless, it was a stirring mass that enveloped us on all sides—a quiet, quick-moving mass intent on arriving—where? we were soon to learn!

And now we were in the visitors' waiting room. It looked like an auto salesroom, with many autos on exhibition. We helped ourselves to stacks of literature, advertising and many phases of Fordism; and reflecting its far-reaching ramifications. We scanned the map on the wall, setting forth these ramifications in a vivid, comprehensive manner, with their 600 millions of capital and 157,500 employes. Then we signed a card absolving the company from damages for injuries received, due to unforeseen accidents; and, also, incidentally soliciting information regarding our status, present or prospective, as auto owners and subscribers of the Dearborn Independent, Ford's weekly organ. "Business as usual."

Then we waited for the guide to take us through the works. While thus engaged we were conscious of a giant concussion—an immense throb—that accompanied the steam exhaust in the nearby powerhouse. To us it appeared to be the heartbeat of a mighty organism, that overawed us and impressed us, accordingly. And we wondered how far this feeling of organized vastness overwhelmed and hypnotized the uninformed workers into submission and worship, just as the vastness of the universe has made idolators and bigots of others, also overawed and uninformed?

for the tour of the plant, and so we cease musing, to rally about him.

Now, none but a highly competent technological engineer can describe the Ford plant. It is a collection—a concentration of machine-tools—devoted to auto building. As such it is a marvel representing the highest expression in mechanical ingenuity and methods. These machine-tools are varied in design and purposes. They plane, stamp, bevel, sharpen, convey, raise, bore, press and do a thousand and one different things. They represent centuries of growth and development—the cumulative wisdom of ages and myriads of men. They are united, despite their divergent character and history, into a system in which the old time fable of placing a dog in one end of a machine and getting a string of sausages at the other, is a reality; only here iron and steel castings are placed in one end and autos come out at the other.

We are not technological engineers and so we will not attempt to describe Ford's technologically. We are impressionists, given to impressionistic studies, especially in this instance. And so we will give our impressions only.

Well, into the wilds of the Ford plant we go. We say wilds advisedly; for tho system is evident on all sides, though method is too evidently prevalent, there is a clatter and a din, a rush and a turbulence that is distracting and suggestive of madness, rather than deliberate planfulness. Maybe this is prophetic of the outcome of such industrialism. Who can tell?

Well, on we go! We see men, workmen! They are standing besides, are being paced by, machines, conveying machines! They seem numerous, too numerous! They stand alongside of one another, in an economy of space that is marvelous! They perform simple, minute movements. One wipes the oil from a hole in an iron casting. Another inserts a bolt. The third attaches a nut. The fourth tightens it. And so on down the line! Marx says skill is unskill multiplied. Here unskill is skill decentralized, that is decomposed into the simple unskill in whose multiplication it originates.

Economy of space, simplicity of function, quick, automatic motion, big output—that apparently is the Ford formula for huge profits; and it succeeds.

But what of the workers? What manner of men are they? How do they appear in this drama of mechanism par excellence?

To begin with the aged, they are few and far between; practically absent in the departments on exhibition. The majority of the workers are apparently young men, with many middle-aged men and boys among them. The beefy, phlegmatic type seems to prevail; the sensitive, nervous type is conspicuous by its absence. Endurance and stamina appear to be the strongest qualifications. Otherwise the monotony and the speed would be impossible to stand.

Ford, despite his serious inventiveness, is a man of humor. He says his object is to make work pleasant and expressive of the workers' individuality. Judging from the evidence in his plant, his workers have a queer idea of pleasure and an individuality akin to that of the automaton! "Ford's" is mechanism grown monstrous and subversive of feeling and intellect!

We shouted, above the terrific din, Ford's idea of work to two young men in our touring party. They laughed outright at it. "This isn't work," said one of them. "This is slavery. It won't be long before most of these fellows are nervous wrecks, as a result of it."

As one English critic said, "Ford is not only making autos; he's making fools as well."

We wonder, as we follow the guide, how many of Ford's workers are either killed or injured? As said before, they are numerous and appear to be in one another's way. They are always tense and alert. We saw some workers lying on their backs on small trucks that, propelled by their feet, went along with the conveyor, while with their hands they fastened nuts on the underside of the running board of the auto above them! These men could not see very well ahead of them; and, their stint done, they sat astride their trucks and manipulated them back to the starting point with an alacrity and precision that was marvelous. But can they do that all day and every day without accident? We wonder!

As we said above, Labor's side is not heard in Ford's. Ford is the boss; he speaks for all. And, to judge from his own statements, Ford is an idealist, one of those, apparently, obvious of the realities of life, at least as far as his workers are concerned.

**They Come Out To Look at The Camera—High Speed Workers—Absolutely Unorganized.**

Nevertheless, Labor at Ford's is being heard. Workmen there write to tell of the degradation that employment at Ford's involves; that the six dollars which he pays is cheap indeed, considering the results secured; and that many work there only long enough to secure funds enough to go elsewhere, where employment is neither so strenuous nor so nerve-wrecking.

Labor turnover at Ford's is of the highest Though he has a welfare department that strives to mitigate the severities of toil and the paltriness of pay, Labor does not linger long with him, if it can help it. But then this is characteristic of big industry in general. The workers, denied redress through their own organizations, migrate to pastures new, with the result that the labor turnover is now a problem of capitalism. It is the new strike method of labor! "If you don't like your job, quit!" And labor is quitting in a way that is taking on a wholesale character.

Out into the street we go again. We board the municipal car. So do three dozens of Ford's employes. We notice that six of them read newspapers. The others appear to rest, to gaze into space with a sort of tired expression. Some talk; one turns his head and works his eyes and hands with an automatic rhythm, as though he was unconsciously repeating a motion now no longer necessary.

And we look at the policeman on the street, and recall the large number of the same tribe that appeared in Ford's. Watchmen and straw bosses everywhere, were there! And we look also at the conductor and the motorman, and compare them, to their own advantage with the workmen we had seen before. At least, their work seemed trivial in comparison. So did that of the waitress in the restaurant where we went to get a bite!

As we look back at Ford's now we have an impression of thoroughness; of a regard for detail. Every part is clean. Every part dovetails into some other part. There is no squabbling about centralization versus decentralization there. To the concentration of capital there is added the specialization of labor. To production on a vast scale there is added a minute consideration of individual aptitude! The result is a gigantic whole.

When will Labor learn this lesson? When will it organize as a class, with a regard for all of its parts? Where crafts and castes of all kinds, and union patriotisms and antithetical theories will give way to practical co-operation and operation?

We wonder!

# Rebel Girls Help the Fight for Solidarity

(Continued from page 20)

The Employers' Association have loaned the petty garment manufacturers their special labor prosecutor, Dudley Taylor, infamous in the building trades cases. The garment bosses have no worries about expenses. The combined resources of "big business" in the city are backing their fight against labor unity.

Samuel Gompers, fat little Sammy, has been in Chicago for a week. He is staying at one of the best hotels, and he is not at home to any of the strikers. And what is he doing in Chicago? Why he says that he is carrying out the instructions of the last AFL convention, and is making a study of women in industry, with a view to eventual organization. But he is not at home to any of the girl strikers. He has not been seen on the picket line. He has not defied the Denis Sullivan injunction, in spite of the fact that at conventions and such like places Gompers' voice is loudest of all when he calls on workers to defy "government by injunction." Of course, Sam isn't a worker, but he has gone farther than to ask workers to defy the injunction, he has shouted, with emotion choking his vast mouth, that he "longed for the day when he might take his place in jail for Labor's rights." However, he hasn't been seen on the picket line, nor at the police station.

After six weeks the strike is dragging. The labor Federation has made no grand gesture of defiance; has given the minimum fulfillment of its cheap promises. Officials pass the buck to the little leader of the strike, the vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Perlstein has his eyes on the coming convention of the International and mumbles "eeny, meeny, miney, mo" to himself.

The spirit of the girls has kept up snappily. They go undaunted day by day to the picket line. They are not going to let all the bosses of Chicago stop them!

Whatever the outcome, industrial unionists will find their lesson in this strike. They can point out the ineffectiveness of craft organization and tactics. They can see again the need of directly elected officials. They need not be reminded by this strike that protests in council are hard to obtain and weak when achieved; that attempting to influence politicians with words is like trying to coax an unfriendly dog with an empty hand. The power of the injunction weapon when used by organized big business against labor is clear to wobblies again in this strike.

Completest possible organization is the only answer for workers to make to the ever more defiant challenge of hard-pressed capitalism!

# Oh, for the Life of a Sailor!

(Continued from page 10.)

Perhaps this will give those unacquainted with life aboard ship, except as it is pictured by our sea-story writers, some conception of what a seafaring man has to contend with, without going into details about the food, most of which is unmentionable and indescribable. Does it look like a bed of roses?

Still, whenever or wherever we try to improve such conditions and raise our pitiable wages, we are called agitators and trouble makers, and oftimes worse. Call us whatever you like; we are going to fight for better conditions and higher wages until we get them. Words do not bite as hard as bedbugs and cooties, and the pangs of an empty stomach are worse than any epithet.

These are absolutely true facts of the situation in the marine industry today; these pictures were taken aboard a cargo ship and photographic evidence cannot be disputed. We of the MTW of the IWW feel that we can alleviate the misery which besets the sailor on all sides. We know that the MTW is the right kind of an organization; we know that industrial unionism is the only hope of any kind of workers in any industry, and in spite of the contumely heaped upon us by those coke-headed, twisted-brained fiction writers in the popular-priced magazines and the intellectual prostitutes of the daily press, we are proud to be members of the only real, honest-to-goodness union that ever went to sea and got its feet wet; proud to be members, and fighting members of the only organization that is really trying to better the conditions of the thousands of men who spend their lives at sea. Look at the pictures of our daily life and ask yourself if such conditions are not to be fought against. Ask yourself what you would do were you compelled to labor under like conditions, and then decide whether we are right or wrong—whether the life of a sailor should be worse than that of the old time slaves or whether men who have the guts and courage to daily risk their lives on the broad bosom of the waters should not also have the guts and courage to resist such impositions and the intelligence to organize to change them. Then ask yourself if you, too, would not agitate unceasingly—even though the fiction writers called you "bolsheviki."

**"Oh, for the life of a sailor!" Yes, but we intend that it shall be the life to which the useful labor we perform entitles us; "the life of men."**

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# All Over the Map

By DANIEL TOWER

ONE of our staff of international observers now in England sends us a story about Lloyd George that the cables didn't carry. During a speech before the general elections, the ex-premier was touching upon the late war, and said something about the "fruits of victory." And instantly a rebel in the audience sang out: "Yes, we have no bananas."

* * *

At our cafeteria the other day one of our companions quoted London Punch as saying: "The United States has practically all the world's gold reserve, but apparently it has no bananas. . . . ." "I suppose," said another, "that that is a specimen of British humor. . . ." "No," said the first, "I think Punch meant it seriously."

* * *

Something must be done about this immigration problem. . . . Yesterday in a barber shop on Dearborn street a barber of Latin origin dropped a hot towel on a Nordic customer's face. The customer bounded upward from his chair. "You moth-eaten, cast-off synthetic specimen of indifference," he roared, "what are you trying to do—crack my face open?" . . . "I—I——I couldn't hold it any longer," said the barber.

We don't know what kind of a moral is proved by this: An old side-kicker of ours, on shore-leave in London, saw in a shop window a lot of statuettes of Edith Cavell. He went inside to inquire the price and discovered on the bottom of one of the statuettes the words: "Made in Germany."

* * *

Ten years ago today, or thereabouts—the Chicago Tribune published the now classic headline: "Body of Man Found in Empty Barrel."

* * *

An art expert is one who has learned from experience that a water color is not a picture painted by a man on a raft.

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This big newspaper is published weekly in the heart of the Central Industrial Empire. Office located right on the edge of the biggest slave market in the world. Contains all official announcements of the General Hearquarters of the IWW and all industrial unions. International connections—the Labor News of the World. $2 per year. Address, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

The Piano and Fragments of Furniture After the San Pedro Police Department had Finished Raiding the IWW Hall. They Met with Absolutely No Resistance, But Vandals Could Not Have Acted Worse.

WRECKAGE INSIDE THE OFFICE.

## BRASS BUTTONS AND HOODS

ON the evening of March 17, the IWW hall in San Pedro, Cal., was the scene of a conference of Oil Workers' Industrial Union No. 230 of the IWW. During the conference fifteen Ku Klux Klan cars filled with white-night-shirted men began to circle around the building. This was at half past eight, and a drizzling rain was falling.

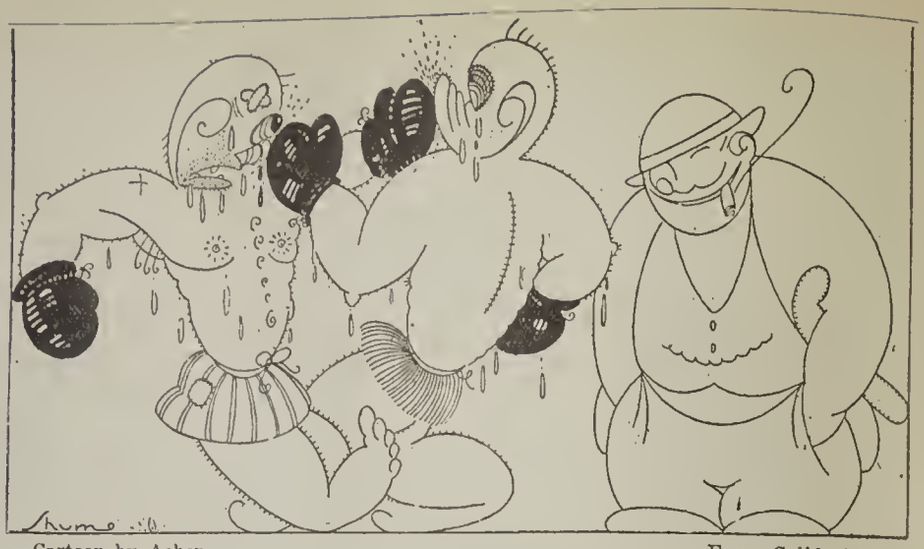
Fifteen minutes later, a squad of police entered. With drawn revolvers the police ordered the members to line up along the wall, selected Archie Wright, B. Jellovich, and William Walsh for arrest, and ordered the rest out of the room.

Meanwhile the fifteen Ku Klux Klan cars had stopped circling, and were parked in front of the hall; the passengers in the cars entered the hall.

Then began an example of modern police methods, as practiced in Los Angeles, California. Every stick of furniture, the secretary's desk, the chairs, the piano and all else, was smashed into bits, and piled outside of the hall, in the rain. The police stole (it is stealing to seize property without warrant) the cash box of the Prison Comfort Club, stole $130 worth of organization literature, $20 worth of defense literature, and $150 worth of books. They allowed the mob to carry off some of the books. Even a light globe was unscrewed from its socket and carried away by the driver of automobile No. 540-543, which is not a police car.

The IWW continue to hold meetings.

## THEIR VOICES SHALL BE HEARD THOUGH THEY SPEAK IN SPANISH



—Cartoon by Acher. —From Solidaridad.

**THE BOSS: Fine, boys, fine! When you get through I'll lick the winner.**

The upper cartoon on this page was drawn by Juan Bautista Acher, a man without hope, save in the class-conscious workers of the world. It was drawn in prison in Barcelona, Spain, where Acher lies, under sentence of death, a sentence that has just been confirmed by the highest court of the land. It was drawn by a man without hands, for Acher's were blown into shreds by an explosion, two years ago. He does his drawing by pressing the pencil against his chin with the stumps that are left at his wrist.

Juan Bautista Acher, under the name of "Shum," has been a labor cartoonist since his childhood. At present he is only 22 years of age. When he was twenty he was talking to some girl garment workers in a sweatshop. A bomb exploded in the room below and flying fragments shattered the skilled fingers that capitalists hated so much. Who planted the bomb is not known, but the police made it the excuse for arresting Acher under a charge of having knowledge of the bomb, that is, of conspiracy to commit murder; there was no evidence, so they 'railroaded' him, and now he must die unless Labor saves him.

—(Solidaridad Photograph)

Ten men are pictured to the left. Two of them, J. M. Rangel and C. H. Cline, are members of the IWW. It was their feeling of international solidarity that got them into prison for 99 years and life, respectively. During the attempt to drive out of Mexico the bloody butcher, Porfirio Diaz, shooter of strikers and jailer of union organizers, these two men accompanied by others tried to enter the Republic of Mexico by crossing several counties of Texas. They were stopped and eight of them including Rangel and Cline, were given long prison terms. Diaz is dead and gone, and many of his successors have gone too, but the heroic ten are still in prison. There they will remain until Labor sets them free.

# Book Reviews

## THE FASTING CURE

By EDWARD E. ANDERSON

PERIODICALLY, that is a large portion of each winter, thousands of the migratory workers inhabiting Chicago's "Hobohemia" abstain from food either totally for days or in part. It is not, however, the regulated, intelligent, purposeful, voluntary sort of abstention called "fasting" but that dreaded, fear-haunted, involuntary kind called "going hungry."

It was a weird sensation to read "The Fasting Cure," and to hear at the same time the tales of the hungry as they patrolled the borderland of starvation.

As I go west on Madison Street each evening when through with my day's work I am often approached by men looking for a little assistance, too often to help all. I felt like telling the first one who "hit" me after I had read "The Fasting Cure," what a great benefit to his general health his empty stomach was. But I happened to catch his eye and there I saw something that made me remember Mr. Sinclair's mention of the danger of fear in fasting. Silently I fished a quarter from my pocket. As he hastened on I thought, "The Fasting Cure holds no message for such as he."

**The Fasting Cure. By Upton Sinclair. Published By Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, Calif.**

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## THE SWEET AND LOVELY SOUTH

By GEORGE MORESBY

EVEN in these days of disillusionment, the Northern and Western public still largely accepts at face value the tradition that the South is a hospitable region; that the real people there—the "better class of whites"—are a generous people. "Dixie" is still applauded when played by Northern orchestras. And despite the inroads which prohibition is making on oratory, speeches continue to be made before rotary clubs and chautauquas glorifying the South for its "snowy fields of cotton, its magnificent race horses, its beautiful women, and its chivalrous men."

But the "sweet and lovely South" is a myth. Instead it is a shadowy land. Chattel slavery has been done away with below the Mason-and-Dixon line, but something worse has taken its place—the system of farm tenancy under which the average black man is not better off than when he was a slave, and the poor white farmer is on the same level with the black. Rule of caste predominates, the Ku Klux Klan in many places seeks to compel all persons to think alike, and in the mill villages the owners regulate the lives of their employes in all things.

Frank Tannenbaum has recently made an extensive tour of the South, observing, questioning, weighing values. He has done a good job of depicting Southern life in a book, "Darker Phases of the South," in which he deals chiefly with the KKK, the virtual burial of Anglo-Saxons, prisons, and the single crop.

### Ku Klux Engendered in Monotony

Tannenbaum sees the Ku Klux Klan as an expression of war hatred engendered in the monotonous existence of small town life. "It gives the small town a daily drama," he declares. "It takes him who has lived an uneventful life, and who is nobody in particular, and makes something of him. It gives him a purpose; makes him a soldier in a cause. The very existence of the KKK is proof of emotional infanthood. It would not be possible in a community where the people lived full, interesting, varied lives."

Tannenbaum views the Klan as a danger not because the motives of those in it are evil, but because their motives are sincere—hysterically sincere.

Good, sturdy Anglo-Saxon stock is in the mill towns—the orators boast that the best blood in the country flows in the veins of the mill workers. The towns in which they live are owned by their employers, who elect the municipal officials and pay the policemen. Each house is like the next. The mill owners watch over their employes, and keep the villages moral—if any of the workers "go wrong" they are turned out of town. Many villages are so moral that other villages have been settled almost exclusively by "gone wrong" people who have thus been exiled.

Mill workers stay in the mill towns, and marry their own kind. Tannenbaum objected to one employer that all this sameness of life tended to destroy everything beautiful and worth while in human life-interest beyond the immediate. The employer replied:

"But we keep the family together. In the world at large the family would drift apart. The children would go from their parents; they would marry away from home; the family would be destroyed."

When Tannenbaum repeated his statement and pointed out that the employer's reply was beside the point, that it was the complete submersion of a population that the former was talking about, the mill owner said solemnly: "You don't mean to tell me that you advocate the destruction of the family, do you?"

Tenancy is increasing in all cotton areas, Tannenbaum reports. The farmer wants money, the tenant wants money, the cropper wants money, and in their efforts to get it, each increases his burden of debt. The single crop makes the farmer dependent upon a money income. His money, however, comes but once a year, and so he has to borrow against his crop. Failure of a crop or over-production leaves him in debt.

**Men in Chains Under the Sun**

Terrible but undeniable cruelties to human beings are set forth in the chapter on prisons—convicts whipped and tortured, men building roads under the hot sun with heavy chains upon their ankles, men sleeping chained together in cages with tin roofs, healthy prisoners bathing in the same tub with diseased men, prisoners going to sleep so hungry that they wake up trying to feed themselves in their sleep. In Georgia, straps in the prisons weighing from five to nine pounds. It was with such a strap that Martin Tabert was beaten to death in a Florida convict lumber camp. In Alabama, the convict lease system. In Georgia, negro women stripped to the waist and placed in stocks while being whipped. . . . A chapter to stir any decent man or woman to anger.

There is one unfortunate defect in this book, which must be charged to laziness either on the part of Tannenbaum or of his publishers. The prison chapter at least was originally an article published in Century magazine, and in the Century all of the atrocities detailed were cited without any mention of the states in which they occurred. Presumably the Century was afraid of libel suits, and thus Tannenbaum's report on prisons was robbed of most of its value.

One might expect, however, that he would rewrite the article before it went into a book, and supply the missing information in the context, or at least supply footnotes containing it. Instead of that, all of this missing data on prisons and numerous afterthoughts on the other chapters, appear as an appendix. This means that one must turn to the back of the volume sixty times to get the information omitted from the forty-five pages in the prison chapter.

**Darker Phases of the South, by Frank Tannenbaum. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.**

## GANGWAY FOR THE WORKERS

By CARD No. 794514

"Platz Dem Arbeiter" (Room for the Workers) is printed in German but you don't have to know German to understand it. It is filled with pictures, even the cover is crowded with them, showing labor, hypnotized, deluded Labor, going off to war with flowers stuck in the rifle muzzles; and coming back home with flowers too, spread out over coffins. There are a few photographs of victims of master class warfare, men with great holes in the sides of their faces, and eyes, noses, and mouths strangely distorted and remodeled by the freakish action of shrapnel and high explosive.

Minor's famous cartoon "The Fatherland Calls" is given a place of honor. It shows a helmeted skeleton leading off a new recruit, chatting friendly like with him, undoubtedly filling his heart with great love for his native flag and his own master class.

The book is dedicated to the new culture, the proletarian civilization that is coming into being through the decadence and collapse of Occidental Bourgeois civilization. The opinion of the author as to how this newer and better world will emerge from the shell of the old is set forth by a cartoon which shows a big dog, fat and ugly, sitting in front of a sausage much desired by a half dozen starved little pups. The big dog says, "Now children, see this sausage. If you should take it away from me, that would be Revolution. But if you wait until I eat the sausage, that would be Evolution."

**Platz Dem Arbeiter, By Julian Gumperz, First Year Book, Der Malik Verlag, Berlin.**

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**STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,**

**Of The Industrial Pioneer, published monthly at Chicago, Ill. for April 1, 1924.**

State of Illinois )
County of Cook ) ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared **Emily Hayes,** who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the **Business Manager of The Industrial Pioneer** and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Name of publisher: **Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.**

Name of Editor: **James Lance, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.**

Name of Managing Editor: **James Lance, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.**

Name of Business Manager: **Emily Hayes, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.**

2. That the owner is: **Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill., Tom Doyle, General Secretary-Treasurer, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.; Joe Fisher, Chairman, General Executive Board, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.**

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: **None.**

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her.

**Emily Hayes,**
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of March, 1924.

[SEAL]

**J. Levinson, Notary.**
(My commission expires Feb. 14, 1927.)

# Editorial

## OIL AND GRAFT

THE entire civilized world is gasping with amazement at the revelations of graft that have taken place recently in Washington. About half of the Coolidge cabinet is stuck in the dirty mess; Coolidge is implicated; and even President Harding's corpse in its honored tomb in his own home town seems to be somewhat spotted. There is evidence that the living Harding had at least guilty knowledge of what was going on, when his departmental secretaries accepted one hundred thousand dollar bribes in return for the small favor of granting out to private oil companies several millions of dollars worth of government land, at a tenth of its value. Moreover, the Harding family shared in the dope graft, in Federal penitentiaries.

By such people we are governed, jailed and enjoined not to strike!

And lest anybody take too much comfort in the clean-up that is going on at present, let us point out that the senator most concerned with the exposure is Wheeler of Montana, and he is an oil company attorney!

The whole investigation seems to be merely the result of bad faith on the part of some of the chief servants of capitalism. Two great forces struggled for mastery in the United States, after the defeat of the small capitalist, and the submergence of the farmer. These two giant forces or cliques were the Rockefeller family with their oil and banking companies and the Morgan family with their railroad and banking companies. They fought for mastery, for the right to favor themselves, with laws that would injure their rivals, for the right to use the army and navy in their interests, and against the interests of their rivals. In the course of the battle they were both so badly injured that they made peace, and divided the government offices.

Now it is understood, by all who think, that in America big business is the government. Big business puts into office such men as will not obey their oath of office, nor administer justice, nor permit free speech to workers, nor preserve neutrality in strikes. In other words, big business needs and has in the highest governmental offices in the land social burglars, crooks and sneaks, liars and careerists. Any other sort of man would not be a good man for big business.

But there is little honor among thieves, and there was also Sinclair and Doheney. These own independent oil companies, that have crept up under the wing of the Standard Oil, and now, probably by English and Dutch gold, have bought the Standard Oil cabinet right out from under Rockefeller's nose.

When Rockefeller and Morgan wrote the "My dear Senator" letters of a decade ago, they had nothing against corruption in high office. But for these master thieves, such corruption is no longer necessary, or advisable. They buy political parties before election and rely on party discipline to keep men in line afterwards. The whole trouble in this case is that Daugherty and Denby, Weeks, and perhaps even Harding, didn't stay bought. Having sold themselves to Rockefeller in his sphere, and to Morgan in his sphere, they dared to sell themselves again to the fly-by-night Sinclair and Doheny, upstart adventurers, given to the crude old method of dodging up a dark alley with a suitcase full of greenbacks, and buying the influence they need, directly. Such stuff outrages the now respectable Rockefeller dynasty. The living Rockefellers feel towards it exactly as a successful wholesale bootlegger feels towards a second-story man. It's crude, and it hurts business. It weakens the entire capitalist class, and justice must prevail against it. Hence a senatorial investigation.

Keep your eyes open, Fellow Workers, and learn what you can. It's a revelation in the art of government in a capitalist country. But put not your trust in Wheeler, Borah, or La Follette. Put your trust in yourselves. The gentry in Washington have nothing to offer you, aside from a lesson. The moral of it is that cash, control of the industries, ability to distribute the surplus value, is the ruling power. Since there are several factions of capitalists, there is just now some lively tilting at each other among them—but taken as a class they rule you. They are fighting now among themselves for a certain right or privilege. It is the right to the first chance to rob you. The loser will have to take what the winner leaves behind. But both will take it from you. Both will want to shoot you, if you go on strike—they are capitalists first, and members of capitalist factions secondly.

It is not to your advantage to try to decide which of these bold robbers shall get the lion's share of the spoil you contribute. It is to your advantage to cut them off from the spoil altogether, to keep for yourselves the whole net value of your product. The first step in this direction is the organization of powerful industrial unions, class unions, revolutionary unions. When the working class is organized, it will take the wealth for itself, that is now used to bribe senators and members of the President's cabinet. Then graft will cease—and not before.

# Brickbats and Bouquets

## MARAT MAKES A FRIEND

Fellow Worker Editor:—I have just finished looking over the April Pioneer. It is good stuff, well turned out as the leading working class magazine ought to be. I was especially pleased with the article by Marat.—**Card 814270.**

## IT MADE A HIT HERE

Fellow Worker James Lance:—I have just finished reading the April Industrial Pioneer, and believe me, it was a great joy to see such an up-to-date magazine. The IWW writers can't be beat. The most interesting articles, in my opinion, were "510's Fresh Water Campaign," by a Lake Sailor, "A House and A Castle," by Eva B. Pillsbury, "Crossing the Mason-Dixon Line," "Sunk by Scabs," by James Lance, "Experience versus Thinking," by J. H. Larsh, and best of all, "The Age-Long Struggle," by J. A. McDonald. Well, all power to the Pioneer. I will do my best for the spreading of the circulation of the Pioneer. It can't be beat. —B. M. K.

## BRIGHTENS DARK CALIFORNIA

Redding, Calif., April 3, 1924.

Dear Sirs:—Please find enclosed 25 cents for Pioneer for April. I sure like it. Fine. I hope to be with you soon, as it is the only way out of slavery. I remain a friend.—**E. Starrine.**

P. S.—Please send me the Worker also. I will send you 5 cents extra.

## LET GOD DO IT

Of course we get a brickbat now and then. This is the sort of thing that stands in the way of workers' control of industry. The following letter is from Chicago:

**I. W. W.: I got your Industrial Pioneer and give it right away to American Legion and if they dond punish you God will shame on you! I wurk in steel mills and work hard and me and wife and eight kids got purty hard time but we got more ideals in minit than you lazies got all your life and I am for God and Holy Catholic Church and America First and Poland and not just hours and wages if I can do it you can shame on you!—L. Satkowski.**

**The comments on this page refer to the April Pioneer, edited by Fellow Worker James Lance, who deserves all credit for editing and make-up. Readers of Industrial Pioneer will be pleased to hear that Fellow Worker Justus Ebert is now nearly recovered from his illness, and expects to return to the editorship on May 5. This assures us all that the splendid features which have earned the Pioneer a high place in the estimation of class conscious workers will be continued. Everybody get behind the Pioneer and keep the circulation up!—Vern Smith, Editor Pro Tem.**

## OIL WORKERS FOR IT

**The following resolution, called "Resolution No. 18," was adopted at the Oklahoma City Conference of Oil Workers' Industrial Union No. 230 of the IWW.**

* * *

Whereas, The Industrial Pioneer is our most demanded publication, and

Whereas, It is an up-to-date, well edited and highly illustrated magazine, and

Whereas, Casper, Wyo., and Oklahoma City, Okla., news stand dealers handle said magazine, and

Whereas, These news stands are permanent salesmen and get the people of all phases of life; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the membership of OWIU 230 go on record to do our utmost to secure news dealers in all cities in the oil belt to handle the Industrial Pioneer; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to all branches of OWIU 230 and to secretary-treasurers of all industrial unions and also to the editor of the Industrial Pioneer to be published in the Industrial Pioneer and the IWW papers. 719,-475.—Carried.

# No. 744, Missing in Action

(Continued from page 32)

decided to accept it if it will pay enough to enable me to keep a home for my children and to keep them in school."

"Well," he replied, pulling the contract from his pocket, "here is the contract. It specifies that, 'For a consideration of thirty dollars a month and free house rent for a period of ten years from date, Mary Brown agrees to relinquish all claims, real or imaginary, against the Queermanhogging Coal Co. and does further promise to render faithful service to the company in the capacity of charwoman for the duration of that period." Then followed a lot of legal phrases and places for names of witnesses.

Mrs. Brown accepted the terms and signed the contract. A few days later her household goods were moved to a two-room shack in the part of camp known as Hunkytown, from the fact that nearly all the people in that end of the camp are Slavonians, and there she lives to this day. If you ever visit the camp you will see her washing spittoons, scrubbing floors, or washing windows around the company's store, hotel or offices, and if you will ask her she may whisper to you as the tears steal down her withered cheeks, the story of little Bobby—No. 744, Missing in Action.

# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

## CELEBRATES ITS BIRTHDAY

### The First of May—Labor Day
### 1923 We Resumed Publication

### For One Solid Year we Have
### Carried on Industrial Unionism

### Our Future Progress Depends on You

Fellow Workers, if you continue to support it, as you did in the past, it will go on from one number to another, each better than the last. We will try to make it absolutely the b e s t illustrated L a b o r Magazine in the World. But it takes some money. We still live under capitalism. Every bundle order and every subscription makes it just that much a better magazine. So spread it far and wide. Get a big bundle order, and by all means, subscribe. If you don't have an address, send it where it will do some good.

---

**THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**, 1001 West Madison Street. Chicago, Illinois.

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# STRIKE!

**Union Men are in San Quentin Prison Sentenced to from One to Fourteen Years for Joining the I. W. W.**

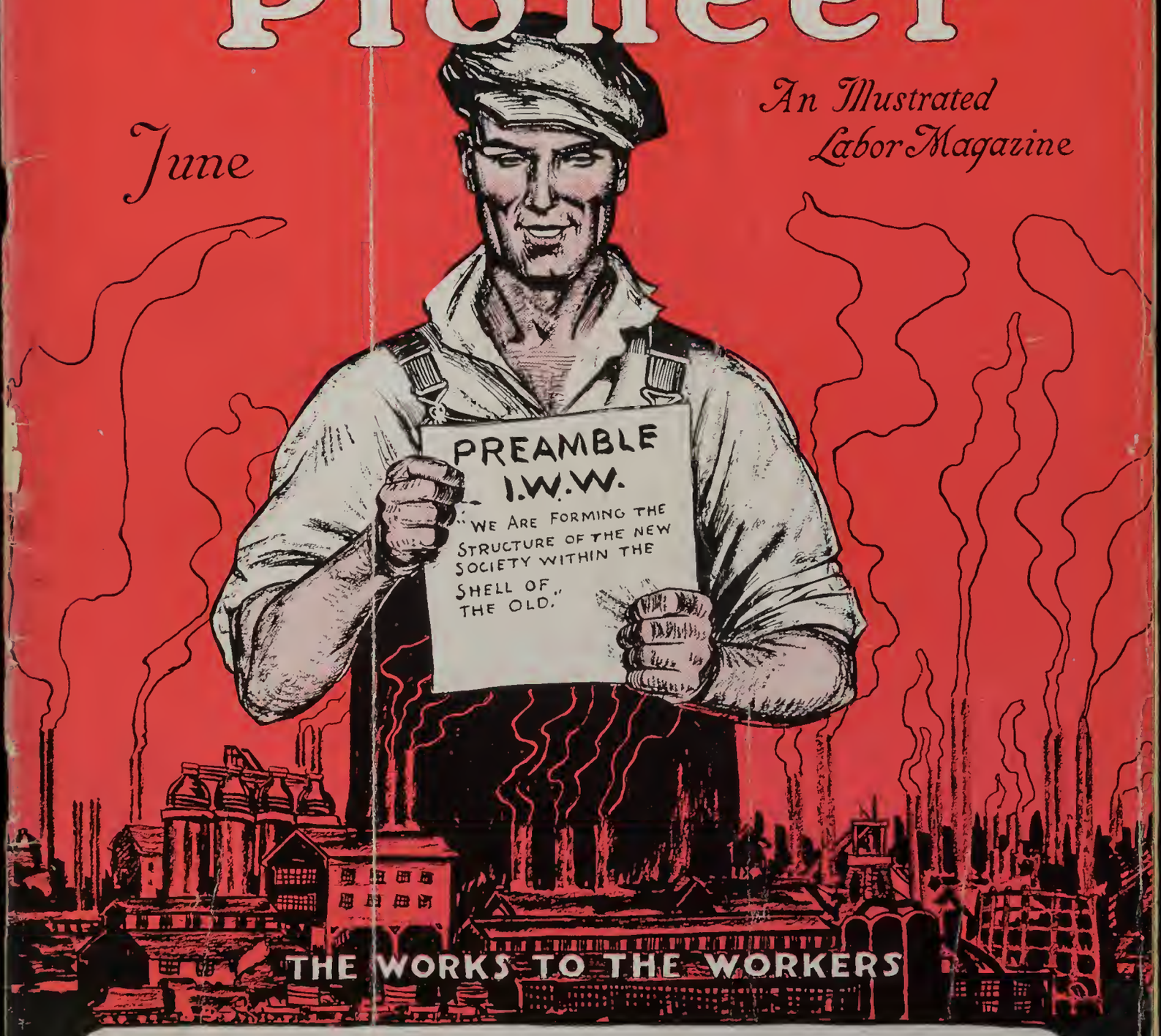
*Boycott All California Products*

Price 20¢

# The Industrial Pioneer

An Illustrated Labor Magazine

June




## What's Behind Tea-Pot Dome?

## Is Industry Slowing Down?

The Rise of President Crowley

The Building Boom

Stinnes Industrial Kaiser

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 450, I. W. W.

# Big Scale Organization

THIS is the day of organization on a big scale.

We live in a society in which big organization rules.

Industry is organized on a big scale. So are the trusts. So also are the financiers. And they rule all.

The workers alone are not organized on this gigantic scale.

The vast majority of the workers are not organized at all. Those that are organized are practically disorganized into crafts, castes, and impotent little groups.

How long, workers, is this to endure?

While we remain unorganized and disorganized, our tasks are greatly increased and our hours are lengthened.

Our output grows, while our death and accident rates leap out of all proportion to our wages.

We become, together with our women and children, mere automatons paced by machines.

We own not even our jobs. Operating the capital of others for their profit alone, we are mere trespassers upon their property and can be dismissed and driven off the premises when our status of wage earners for the hour or day is ended.

We are ignoble indeed!

Let us, oh, workers! resolve to change it all.

Let us resolve to organize on a scale in keeping with the big business which we alone make possible and which oppresses us.

Let us organize in big industry as we work therein, on a big, interlocking scale.

Then can we improve our conditions and abolish the wages system that degrades us.

Through big organization we can solve big problems.

Through big organization we can build the big, new society of the future.

Let us have done with little organization.

On to big scale unionism; and big scale victory!

The Workers' Hell

The Capitalists' Heaven

Illustrating "From Hell of Wage Slavery to Industrial Heaven," Page 21.

# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Edited by JUSTUS EBERT

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Vol. II. JUNE, 1924 No. 2.

# The Political Earthquakes

**What Is Behind the Teapot Dome and other Investigations? Is it a Sincere Desire at Political Reformation or a Conflict of Gigantic Interests? What Part Does Henry Ford, the Water Power Trust, the Standard Oil Company and the House of Morgan Play in Them?**

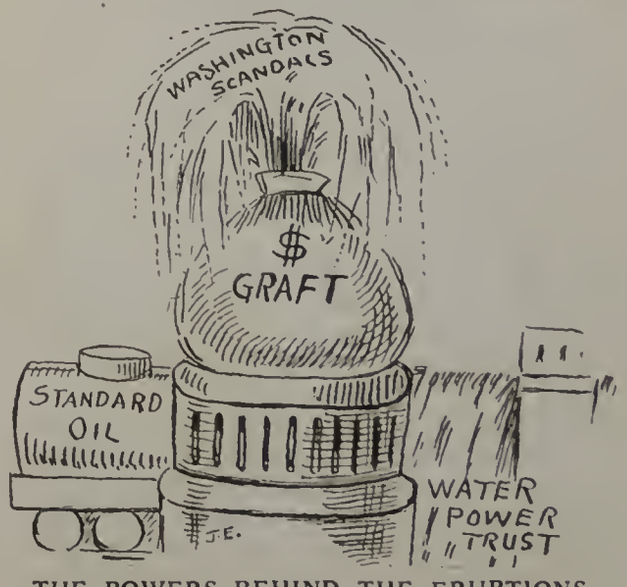
## A Review of Developments that Throw Light on the Federal Scandal from Various New Angles.

By NEIL GORDON

**The political life of the nation is being rocked as it was never rocked before. On the eve of the great presidential nominating conventions, the Credit Mobiler scandals of the days of General Grant are being surpassed in the exposés attending the Veterans' Bureau, Teapot Dome, and other investigations. A veritable volcano is in eruption at Washington, D. C., accompanied by a federal earthquake whose successive shocks have resulted in the overthrow of strong political personages and the cracking of more than one party alliance and the undoing of more than one party slate. And the end is not yet; for tbe coming elections will also be marked with fissures directly traceable to this destructive upheaval and quake!**

What does it all mean? Is it merely a case of "playing politics"? Is it simply a result of party or factional differences in "our" political life? Or is it the outward manifestation of some gigantic conflict going on behind the scenes in the economic life of the country? Surely, the impotent Democratic party has not, of itself, strength or life enough left to challenge the dominant plutocratic Republican party, with its alliance with the big economic factors involved in the various federal investigations? What's "the nigger in the woodpile," anyway?

The Falls, Denbys, Roosevelts, Daughertys, etc., are big political personalities, with strong economic backing, that gives stiffness to their spinal columns and inches to their own individual and collective statures. The Dohenys, Sinclairs, Mitsuis, etc., are representative of vast corporate interests, that are either separately or jointly immense factors in all




THE POWERS BEHIND THE ERUPTIONS

phases of modern life, with widespread and extensive ramifications to boot.

**In order to attack these political personages and corporate interests successfully some other element than Democratic party decadence is necessary. This element must be, basically, a power that transcends all others in its immensity and scope; a power that can grasp and utilize a situation in which a weaker, punier force would break down and go to pieces. What is this element? What is this power behind the political turmoil? What is this inherent volcanic force that causes the cracks and fissures in the political structure of the country?**

Some there are who will contend that what is being exhibited at Washington is the logical sequel of war-time graft. "It's merely a case of thieves falling out." Others contend that this is the resultant, the climax, as it were, of capitalist development, along corrupt lines—the uncontrollable outburst of illegitimate tendencies in modern economic life.

But none of these contenders seem to recall that, as in the case of Daugherty, for instance, some of these matters had already been investigated, whitewashed, and declared closed incidents. Why these sudden reopenings, these savage outbursts, these damning investigations again, then?

Of course, there is no definite telling what the real cause of this new turn of affairs is. There is no positive evidence going to show the underlying cause of it all. But certain things have happened that it might be well to recall and consider in this connection.

**The French, in cases of crime, have a guiding principle, "Look for the woman," as they believe sex is at the bottom of criminality. And we say, in cases of corruption, look for the economic interests, as we believe big business is at the bottom of crookedness.**

Let's begin, then, with President Calvin Coolidge; let's begin with his campaign for re-election but a few short months ago; how everything seemed in his favor and he, apparently, had an unobstructed walk-over! And now his chances of success are very much imperilled, as he is being exposed for what he really is, namely, an undesirable political accident, as was Roosevelt before him, only, compared with the latter, he is mediocrity personified.

Yes, "Cautious Cal," apparently, once had everything his own way. Had not Henry Ford, his only formidable opponent, visited him and declared, "The President is good enough for me"? Could anything be better than this withdrawal from the race; this elimination of a rival of the first magnitude?

Following this visit, the President declared himself in favor of giving Muscle Shoals to the generous Henry, for a mere song, payable to the federal government. Then the volcano broke anew! Then began the quakes that have since rocked the nation. Ever since "Cautious Cal" has had his administration torn to pieces, and his chances of re-election are in jeopardy, indeed!

**Now, let's take anotner tack in this review. There appears on the scene, besides the Falls, Denbys, Roosevelts, Daughertys, Dohenys, Sinclairs, and Fords, one Frank Vanderlip. Whom does he represent? What's his part in this eruption?**

To hear him tell it, Vanderlip is merely a disinterested citizen, intent on preserving the fair reputation of the great American republic, via the purification of its federal politics.

Of course, as the boys in the street would say, "that's all bull." Vanderlip is so closely allied with the Morgan-Standard Oil industro-financiers in the control of this country, as to make disinterested political action on his part impossible.

To put it mildly, at the present time, Vanderlip appears to be playing the leading villian in this political drama. According to his own language, he's standing with his own private secret service behind Senator Wheeler. Apparently, he's preparing the shot that Senator Wheeler fires.

Having taken a look at Vanderlip, let's turn back to Doheny and Sinclair once more. They are, at times, friendly to Standard Oil interests; at other times, they are at war with them. Where possible, they unite; and where impossible, they compete. This is usual with capitalist groups. It looks as if Doheny and Sinclair had beaten the SO in California, interfered with its Mexican invasion, and, in the case of Sinclair, got the best of it in Russia and Persia.

Can it be that SO is behind the political downfall of both Doheny and Sinclair, not to mention Denby and Daugherty? Can it be that SO is trying to create a situation in which they will be forced to surrender to it, both at home and abroad? We don't know. We only know that such a course is not unusual among capitalist factions. We also know that SO is, together with the Morgan group, the biggest economic, financial and political factor in this country. And what, besides this gigantic combination, is likely to be behind this terrific political upheaval? The appointment of Stone, a Morgan man, to succeed Daugherty, lends force to this conclusion.

Next consider Henry Ford. Thanks to his vast industrial and selling organization, he is one of the greatest political powers in this country. Also one of the greatest economic powers. His increasing ascendancy imperils the domination of both the Republican and Democratic parties, as his possible candidacy illustrated. It also imperils the Morgan control of water power in this country as Muscle Shoals demonstrates. Ford is, further, encroaching on Morgan territory in the manufacture of agricultural machinery; and he is also threatening SO with gasoline competition. Finally, he is at war with the Morgan-SO financial domination of the country. From all of which it must be obvious that those who stand with him must array them-

(Continued on page 20)

# Quoth The Raven Evermore, "Yes, We Have No Bananas, But We Have Opportunities Galore"

**Wherein Is Exposed the Great Significance of the Rise of Mr. P. E. Crowley from Section Hand to the President of the New York Central R. R.**

By A RAIL FILLOSOFER

**This is the day of Opportunity! The way that opportunities for advancement to power and greatness abound and are lying 'round loose for the workers of this country to grab is at once the delight of this great and glorious republic and the wonder of an awe-stricken world.**

**"Every day in every way" "we see by the papers" "the unlimited opportunities for achievement" besetting, obstructing and colliding with "the humblest toiler in the land." Go where he will, he can neither evade, side-track nor dodge the summons that Opportunity is serving on him like a subpoena-server in a Senate Teapot Dome investigation.**

**So we pause to marvel at Opportunity as she is, while our capacious chest expands with all the capabilities of real chestiness, and our strong, robust heart palpitates with a transcending joy over the tremendous unfoldment of individuality and personality which it implies; so much so, that we are threatened with acute cardiac troubles and rendered liable to become a liability upon our life insurance company, instead of an asset, as heretofore.**

**Yes, so persistent is Opportunity that it is killing us and increasing the death-rate of the insurance societies.**

Consider first our great political opportunities open to all, regardless of sex, color, or previous condition of servitude. Every four or eight years, if the present incumbent runs again, tens upon tens of millions of voters have each an opportunity to become a great President of the United States, as great as President Coolidge, for instance. Sure there are movements afoot seeking to extend the President's term of office, but even at that, who would deny that it is not possible for political opportunity to be more widespread? We repeat who would deny? Echo answers, "who would deny?"

Ah, but our opportunities are not all political. Something even greater than the Presidency lies in wait for us. Like a villain on a dark night, bound to "croak" us, there stands Opportunity ready to make oil kaisers, steel trust princes, financial rajahs, coal barons and lumber lords out of us; not to mention their bigger brothers, the telephone King Tuts and the waterpower monarchs, whose name is not Mud but Morgan and Ford.

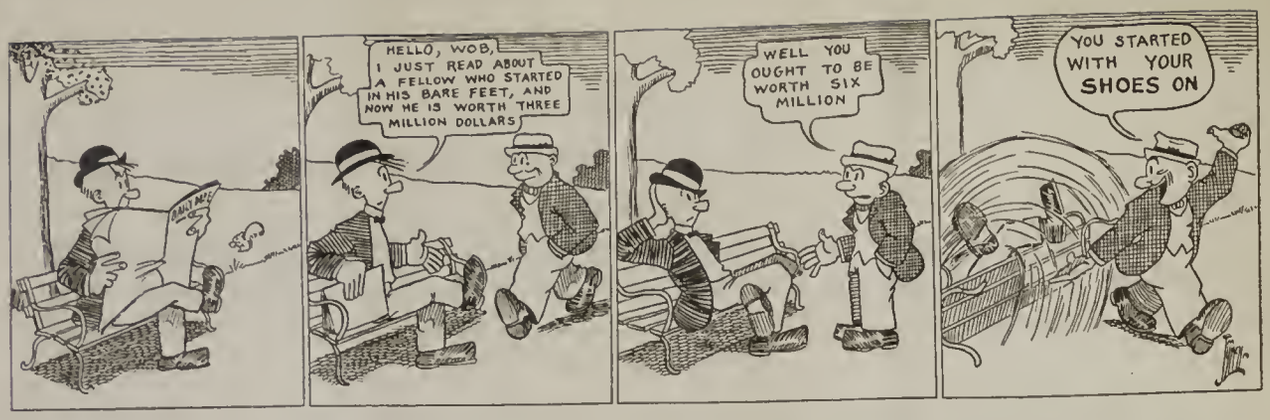
All these are said, in certain quarters, to be more powerful than the political rulers of the land, controlling them as the showman controls his marionettes—all these does Opportunity lie in wait to force on us; in fact, says we must be; and believe us, Opportunity is a real George Washington, it never, no never, tells a lie, nor do liars ever speak for it.

Yes, so great is Opportunity for every woman and child in the spheres of economics, finance and transportation, that it may be said "without fear of successful contradiction" that Opportunity was never so opportune as it is at present!

INTRODUCING MR. CROWLEY
**Who Secured a Presidency After a Half-Century of Toil—Such is Opportunity.**

There's Henry Ford, for instance. Gaze upon Henry! Look at his billions, present and prospective; and then take a glance at his 157,500 employes. They do not bulk very large in comparison. Yet everyone of them has an opportunity to become Henry and have as many billions as he has. Yes, Opportunity makes it possible for each and every one of them to head a giant personally owned corporation that puts the U. S. mint in the shade as a money maker. Could anything be simpler?

It will not do to say, with the pessimists, that


HELLO, WOB, I JUST READ ABOUT A FELLOW WHO STARTED IN HIS BARE FEET, AND NOW HE IS WORTH THREE MILLION DOLLARS
WELL YOU OUGHT TO BE WORTH SIX MILLION
YOU STARTED WITH YOUR SHOES ON

157,000 Fords are impossible! Nothing is impossible in this country! This country is a marvelous country whose marvels are inexhaustible. And the least of these is a Henry Ford in every Ford employe.

Nor will it do to say, with the pestiferous socialists, that, under the present industrial sysem, there must be armies of workers to make the few Fords possible by their co-operative manual and mental labor and their exploitation for capitalist profit. Such doctrine is treason to the state and destructive of the family; it also undermines religion, resulting in the end, in a denial of God and the extinction of humanity!

No! let us hug Opportunity, not as a fond delusion, but as a great reality rendered greater still by ideality, imagination and determination; especially a determination not to hear anything said against it. Opportunity is the sheet anchor of the present system; and with it we either sink or swim, survive or perish. And if we don't stick together with Opportunity, we'll all hang separately.

In this spirit, let us next consider P. E. Crowley, who rose from a lowly section hand to the presidency of the great New York Central Railroad. Starting at 14 years of age, Mr. Crowley, at the age of sixty, stands on the heights of railroad preeminence. From a poor boy, after a half-century of toil, he has become one of the highest salaried railroad officials in the world! Could anything prove more sublime and inspiring? And to what is it due, if not to Opportunity that comes to every man, woman and child, once every half-century?

Think it over! The financial interests in control of transportation must get their managerial and executive ability from the workers in their employ. Without the intelligence and the ability of the workers capitalism is impossible! And so the dominant capitalist interests must draw on the armies of Crowleys, or workers, whom they hire and fire as wage-earners and salaried subordinates. They must, through decades of development, cultivate the good personal and technical qualities of these Crowleys and otherwise prime them for their future important positions. They must, further, rely on their multiplication and increase in every way, for the more Crowleys there are, the more the supply exceeds the demand, the lower the wages and salaries will be. And so they make the most of Opportunity. They exploit it, dilate on it, glorify it, and make a fetich of it, if not a God, possessed of the miraculous powers of transformation of all the Gods. And so we have Opportunity galore. Opportunity to the right of us, Opportunity to the left of us, volleys and thunders, while all the world wonders.

Of course, there are those who will say that Mr. Crowley is only one out of 175,000 employees of the New York Central and that to talk Opportunity to the other 174,999 is to talk remote and meagre possibilities, indeed! There are others who will say that Mr. Crowley's attainments, after a half-century of unremitting effort, are neither inspiring nor conclusive. Then there are still others, who quote pernicious agitators like Scott Nearing, who, taking 1914 census figures, shows that out of 1,710,296 employes in the railroad industry, 5,750 are general officers, 11,153 other officers and 87,106 clerks; thus demonstrating that the general and minor officers and clerks number only 10 in one thousand or one per cent; so that Opportunity is only a one to 99 shot in the gamble of economic life. It will not do, we repeat, to give heed to these dissenters and agitators, with their statistics!

On the contrary, let us assert, despite such assertions and statistics that Opportunity exists for all! Let us assert it continously and vociferously, until we all believe it, and, believing it, become immune to the doctrines of industrial unionists and revolutionists who fain would undermine our fair republic by denying to us our traditional beliefs and humbugs.

Rather than face conditions as they are, let us hug fond delusions to our bosoms, so that our employers may set us to compete for the places above us that only one in a thousand can get, thereby enriching them to the utmost, while keeping ourselves poor indeed, through our failure to organize our intelligence and ability as we should, namely, in our own interests as railroad employees and members of the working class.

# The Late Hugo Stinnes; Germany's Real Kaiser

**Dominated Its Government and Life through His Industries—Debased Currency Enabled Him to Oust Middle Class and Impoverish Labor to His Own Enrichment—Capitalism's Finest and Rottenest Fruit—His American Counterparts.**

## AN ESTIMATE AND COMPARISON

By ALOIS SENNEFELDER, JR.

**The death of Hugo Stinnes in Germany, during the month of April, was an event that students of contemporaneous industry and history can ill afford to overlook.**

**Stinnes was the personification of giant industry—of modern capitalism; and a study of his personality and power is a study of its basic principles, tendencies and results. As such, intelligent workingmen will find much in his career to ponder over and apply to their own class interests.**

**Hugo Stinnes was Germany's industrial Kaiser. In its attending details, his death was reflective of his great power. Its approach created panicky conditions on the German stock exchange. And the populace paused in their daily activities to inquire, with bated breath, about the progress of his illness and to speculate as to the probable effect of his end on the nation at large. So great was the general interest in the outcome that even the Dawes report on reparations was overshadowed for the time being.**

**And when he died, Hugo Stinnes' funeral was attended with great pomp and circumstance. Prominent men in all walks of life were present. Leading cabinet officials, ministers of finance and industry, were there, as were workmen's bands and representatives. All joined in doing the final honors to Stinnes' remains—honors in keeping with his predominant power.**

**In Hamburg, where his overseas shipping and export interests bulked large in commercial life, even the bells of the leading churches tolled during Stinnes' funeral.**

Hugo Stinnes boasted that he had never seen the Kaiser in all his life and that he would never go out of his way to look at him. He had no need to do so. He was Germany's real Kaiser; its real ruler. The controlling figure in 120 corporations capitalized at 10,000,000,000 gold marks and branching out into every important industry and country, he controlled the economic and financial basis of Germany's internal and external political life and so became the greatest power in Germany, if not in all Europe, as well.

As becomes the dominant capitalist power, jealous of its strength and authority and brooking no other rule than its own, Hugo Stinnes hated the lingering remnants of the old feudal aristocracy; though he was not adverse to using their reactionary movements whenever the safety and promotion of his own private interests required it.

Stinnes' personal wealth is said to have been enormous. It was believed to be so great that even he himself knew not its exact extent. He himself declared that he was so wealthy that he could buy any man in Europe without missing the purchase price. Apparently, he entered the market often, and instead of diminishing his wealth, only added to it, through the many purchases thus made.

Apropos of Stinnes' great wealth, one who knew him well, said of him, "Stinnes is not so much a billionaire as a juggler of billions." Which is only possible, as his career proves, with one favorably situated. Beggars or proletarians are never so fixed as to be able to juggle anything more than plugged nickels. Shoe-string financiers have no place in the big capitalism of the day; especially in Germany, with its many bankrupting changes.

Stinnes' vast industrial enterprises embraced oil, mining, shipping and newspaper holdings. He **owned 60 leading newspapers, through which he moulded opinion in a manner favorable to his own**

**Hugo, the First, Industrial Kaiser of Germany.**

interests. In addition, he owned outright a score or more of the largest hotels in Berlin, Hamburg, and Bremen. With his friend, August Thyssen, and a few others, he shared control of the iron and coal industry in Germany and occupied a dominant position in the entire inland navigation of that country. He was also interested in many financial institutions and banks.

So great was Stinnes' control of Germany's industry, trade and commerce that at one time he was on the high road of becoming the country's political dictator as well as its economie one. This was during the days of Germany's political crises and the rise of Mussolini, when dictatorships for and by capitalist reaction were all the rage. But Stinnes denies ever having had such aspirations. Perhaps, he thought it unnecessary, for, as it was, he was Germany's private political factor, controlling the German People's Party, and so manipulating his economic affairs as to make politics his most humble and submissive servant, indeed.

This was especially seen in his influence in the Ebert government, which was largely dependent on his policies and support, and which was officially and conspicuously represented at his funeral, as already noted.

It was his manipulation of politics by way of economic pressure that caused Hugo Stinnes to be called Germany's malevolent genius. It was Stinnes who led the German industrialists in their negotiations with their French counterparts and government; negotiations that made the industrialists' interests paramount to the interests of the great mass of Germany's population.

In this connection Stinnes has been accused of indirectly causing the assassination of Walter Rathenau. Rathenau was the founder of the General Electrie Company of Germany and one of Stinnes' most formidable rivals. He wanted Germans to pay French reparations in raw material; while Stinnes wanted payments in gold: Stinnes eontrolled the gold, and wanted the German railways. When Rathenau seemed victorious, he was stricken down by the assassin's bullet. This gave a clear field to Stinnes. He added eoncern to concern and invested in Austria, Hungary, Italy, Russia, Argentine, the United States—everywhere.

Between Rathenau and Stinnes there existed the difference between an idealist and a realist. Rathenau sought to bring about a rejuvenation of Germany on policies of reapproachment with France; while Stinnes saw in Germany's imperialism and defeat the realization of his own ambitions as a super-capitalist and profiteer.

Certain it is that Stinnes profited most by paying off obligations with debased money whieh finally became valueless and in which debasement he was a great factor. No less an authority than the editor of the Chicago Tribune charges the industrialists with having gutted Germany by means of worthless currency. This reduced wages and killed off small business; thus making greater world-competition and industrial concentration on the part of Stinnes possible.

Stinnes himself is reported to have favored a German cataclysm as a means of squeezing out the middle class and impoverishing the working elass, thereby entrenching giant capitalism and ereating a great supply of cheap labor, to the competitive advantage of Germany's industrial magnates, among whom there was none greater than himself.

Stinnes also urged longer hours and more output as a means of Germany's salvation. This would enrich himself and his elass, as more hours and more production would not only pay reparations but net them greater profits in addition. Not one pfennig should these bloated industrialists pay, even though labor languish and the nation starve. Let the charity and generosity of the world look out for the latter, while they (the industrialists) reaped profit and prosperity galore. Capitalist property, Stinnes' property first, even though the nations fall—such is the slogan of big capitalism in Germany,—as exemplified by Stinnes and his class.

**"The Laughing Mandolin Player"**

**The classical painting for which the chain restaurant owner, J. R. Thompson, paid 250,000 dollars. The laugh must be on Thompson's employes, whose low wages make such high art prices possible.**

**Hugo Stinnes, as befitted his world-wide economic interests, was an international capitalist, as well as Germany's industrial Kaiser. He flitted from Berlin to Paris; and from Paris to London; and once it was reported that he was coming to Wall St., in search of more capital and affiliations. He had interests, as already indicated, in Austria, Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Argentine, as well as in France**

## OUT OF WORK

**This bit of Russian sculpture depicts the effects of unemployment. Thoughtful, self-respecting workmen become enervated and demoralized during its prevalence. At present, there is considerable unemployment in this country.**

**and Germany. He was an international Colossus,—a great imperialist—with whom England had to reckon and even American capitalists dealt with profit. In brief, Hugo Stinnes was the German representative of the small group of industro-financiers who are gradually dominating the world, while its varied populations quarrel with one another over fancied and promoted national differences.**

Stinnes was inordinately proud of his possessions. He grew irascible when anyone doubted the size of his fortune. He had no hobbies, excepting novelties and toys. Art, literature, music, the stage, nature —none of these appealed to him. His business was his sole appeal and activity. He was what we Americans would call "a money-making machine" and nothing more. His main pride was to show the size of his "roll" and to dilate upon it ad nauseam.

Aside from this, Stinnes' main joy was his family. He made its members his co-workers, partners and advisers. His wife, sons and daughters were informed of his affairs and included in their participation, down to the minutest detail. In this, Stinnes, as modern as he was, was simply continuing the old German patriarchal family; wherein every member was subject to the head, while bound to it by filial ties.

When Stinnes died, his fortune was left to his widow. She is admonished to consult her sons and daughters in all things affecting the magnate's private and business affairs. To his eldest son went the direction of the properties in the Ruhr and the Rhineland, while the younger son will oversee the family's interests at the headquarters in Berlin and care for the shipping and foreign properties.

Stinnes, in a statement made a few years ago, compared his methods with those of the super-capitalists of this country. According to this statement he had two great principles. The first was the working jointly of all the industries under his control. He did not agree with the founders of the great trusts in this country that every industry is independent of the other. They are bound together. He began, for instance, with coal as the foundation of his industrial undertakings. Then he went into the metal industry; then into the building industry; bought ships for inland and oceanic traffic to transport his coal. On the other hand, he went into the soft coal business, then took up forestry and paper-making before going into the newspaper game. So intermingling his activities, he built up his career to gain the highest profit with the smallest cost.

Stinnes' second principle was to work together with the general union of workers. His electric works on the Rhine are partly owned by the employees. Stinnes declares that he lived for months with the workers in order to understand their problems. He professed himself desirous of interesting himself in the problems of the workers in order to better their condition.

Thus we have a picture of Stinnes as painted by himself. Viewed in the light of contemporaneous events, it is not a pleasing picture. As painted by Americans particularly, Stinnes is a sinister figure. He was a "grab-all"; consolidating everything for himself primarily. Yet he was the essence of all capitalism, wherever found. In its essence, capitalism extols private gain and property at the expense of social welfare and progress. What Stinnes has done in Germany is daily being done here. Do not "our" Rockefellers create wheat, oil, and other corners in order to extort unprecedented profits? Do they not make of imperialism and war the means and occasion for vast enrichment and greater reactionary entrenchment at social expense? Do they not use the Federal Reserve and gold systems to deflate and bankrupt the farmers and make greater industrial concentration possible? Have they not bought up the press, corrupted politics and moulded religion even to their own advantage? Are they not reaching, with grasping hands, to the small countries in South America and Central America? Are they not international in their exploitation and domination; threatening Japan here, Russia there, and China over yonder?

**Finally, like Stinnes, they, too, hire and fire millions of employees, who, by their co-operative, collective mental and manual labor make possible their great industrial enterprises and successes the world over; and whom they too, rule and ruin in**

**undemocratic, Kaiserliche fashion when their interests so demand, which is, generally, most of the time.**

Stinnes' statement of principles would seem to make American capitalism inferior to his own. But this is only apparently so. Fundamentally, there is no great difference between them. It is true, as Stinnes states in the exposition of his first principle, that American trusts are organized according to industry. Nevertheless, they are bound together and made one, through interlocking directors, U. S. Chambers of Commerce, and other devices and institutions. Some of these trusts are also, like his own, organized from the bottom up. The U. S. Steel Corporation (the Steel Trust), for instance, is almost complete in itself. It has its own mines, blast furnaces, mills, ships, railroads, banks, construction companies, selling and export agencies, etc.; in brief, everything from raw supplies to consumer. The Standard Oil is similarly built in the oil industry.

Then there is Henry Ford. He refutes Stinnes' arbitrary classification best because he resembles Stinnes most. Ford began with an improved, cheap auto. All its parts were made by outside companies. Gradually Ford began to make these parts himself. At the same time, he began to acquire his own sources of supply, until now he has his own mines, forests, glass works, tanneries, power works, blast furnaces, railroads, foundries, assembling plants, ships, railroads, banks, newspapers, etc. And he is going abroad, extending his operations to seven different countries besides his own; while looming large as the competitor and opponent of organized capitalism.

Then consider Henry Ford, the political dictator. The man who, through his widespread manufacturing and selling organization, boomed himself into a presidential candidacy that imperilled the two leading parties and enabled him to cause the Coolidge administration to accept his Muscle Shoals offer as the price of his withdrawal. Therein Henry, like Hugo, considered his own private gains first, while leaving the so-called public to go hang! Could Stinnes have done worse to society and politics? We doubt it!

Henry Ford, however, differs from Stinnes in the application of the latter's second principle. Ford does not believe in workers' unions. According to Ford, labor unions are the creation of Jewish bankers, organized to ruin industry and to thereby enable the aforesaid bankers to secure control of it. Of course, this doctrine of the origin of unions is absurd; it's refuted by history. Nevertheless, it accounts for much of Ford's bitter antagonism to labor organization. He will not tolerate it.

Nor does Ford permit his employees to participate in the ownership of his many properties. Even employees' stock ownership is unknown in his many industries.

What is herein said of Ford's anti-unionism is also true of all the big trusts not controlled by him. The Steel, Tobacco, Oil, Sugar, Shipping, Insurance, Financial, and other big combinations of capital, are anti-union and open shop. They assail labor organization by every means and in every way possible. Labor espionage, the blacklist, frame-up, and a thousand and one other devices are employed by them to exterminate labor unionism of every kind, no matter what it may be, whether craft or industrial in form or character.

It is only in the building trades, coal mining, railroading, shoe-manufacturing, and a few other industries that big capitalism allows unionism under conservative and national civic federation auspices. Some of them also permit stock ownership; and otherwise keep their employees bound to the capitalist system.

From all of the foregoing it would appear as if Stinnes, in his treatment of the workers, was wiser and more liberal than his American counterparts. But it must not be forgotten that Stinnes' attitude was one of dominant paternalism. Compared with his own ownership and power that of his employees was insignificant indeed. Further, co-operation with the workers in Germany was a capitalist necessity,—a means to the development of capitalist policy, to the greater gain of capitalism and the undoing of the entire German nation in its interests. All this is obvious in the results to the German workers. Of what avail was Stinnes' recognition of their unions in view of his power to gut and ruin Germany to his own greater entrenchment and profit? This recognition merely makes more certain the workers' own ruin and destruction! Out on such liberation and generosity! We have much of it in this country, too. Beware of it.

Then we have Stinnes' love for his family and his will in behalf of his widow and children. How lovely; how charming!! Surely, despite his exaltation of private gain above social welfare, this proves Stinnes to have been a blessing to mankind! Are "our" capitalists, with their frequent divorces and "love nests," as devoted and as filial, as was Stinnes? As upholders of the monogamous family, how do they compare with him?

Of course, this is an old trick! The man who destroys the organism of the many for that of the few, is always a hero, especially to those who believe most vociferously in "the greatest good to the greatest number." Every tyrant "points with pride" to his love of family while he wades up to his knees in the blood of humanity! Kaiser Wilhelm loved his family, too. Should we worship him therefore, any less than we'd worship Kaiser Stinnes? Henry Ford loves his family, too. Every big member of the American plunderbund loves his family likewise. In fact, they all leave their wealth to their families; so that this country groans under the exploitation of what one authority, viz., Henry Klein, calls, very appropriately, "dynastic wealth." —the wealth of the Astor, Gould, Vanderbilt, Armour, McCormick, Rockefeller, Morgan, Ford, and other families of plutocrats.

(Continued on page 28.)

# Is Industry Slowing Down?

**Or Is It on the Gain, Producing More than Ever Before, with the Consequent Result that Thousands of Workers Are Being Laid Off, Only to Compete with those Employed?—The Facts as Gleaned from Record Outputs by the Great Steel Corporations.**

By FRED W. BOWERMAN

**The present condition in industry—the growing number of workers who are being laid off at this plant and that—remind me of the revolving pulley and the fly.**

**It was a hot afternoon in July in a small machine shop located in southern Indiana. We had just finished with the noon hour lunch period and bits of food which lay about on the floor at our feet, had drawn in through the open windows a large number of flies, who buzzed from crumb to crumb.**

**To one side, on the testing block, stood an oat-crushing machine, with its newly painted pulley. A slap of the hand or a wave from the newspaper and the flies would scatter in all directions and the freshly-painted pulley drew its share. Upon this they alighted and seemingly enjoyed its flavor as well as any other food substance.**

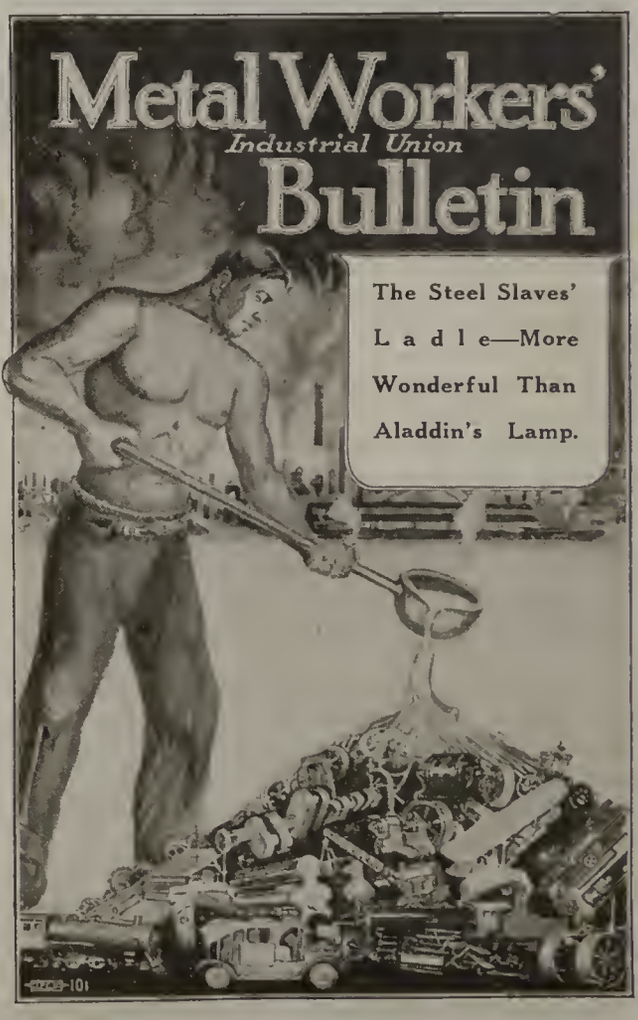
**The old sweeper, in charge of starting the power, usually started the main line shaft about five minutes of starting time, so all would be in readiness when the whistle blew. With the turning over of the big drive wheel in the engine room the oat-crusher on the testing block would start rolling and its pulley begin moving around, slowly at first but faster and faster with each revolution.**

Those flies would hang onto that pulley eating the paint, as they turned around through space, as if nothing had happened. But with the increase of speed, the centrifugal force would throw fly after fly to one side, until not one remained.

The flies on that pulley reminded me of the industrial situation that confronts us today. Workers are asking, "Why am I getting laid off?" when the boss hands them the pink slip. "Didn't I produce enough?" is the question of another. "I always worked hard and here the company lays me off," is the comment of a third. "Why—we produced more in our department than ever before, and now they let us all go," is the expression of others.

When the wheels of industry turned slow, it seemed there was always room for another man; but as the wheels of industry were speeded up, fewer and fewer of us were needed at the bench and the machine. We workers are like the flies on the revolving pulley. When it turns over slowly we can hang on. But as the speed increases, more and more of us lose our hold and slip off into the great army of job hunters or what might be properly termed, food hunters. We, like the fly, are being slung off into space with the increase in speed of the pulleys in the shop, mill and factory.

That is happening right now in the great manufacturing establishments of the country. The wheels of industry are being speeded up, faster and ever faster. The papers say "industry is slowing down." Nothing is farther from the truth. Industry is on the gain. More production is the order of the day. The mills are turning out more tonnage. The auto factories more cars. Every machine shop more parts. What is happening is that production has




**New Cover Design**

been increased and with this increase fewer workers are needed on the job. They are being laid off in large numbers as a result of the hurry-up policies the companies have introduced and carried out. Yes—as far as the workers are concerned it might appear that industry is slow, because they are looking for new jobs, but the output in all lines for 1924 will no doubt surpass that of 1923.

For instance, the workers at the Indiana Steel Company broke all production records for January. And then in March they broke the January record by producing 320,000 tons of ingots, which was an increase over the January record of 48,000 tons. The workers in the billet mill, not to be outdone, also broke the record in January and then increased production in March by producing 120,000 tons, which was 22,000 tons greater than January. Yes, industry is **not** slowing down.

In Lackawanna the steel workers in the Bethlehem like their boss so well that they also broke production records during April and the General Manager, Mr. Timothy Burns, took sixty of the pace-setters over to the Hotel Buffalo for a feed. I suppose they called him "Tim" that night and he spoke to them as "my boys."

The auto industry makes like reports of record-smashing production. And machine shops from the manufacture of typewriters to farm machinery also follow suit. The owners of these shops, mills and factories look at them like the gamblers at the race tracks view the horses. Only here, on these inside race tracks the workers are supposed to do the racing and seem to be doing a pretty good job of it.

What is the effect of this increase in production? Well—it affects the boss this way: The faster the workers go—that is, the more speed he can get—the less pay envelopes there will be, because fewer workers will be needed, and the less pay envelopes there are to be filled the more profits he can ring up. Speed and profits, profits and speed, 'tis a fine game for the boss. But the effect upon the workers is entirely different. The workers who keep these wheels of industry going faster and faster soon find this department and that reducing its force. As fast as they get laid off they enter the army of job hunters, because, with the present wages, saving money is something to wish for instead of carry out.

A year back the Metal Workers' Industrial Union No. 440 of the Industrial Workers of the World issued a leaflet, which dealt with this job question and at that time a warning was issued, that if the shorter day was not installed in the steel mills and auto factories, and the production per day per man reduced, the time would soon arrive when we would all be looking for a new job. It was a case of "Don't work yourself out of work." At that time the steel workers and others in the metal industry were urged to organize for the shorter workday to offset the increased production and the general lay-off that was sure to follow.

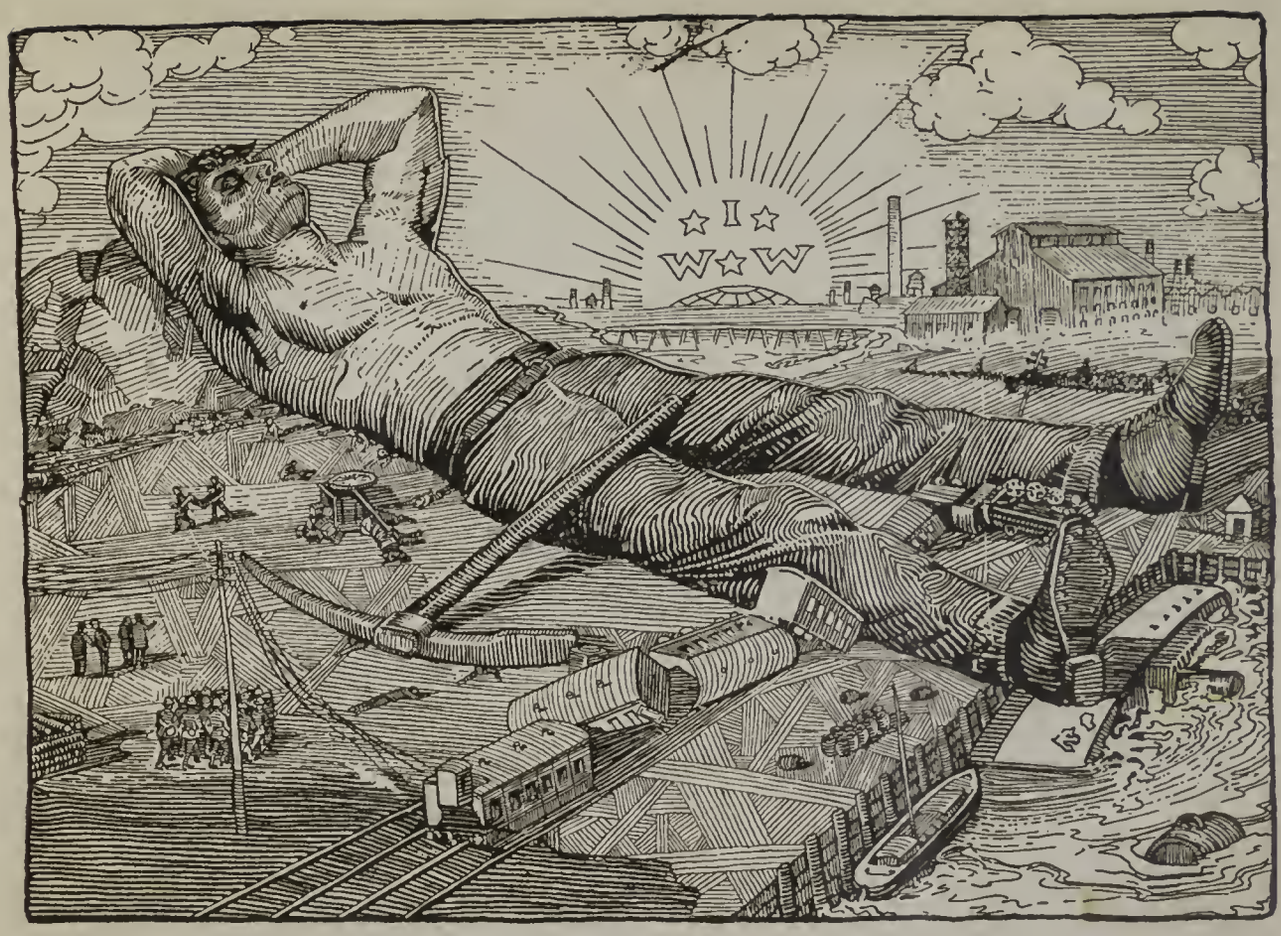
Now the time has arrived when metal workers are paying the price of overproduction. Plant after plant is reducing its force. The Studebaker plant at South Bend cut its force by two-thirds. Other auto plants and machine shops are doing the same thing. The steel mills are also laying off men. Furnace after furnace is being blown out. Fires are being banked, and it looks like there will be plenty of labor on hand to install the eight-hour day in the steel mills, if that is worrying Mr. Gary. But it isn't; because the steel mill kings and auto plant owners and the rest of that crowd want just such a situation. They want plenty of unemployed labor on the market looking for a job and starved to the point where they will take any job under any condition. Increased production means a big labor supply. Plenty of men looking for jobs at the mill gates means cheap labor. Low wages and long hours mean greater profits and that is what they are in business for.

You, as a worker, are either helping these owners of industry in their game of breaking labor, or you are helping to stop them. There is but one way to effectively stop them. That way is to organize. The Metal Workers' Industrial Union No. 440 holds out an invitation to you to join with them. We are not going to fall for the "half a loaf is better than none" stuff. We are going after the whole works. This industrial union is out for shorter hours. We want to see the eight-hour day universal in the steel industry. We are organizing to that end and realize that as the workday is shortened and more men are put to work, demands can be made for higher wages and better conditions. This unemployment shadow is now falling across the pathway that leads to better things. We have to organize.

The union has succeeded in enlarging its membership in the past year. Delegates have been appointed in the majority of the metal centers. At many places local unions have been chartered and it has had a healthy effect upon wages and hours at several plants.

But the union cannot move faster than the metal workers move. Let the present situation in the mills and shops act to hasten our work of organization. Let it be a warning of what is to follow if we stand by and do nothing about it. The start has been made. The workers of this industrial union have laid out an organization program for 1924, and call upon every metal worker to join with them.

Let's not be like the flies on the pulley and just hang on until we get slung off. Let's organize and as one body of metal workers, who with our intelligence and strength make the steel and shape it into the many machines and uses it is produced for, use this same intelligence and strength to gain for ourselves some of the good things in life which we play such an important part in producing.




# When the Giant Rests

The above picture, reprinted from Il Proletario, Italian IWW weekly organ, tells its own story.

It shows what happens when the giant, Labor, sleeps; that is, stops his various mental and manual activities.

Everything becomes disarranged and falls into chaos; nothing goes right.

The steamships are prostrate; the railroads are paralyzed; communication is down; the mills are still; in brief, "There's nothing doing" and "everything is all balled up."

Every big strike, every big storm, every acute panic, every destructive war, that either causes the cessation of labor or prevents its useful application, is a substantiation of the correctness of this strikingly vivid picture.

All of them go to emphasize the dependence of human society on Labor. They stress the fact that the constructive progress of the race is dependent on Labor. And that culture and development are impossible without Labor and its ability to operate industry and produce wealth.

This picture, together with all that it implies, should serve to inspire Labor with a consciousness of its own importance. It should serve to bring home to Labor its own great economic power; and should cause it to so organize that power industrially as to make it conduce to Labor's own improvement and emancipation, instead of Capital's profit and oppression.

# Industrial Tendencies

WHITHER is industry tending? The Lithographers' Journal for March throws some light on the question! It devotes an article to "Lithography in 1921," that discusses industrial tendencies of interest not only to lithographers but all other workers as well, no matter how or where employed, as the facts contained therein are typical of tendencies in general.

This article, taking the census of 1921 as its authority, shows that in that year there were 296 lithographic establishments in this country as compared with 336 in 1914. Or a decrease of 40 in number. Further, the average number of employees decreased from 15,171 in 1914 to 13,971 in 1921. Or a loss of 1,200 all told.

However, at the same time, the capital invested increased from $35,685,000 to $60,817,000 for 1919, the latest figures available. This is an increase of more than 65 per cent. The horsepower employed also increased from 15,178 in 1914 to 18,624 in 1919, or over one-fifth.

**But, most impressive of all, is the increase in output from $39,136,000 in 1914 to $79,472,000 in 1921. This represents an increase of over 100 per cent.**

The Lithographers' Journal observes that "from those figures (it) can be seen, that lithography is growing as an industry; at least its mechanical equipment is growing apparently at the expense of man-power."

This growth is characteristic of many industries. These industries show great increases in capital, horsepower and output, combined with a decrease in establishments and employees. The latter decrease, too, despite great growths of population, which would seem to warrant their expansion rather than their contraction.

These industries reflect the ever-persistent tendencies to concentration in huge consolidations and combinations of capital, coupled with the extended introduction of automatic machinery and the speed-up system, which is its inevitable accompaniment; all of which acts to the detriment of competitors and wage workers, both of whom are displaced and rendered unnecessary thereby.

It is regrettable that the Lithographers' Journal did not have the figures to show the difference, if any, between 1914 and 1921 wages paid in lithography. The 1921 statistics, as given by the Journal, show the total "mechanical payroll" to have reached the sum of $21,085,435. "Thus, the average yearly earning of the individual wage earner is $1,508.58 1-2, or $29.02 per week." Of course, this average is established primarily by adding the high-paid wages and the low-paid wages together and then dividing the total by the number employed.

Probably, had a comparison been made between the wages paid in 1914 and 1921, it would have been shown that the wages of lithographers do not increase in the same proportions as does their output; and that, though their wages are higher than formerly they have, relatively speaking, suffered a decrease. This is borne out by general statistics. Geo. Soule, well-known economist, has shown that, while output on the whole has recently increased 30 per cent, wages have only gone up 5 per cent. And the indications are that they will not remain there long. For even now there are newer and greater combinations of capital afoot, together with a greater introduction of automatic machinery and a determined movement to reduce wages, all requiring greater resistance via organization on the part of the working class.

Need more be said? Or is a hint to the wise sufficient?

## PIGS AND PIGS

One day a farmer who had a large herd of pigs decided to kill one. His experience in the past had taught him that pigs will attack a person who is doing injury to one of the herd. He told his hired man to get a large club and get into the pen and drive back the other pigs while he killed the one he wanted. This the hired man did and the farmer was successful in killing the one he wanted.

Now there are working men who join together in groups called "unions" but when the boss wants to lick one of the unions all the other unions stand quietly by and watch the licking go on. Have working men as much sense as pigs? THINK IT OVER.

## NEXT MONTH! NEXT MONTH!

**The Industrial Pioneer will publish one of the most gripping tales from the lives of the workers ever penned by a proletarian. It is called**

### "The Boy from Washington"
### By Bob Pease

**General Organization Committeeman of Lumber Workers' Union No. 120, Industrial Workers of the World.**

**Get this story and learn how the boy was transformed from a dreamer into a man of determination. It's one of the best things written since the days of Jack London's "People of the Abyss," and every bit as vivid and as virile! Read it and find out for yourself.**

**Other good things in next month's issue will include two pages of photos of big construction jobs now being built by members and sympathizers in the city of Chicago.**

**See the wobblies at work at dizzy heights, putting massive steel beams in place and painting broadcasting towers. And take a look at some of the bridges and other useful structures that they have also helped to build!**

**In addition, there will be the usual articles on economics and other problems of the day. Subscribe now; interest your friends now!**

# Busting a Boost!

## OREGON'S NATURAL BEAUTIES FAIL TO REPRESS THE IRREPRESSIBLE CLASS STRUGGLE

By OREGONIAN

**With the Summer Season Drawing Near and a Profitable Tourist Business in Sight, the Chambers of Commerce Are Publishing Alluring Advertisements, that Appeal to the Workers, Cause them to Migrate and Land Amid Conditions Worse than Those From Which they Fled. Below Will be Found a Criticism of One of These Advertisements that Gives Many Facts that Are Otherwise Lost Sight of.**

The Portland Chamber of Commerce is boosting "Oregon and her captivating modern cities." The advertisement calls on all and sundry to "Plan a real summer adventure in the land of the snow peaks and great evergreen forests, deep roaring canyons, tempting fishing streams, wondrous lakes, ocean and beaches. Nearly 2,000 miles of incomparable paved highways lure the motorist."

And then it continues:

"Here is the greatest lumber producing section of the country, the second in furniture manufacture, the center of hydro-electric energy—a land with tremendous potential agricultural resources and unlimited possibilities of industrial development."

One would conclude, upon reading this advertisement, that Oregon is, in biblical language, "the land of milk and honey." It's a habit all boosters have: they picture the bright side and leave the shadow to be depicted by those who live in it and are, therefore, most familiar with it.

**Take California, for instance: There's a land of earthquakes, situated on one of the worst geological formations in the country, and, as such, likely to crack wide open when most unexpected. Remember 'Frisco!? Now, no booster ever boasts of that. No; he prefers to have you forget it and think of California as the land of sunshine and flowers.**

Then there's the way California, through its so-called criminal syndicalism laws, sends workmen to jail from one to fourteen years for organizing. One, to read the advertisements of California's realtors, would never think that California is so mediaeval and ornery! According to them, it's positively civilized, which, however, is not the fact.

And then there's California's land and oil swindles—but what's the use? Let's get back to Oregon! It's the same there, too. Them "2,000 miles of incomparable paved highways" that "lure the motorist" sometimes lure the migratory worker as the best way out of it. And those "snow peaks and great evergreen forests, deep roaring canyons, tempting fishing streams, wondrous lakes, ocean and beaches"—they're all picturesque and inspiring. But when logging and the sawmills shut down yuh can't eat them, nor can you get staked for anything because of their existence. The reader of those advertisements wouldn't believe it, but Oregon, like California, has the class struggle, too. The irrepressible conflict between employer and employe rages just as fiercely here as elsewhere, though the chamber of commerce advertisements say nothing about it. Oregon has her criminal syndicalism laws too,—which means that the organized capitalists here, as in all the other states, are desperately engaged in trying to stifle the aspira-

A JAMMER IN ACTION

In The Sugar Pine Country 'Round Southern Oregon.

A CATERPILLAR HAULING BIG WHEELER

With Sugar Pine Logs in Chains in the Vicinity of Klamath Falls, Ore.

tions of the workers for better conditions and a better society, by means of forcible repression rather than civilized consideration. Thanks to organization, however, the criminal syndicalism law in Oregon is practically a dead letter.

Portland, Oregon's leading city, with its misleading chamber of commerce, was the scene of a typical labor struggle in the fall of 1922. On that occasion the members of the IWW and other progressive unionists went out on strike. They resisted an attempt at discrimination against them. That is, they resisted an attempt to take their means of livelihood away from them because of their ideas on labor organization and the future society.

Mayor Baker rushed into this affray with characteristic official zeal and stupidity. He lined the police and other municipal departments up against the strikers and did his very worst to break the strike. But publicity won the day. The strikers issued bulletin after bulletin, giving their side and exposing the lawless mayor. It all ended by his backing out of the affair, with as much grace as his defeat allowed.

This Portland longshoremen's strike practically drove shipping away for the time being. It was an intense, long drawn-out conflict, typical of the labor situation in Oregon generally.

The intensity of the class conflict is further shown in the attempts now being made to drive the IWW out of the logging camps of the state. Thanks to its efforts, the camps have improved considerably since last spring. The majority of the lumber companies have installed blankets, white sheets and pillow slips. Further, owing to its great strikes in 1917-18, eight hours have been a day's work in the Oregon woods.

While these things tend to make life in the camps more agreeable to the workers employed therein, there is still room for improvement. "High-balling," that is, the speed-up system, is in vogue. Board is also not very good in many of the camps. In addition the workers can only get jobs through employment agencies. The workers must pay all the way from $1 to $10 for them. Despite this there is no certainty that when they get to the camp they can go to work. Sometimes, if they are broke, they will have to walk back to town and go through the same process again.

The IWW is trying to remedy these evils, also; and in view of its success in improving camp conditions and reducing hours, the employers wish to

(Continued on page 29.)

# Pioneer Makes Big Hit

Our May Day issue, edited by Vern Smith, made the greatest hit of all Pioneers. It was enthusiastically greeted, as will be seen by the following excerpts from letters received:—

**The Pioneer for May was fine. Getting better all the time!** Thought the Barnett story was splendid. It hit the spot in the right way.
San Francisco, Cal. **Ed. Delaney.**

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I am glad you renewed my subscription so promptly. **I wouldn't miss an issue of the Pioneer. It's one of the best magazines published.** It has some very good educational articles in it.
Walla Walla, Wash. **W. F. Mondy.**

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Just finished reading the May Day Pioneer. It is good stuff, well edited and well set up. **In my opinion we have the best revolutionary magazine in the world today.**
Bangor, Me. **I. U. No. 120.**

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Allow me to compliment you on the May issue of the Pioneer. **It is a dandy so far as I have gone.** The first article is a real peach. What I noticed particularly was the choice of words for their expressiveness and also for their musical effects. No name is given, but the one who wrote this can write. Then there is the Peeps with the cuts that show the Pioneer in the making, and it is a fine piece for any magazine to have.

I do not like Chaplin's song as well as some of his others, but believe me that boy is there on the art, even if I have contended that he is better with the pen than the brush.

I have also read No. 744, Missing in Action, and it is fine. I am going to treat myself to the rest of it when the wife comes home, for she will read it aloud. But so far as I have gone, International Labor Day beats them all. It has everything that makes great literature. **The thing that hits me is that we are getting the best that there is in the men out of them. I have this feeling of the IWW as a great training school for citizens of a free society each time I read the Pioneer.**

Sincerely yours for the IWW.
Vancouver, B. C. **J. A. McDonald.**

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Elsewhere in this issue will be found other appreciative words. These should serve to enthuse our readers to redouble their efforts to make the Pioneer the biggest success ever in labor magazine circulation.

Get your friends to subscribe to it! Get newsdealers to sell it. Get schoolboys to sell it after school hours. Contribute your mite. Every little bit helps. With all of our readers boosting, the Pioneer is bound to grow as it should.

All together! Let's go!

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## PROMOTES DOMESTIC HARMONY

I MUST write and tell you how well we all like the Pioneer. It's sure a dandy! I don't know how it could be better; but each one seems better than the other.

When our youngster comes home with it, he begins to yell before he gets into the house,

"Hey, Ma; I got the Pioneer!"

I hustle out and get it.

I'll write you a little scene at our home the other evening.

Hub (coming home for supper): "What, burnt biscuits!"

Myself: "Well, sweet cats! I can't help it!! The Pioneer came today. The kid brought it just as I put them on. And the Worker, too! I just had to look them over and forgot all about the biscuits."

Hub: "What? **The Pioneer??** Where is it???"

Myself: "Well, never mind. Supper is ready!"

Hub: "I've got to glance at it, anyway! I can't eat supper without looking it over any more than you can watch biscuits."

So you see we like it fine. The Worker and Sol are fine, too. Couldn't get along without them!
Calder, Idaho. **Card X7443.**

## TO THE UNEMPLOYED

If you are out of work and wish to retaliate against the present capitalist system for placing you in such a position, push the Industrial Workers of the World. Help it to organize the workers.

Push especially its publications, like the Industrial Worker, Industrial Solidarity and Industrial Pioneer among the workers still at work or able to buy them.

In these ways, YOU can make known to them the causes of unemployment, together with the other evils of capitalism, and the way to remedy them.

At the same time you will be making it possible for the Industrial Workers of the World to maintain its press and carry on its work of organization among the workers everywhere; while also making a few cents for your own pork chops.

For more particulars, address The Industrial Pioner, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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## THE WOMEN ARE INTERESTED

Fellow Worker Editor:—It was quite interesting to read the two letters from "A Stenographer" and "A Mother" in the April Pioneer. Both of these touch on vital questions. . . . Indeed our press does reflect too little industrial union activity on the part of the women wage slaves, and the Pioneer is a very appropriate medium in which to discuss these things.—**Card 70624.**

At Haledon, N. J., in 1913. Paterson Strikers Listen to IWW Speakers Address Them on Situation

# IWW Comes Back in New England

## Conditions Cry Out For It—History and Tradition Favor It—One Big Union of Lawrence Co-operates With It—Old Timers Rejoice Over It—Push It All!

**History and tradition are often condemned as fetters that bind the race and retard its progress. Man does not regard the future as an untried experiment, through which everything is possible, would he but do and dare. Man is a timorous creature. He fears to go onward with new ideals. And, in his conservative cowardice he calls on the failures in history and tradition to justify his paltry course. He cites precedent and quotes the croakings of his great, great grandmother to prove himself and his ilk right as against others more progressive.**

But, as in everything else, history and tradition are sometimes exceptional. Sometimes they, too, will be found on the side of development and progress. There is, for instance, the history and the tradition of the great IWW victory at Lawrence, Mass., in the year 1912. On that occasion, 25,000 textile workers rose in revolt against a wage cut. For ten long weeks, during the intensely cold months of January, February and March, they withstood the fiercest kind of opposition. Press, pulpit, police, militia, craft union, detective agencies and dynamite frame-ups were arrayed and used against them.

Though speaking a score or more tongues and working at many different trades these 25,000 textile workers, under the banner of the IWW stood as solid as a rock and, in the face of all misrepresentation, brutality, craft union treachery and capitalist oppression generally, won one of the greatest triumphs in the labor history of the country.

### Fires Labor's Imagination

It was a glorious, epoch-making conflict, was the great Lawrence strike of 1912. A new and greater unionism had come to inspire labor—a unionism founded on industry instead of trades and having for its objects not only workers' improvement but also workers' control of industry. The great Lawrence conflict of 1912 not only fired its participants with an unbreakable enthusiasm amounting to religious fanaticism, but also the revolutionary imagination of the working class throughout the entire

Women Were Prominent Factors in Lawrence Strike Demonstrations and Movements to Raise Funds and Care for Strikers' Children.

Mass Demonstration For Release of Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso, Lawrence Strike Victims, Union Square, New York, 1912.

One of the Age-Long Evils of the Cotton Mills: Children at Work Tending Looms — Scene in the South.

land. It opened up to them the vistas of a new society and outlined the means of its attainment, by and through the workers industrially organized. It was truly a remarkable strike, reverberating throughout the states in its remarkable ramifications and influences.

The practical result of the great Lawrence strike of 1912 was to put from 5 to 15 million dollars more per annum in the pay envelopes of the textile workers throughout the land; that is, its results were not only local but widespread; for the Lawrence strike caused textile mill corporations throughout the land to act favorable to the workers employed therein. In others, they acted in anticipation of the stimulating effects of the Lawrence strike on the textile workers everywhere.

The spiritual results were even greater, in that it left an ineffaceable impression on the memory of the workers, especially in the textile centers of New England. For a half decade the Lawrence strike of 1912, such were its impressions, caused mill corporations to hesitate to cut wages, in fear of its triumphant repetition. Among the workers 1912 was a tradition to an even later date, influencing their actions for the best, and setting up standards by which to be guided in the struggle with capitalism.

Since 1912 there have been other big strikes in

New England, especially in Lawrence. Strikes as vast and as important but not as far-reaching, nor as effective, nor as impressive in their varied achievements. Through them all, the history and tradition of the Lawrence strike of 1912, led by the IWW, have survived and held sway. And though the war and other circumstances, including the influx of new quotas of workers from various climes, drove the IWW out of New England, a minority of the textile workers, imbued with this history and tradition, have yearned for and made possible its return!

And now the IWW is coming back again in New England! Now again are textile workers holding meetings under IWW auspices in its textile centers, with headquarters at Lowell, Mass. Best of all, the One Big Union unit in Lawrence, Mass., has voted to co-operate in the new IWW movement to organize the textile industry now going on there. The textilers are coming back; they are rallying 'round the IWW once more.

This come-back is good news, indeed! It thrills old timers like the writer, who was at Lawrence in 1912 and took part in some of the most dramatic events enacted there at that time! It, further, recalls the vast demonstrations in favor of the strike that took place in every great industrial center, as Boston, New York and Philadelphia; demonstrations in which men, women and children took part and all the various labor elements were represented; for if the Lawrence strike did one thing, it united all the forces of labor in a way that they had never been united before or since, such was the force of its inspiring example everywhere! It recalls also the succession of big strikes at Little Falls, N. Y.; Paterson, N. J., and elsewhere, to which it gave impetus and inspiration.

### Prestige Still Survives

Aye! Lawrence,—the Lawrence of 1912—as the first giant demonstration of industrial unionism, set in motion a train of events whose significance is not without prestige and influence! They are even now taking part in the revival of the IWW in New England. May they lead to a revival of the IWW everywhere! For never before was the IWW as badly needed in the textile industry, as at present.

In New England towns, like Providence, R. I., for instance, the depression has caused such destitution as to make the Mayor afraid to disclose the amount of funds expended in poor relief. He fears a revolt if the exact sum is disclosed. In other textile centers,, like Fall River, Mass., the situation is practically the same. There, as in Providence, "hard times" are rampant!

Elsewhere, as in Dover, New Hampshire, strikes are on against more work without more pay. The number of looms are being doubled, in some cases; and the tasks imposed are being multiplied; with threats of wage cuts all 'round. It's the old story of increasing output out of all proportion to the actual wages paid.

In Philadelphia, with its 70,000 textile workers; in the South, with its new capitalism and child labor particularly,—everywhere in Textiledom do conditions cry aloud for the IWW. And it is certainly a pleasure to know that the cry has the most practical backing in New England.

The IWW is coming back in the textile industry! History and tradition favor it!

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## WHAT'S BEHIND TEA-POT DOME?

(Concluded from page 4)

selves in opposition to his competitors and thereby incur their titanic enmity, which seems to be the case with Coolidge. It is already clear that his espousal of Ford's Muscle Shoals involves the Coolidge administration in a scandal besides which that of Elk Hill and Teapot Dome are small indeed.

Under these circumstances, it would appear that what we have been witnessing in Washington is not a political reformation by the Democratic party, but a struggle for political supremacy between big capitalist economic factions, in which the political parties are only a means to an end, to be used as the dominant interests require. In this connection, the Democratic party, decadent though it is, serves plutocratic ends; and **should there be no compromise between the economic interests concerned in the Republican party,** the Democratic party stands a good chance of having big plutocratic backing in the coming campaign and winning out because of it. SO will rally to Governor Smith and elect him.

The coming presidential campaign is likely to excite multitudes of workers. They will grow hysterical over it, as many have already done. This, however, is nonsensical! For what difference does it make to them, whether Ford or Morgan or both rule at Washington? They will continue to be fleeced at their place of employment of all that they produce above their wages. Then, as now, will their labor be exploited for the aggrandizement of their capitalist employers, whether small or large, whether individual or corporate in character.

So we say to them: don't get "het up" over this scrape. Pay attention to your own interests. Organize industrially to secure more of your products, until you get them all and are thereby enabled to inaugurate the workers' commonwealth.

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## WHAT WORKMEN NEED

Man does not live by bread alone. Nor does the worker's drudgery alone make him class-conscious. Education is also needed.

With education will come organization and idealism. Without these the worker will be a mere grumbler, an ineffective kicker. With them, he will become a revolutionist and a credit to his class.

Get the workers to read! The capitalists fear those who read and, reading, understand the iniquities of capitalism and the remedy therefor in organization.

# From the Hell of Wage Slavery to Industrial Heaven

By PASQUALE RUSSO

(See Illustrations on Page 2)

### The World Unrest.

THE structure of modern capitalist society is crumbling before the advancing forces of the united proletariat and we now realize that the prophetic words of Karl Marx are in accord with the fact, "The capitalist system has produced its own grave-digger." Due to the greed and the intensity of exploitation during the capitalist regime the world is now in the throes of a great agitation. In every corner of the globe the toilers are in open rebellion against a barbaric system of wage slavery. In every country the intensity of the class struggle has come to be the most serious question of the hour. In every land and on every sea the workers are demanding freedom.

In the midst of all this turbulency the great American empire is not immune. Here, in this "land of the free and plenty" the laboring classes are struggling against the tyranny of the capitalist regime.

The situation, such as it is, leads many to ask: "Who is responsible for this unrest among the working classes?" To which we may reply by saying, it is caused by the selfishness and greed of the capitalist class. All the machinery of production and the natural resources of the country are in the hands of this class, though numerically they are insignificant, while the working class, the producers of all wealth, are vast in numbers but extremely poor.

This conditions is brought about by class exploitation and a system which reduces the majority of mankind to wage slavery. Therefore, the Industrial Workers of the World not only protest these conditions but also fight for the liberation of the entire working class of the world.

### The Priest

Finding themselves in such straits what is the best course for the toilers to pursue? According to the Father of the Fourteen Points, ex-President Wilson, the workers should adopt religion as a remedy and "Look to the Lord for help." Judge Gary, who on one occasion denounced ex-service men (who demanded a bonus) as "bums and disloyal", tells the wealth producers that their salvation is to be had by "giving their hearts to Jesus." Such sentiments, seductive as they are, redound to the interest of the capitalist class and contain nothing of value to the workers. The workers have prayed for two thousand years without result and while praying have been deprived of the fruits of their toil. To Jesus they have given their souls, but their stomachs remain empty. It is now time that the workers began to realize that in order to enjoy life in this world it is necessary that they take what belongs to them. It is not to be had for the asking. nor will prayers avail—it must be seized and held.

One of the chief instruments of capitalist oppression and the strongest bulwarks of slavery, opposing the emancipation of labor, has been the priest. At all times the priest has functioned as a defense for the oppressors and as an obstacle in the path of progress. By instilling in the hearts of the workers a fear of a cruel, vindictive, christian God he has made them docile slaves. It is tacitly understood that the task of the priest is to protect private property, hence religion as expounded by the priest has a distinct economic value, looked at from the standpoint of the owners of property. A portion of this value is returned to the priest in the form of emoluments and reduces him to the position of a servile lackey of the ruling class. The priest, therefore, is but a tool of the robber barons of industry and according to common practice must play the tune demanded by those who pay the piper.

Thomas Paine in his work "The Age of Reason" writes of the priest in this wise: "It is impossible to calculate the moral mischief, if I may so express it, that mental lying has produced in society. When a man has so far corrupted and prostituted the chastity of his mind, as to subscribe his professional belief to things he does not believe, he has prepared himself for the commission of every other crime, he has taken up the trade of a priest for the sake of gain and, in order to qualify himself for that trade, he begins with a perjury and can we conceive of anything more restructive to morality than this?"

Every Sunday the priest (agent of organized capital) fails not in admonishing the wage slaves in docility and patience. In a soft and velvety voice he delivers his sermon and in effect says: "Brothers and sisters, be good. Your own salvation demands that you give up your desire for the possessions of the rich. Toward them you should be unselfish and covet not material things. Toil hard for your master, be ye meek and lowly and some day you shall inherit the kingdom of heaven, which is a place where the poor are welcomed. 'Blessed are the poor . . . Woe unto the rich.' (Luke: 20, 21.)

"Furthermore" says he, "Don't worry, your oppressors shall be punished for their sins in the next world. Do not rebel and should you fall into this error you shall suffer the torments of hell throughout eternity."

The priest, day after day, robs, deceives and keeps in darkness the great mass of the people while pretending to uplift, benefit and serve. How comes it, that in such an age of enlightenment, the priest and his hypocrisy are tolerated? It can only be explained by taking into account the ignorance of the great mass of the population.

To these millions, the priest's promises of heaven have so deluded them that their economic exploitation has come to be a matter of course. This dream of heaven, fostered by the clergy, has been a chlor-

oform that dulls the workers' minds. When a worker bows in prayer, the injustice of the wages system is excluded from his consciousness. The priest, living in a beautiful mansion and clothed in his silken garments informs the workers that they may have those things in a land beyond the sky.

Nor is this the least of the indictment. Owing to his influence the world has for thousands of years been drenched in blood. A subtle magic, the cross and the bible, are the means by which he performs such atrocious wonders. By such means, also is the subjection of the workers brought about; through them he creates a fear of hell. Hell, we are told, is a lake of fire which burns eternally and coming as it does from an alleged authentic source, the uninformed and ignorant have a superstitious dread of it. By inculcating this fear, the priest maintains himself in power, conscious of the fact that its absence would deprive him of his sources of wealth and influence.

Only by fear of this mythical hell and a hope for a mythical paradise, on the part of the large majority of the people is the church supported and its spokesman the priest tolerated. But there is some evidence now of enlightment and we are assured, in this stress of modern culture, the working classes will demand from the priest some tangible proof of his assertions.

However, we admit, that in a sense there is a hell; that at present it is upon earth; that its tangible form is in poverty, hunger and crime; that it is the handmaiden of industrial autocracy and may appropriately be called wage slavery.

Also, we are aware that there is a heaven, it is upon earth and enjoyed by the ruling class for the very good reason that they own the earth and everything upon it.

To avoid this hell of poverty and participate in the heaven of security is to organize for the purpose of taking possession of the soil and secure control of the machinery of production. Such action on the workers' part will bring an era of industrial freedom and purge the earth of superstition, despots and priests.

### Hell and Heaven

The capitalist class own the earth, by means of which they control all the necessities of life. For them this is heaven. On the other hand, the workingman, selling his labor power for a day by day existence, incidently increasing the wealth of the capitalists, creates for himself a condition bordering on hell..

The capitalists do no work, yet benefit from all work. For them this is heaven. The workingman, in times of peace, toils long and hard, day after in order that he may live. In the turbulence of war the worker is sent forth to die upon the battlefield of inperialism. For the worker this is hell.

The wealth of the United States is about 319,-357,000,000 and is controlled by less than two per cent of the population. This two per cent is the plutocracy and for them access to all this wealth is heaven. Reversing the picture we see that the American working class receive less than the amount required to keep an animal in good physical condition. For the wealth producers this is hell. Further, Wilford I. King in "Wealth and Incomes of the People of the United States", points out that 65 per cent of the people own no property; 15 per cent value their possessions at one thousand dollars; 18 per cent own two thousand, and the large remaining balance is owned by about 2 per cent of the population. The figures are startling and indicate that the United States is a heaven for the rich but a hell for the poor. Professor Richard Henry Edward, of the University of Wisconsin adds to this indictment in his work "Concentrated Wealth" by saying, "One per cent of the American families control more of the general wealth than the remaining ninety-nine." So we see that virtually the one per cent enjoy a golden paradise or heaven. Contrasted with this are the conditions of the working classes, millions of whom receive but seven hundred dollars per annum for their labor.

But the intolerable phases of this situation are in the wastefulness and extravagance of the rich. Recently, a very wealthy physician expended eleven thousand dollars on the burial of a pet dog. From this we may reason backward and see that dogs during life are well fed, wear silver collars, are bathed properly and enjoy the services of a special attendant. For the children of the rich this expenditure is even on a more elaborate scale; they reside in beautiful mansions, are well fed, wear expensive clothes and without exertions have all the comforts of life brought to them. These facts may be contrasted with Robert Hunter's statement in "Poverty": "One in every ten persons who die in New York City are buried at public expense in the Potters' Field."

Thus we see that the dogs of the rich are well provided for, but the children of the poor live in tenement houses reeking with filth, and when seen in the streets are clad in rags and worn out shoes. At school, when examined, they are found to be weak and feeble due to under nutrition, subsequently to die for a lack of the common necessities of life. This is hell indeed.

For a glimpse of heaven we must look to the industrial lord, who rides in fine limousines, attends the opera, dines at the club, plays golf; surrounded by ease and comfort, pleasure and enjoyment. For him all the beautiful mansions and automobiles are built by slaves who are denied the privilege of using them. When the maker and builder of these conveniences rides it is in the crowded streetcar or in a public conveyance to the poor house or the insane asylum, or at last, after being starved to death, he rides in a hearse. A hell worse than this cannot be imagined. Frequently for the worker, conditions become stressed and unbearable and to relieve this he goes on strike. Here he is met by the police and the soldiers. If they but

(Continued on page 27)

# The Land of Sunshine and Serfdom

By CALIFORNIAN

**The Redwoods of California, Showing their Big Circumference**

**"Oh! Liberty, can Man resign thee,**
**Once having felt thy glorious flame?**
**Can dungeons, bolts or bars confine thee?**
**Or whips thy noble spirit tame?"**

The old courthouse on Fifth street, Eureka, California, rang with the words of the anthem that swept 100,000 French peasants and artisans on to revolt, more than a century ago.

What was the cause of the rejoicing in Eureka? Had Labor achieved a victory? Aye, more of a victory than would at first appear. Nine men were being returned to their cells after sentence had been passed upon them; after they had been found guilty of treason to the industrial overlords of Northern California. Wherein, then, lies the victory? The victory lies in the fact that although they had been condemned to serve from one to fourteen years in San Quentin prison, they were not subdued. The masters and their vassals had failed in their efforts to compel these industrial rebels to kneel in submission at the feet of Mammon. They had seen the "vision splendid," had caught a glimpse of the Promised Land wherein Labor shall receive its just reward. Nine sons of the forest, sturdy loggers of the redwoods go to San Quentin to join their fellow workers who have gone before; Hammond and the rest of the timber pirates lie in opulent ease, secure from arrest and imprisonment, and laugh cynically at the efforts of their militant wage slaves to gain better economic conditions, and yet these men who have just been sentenced by a creature of the oligarchy are the victors. Truly we can ask:

"Oh! Liberty, can Man resign thee,
Once having felt thy glorious flame?"

### Trial a Mockery

It is not the intention of the writer to here review the case that has just ended in Eureka. This has been done in the IWW papers. I just want to stress a few points and to tell the readers of this magazine of a stirring scene that was enacted in the courtroom when the men were brought in to receive sentence after the jury had rendered their verdict.

The trial was a mockery, a farce. Judge Tyron, who presided, is a vassal of the Lumber Octupus. Like the good servant of King Lumber that he is, he obeyed his master and rendered faithful service. So prejudiced and unfair was he that the attorney for the defense was forced to conclude his case abruptly because of his inability to secure even a semblance of justice and fair dealing.

The less said about the jury the better. They were serfs of the Hammond Lumber company and other timber pirates. We would not say that the jury was bought outright, our opinion on that score we will keep to ourselves. Suffice it to say that the Lumber Octupus had given orders and they were obeyed to the letter. So much for the rape of justice in Eureka.

Now comes the scene in the courtroom when nine men, Henry Powell, William Bryan, John McRae, J. C. Allen, Alex Nicholson, R. V. Taylor, L. V. French, Jack Beavert and William Longstreth, were called before the "bar of justice" to receive sentence for violation of the state criminal syndicalism law.

Judge Tyron, still retaining his mask of impartial fairness, asked the usual question of each defendant, whether or not he had anything to say why sentence should not be passed upon him.

The spokesman of the group arose and addressed the court:

### "Justice" Rebuked

**"We go to San Quentin with clear consciences; this is more than you, judge, or the gentlemen of the prosecution can say.**

**"We did not receive justice; we did not expect to receive it in this courtroom.**

**"Some day you will be tried before a tribunal of working people, and on that day you will receive justice, something that was denied us."**

The judge turned red with shame, as the words rang clear and distinct through the courtroom. Then his face turned white with rage. What manner of men were these, who, in the shadow of the prison walls, refused to cringe and plead for

(Continued on page 26)

# The Building Boom

THE premier of Great Britain recommends an extensive building program as a solution of the unemployment problem.

This recommendation demonstrates the fact that the labor government of England is headed by "a wise guy."

He must have been studying conditions in the great U. S. A.

Here a big building boom has been going on for the past three years, with the result that "prosperity" has prevailed.

Thanks to tbe shortage of housing facilities caused by the world war, building has been the backbone of present-day industrial activities in this country.

Where wildernesses, waste lands and farms once existed, extensive suburbs and new cities now greet the beholder. Labor, tlie magician, has transformed them all!

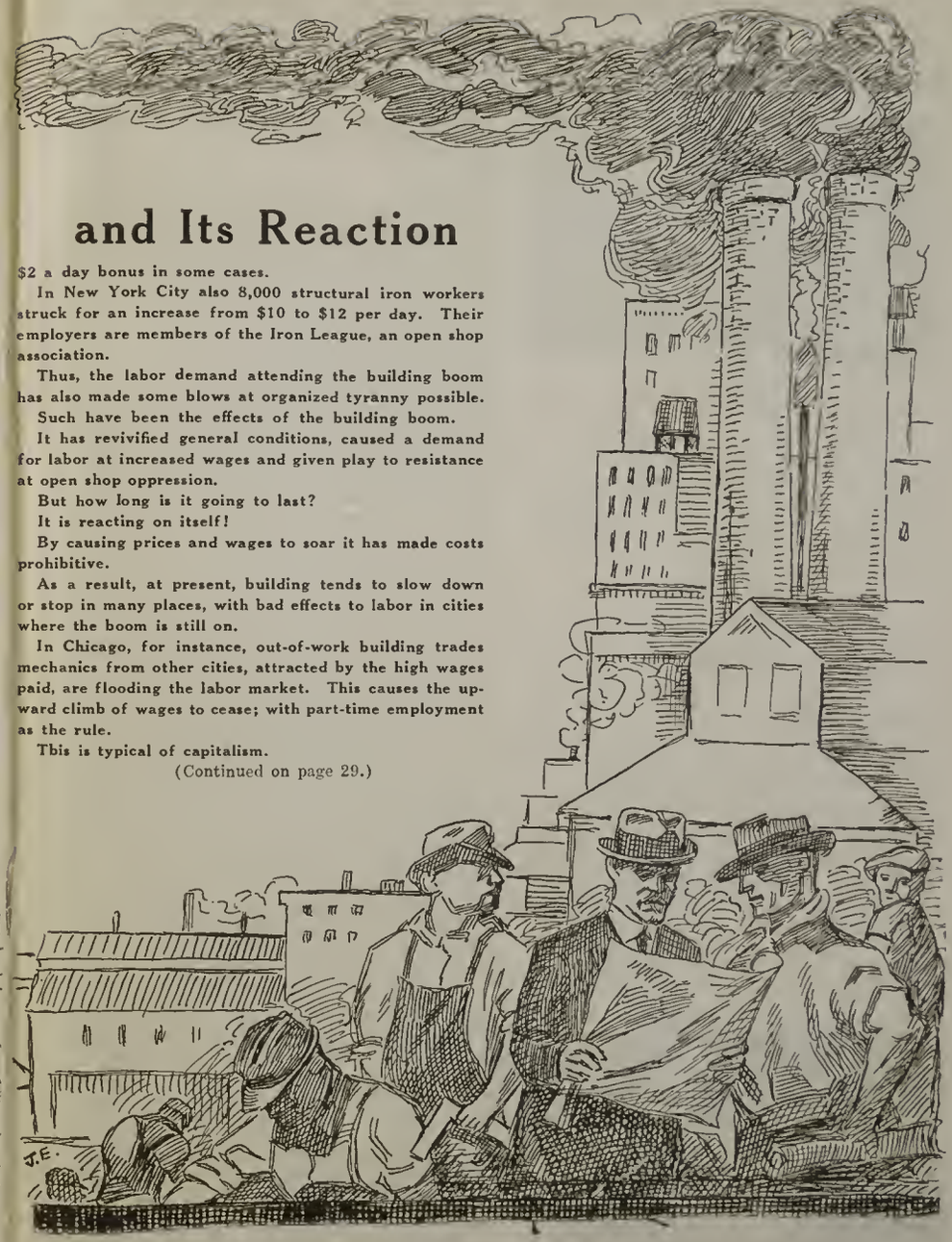
In addition, there has been considerable building of a commercial and industrial character, consisting of garages, factories, warehouses, skyscrapers, etc., etc.

The result has been a great demand for labor. In the building trades particularly has there been a persistent cry for skilled and unskilled workers in all branches.

In New York City, for instance, bricklayers were enabled to demand as high as $12 a day; with an additional







# and Its Reaction

$2 a day bonus in some cases.

In New York City also 8,000 structural iron workers struck for an increase from $10 to $12 per day. Their employers are members of the Iron League, an open shop association.

Thus, the labor demand attending the building boom has also made some blows at organized tyranny possible.

Such have been the effects of the building boom.

It has revivified general conditions, caused a demand for labor at increased wages and given play to resistance at open shop oppression.

But how long is it going to last?

It is reacting on itself!

By causing prices and wages to soar it has made costs prohibitive.

As a result, at present, building tends to slow down or stop in many places, with bad effects to labor in cities where the boom is still on.

In Chicago, for instance, out-of-work building trades mechanics from other cities, attracted by the high wages paid, are flooding the labor market. This causes the upward climb of wages to cease; with part-time employment as the rule.

Tbis is typical of capitalism.

(Continued on page 29.)

## THE LAND OF SUNSHINE AND SERFDOM

(Continued from page 23.)

mercy? It was beyond the comprehension of this modern "bloody Jeffreys" with the myopic vision and prostituted mentality. His voice trembled with rage:

"That will be enough of that," he shouted. "Stand up to receive your sentence, all of you!"

**"On with the dance,"** said another of the defendants.

"What's that?" bellowed the dispenser of Lumber Trust justice.

**"I said, 'on with the dance',"** replied the logger in an even tone.

The judge glared at the offender mumbling under his breath, then in a hurried tone, without looking at these men who had laughed at his attempts to bulldoze them, he read the sentence that condemned nine innocent men to prison.

The men were surrounded by deputies and taken back to the county jail. As they were leaving the courtroom they raised their voices in song:

"Oh! Liberty, can Man resign thee. . . . "

So ended the farce in the Eureka courtroom. In the court records it is labelled, "The case of the People versus Henry Powell et al;" in reality it is the Lumber Trust and their vassals, versus The Industrial Workers of the World.

### Scenes In Sacramento

The scene shifts to the county jail in Sacramento. On the fourth floor of that temple of Democracy, fifteen men are entombed. They are all workers. If one chanced to meet these men on the street, he would know at once that they were migratory workers, men of the class who harvest the crops, who build the railroads, who mine the ore, dig the coal and perform the thousand and one tasks so necessary in the great state of California.

Like the men who have just been found guilty by a jury of lumber trust serfs, they are charged with violation of the state criminal syndicalism law. By no stretch of imagination could one consider these men dangerous criminals. They are just a group of happy, carefree men who are enjoying an enforced holiday from wage slavery. Why, then, are they crowded into a loathsome, ill-smelling hole, forced to sleep on the concrete floor, because of the overcrowded condition of the jail? The answer is easily found. **The masters of industry fear these men as they fear the men of Eureka, and the men in San Quentin and Folsom. They fear the organizing ability of these obscure toilers. They are afraid of the potential power of the workers. They know that if the workers heed the message of industrial solidarity that these men, and their fellow workers preach, that the rule of the overlords is ended.**

Sacramento is the Wall Street of Northern California. Here the financiers live, move and have their being. Here the masters come to barter, and the slaves come to sell their labor power. It is the congregating place, the mart of buyers and sellers. Here are hatched the schemes and swindles that have made "Superior California" a byword for corruption and graft. It is the capital of the state, the temple of the people; but, like the exploiters, merchants and money-changers in Jerusalem, they have made of it a den of thieves. Is it any wonder that they are frightened of these men who, despite the threat of imprisonment persist in telling the workers of the way out of bondage? They do not want the workers of Sacramento Valley to learn of the principles of the IWW. They do not want their serfs to become imbued with the spirit of industrial solidariy. That is the reason why James Elliott, William Rogers, Ray Atkinson, James Farrell, William Dawson, George Ackerman, William Lee, H. E. Hartline, John Morgan, Robert McAdams, L. A. Gibson, B. Kenny, Ralph Stevens, Mike Hurley and Thomas Ryan are in jail awaiting trial on the charge of criminal syndicalism, and why Joe Coya died from sleeping on the cold stones of their bastille.

It is impossible to describe on paper the spirit of the men in the Sacramento county jail, as it is impossible to describe the scene in the court room or the magnificent spirit of the men confined in the twin hells of California—San Quentin and Folsom. As I write a refrain comes continually to mind

> "Lend us no ear that pities!
> Offer no almoner's hand!
> Alms for the builders of cities!
> When will you understand?
> Down with your pride of birth
> And your golden gods of trade!
> A man is worth to his Mother, Earth,
> All that a man has made!"

**The industrial war continues in the Earthquake State. Long and harsh and cruel and stern has been the strife. The men in the front line trenches have never wavered. Their faith in the principles of the IWW and in the solidarity of Labor still remains firm and warm. Loyal hearts are these who go singing to prison. Can we afford to remain inactive amidst such stirring times, and while true men are being sacrificed on the altar of Mammon?**

**Let us give to the defense of these men the same enthusiasm that they have given to the cause of the working class.**

# From the Hell of Wage Slavery to Industrial Heaven

(Continued from page 22)

knew, workingmen, soldiers and policemen have an identity of interest and should by all logic be friends. Adroitly the masters prevent this amalgamation and induce the police and soldiers to defend capitalist property. Although there are cases on record where the police were in need of higher wages and resorted to a strike to obtain it. Here they are met by the state militia which demonstrates that the masters will go to any length and without mercy crush any or all who interfere with the prevalent system of exploitation. This is well illustrated by the policemen's strike in Boston. President Coolidge was at that time governor of Massachusetts, and has since evidenced some pride in the fact that he crushed the Boston policemen's strike. Were the police alert, to them this should be a lesson and teach them to hereafter cast their lot with other workers, and present a united front to the common enemy.

Let us summarize the whole matter in a few brief sentences thus: Cats, dogs, pigs, mules and horses have nice warm places to sleep. The animals are protected by the humane societies. For the animals this is heaven.

The children of the workers are also workers and are paid from two to eight cents an hour for their labor. Hardship is their lot and they receive no consideration at the hands of the industrial lords. This is hell for the children.

The department of agriculture expends millions of dollars each year to promote the breeding of better swine and the care of the offspring after birth. This is heaven for swine.

In the United States, every year, twenty thousand mothers die during childbirth to which the government officials pay no attention. However, on its negative side they are quite active because all advocates of birth control are summarily prosecuted. This is hell.

The capitalist class spends millions of dollars entertaining such tyrants as Lloyd George and Marshal Foch. While doing it they are in heaven.

In the year 1923 in the United States there were twelve thousand officially recorded cases of suicide, the major portion of which were attributed to poverty. Certainly this is hell.

The capitalists in the United States are so protected by the laws that they can steal from the workers or the government with equal facility. In 1838, one Samuel Swartout, while collector of the Port of New York appropriated $1,222,705 to his own uses and after trial was acquitted with the explanation that "he was a victim of odd circumstances." Such an arrangement is heaven for the rulers. It establishes precedents by which they are enabled to buy and bribe legislatures, congresses and churches.

Not infrequently the worker is compelled by

**An Ill Wind—By Steinlein.**

circumstances to steal a loaf of bread to feed his starving children. After apprehension he is invariably remanded to jail, which is hell.

On the other hand the capitalist spends his summers in the north and the winters in Florida, which is heaven in either case.

The only travel the wage earner has is to and from his work. This is hell all the time.

In the United States the industrial lords are all born equal. Which is heavenly.

But let us look at the colored race in their struggle for freedom. Thousands of colored men have been lynched, but the wrath of race hatred has not been appeased for the persecution of negroes goes forward apace. Negroes, though born in the United States, are not wanted in restaurants or other public places. Also the landlords object to them as tenants and as a consequence they are compelled to live in dark holes and insanitary basements. All of which is hell with a vengeance.

Though they lose thousands of dollars at the gaming table, the rich have no cause for worry. They live in a heaven of money and are well supplied.

When the wage slave loses his job, with the rent due, it is hell.

Early in the year of 1917, during the World War, the American imperialist class decided to join the Allies in order to protect European investments made by American financiers. Thus was the millionaire's heaven apotheisized.

Some time later a draft act was passed in which preachers, priests, bishops and other professional men were exempted from military duty. No such provision was made for any part of the working classes. To the surprise of everyone they were compelled to cross the ocean, willy nilly, and fight the battles of the exploiters. The class character of the war was evident to Woodrow Wilson, who

as President in 1916 said: "The European war is a capitalists' war." When President Wilson made this remark the United States was a heaven of free speech.

Two years later, on June 16, 1918, Eugene V. Debs, speaking in Canton, Ohio, declared: "The workers have nothing to gain from a capitalist war." For this and similar utterances he was sentenced to serve ten years in a federal prison. This came to us as a shock, a shock from hell.

During the war the government was robbed of billions of dollars, but not a single person engaged in this gigantic steal has ever been prosecuted. Possibly this is due to the fact that the United States is a heaven for grafters.

On the other hand, the money trust began a barbarous persecution directed toward several labor organizations, particularly the IWW, many of whose valiant members were flogged and sent to jail, the crime alleged being opposition to a capitalist war and the hardihood of challenging the master's right to rob the slaves. That is hell.

For the ruling class, this land is a heaven. It is a place of Equality, Justice and Freedom.

For the workers the case is somewhat different. In the various state prisons hundreds of workingmen served sentences for opposing the war and many others were confined in the federal prisons for more than five years. The federal prisoners have finally been released, but only after a vast amount of effort and agitation. Such, in brief, is the story of the political prisoners in this land of the free.

While the soldiers were preparing for their departure to the various battlefronts, they were liberally supplied with music, chocolates and cigarettes. Incidentally each soldier was promised a farm for a home, when the war was over. For him such promises transported him to heaven.

In due course the war came to an end and the boys came home, some mutilated, others blind and shell-shocked and being in need of monetary assistance they requested a bonus. Which they received —like hell.

Fellow workers, for centuries you have been looking to the sky, while the masters of industry were robbing you. For years you have been praying, failing to get an answer from the "Divine Master." The time has now arrived when you must lay aside the bible, and devote your study hours to economics, science and history. You should realize that this is a beautiful world, rich in every way, with an abundance of food for all; there is plenty of land, stored with coal and minerals. Unfortunately, the master class has them all in their possession. You have the power to change all this. You have but to reach out and take what rightfully belongs to you. But it cannot be accomplished by prayer. You must organize on the industrial field, ever conscious of the fact that the politicians, preachers and bankers will not help you. The only aid you will receive will be your own effort. It is clear that we are now living under an industrial autocracy, and to change this we need a thorough going organization of the working class and by this means take possession of the entire world.

Fellow workers, observe the dog. When hungry and seeing what he wants, he obtains it without asking questions. He cannot talk, nor can he reason, but his instinct, poor as it is, impels him to satisfy his natural wants. What advantage have you? You have reason, and if you use it correctly you can supply your every need.

Workers, you must unite and through unionism work for your emancipation. You must stand together, fight shoulder to shoulder and on all occasions carry the gospel of industrial unionism into every shop, mine and mill.

Your work is before you, forward with the class struggle and through solidarity you can abolish the capitalist system. With the downfall of capitalism, the ground is clear for the creation of a heaven on earth and the inauguration of working class emancipation and the Commonwealth of Toil.

## HUGO STINNES

(Continued from page 10)

But let's end this review and comparison. Capitalism is capitalism, wherever found. There is no essential difference in the various brands of capitalism, wherever found. It's a philosophy of me and mine as against us and ours, the former very few and the latter very many.

However, this philosophy, in the long run, depends on us and ours. It depends on our acceptance and support of it. As long as we believe that life is only possible by permitting the Stinnes of all nationalities to exploit us, for their own exclusive profit, so long will this philosophy prevail. As long as we believe private, capitalist property is the end-all and be-all of mankind, so long will nations be butchered in order to swell it out of all proportion to the humanity which it dwarfs into insignificance.

Let's refuse to support this philosophy. Let's refuse to be hypnotized by it. Let's understand that there are other and better ways of living; for instance, co-operative and collective industry for, of, and by all instead of for a few. When we cast out the capitalist class as useless, parasitic, and destructive of human development, life will be more than one damn money bag after another; with one damn war after another, simply to distend them until they burst! It's coming; evolution is hastening it and points the way.

Come, help it along! Boom our own labor press! Organize into interlocking unions of all the industries, with compact executive administration. Organize as we work for our own improvement and emancipation.

**Build the structure of the new society within the shell of the old, on the job, in the shop; throughout the nations and the world!**

## New Recruits in Age-Long Labor Struggle

**Part of Membership of Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, Bangor, Me.**

# Busting a Boost

(Continued from page 16.)

abolish it, if possible. And so the class struggle increases in Oregon, "the land of milk and honey," a la the chamber of commerce advertisements.

The sawmill workers in Oregon are worse off than the loggers. Their wages are not as high. Their hours are 10 hours in some mills; eight in majority. The work is tense. They get $3.60 and up a day; while the choker setter gets from $5.25 up in the woods. The sawmill workers are largely unorganized.

At Astoria, Oregon, 70 or 80 miles from Portland, big fisheries and canneries abound. They are notorious factory hells, with their contracts, low wages and speed-up systems generally.

Bend, Oregon, is a good place to stay away from, according to D. H. Parker of Machinists' Lodge 79, who has written that there are more workers than jobs in the central Oregon city.

Things look bad for the lumber workers in Oregon. Production has been cut down about 70 per cent. Contract work for falling and bucking is the rule.

The Lumber Association went on record in their March meeting for a 25 per cent cut in wages.

The above will give some idea of what it is that the chamber of commerce advertisements have omitted.

See Oregon—but pack supplies **and organize!**

# The Building Boom

(Continued from page 25.)

Prostration follows prosperity and prosperity, prostration, with wealth concentrating in comparatively fewer hands, and the vast majority becoming, in the meanwhile, wage earners otherwise known as wage slaves.

The latter build that others may own! They erect the towering skyscraper or country estate, and reside in the lowly cottage or crowded tenement. The tall chimneys of factories climb skyward under their skill, while their rewards stay down near the ground. And, in the end, their labors are so prolific and generous, as to cause unemployment and destruction among them.

From all of which we must conclude that while the labor head of the British Empire is "a wise guy," in boosting a building boom, his wisdom is only of a temporary character.

In other words, as U. S. experience shows, after that boom is over, English society, in fact, all society, is where it begins, i. e., with unemployment still a problem pressing for solution!

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**Don't be a knocker. If you must knock, knock where the knocking is good. Knock capitalism.**

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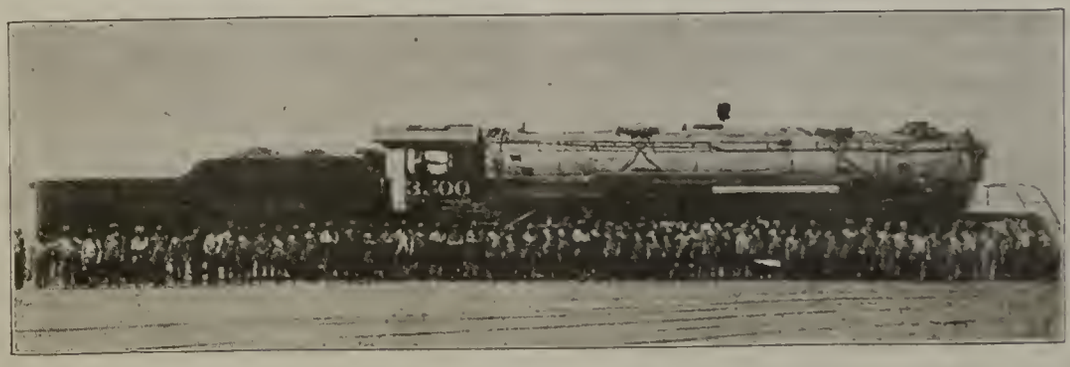
**Beware of dry rot. Don't be satisfied with organization as it is. Improve it, improve it!**



**Latest type of Mallet freight locomotive, for use on railroad over Rocky Mountains. Weighs 744,000 pounds. It is 105 feet 1 7-8 inches long. Or width of 60 men in row.**

# The Efficiency of Capitalism

By J. A. Mac DONALD

**You show the apologist for the capitalist system the barbarity of that system; that it is using the achievements of science which could be directed to ennoble, conserve, cure and develop mankind for the ruthless murder of man by man on a world scale. Buttressed with the statistics of infant mortality, you show him what capitalism is doing to the child slaves, often starved before birth; you outline the processes by which the ruling system says "suffer little children to come unto me," and then taking them in its avaricious arms red with blood, cradles them in coffins. You show him the waste and ruthlessness of a system which destroys those who might be tbe geniuses and enlighteners of the future, before they are a year old. You show him what the present system is doing to women, and how false are the pretensions of chivalry from the treatment of women in industry; that the social convention of taking off one's hat to women does not justify either a highwayman or a capitalist in. the robbery of women; that courtesy in the method does not excuse a system which says to the sisters of the workers, "you are no longer wanted in the industries which produce commodities, there are too many of you, but one of our other industries, prostitution, has a vacancy for you." You show him the inherent outrage and loot of the workers which is the fundamental of our present civilization, the denial of decency and democracy where these are most essential—on the job.**

Finally, driven from one faulty argument to the next, the apologist for the capitalist system reaches the argument of the economic bats who are the wise old owls in the night of the present system, and you are told:

> "Capitalism is far from ideal, but this is not an ideal world. You must be a realist. The means by which efficiency can be attained are not ideal, they are sometimes brutal, but capitalism gets efficiency."

And when the apologist for capitalism gets this far, he leans back with a self-satisfied smirk. He considers that here is an argument that is unanswerable. Many short-sighted workers, bearing on their bodies the marks of the efficiency of capitalism agree with him.

### The Efficiency of Unemployment

The efficiency of capitalism! At the present time there are approximately 10,000,000 workers unemployed on the North American continent. According to the latest governmental reports each worker produces on an average about twenty dollars' worth of wealth each working day. Since this was arrived at, owing to the acceleration of the development of the machine this amount has been increased, and it is well within the truth that unemployment represents a productive loss of one billion dollars every four days. This amount, which is lost through the efficiency of capitalism, would build 330,000 homes costing five thousand dollars each week.

In every city one can see battalions of this immense army of labor denied even the right to work —a right which labor never had. In every division point and at water tanks one can see their camp fires illumine the night. In these jungles of the working class, due to the jungles of capitalism, one finds shoemakers with their toes sticking out through the remnants telling their owners of the efficiency of capitalism,—an efficiency which puts shoemakers into the jungles or the bread lines, while millions of workers are without shoes, and the machines that could be making shoes are idle, rusting.

Listening for the whistle of the freight which is to bring them from the jungles at the division points to the jungles in the cities, are tailors without decent clothing. The machines of steel and iron and the machines of flesh and blood for the making of clothing are idle and unused with millions ill clad.

**The World's Reconstructor**

Those who could be producing food and to spare that all the world might eat, are boiling "seconds" from coffee grounds by camp fires in a world which is crying for bread.

And with these are the lumberjacks who should be producing logs; the carpenters who should be making the lumber into homes. But they are idle in a world where millions are homeless.

But why further enumerate the ever increasing loss through the social waste of unemployment—the incalculable waste in wealth, and the waste in the greatest of all social values, in the degeneration of that which creates all values, the workers. They die

under the wheels of the trains which they have made. They are run over while passing through the tunnels they have built. They starve in the deserts they have reclaimed and made fertile. They are strangers and pariahs in the cities they have built. In the waste places of the earth the coyotes sing their burial services, and with it the requiem of a system which destroys and degenerates the source of all that creates its wealth. And this is the efficiency of unemployment, just one feature of the efficiency of the capitalist system.

### The Efficiency of Wasted Labor

The efficiency of capitalism! That is well displayed in the millions of men who are working, yet producing nothing of social value, or worse, whose activity is anti-social. In the modern cities under capitalism there is an amount of useless and wasted labor that would be sufficient, if properly directed, to destroy disease, enlighten mankind, and forever clean the earth of the scourge of poverty. There is an enormous rush and bustle, but the amount of labor that is sufficient to level off the Rocky Mountains in a year is expended uselessly. We find thousands of business establishments selling the same product. A woman goes four or five miles from the east end of the city to the west end to buy some article and has it delivered. At the same time another woman from the west end of the city goes to the east end and has the same article delivered. The two delivery wagons meet each other at great speed on their foolish waste of time and effort, which is known as business efficiency. Thousands of useless clerks do their work for hundreds of useless business institutions, where under a sane system two or three central stores would be sufficient. Millions of dollars are wasted each week in useless advertising, such as "buy your Pears soap at Robem's," met by "buy your Pears soap at Skinem's" and the rest of the insanity which adds to the selling price of the commodity without adding in the least to the social value of the product. Hundreds of salesmen, middlemen, wholesalers all part of an inefficient commercial system are part of the "efficiency of capitalism."

We find competing factories, each with its separate staff of salesmen, with its million dollar advertising fund, engaged in taking a few grains of some food cereal, adding immense quantities of air—the greater the amount of air the more nourishing the product. A product denatured and puffed with air and touted with hot air is sold at a fancy price in fancy wrappers, and all that the people get for the vast outlay of labor involved in this competition is a difference of name and a difference of color in the paper in which it is sold. I have not the space to go into these wastes fully, but the waste in useless labor is equal at least to the waste in unemployment.

### Waste in Destructive Mental Opium

But this useless labor in feeding you air is not so serious as the useless labor in feeding air loaded with opiates for the mind. The printing of newspapers and other publications represents in the involved distribution of the present system an outlay of labor that is enormous. The printing press could be an immense social force for human enlightment, to guide and light man along the rugged road of human progress. Instead, the enormous force represented by the printing press and by the almost human machinery is largely lost or worse.

What is the average magazine when it is not touting the mediocrities that capitalism needs in the political life of nations, the blind that lead the blind into the pit of reaction and ruin? We learn that all lumberjacks are heroes unless they belong to a union—then they are villains. And all the heroes marry the boss' daughter so that logging camps are filled with camp superintendents living happily ever after.

There is danger that cowboys will get forty a month after furnishing their own horse and saddle. Into the breach comes a magazine editor. Montgomery Ward cowboys, clad in the gay regalia of the western plains according to the specification in chapter 10 of the story of the west written by the maiden lady of Back Bay, Boston, leave Chicago with their spurs on, after visiting the Stock Yards to get the proper atmosphere. The cowboys are saved from forty a month and for industrial slavery and all is well with the world under the best of all possible social systems.

### Romance and No Work

There are not enough miners to cut the wages to the standards of the boss. A thriller, all romance and no work is written, and men looking for the romance come west to grow up with the country. And they grow up like the country—all full of humps and hollows. The humps are on their backs not their stomachs, and the hollows in their heads and pockets. The efficiency of labor wasted or worse than wasted, the labor of the workers used to stultify the thought processes of the people are part of the efficiency of capitalism.

And the banalities of the moving picture. But most of them, coming from California, where the cattle caught the hoof and mouth disease from the politicians of that state, are boycotted.

The efficiency of Capitalism. Capitalism spends billions every year on the North American con tinent to make the people moral, virtuous, to make them law respecting without the logical effort to make the laws respectable in themselves and in their enforcement. Virtue and morality are noble, admirable, but as the apologist for capitalism puts it, "This is not an ideal world. You must be a realist." And as realists we must realize that while capitalism may strive to preach that honesty is the best policy, capitalism while legal cannot afford to be honest; that it is itself based fundamentally on the robbery of the workers. As realists we must recognize that the survival of the slickest is the biology of capitalism. When it speaks of honesty it is not saying that clothing is made of shoddy but that honesty is paying the price of wool for the shoddy. Capitalism is based on the mythical thing,

"honor among thieves." Its morality is not written on an honest typewriter; it is written on a cash register. While it prates of honesty the realistic truth is that capitalism places a premium on dishonesty and that the man who wants an honest system must first abolish the present one. And as a result we find that while capitalism spends billions on institutions to make people honest, virtuous, law abiding, in every way except by the precept of example, because these institutions do not work, it has to spend in the United States a half billion dollars according to the statistics of 1923, for punishing those who break its laws. The emphasis on the need for honesty, and the increase in crime due to the dishonesty of the present system are phenomena under capitalism. Man is not naturally vile, rotten, corrupt. The average man is a decent individual, but unfortunately he is living in a system where decency is not marketable, and where the ethics of the market place emphasize and call forth all that is most vile and corrupt in the nature of man. Capitalism's own statistics show the inefficiency of its system for making men moral and its efficiency in creating criminals.

### Capitalist Efficiency in Operation in Calgary

Recently I was in Calgary, Alberta, and found another of the indications of the efficiency of capitalism which is so evident to the observer on every hand. Thousands of workers lured by the siren songs of prosperity had bought their own homes. They had believed in that "prosperity" which is one of the mirages of the present system. Then in the dark years of 1914 to 1919 they went to France under the lure of another siren song: "A world fit for heroes to live in." Then some of them came back to the darker years of undiluted Wilsonian democracy. And now they are living in the era of capitalistic efficiency in a world where war is ended. But they are not living in their own homes. More than half of the homes in Calgary are owned by the city, taken over for the taxes.

But this was in Canada, unblessed with the full effulgency of democracy such as exists on the other side of the line where they have the Ku Klux Klan. But the last day I was in Calgary I found on picking up one of the papers that a similar efficiency exists on the other side of the line where they have complete democracy mixed with crude oil, all the hallucinations of grandeur and the psychosis that they are still living under the American constitution. Here it was the story of the city of Salem, where they did not have enough money to feed the prisoners in the city jail during the months of May and June, and were forced to release them. Horrible! Conceive of men convicted of vagrancy, the crime of being without work or money, being turned loose on an unprotected society! But there was even worse in the story. I shed a silent tear for city officials who could not be paid, and who had to go to work. I was sympathetic, for I know better than they the horror of work under this efficient system. Even city officials themselves must be beginning to doubt the efficacy of a system that can no longer support city officials.

The efficiency of capitalism! The efficiency of disease and death. Some years ago, Doctor Woods Hutchinson, one of the great authorities of the world on medical matters, made the statement that within the period of ten years the medical profession could eradicate the white plague, tuberculosis, if they were permitted to get real sanitation, to destroy the breeding places of the germs which each year are responsible for one out of every seven deaths on the North American continent. These germs breed in the dark atmosphere of poverty where the germicidal sunlight cannot enter, is caused by ill feeding and inhuman conditions. But capitalism for its existence demands the same conditions as the tuberculosis germ, and consequently germs fill the place where is to be found the only democracy that can exist under the present system —the democracy of death in the graveyards. The efficiency of capitalism still permits these unnecessary deaths. It has been so busy in its dollar chasing that it has not made the, for it, desirable change of educating these microscopic germs so they can tell a capitalist from a worker.

### The Efficiency of Insanity

But there is a disease more dread than the slow lingering decline graveward of tuberculosis; the living death of insanity. An expert on this subject within the last month made the statement that if the present percentage of increase in this disease were continued the entire world would be insane in another forty years. The whole world will be as insane as the capitalist system in forty years unless the workers take a hand in the management of industry and the reclamation of humanity from the scourge of the present system. Either the workers will organize or within forty years the entire world will be crazy, and being crazy, fitted to admire the efficiency of capitalism, a social system as demented as ever formed the hallucination of a mad house.

Under capitalism there can be but one sanity, the sanity of revolt. But one efficiency, and that the efficiency of seeking to build a new society that will be efficiency, a noble mansion in which the workers of the world can express their spirit of workmanship, and find scope for their creative instincts. And when this mansion of the future has been erected we can complete cleaning out the cesspool of the present system and put on its present location a septic tank for the purification of the filth that will in part be the legacy of the present to the future, until the entire world has been cleaned from the efficiency of capitalism.

# WOBBLES

## IT'S COMING

Mistress (as new cook arrives accompanied)—We don't want a cook with a family.

Cook—She ain't me daughter; she's me sec'etary.

## SURE! WHY?

College Youth—I'm taking political economy this year, dad.

Country Father—That's a useless course! Why learn to econermize in politics? It ain't bein' done.

## ALL THEY EVER GET!

The porter stood before the traveling capitalist in an expectant attitude.

"Well, Georgé," said the capitalist, chafingly, "can I give you anything?"

"Whatever your generosity permits, sir," answered the porter.

"Well, boys," replied the capitalist, turning to his companions and winking, "what do you say to giving the porter three cheers?"

## SMART ALECK GETS HIS

After a painless process of rejection there were five applicants for the post of errand boy left for the head of the firm himself to interview.

It was one of his flippant mornings, and he sought to amuse himself by asking the eager boys puzzling and quite irrelevant questions to test their general knowledge.

"How far away from the earth is the North Star?" was the question he fired at the third shiny-faced youngster.

"I'm sorry I cannot give you the exact figure off hand, sir," was the reply, "but on rough estimate I should say that it is far enough away not to interfere with me running errands."

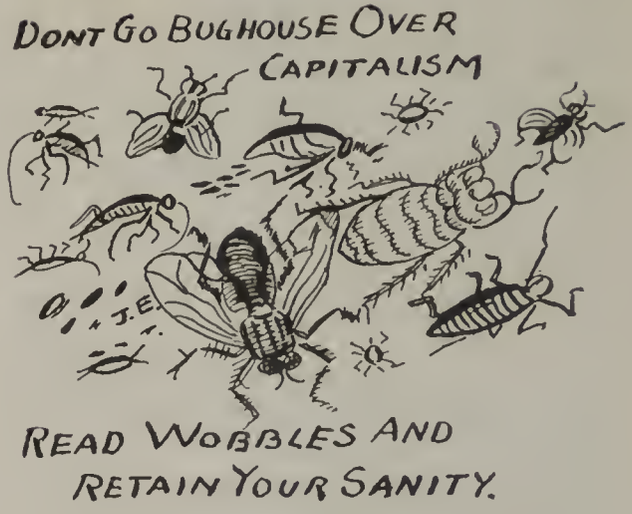
He got the job.

## HAD TOO MANY ALREADY

Lee Tulin tells the following story of a member of I. U. 110 who went to work in a mine for the first time. It might be well to explain that the expression used here, "take five" means take a short rest.

This husky young hay hand went to work in the "Uncle Sam" mine at Bisbee, Arizona. He was given a job as car-man, and his duties consisted of loading ore from the chute into a car and pushing the car to the station where it could be hoisted to the surface.

No one had informed him as to the quantity of work required in a shift, and, as there happened to be two cars at the chute, he loaded both and started to push them to the station. The distance was about a quarter of a mile and the track rough and uneven. He was sweating and grunting and making very little headway when the shift boss appeared. "Why don't you take five?" asked the boss. "Take five, Hell! shouted the exasperated hayhand, "I'm doing damn well to take two."




## OUR OPEN FORUM SPUTIFIERS

A Southern Negro minister, says the Boston Transcript, who was given to the use of big words and complicated discourse, was waited upon by the church committee and told that his style of preaching was not all that could be desired.

"Don't I argify and sputify?" inquired the minister.

"Yes, yo' done argify and sputify," responded a member of the committee, "but yo' don't show wherein."

Which calls to mind some of our open forum orators. They "argify" and "sputify," without showing "wherein."

## AMBIDEXTROUS

The Irish applicant for a slave's job, was signing his yellow dog contract, and in the midst of same moved his pen from his right hand into his left. The possible future boss said, "Well, Pat, I notice that you are able to use either hand!"

"Yis," answered Mike, "me father, God rist his soul, taught me that. He says to me, says he, 'Terence, learn to cut your fingernails with your left hand, because you never know when you'll lose your right'."

## DOUBLING UP

"Mustache" MacDonald is responsible for this one: I was working at Rexford, Montana, loading ties on a box car. My partner was a husky Swede who insisted on carrying a tie all by himself. I sat down and let him do the work. The foreman appeared and shouted, "Hey there! double up on those ties!". The Swede went back and took two ties and carried them into the car.

# Dan McGann

By DUBLIN DAN

Said Dan McGann to a foreign man,
Who sat with him on a bench:
"Let me tell you this," and for emphasis,
He flourished a Stillson wrench,
"Don't talk to me of the bourgeoisie,
Don't open your lips to speak.
Of the socialist or the anarchist,
Don't mention the bolshevik.

"I've heard enough of your foreign stuff,
I'm as sick as a man can be
Of the speech of hate, and I'm telling you straight,
That this is the land for me;
If you want to brag, take a look at our flag,
And boast of its field of blue,
Boast of the dead whose blood was shed
For the peace of the likes of you.

"I'll have no more," and he waved once more,
His wrench, in a forceful way,
"Of the cunning creed of the Russian breed,
But I stand for the USA.
I'm sick of your fads and your wild-eyed lads,
Don't flourish your flag so red—
Where I can see, or at night there'll be,
Tall candles around your head.

So tip your hat to a flag like that,
Thank God for its stripes and stars,
Thank God you are here, where the roads are clear,
Away from the kings and czars
And don't you speak of the bolshevik,
I'm sick of the stuff, I am—
One God, one flag, that's the creed I brag,
I'm boosting for Uncle Sam."

REPLY

The "foreign" man looked at Dan McGann,
And in perfect English, said:
"I cannot see, for the life of me,
What you have got in your head.
You boast and brag 'bout the grand old flag
And the foes you put to rout,
When you haven't a pot in which to spit,
Or a window to throw it out.
You howl and kick about the bolshevik,
The anarchist and wob—
You defend this rotten system when
You don't even own your job.

"Immigration laws would be 'jake' with you
If they kept out the Russian Finn,
The German Jew, and the Frenchman too,
And just let the Irish in;
You're full of that religious bunk
And the priest on your life has a lease—
You're not even blest, like some of the rest,
With the sense that God gave geese;
You're a rank disgrace to the human race,
You're one of those grand mistakes,
Who came from the land, from which I understand,
St. Patrick drove the snakes.

"The boss told you, and you think it's so,
And I guess it is at that,
That your head is a place on top of your face,
Which is meant to hold your hat.
If a thought ever entered your ivory dome—
Which I am inclined to doubt—
You would not rest till you'd done your best
To drive the 'foreigner' out.
You kick about the strangers here,
But you give no reason why—
And without those so-called 'foreigners,'
How would you get by?

"You're working for an Englishman,
You room with a French Canuck,
You board in a Swedish restaurant
Where a Dutchman cooks your chuck;
You buy your clothes from a German Jew,
Your shoes from a Russian Pole,
And you place your hope in a Dago pope,
To save your Irish soul.
You're an 18 carat scissor-bill,
You're a regular brainless gem—
But the time's at hand when you'll have to stand
For the things you now condemn.

"So throw away your Stillson wrench,
You booster for Uncle Sam,
For the language you use, when you're full of booze,
Doesn't scare me worth a damn—
Go fight and be damned, for your glorious flag,
And the boss who is robbing you;
One Union Grand, that's where I stand;
I'm boosting the OBU."

## FROM SWEDEN

In behalf of a small but active bunch of fellow workers over here, I have been asked to urge you to insert a small article in the "Pioneer" telling the Scandinavian workers over in the States to devote some of their energy and time to the getting out of a Scandinavian IWW paper. First, because such a paper will be of immense value to the Scandinavian immigrant worker in the States in learning the general conditions as they are and how to improve them.

Secondly, it will be of great value over here to the future emigrant in getting some facts, as practically all news from the States at present is anti-socially colored.

**C. G. Anderson,**

# The Upper Class

**(Fragment from a play "Vulgarity," By Benzion Liber)**

**In Eagle's house. Time: 1913. Place: New York.**
**Drawing room. Stylish, but tasteless furniture.**
**Guests, among whom two are women, all belonging to the wealthy class.**

**When the curtain is raised, Fanny is in conversation with the guests, who have grouped themselves around her. Eagle is discussing with Wealthon in another part of the room; they smoke and talk inaudibly; after a while they get up, walk a little to and fro in the room, go out talking and later come back.**

FANNY—You must not forget that life in Russia is not at all like here.

FIRST GUEST—Of course, of course. You have an aristocracy which dictates the forms and conventions to the people as a whole and so the rabble . . . .

FANNY—You are greatly mistaken about that. They are freer from conventionalism in Russia than you are here. Even the aristocracy is less conventional. Besides, the Russian aristocracy which you Americans seem to adore so much is strictly separated from the people. We have two different distinct nations, one of which is the conquered and submerged nation.

SECOND GUEST—Would it not be more correct to say: one is the uneducated class and the other. . . .

RASCARD—The miseducated class. (All laugh).

FANNY—You are right there.

RASCARD—And both are always drunk.

FANNY—Never mind that, Mr. Rascard, there is a great difference.

RASCARD—Of course, the difference between champagne and vodka.

FANNY—Well, we do have a large uneducated class, but if the others are educated, it is at the expense of the first ones.

FIRST GUEST—Which is as it should be. Who, pray, should keep up those who teach the people and take care of them, if not those who are being taught and taken care of?

FANNY—But the teachers and the caretakers are very reluctant to teach and are careful to neglect the welfare of their charge.

THIRD GUEST—What a difference between our American democracy where everybody has an opportunity to . . . .

RASCARD—To steal or to starve . . . .

THIRD GUEST—We don't mind Mr. Rascard. He is an old joker and he is proud of his cynicism. . . . You cannot deny that we all have an opportunity . . . .

RASCARD—Certainly. Everybody may become President of the United States. A hundred million presidents . . . .

THIRD GUEST—(Good humoredly) Oh, please, let me finish. I meant to say that our democracy is superior to . . . .

FIRST GUEST—Not at all, not at all! WE are really the aristocracy here.

FIRST GUEST—But . . . .

FANNY—(Laughs aloud) You have no idea with what contempt a real Russian nobleman would look down on an American capitalist!

FANNY—I know, they respect your money, your ability to make money, but they would not exchange places with you. Many of them have too fine an artistic temperament for that.

FOURTH GUEST—All of our rich men are art lovers too.

RASCARD—Some art lovers!

FIRST GUEST—They all buy pictures, at least.

RASCARD—And sometimes they look at them too.

FANNY—But some of our noble families have also produced artists and writers.

FIRST GUEST—I know that. I have read in the papers that you have quite a rich literature.

SEVENTH GUEST—(Coming in from an adjoining room) The Great Climax is a wonder.

FANNY—What is it? A new book?

FIFTH GUEST—Book? Who reads books? It is a race horse! He made me lose some money.

FANNY—So you people prefer racing to reading . . . .

FOURTH GUEST—Oh, please, make no mistake, everybody reads in this country. Something or other.

RASCARD—But what?

FOURTH GUEST—We have but few illiterates.

FANNY—I know, I know.

RASCARD—But we read mainly newspapers. And considering what they contain we might as well forget our alphabet. It would be wonderful if the writers could also forget how to write.

FOURTH GUEST—Oh, Mr. Rascard! . . . . Of course, real high-brow literary works are written for professional consumption only, for the inner circle . . . .

FOURTH GUEST—I mean the writers themselves, their friends and those who aspire to become writers.

FANNY—What are you doing in your spare time?

ALL GUESTS—(Together—except Rascard) Spare time? Spare time? What's that?

FANNY—When you don't . . . . When your occupation, whatever it is, is over?

RASCARD—Our occupation is to occupy others.

FIRST GUEST—I am always working.

THIRD GUEST—I am always busy.

FIFTH GUEST—I have always several irons in the fire.

SECOND GUEST—My work is never done. I never cease to . . . .

FIFTH GUEST—It is difficult to explain. Our work is subtle, mostly invisible. For instance, take myself. Not a quiet moment for me! When I read the newspaper over my coffee, I'll note something of importance to my business. When I see my managers and hear their reports—that is, of course, hard work. When I am at the club, it is for business purposes. Chatting with friends is never idle talk. Even telling a joke or listening to one has its value . . . .

RASCARD—In dollars and cents.

SEVENTH GUEST—Surely. It is used out somehow . . . .

FANNY—(To Seventh Guest) How about racing?

SEVENTH GUEST—Oh! that is the most splendid occasion to finish hanging transactions. And then, all sports are nothing but business.

RASCARD—But business is not a sport.

SEVENTH GUEST—Why, racing gives you a chance to meet on the same ground those who otherwise would be lost customers . . . .

RASCARD—Merely transporting the race from one field to another.

FANNY—And when you, ladies, are having your little innocent games in the afternoon . . . .

RASCARD—Not so innocent!

FOURTH GUEST—Why, through our mutual female entertainments we continue what our husbands have begun.

FANNY—But there must be some leisure. When you go to see a show?

RASCARD—It is to show ourselves. An art show is the art to show off.

SECOND GUEST—It is to meet those whom we must meet. My husband . . . .

FANNY—Yet, nobody forces you to buy a picture!

FIRST GUEST—Who speaks about forcing? However, some things . . must be done whether we like them or not. Spending money for art objects is not a vain gesture. Our standing in the business world demands it.

RASCARD—Besides, the papers write about it . . .

FANNY—An expensive advertisement!

RASCARD—Now naive, Mrs. Eagle! You don't know what advertisements cost nowadays.

FANNY—But Eagle told me that you're all good-hearted and charitable.

ALL GUESTS—(Together) Of course, we are!

RASCARD—Our right hand never knows what our left hand is taking.

FANNY—And you are not going to tell me that charity is business!

ALL GUESTS—(Laugh) Ha, ha, ha!

RASCARD—Charity is a business, but business knows no charity.

FOURTH GUEST—I wouldn't put it that way.

THIRD GUEST—Charity and business are inseparable. One is on one side of the medal . . . .

RASCARD—Of the coin, you mean.

FANNY—I am speaking of charity as such. I know that charity cannot exist without poverty and that poverty cannot exist without your various businesses. But . . . .

ALL GUESTS—(Except Rascard) Oh, Mrs. Eagle!

RASCARD—We are awfully charitable! We go so far as to underpay our men and women so that there are people who need our charity.

ALL GUESTS—(Except Rascard) Oh, Mr. Rascard!

RASCARD—You see, charity is a divine virtue and we do not want it to disappear.

SEVENTH GUEST—This is a joke, but . . . .

SIXTH GUEST—Not at all . . . .

FIFTH GUEST—You misrepresent . . . .

FOURTH GUEST—How rough . . . .

THIRD GUEST—I protest . . . .

FIRST GUEST—Please, oh, please . . . .

(All nearly at the same time).

SECOND GUEST—Allow me to say that it is too coarsely explained.

THIRD GUEST—Especially for unaccustomed ears.

FANNY—Oh, this is not strange to me. I have been a student of the social problem since long and I have criticized your class relentlessly. . . .

RASCARD—Tut! tut!

SEVENTH GUEST—That's all right. That's why you are so charming. Such intellectuals as you. . . . .

FIFTH GUEST—Those are the most useful people, provided . . . .

FANNY—No, gentlemen, I have not abandoned my activity among the working people.

FIRST GUEST—Quite right. You need not do that. We are all trying to improve the life of the poor.

FOURTH GUEST—It is our religious duty.

RASCARD—It is a harmless amusement that keeps us busy.

FANNY—By the way, I think I have found a phase of life where you are yourself and forget business. When you go to church and concentrate your thoughts upon . . . .

THIRD GUEST—Correct. But even there we do not escape our fate entirely. Church-going is mostly a necessary duty. And so is the congregational and social work connected with the church or synagogue.

FANNY—How about love? (Guests all glance at each other).

FIFTH GUEST—Alas! It is often mixed with business and inheritance and other interests! . . . .

RASCARD—None can tell the difference and none can tell which pollutes which.

FANNY—(Laughing) But here I caught you! You have certainly relaxed tonight, in our house. With the exception of Mr. Wealthon, who had to see Eagle on some important question, you are all my guests.

SEVENTH GUEST—This is not entirely so for me. I am waiting for the outcome of the conference between your husband and Wealthon.

FIRST GUEST—The same with me—although I have enjoyed your company so much. And as far as I know all these ladies and gentlemen, except Mr. Rascard . . . .

OTHER GUESTS—(Except Rascard) (together) Exactly.

(Silence for a little while. Fanny is very serious and absorbed in her thoughts).

RASCARD—Yes, our market is everywhere!

(They all turn to Eagle and Wealthon, who had come back into the room a little before. They both came closer to the group of guests. Fanny, waking up from her thoughts, presses a button and a servant brings in a tray with cups and cakes. The guests seat themselves, only Eagle standing).

EAGLE—Yes, we are through. We have completed a new plan which has been worked out this morning at my office; a plan to break their stubbornness and tomorrow you will get a confidential communication which will give you all the details. It will also show you how to deal with the little fellows.

SEVENTH GUEST—You mean the . . . .

EAGLE—I mean the small manufacturers who claim they cannot stand it any longer.

FIFTH GUEST—How about the . . . . others?

WEALTHON—One of them, the wildest of them, the most terrible disturber of those simple minds will be arrested soon. Our detective agency has prepared enough evidence . . . .

FANNY—(Listening with intense interest) Who is it, Eagle?

EAGLE—(Trying to evade the answer) Oh, it is unimportant.

WEAITHON—A fellow whom they call. . . . (Eagle pulls him by his sleeve) . . . what do they call him? A fanatic! They'll make short shrift of him.

(Fanny goes out unnoticed, except by Eagle).

EAGLE—And now, ladies and gentlemen, permit me to say a few words of criticism. While talking with Mr. Wealthon, I listened to your conversation. That is, I heard something from time to time and I know its trend. Let me tell you that you are not doing justice to yourselves. You describe yourselves as a class of . . . of . . .

RASCARD—Monsters.

EAGLE—And this little lady, (showing to the door through which Fanny had gone out), may get an erroneous view of your lives.

RASCARD—Oh, we are pure angels!

EAGLE—But you can never tell how it will be interpreted and how words travel. Mrs. Eagle here has not interrupted all her relations with . . . with . . .

THIRD GUEST—(With a wink of one eye) That's all right. That is in our favor.

EAGLE—But she is naive.

RASCARD—Not so naive if she became your wife.

FIRST GUEST—You are right, Mr. Eagle. We have to be careful. A few days ago one of my . . . intelligence men who is a member of the union and is bringing me daily reports of its meetings, showed me a speech of one of their leaders. It was a perfect description of my life and that of my friends. I wonder how they know such things.

EAGLE—Oh, don't think that those people are stupid!

THIRD GUEST—Why, only yesterday I overheard some of them talk to each other right under my window.

RASCARD—The vermin!

SECOND and FOURTH GUESTS—Oh!

RASCARD—Yes! And we—psst! we're among ourselves—the vermin of the vermin.

THIRD GUEST—Since their shops have moved up, they have invaded the avenue and they are coming more and more. Why, after lunch there are hundreds of them near my house!

RASCARD—Where are the good old days when we could chase the rabble with a whip?

SECOND GUEST—It must be awful for your wife to live there.

THIRD GUEST—And think of my children! I am one of the few respectable people who still cling to the avenue. But it has become unbearable and I have just bought another house further up town.

EAGLE—And now, ladies and gentlemen, let us join the larger company in the next room.

(The End.)

# Another Migratory Diary

By JAMES PRICE, Seattle, Wash.

I READ "A Migratory Worker's Diary" by James Foy in the February Pioneer. I will say it beat me hollow. He made $549.82 and some board as well. I made the grand total of $162.49 and no board at all!

I went to both city and masonie employment offices every day I was not working and stayed around them quite a lot, but could not seem to obtain a job hardly and yet the papers are full of prosperity. I have not seen it for some time now!

The IWW paper here printed two of my letters, one about the Jim Hill road, G. N., and one about the fly eops at Los Angeles, the biggest robbing and lying plaee I was ever in, so I thought I would send you this.

I have belonged to three unions: viz., the structural iron workers, linemen, and maintenance of way men; but I got no satisfaetion from any of them, only pay my dues. I do not belong to anything now, only the masons. But if I have any money will join the wobblies next time.

Well, here is the year's work:

Diamond Iee Co., 4 hours, unloading spuds, $2.25; Cowen, Park & 64th St., filling and building garage, 9 days, $40.50; 13 Terry Ave., helping a woman to move furniture, $4.00; unloading sheet iron fixtures for 14 hours, 8.40; Johnson Co., 13 1-2 hours, $8.10; Whiton Hardware Co, 16 hours, $8.00; Associated Oil Co., digging for a drain, 19 hrs., $10.67; digging foundations 8 hrs., $4.50; E. Olive St., cleaning up old shingles around a house, 7 hrs., $5.00; marble works, Westlake, unpacking shipment of marble, 23 hours, $11.47; unloading 2 carloads phonographs, S. Clay & Co., 6 hrs., $3.00; digging and repairing broken pipe, E. Mereer St., 5 hrs., $2.50; night elerk for two weeks at this hotel (Fujii, prop.), $42.00; unloading and stowing away tile flooring, 24th & Jefferson, 5 1-2 hrs., $4.10; Porter Furniture Co., staeking away shipment, 4 hrs., $2.00; unloading two earloads furniture, Railroad Ave., S., 8 hrs., $4.00; total $162.49. Part of this work I secured through the City Employment Offiee and part through the Masons'.

I drew $50.00 interest on two bonds I have; $25 I borrowed from the Masons; I owe the Jap hotel man $16.00 room rent now and the Jap restaurant man $7.50 as well. But that is all business.

I will swear this is all true; every word of it is from the vietim of eapitalists and liars.

P. S.—I am 50 years of age now.

# The Twentieth Century

By EDWARD JAMES IRVINE

WITNESS the grief-torn mother of a son
Who lies within a diteh, (Life's battle done)
Torn from his loved ones by the stern command
Of those who held his destiny in hand.

What tremulous pen could e'er deseribe such shame?
Ruins of red the rulers yield for fame
(A fire that cireles round a mortal head,
Leaving the heart unsatisfied, unfed)

Know you the standard that waves o'er? 'Tis gold,
That, for whieh happiness is sold!
A sentinel called Greed with blazing eyes
Gazes upon a world whieh wasted, lies,
Leers upon homeless ones without a door
To enter, Lo! and laughs, "'Tis as of yore,
When gladiators fought to please a throng
Of brainless beings who eneouraged wrong."

Descend! O! darkness, o'er this mimie play!
The sentry from his post is led away,
Relieved by Famine, Mankind, you did ehide
The bards departed, they who sought to guide
Man's faltering footsteps to a paradise,
Yet, ever their sage eounsel you despise.

Life is the world's birthright, so, may revolt
Strike down Earth's tyrants like a thunderbolt!

# 2,000,000 Leave Farms

"Farmers are being starved off the land at the rate of 100,000 a month, eliminated as income tax payers and their purchasing power cut in two," said Congressman John W. Summers of the Farm Export League to representatives of the press.

Danger that the saerfice of the Ameriean farmer to industro-finaneial policy will go too far is seen in the annouueement of the department of agriculture that **the net loss of farm population to the cities since 1920 has amounted to between 1,700,000 and 2,000,000.** Experts fear that the agricultural system will be unduly run down and that farming will go out of fashion.

## NO HAND JOB

Mrs. Lafferty.—Ten stitches did the doctor have to take in me ould man after the fight last night.

Mrs. O'Hara.—Tin. Was that all? Sure, when the doetor seen me poor husband carried in this morning he says: "Has any wan got a sewing maehine?—**Boston Transcript.**

A well-read worker is a well-equipped worker, an understanding worker, an organized worker. Inerease his number by pushing the labor press and distributing labor literature.

# Snakes and "Seam-Squirrels"

By ADAM NOIR

## A Story of the Southern Levees with their Strange Crews and Stranger Perversions of Libertarian Ideals.

THE work was not hard; just piling brush and mowing patches of Spanish needles and beggar-lice—and pausing occasionally to kill a too friendly moccasin. Much of the boys' time was spent in observation; taking mental note of their surroundings.

They could not understand why every root and particle of wood was being grubbed out of the "right of way;" or why the great trench was dug down the center. At the first opportunity William asked the foreman about it.

He was a friendly sort of fellow and explained that a levee, or dyke, to stand for any length of time, must be composed of pure earth; any particle of wood left in it would eventually rot and leave a seep hole which would gradually grow until the whole embankment was undermined.

Of perhaps greater interest than the work, was the crew. William had worked as a delivery boy for a Memphis grocery, and supposed he was familiar with all kinds of people. James had worked in a shop with a German, an Irishman and two Mexicans. Neither of them had ever met people like this crew.

When James asked his fellow workers where they came from, some said New York, some Chicago, some Philadelphia; others named various places. All places named, the boys knew, were American cities; but all seemed very, very far away.

One lad from Chicago was careful to explain that they had been brought down there because the natives were too lazy to work, and besides, "were not able to do a real man's work." When the boy heard this, they resolved to keep secret the fact that they were born and reared in the adjoining county.

They had been told that the workday was from seven a. m. to six p. m., with an hour for dinner. When six o'clock came, the foreman did climb up on a pile of earth and announced the fact, but the crew seemed in no hurry to quit. Some of them quit of course; among these, the two boys, for they only hired on at one o'clock and were hungry. Others lingered about as if they actually loved their tasks. The foreman was constrained to tell one of them: "Leave that stump alone and go on to camp. You'll have plenty of time tomorrow to finish up—if I don't take a notion to fire you."

Well pleased with the prospect of an early supper, and proud of the fact that in only a half a day they had earned sixty-two and a half cents—full wages for grown men—the boys lost no time in reaching camp and locating the cook-house.

If they thought their fellow workingmen a strange crew, before, that belief became a certainty when they came together at supper. There were great piles of food on the table, but each one seemed afraid he would not get his share unless he hurried. The noises they made did sound like pigs eating swill, but when William watched them perform, he was reminded of Gyp and Lead, two permanently hungry old hounds belonging to a negro neighbor.

And they had such peculiar names for food. When James asked for potatoes, the man at his elbow said: "Say, Shorty, pass this kid the spuds." When he desired cream for his coffee, the same helpful neighbor cried: "Chase the cow down this way, the calf's a-bawlin'!"

The crew slept in little tents, four men to each. When the boys entered the one assigned to them, they found the lad from Chicago and his bed-mate, stripped to the waist and busy picking something from the inner seams of their shirts. The Chicago lad said they were "seam-squirrels," but the other one explained that they were really "grey-backs." William took one in his fingers and, after examination, said it resembled the pictures of "body lice" he had seen in books on Entomology.

Now, the boys had been taught that to become lousy was a disgrace, and that to remain lousy was an unpardonable sin. To consciously permit themselves to become lousy was a violation of the moral code. They began to discuss the proposition of leaving at once.

"But you can't leave," said the lad from Chicago. "God knows, I'd be gone from here now if I could get away. Guess you'll have to stay 'til the job's done. You'll get used to the seam-squirrels."

"I'd like to know how come I can't leave if I want to?" demanded James.

"Why, because you can't. They won't let you. The camp guards will shoot any man that goes beyond that line of trees the other side of the road. After night, they don't even let you get that far."

The boys did not believe this, but when Chicago raised the edge of the tent and pointed out the armed guard, they were convinced.

"Huh," grunted William, "I'll bet I could slip by those guards and they'd never know I was gone, 'til morning."

"Yes," said Chicago, "but what if you did? Away off here, a thousand miles from nowhere. They'd catch you before you got very far."

"A thousand miles, my foot! Why, it's only about eighteen miles west of here to Marianna on the Knoble and Helena road. I heard the Rowena Lee whistle for Walnut Bend this afternoon and I know

it can't be more'n five miles."

Chicago would not be convinced: "Suppose it is only a little way. You've got to go through woods and swamps, and there's wolves and panthers and snakes and God knows what else. No sir, I don't like it here a damn bit, but I'm not going to take any such chances as that."

The boys knew, of course, that the swamps were full of snakes, but it had never occurred to them that snakes should be regarded as a menace to life or freedom of movement. If there had ever been any wolves in that country it must have been when their grandfathers were boys. As to panthers: Well, there might be such creatures, but the boys didn't believe it.

Thinking it wasted effort to converse further with these " 'fraid cats," the boys lay in their bunk and held whispered consultation for several minutes, then arose and passed outside.

As a test, William walked past the line of tents and out into the road. Sure enough, he was halted by a man with a shotgun. He explained that he was a newcomer and unfamiliar with the rules, and was permitted to retire. They tried at several points, but guards seemed to be everywhere.

Foiled in their attempt at open departure, they resorted to the tactics used in stealing watermelons from a particularly cranky farmer.

Re-entering the tent, they crawled under the rear wall and wormed themselves forward on their stomachs. It was tedious and dirty work, and hard on clothing, but ten minutes time found them outside the guard line and, so they supposed, free from further interference. But, they had reckoned without Chicago.

Lacking the courage to attempt escape, filled with spiteful envy by discovering that courage in another—possibly urged on by hope of reward for treachery—Chicago hunted up a guard and reported the departure of the boys.

When they had gone a half mile or so, they heard a great commotion in the camp; men were running and shouting, lanterns were dancing about, there was a occasional revolver shot. In a few moments, there was the thud of many hoofs on the dusty road. Slipping quietly into the bushes, they let the cavalcade dash by.

They knew they could not be caught without the use of dogs; even natives could not trail them through the night; but there was sure to be a guard stationed at the ferry across the St. Francis to intercept them.

With this in mind, they cut straight through the woods and came to the river some hundred or so yards above the ferry. Quite as they expected, there was a guard, with lanterns and a camp fire.

After a time, the boys crept down close enough to hear the guards' conversation. There were three of them. One was saying: "They'll never come this way if they see this fire. Why, I wouldn't be that foolish myself."

A companion replied. "But we've got to have a fire to keep the varmints off. There's panthers and wild cats and all kinds of things in these woods."

"Shucks. I don't believe there is any such thing as a panther."

"The hell they ain't. I've heard 'em many a time. They scream just like a woman when she's scared. Folks say they do that to 'tice men under the tree where they're hid and then drap on 'em 'fore they know it."

This gave the boys an idea. After a brief talk, they parted, one going up and one down river.

Shortly, the men at the fire were startled by a terrific scream, as of a woman in great pain or fright. It appeared to come from a point a hundred yards up river. They were still discussing the probable location, when the scream was repeated from about the same distance down river.

After a pause of several minutes, the up river scream was repeated—this time within fifty yards of the fire. With one accord, the guards began to yell and discharge their guns in the direction of the noise. When they paused to reload, the down river scream was repcated—within a hundred feet of the fire.

The guards now began shooting in both directions; whirling about so fast it is a wonder they didn't shoot each other.

When they again paused to reload, James crept up behind a tree at the very edge of the road, and not twenty feet from the fire, and gave voice to the most awful scream he could devise. The guards went away from there. One of them left his shot gun.

The ferryman of course lived near by, and came to investigate the racket. The boys frankly told their story and he set them across the river. They reached Marianna in time for a late breakfast.

Trains were not frequent on the Knoble and Helena and the boys had to wait until late afternoon to catch one going north. When about to climb aboard, they were arrested by the marshal on a warrant charging them with jumping a board bill at the levee camp! Next morning, they were sentenced to ninety days, and leased to the levee contractor for thirty cents a day.

Leased prisoners were worked in a separate gang and lodged in a separate camp from the free men. They worked under heavy guard, and slept on the ground in a long tent. At night, they were made to lie down in two rows with feet almost touching. A heavy chain was stretched between the rows of feet and the left ankle of each prisoner was fastened to this chain with a bracelet made similar to a handcuff.

After a couple of days of this sort of thing, the boys were desperate enough to try any plan of escape.

Since it had been discovered that they were native to the country and, presumably, "not able to do

(Continued on page 42.)

# The Crimes of Capital

By FRANK MYERS

AFTER reading in the capitalist news sheets from day to day of the crime, corruption and filth rampant everywhere, I cannot understand why the workers remain dormant and tolerate such a damnable, insane system as the one under which we are now existing.

Speaking about crime, how about the recent Teapot Dome oil scandal? And how embarrassing it must be for our hundred percenters, just before election, too!

However, none of these gentry will go to jail, for they are not among those jails are usually built for. Why, they own the jails—as well as the rest of the government machinery!

In due time the case will be nicely whitewashed and the American Legion and the other "superpatriot" organizations will conveniently forget about it and give thanks that they are living in a country run "by the people, for the people."

These robbers of the public domain and treasury are looked upon by some as men with high ideals—good Christians and the country's best citizens. But are they?

**The recent exposures should leave no doubt in the minds of any workers as to the real character of those in the high places of our "peoples' " government. Their escapades reek to high heaven; they're so unspeakably rotten that some of the big guys in the Senate and House have actually got scared. "The foundations of our government never received such a shock," declared one senator in an eloquent speech.**

Perhaps the exposures in the beginning were intended to belittle certain candidates in the coming election; no one can tell just what motives actuate our worthy legislators, but if that was the purpose they have overshot their mark. The first sensational scareheads in the newspapers only mentioned Republicans, but now Democrats as well are tarred with the same oily brush and irrevocably and eternally damned in the eyes of citizens who believe that government heads should be, like Caesar's wife, "above suspicion."

And bad as the exposures are, half of the truth will never be known. Already many newspapers are denouncing the sensationalism and declaring for its suppression. Doubtless, working on the theory that what the people don't know will never hurt them, and feeling that they have already been wised up sufficiently.

**The crimes of capitalism will never be fully revealed until the workers organize as a class and take control of industry. Until then we will never learn anything of the inner workings of "government" except, as in a case like the present one, when one gang of thieves falls out with another over the division of the spoils.**

Can we really hope for anything else? Not so long as the intellectual prostitutes of the capitalist class, the distorters and suppressors of truth and makers of hysteria are the ones who disseminate information. The press is the mouthpiece of capitalism. Surely we do not expect the capitalist system to be convicted out of its own mouth. Unless, of course, when something gets away from them like the Teapot Dome scandal. It got so big they just couldn't help telling us some of the facts. One side started it, and then in justification of their thieving actions the other side had to squawk, too.

However, the robbery exposed by the present scandal need not interest workers particularly, except as a demonstration of the truths we have been trying to point out to an unheeding world for a long time. As T-bone Slim says, "We ain't got a cent in it!" Of course not! Stealing oil, coal and forest reserves means nothing to us. We don't own any of these properties. The robbery we're interested in takes place lots nearer home, right on the job, every day we toil for these thieves who, not content with exploiting us on the properties they already own, have turned their thieving talents to grabbing more properties on which to exploit us.

To those who waste their time worrying over ballots and how to elect "honest" men, Republicans, Democrats or Labor politicians to office to protect "our" public properties and promote the "public" weal, we have this advice to offer. Organize! Organize on the job! A political government, of whatever shade, color or party has no solution for the ills of an industrial nation like the United States.

Thousands of our fellow workers are maimed and crippled ever year in the industries owned by those who seek to blind and befuddle us by political parties, political slogans and other tricks of government. The lifeblood of the working class colors the tainted wealth of those who find enjoyment and recreation in planning to steal more and ever more properties on which to slay and maim more workers. But does the "government" see that the laws which they have passed to "save their faces" are enforced, does the "government," state or national, make any attempt to save the lives of those without whom governments would be hollow farces, empty masks?

Look at the last calamity to befall the working class. Look out into the mountains of Utah and see the weeping wives and children of the 175 miners ruthlesly slaughtered by the coal barons at Castle Gate, because of failure to enforce the state mining laws. Look at the countless other mine explosions, railroad wrecks and factory fires

in which the working class has made the supreme sacrifice for the master class. Look and ponder!

The arts and tricks of government! What have they ever done for those who toil? Just what might have been expected! Nothing. And that is what the workers will get out of worrying and scheming on the political field. We have no time nor the necessary knowledge of this game to ever accomplish anything by playing it, even if, contrary to the very nature of things, anything could be accomplished that way. We are exploited on the job—there must our problems be solved!

To those not yet members of the IWW and who desire the good things of life we say this—do not scoff—investigate. You will find we are out to abolish slavery and robbery and to give to those who toil usefully by brain and brawn the full value of their product. And we do not include such steals as Teapot Dome in our idea of useful toil.

Corrupt political government such as we now have revealed to us in the present scandal is both an attribute and reflex of the inefficiency of the capitalist system. Competition has seeped beneath the structures of the industrial magnates in this case and a few bricks and chimney-pots have fallen. Their house is old and rotten; every succeeding scandal will weaken it correspondingly, destruction can only be delayed, not avoided.

And so it will be as time goes on. We can expect more of these scandals; opportunities are becoming scarcer every day and the mad scramble for the plums gets hotter all the time. And the masters won't be able to keep us in ignorance of their thievery, much as they would like to—and hard as their political puppets will try.

Modern industrialism has outgrown capitalism; no longer can a corrupt political government, which is the only kind of government capitalism can understand, administer the affairs of industrial society. International in scope it cannot be circumscribed by geographical boundaries or other superficial divisions imposed by the whim or interest of those owning or controlling the world's resources and markets. Such a fallacious scheme must be replaced by an industrial co-operative society in which all who perform useful labor, and no one else, shall receive the full benefits. Then and only then can we have real peace, real joy and real happiness.

**To this end the IWW has consecrated itself and while the crimes of capital remain unindicted, while robbery and persecution by our industrial masters and inquisitors continue we shall always be found in the front lines of the battle with our revolutionary banners widespread to the breeze, lifted on high so that the first rays of the dawn of Industrial Freedom may fall on their bright folds and be reflected on a world which shall know the crimes of capital no more.**

## SNAKES AND "SEAM-SQUIRRELS"

(Continued from page 40)

a man's work", they were kept at the task of piling brush and mowing weeds.

The guard over them was inordinately afraid of snakes, and was forever endangering the lives of his charges by shooting at everything that looked like one.

William somehow got hold of about fifty feet of small fishline. Watching his chance, he tied this line to the head of a snake the guard had killed the previous day, and drew it up along his leg, under the trousers. While picking up an armload of brush, he let the snake slide down to the ground. Marching close past the guard, he let the line unwind from his pocket. When he reached the brush pile, and appeared to be working around it, he hauled in on the line. The result was what looked to be a very determined snake, crawling straight for the guard.

That worthy let out a yell of terror and discharged both barrels of his shot gun at the advancing reptile. The instant his gun was empty, William and James were on him, and had him manacled with his own handcuffs and gagged with his own handkerchief before he knew what was happening.

Threatening to shoot the other prisoners if they gave the alarm, the boys took the gun and shells and slipped away into the swamp.

Three days later, they were at home hoeing cotton for fifty cents a day and their dinner. They wanted no more "public work", even if the wage was a dollar and a quarter, and board did include "spuds and light bread" three times a day. They sort of reckoned that sorghum and corn bread and a shirt free from "seam squirrels" was more decent —and more comfortable.

## WATCH YOUR GOOSESTEP

SAN FRANCISCO.—Prof. Tully Cleon Knoles, president, College of the Pacific, had better look out for his job—he must have been reading The Goosestep. He told the Mutual Business Club here that "America is ruled by sixth-grade intellects," and the sixth-grade intellects who listened to him were not very much pleased by his speech.

* * *

San Francisco has the highest cancer death rate in the world, with 500 deaths reported in the past five years, according to a prominent physician in Newark, New Jersey, who has made a study of the disease.

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# The Change is Coming

By HAL BROMMELS

FROM far and near both sage and seer
Proclaim a change in human tho't;
With active brain Toil starts to train—
Its mighty weapon's being wrot.
For Labor plans a nobler way
To live—the battle's on today!

But Greed is set on ruling yet
And vows to always run the earth;
And tho we still bow to its will
The Great New System's in its birth.
And all that fearful Mammon schemes
Will never halt Toil's trend and dreams.

The blood of men is hot again—
The years of misery bear fruit:
For Toil unites to gain its rights
And capture Mammon's store of loot.
For Greed has taken all we've made—
With tears and blood its leisure paid.

O, men, prepare to do and dare,
To make our age-long dream come true.
Our power grows, so no one knows
When Labor's flag will call on you.
Prepare—and hurl away your fears
For sure as death the New Day nears!

# Darkness and Dawn

**A Song of Class-War Prisoners**

By RICHARD BRAZIER

THE world outside sometimes I deem
As far off as a distant star;
A vague remembrance of a dream
I dreamt in days, oh! long afar.
It seems then, that this hermitage,
Wherein we pass the endless days—
This monstrous, massive masoned cage,
Is far removed from friendly gaze,
As tho' set in some valley lone,
Amid a pestilential fen,
Where never sun or moon has shone
To reveal us to sight of men.

Yes this sad feeling fades away,
When early sun beams gild the floor
Of my dark cell, and new born day
With golden steps enters my door
And pours with dancing radiance
It's flash of light into my room,
And laughs away with merry glance
The darkness of my steel girt tomb.
And then my soul with joy is filled,
The flame of life glows bright amain;
All doubts and sad forebodings stilled,
I climb towards the heights again.

# Pay For His Sacrifice

By ROAMER

His abode is a cold sombre prison
The reward of a helper of men.
While the wolves whom he sought to throttle,
They sit cozily and warm in their den.

And WE whom he sought to enlighten
Stand by as though born to condone
Victims! Yea, tools of perdition
Our lives, not to claim as our own.

Wake, Comrades! Wake! to the calling
Of the spirit no prison can hold.
A land of true men is no vision
It's a reality of hearts that are bold.

Give ear to each word that he utters,
Each thought, to his deeds of the past;
And know him, as he knows you, brother.
'Twill add cheer to his soul at the last.

He fought like a hero to free us
When our eyes were blinded with blood,
He showed us the chains we were welding
And chained we drifted down with the flood—

Nor yet, are we freed from those fetters.
Torn fragments of our brothers abound—
"Broken tools" of the master class glitter!
Our griefs and our woes to compound.

Come, let us arise—let us waken,
And gird up our loins for the fray.
Show him we're the stuff men are made of
And our debt to his suffering repay.

We could imprison enslavers of children,
And trample the breeders of hate;
Dethrone the high priests of Mammon
And "calm" the sequesterers of Fate.

Then build in the land of God's making
A real home, for all dutiful men,
And establish a brotherhood common;
"We'll have paid for his sacrifice then."

# I Am, The Great I Am

By WOODBY SIANTIFIC

WHAT is the I of Mc and You and the other one billion, five hundred million, nine hundred and ninety-ninc thousand, ninc hundred and ninety-nine specimens of the Homo Genus that happen to be moping around on this dust mote?

My Soul, Spirit, Will, Consciousness, Ego, Mentality and Mind are subordinate to I.

I boast of my strong Will, yet that Will never functions without Initiative from I.

I think of my Mind as a supreme property of the Man, but I frequently say I **Will** change my **Mind.**

Others ridicule my Mind; they may sneer at my mental capacity; my soul becomes rebellious when subjected to great agony; but I have never been humiliated. I will not submit.

There was no dawn of creation; there can be no twilight; but at another point in the cycle of Universal Activity, when protoplasmic cells first evolved out of rock, I was there.

***

I am the author of all Natural Law, but my feeble consciousness has not been able to comprehend these laws. The Human Body, possessed of splendid antennae and three stage set, receives all my messages, but foolishly disregards those designed to interfere with excessive indulgenes.

I have many vices and more virtues. The latter have been largely supressed. Sometimes they are reflected in You, so, if I like you it is the I of me that is admired. And when I hate You it is only the unwholesome part of Me that is hated.

My ascension to happiness is hardly begun. The several weak instrumentalities with which I have to express my great fulness, the beauty and love that urges from within, restrain my progress. My Mentality, associated with the grossly material things that it contacts, cannot vision possibilities. My Will cannot negotiate the high walls of Formality, Precedent, alleged Power, Dogma and **Fear.**

My greatest attribute is **Imagination,** but it is still in the foctal stage. When it is born and large enough to play and co-operate with my other child, WILL, the two of them will arouse the old nursemaid, **Consciousness,** to a new conception of Life.

Old grandmother **Consciousness** will be amazed at the adeptness of these two youngsters. They will quickly explore the small domain in which she lives. They will perceive and comprehend things hitherto undiscovered by her. They will insistently demand greater scope for activity.

Brushing the webs from her eyes she will stare into cosmic depths and behold most wondrous truths. It is almost amusing to contemplate her perplexed expression as she discovers I in every nook and unchinked crevice of the Universe.

Then note the sweet, complaisant smile of satisfaction as she becomes aware, intuitively as it were, that I am firmly but gently guiding her destiny. It will be so, for in that day it will be known that I AM!

# Joe Hill, Song Writer

By HAROLD R. JOHNSON

ALL progressive movements and popular causes of days gone by have had their reflection in the literature and arts of their day, and some were immortalized by a permanent, glowing tradition and literature. In this respect the IWW is no different than those movements of oppressed people recorded in history for their glorious aspirations.

Around the industrial union trend, best exemplified in the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World, has grown a positive class philosophy, art, literature and irrespressible spirit, which has been felt throughout our whole social structure. Words, phrases, ideas and opinions of this revolutionary industrial group have been adopted by groups of divergent economic interests insofar as they were applicable, helpful and non-injurious to their economic position. In music the IWW hopes have also been sounded and Joe Hillstrom stands first in the list of their composers and song writers.

The IWW has attracted many competent thinkers and talented individuals. Besides qualified speakers, organizers and writers, they have their musicians, poets and artists. Joe Hill, as Hillstrom is usually called, was also a poet. His verses and songs are known everywhere that social protest has arisen in group expression.

Numerous of Joe Hill's parodies are of the ordinary qualities of a laborer-rimer or common versifier. Some, however, reveal such rare expression of true gift and talent that they are assured working class permanence. No song has appealed to the world's toilers more than "Workers of the World, Awaken!" both words and music were composed by Joe Hill. As I have heard an orchestra play it my heart throbbed with renewed spirit as I followed its powerful stanzas, and tho't: "The oppressors have crushed your body, Joe, but your soul lives on in the spirit and songs of the triumphant message of the New Day!"

# Going! Going!—The Corner Grocer

By EDWARD La RUCRYTH

**The necessity for big capital, as represented by motor and other equipment, puts the small retailer out of business.**

How many years ago did the IWW predict the demise of that useful person the corner grocer and his institution? When did that organization first forecast and propagate the fall, not only of the little grocer but also the merging of the other small owners including the farmer, into that rapidly increasing class of unskilled workers?

At the very first convention held when the IWW preamble was drafted the significant words . ."entering the management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands . . . .," contained a prophecy which will affect the skilled laborer's commodity and also the livelihood of the proprietors of small businesses. The organization has since backed its preamble and Marx up in contradiction to the boss' phoney economies.

Already the banks have swallowed many small farmers, already have the trusts and the chain stores put many of the small shop owners out of the running. As with every other institution and class that is victimized by evolution the petty bourgeois puts up a frantic fight. They "die hard."

In California, the retail grocers' association starts a campaign of "patronize your neighborhood grocer" advertising. An advertisement to be seen in street cars shows a woman coming home from the large down-town chain stores, which are rapidly increasing in size and number, loaded down with "so-called bargains" and with no money left. The ad complains further: "She calls the neighborhood grocery and asks him to send her a cake of yeast; and charge it!" The association is surprised that the people go where they can get things cheaper. Every day come announcements that some drug store like the Owl chain or some such group of cigar stores as the United, have bought out smaller stores or chains.

The rate at which the little groccrymen are being converted into the unemployed may have something to do with the plans that are going forward for a new penitentiary in Southern California; with the enlarging of county and city jails, and the building of stockades, insane asylums and hospitals. This may also have something to do with the fact that San Quentin and Folsom are crowded past capacity notwithstanding the recent installation of the "road camp system."

"The world owes us a living" is becoming in spite of capitalist objection, and the corner grocer's struggle, a slogan which is being recognized as truth and many fools are rubbing shoulders with the prophets in these penitentiaries, the IWW. One is there because he tried to collect individually and forcibly and the other because he propagated collection of the debt collectively and peaceably.

# The Daily Struggle

The workers are interested in the features of their daily struggle for existence.

Speaking to a longshoremen's delegate in Philadelphia, he said:

"The men on the docks here are interested in the short pay in their envelopes and the slavedriving of their foremen. They want all the pay that's coming to them; and they don't want to be driven like mules."

In other words, the workers are interested in a square deal and humane conditions for themselves. The press and the organization that will help them to secure these elemental aspirations can lead them on to greater and grander things still.

But these are the things that concern them primarily; and these things must be dealt with primarily before their interest in other things can be enlisted.

Get into the daily job struggle!

**The world is big. There's millions of unorganized. When factional feelings get the best of you, don't fail to remind yourself that there is still much to be done. Go and do it!**

# The Evolution of the Steam Valve

By BOOMER

I SAT in the bunkhouse of a logging camp elose to the "Rose City" and turned an ineh and a half globe valve over and over in my hand; I was thinking.

The valve was to be used on the injector steam pipe, so that when the engineer in eharge wanted water in the boiler the valve eould be opened, admitting the steam to force the water into the boiler, so as to make steam to be used to haul logs when the throttle was opened on the engine.

But it was not of that I was thinking. I was thinking of the large number of workers who had expended some part of their labor power to put that valve into my hands. The miners who mined the raw ore; the smeltermen who reduced the raw ore to metal; the foundrymen whose labor had worked it into the required shape; even the transportation workers, yes, even the section men who labored to keep the track in repair that the valve might eventually reach the plaee where it would be of real value to soeiety. All of this was I thinking.

Yes, even the warehouse workers whose labor power had stored the valve away until it was called for to be used. But I could sit with the valve in my hand for ages and it would not be of any real value. No. It must be put in its respective plaee by the application of labor power; even then it would not be of use to society until labor power was applied to operate it as water was needed to generate steam. Then the logs that the engine would haul, would be loaded onto cars and sent to the mill to be cut into lengths, breadths and thieknesses, and be shipped to many parts of the world to be made into things of use to mankind. Perhaps some of the lumber would go to make a coffin for some of those who had labored to help produce the valve.

Now if anyone can prove to me that labor power does not produce all wealth I wish they would do so as I want to be set right .

Being rather versatile I have expended my labor power in many different industries; I have seen trees centuries old that stood in a dense forest, of no value to society until labor power was applied to them; I have seen food lie on the tables of restaurants and hotels unfit to eat until labor power was applied to it; I have seen the shop windows filled with clothing doing society no good until someone purchased it, a clerk wrapped it up and it was earried to a suitable plaee and put onto the body to be worn.

A metal valve does no service to mankind until it is used; food becomes of real value only when eaten; elothing is of value to mankind only when worn to keep the body comfortable; but labor power must be expended in the many processes that transform the raw material into the finished produet, whether it be a brass valve, food, clothing, or anything else used by mankind. We ean safely say that every article of use in this world is the result of the social efforts of mankind, and if we were to try to leave out any group of the world's workers we could not then have the eommodity.

One might go so far as to say that a baby is raw human material, and goes through different proeesses from babyhood to man, or womanhood, and finally becomes a useful member of soeiety, and there is some labor power expended in raising a baby.

So, therefore, sinee labor ereates all wealth; that wealth by rights belongs to those whose labor power ereates it. But the ones who withhold all this wealth from labor are organized in a eompact body and labor is not. The eapitalist elass takes all that labor produces exeept just enough to allow labor to exist and reproduce itself. During the last war for markets they took the finished produet of thousands of mothers, i. e., young men, and slaughtered them upon the battlefields of Europe.

Now the mothers should organize so that they, too, ean enjoy the fruits of their labor in the eompanionship of their sons when grown to manhood and the mothers are becoming old and feeble. Renew again that song, "I did not raise my boy to be a soldier"; sing it, and organize with your elass, the produeing elass—the only useful class in soeiety. Labor produces all wealth, all that is of use to society, labor does not get the full produet of its labor, and it is the fault of labor. Beeause labor is not organized.

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## THE LIFE STORY OF A STIFF

**Stiffs, By Melbourne Garahan. New York: Thos. Seltzer. $2.**

This is the autobiography of a British sailor who had to leave the mercantile marine beeause of bad eyesight, and who became a stiff, which in England means a philosophic tramp, high above the beggar and hooligan classes. Sometimes the author worked, at advertising-kite flying or at odd jobs; when jobless he "clieked" wherever he could — touched strangers on London streets for the priee of one or more meals on the strength of a hard luck tale invented instanter.

He and other stiffs lived at a eheap hotel divided into many cubieles with just enough room for a bed and a chair. Whoever had elieked would share his funds with those who hadn't. Some of the stiffs profited by singing in publie-house eorridors. One of the gang, known as Cherry, inherited a fortune in Salt Lake City, and disappeared just before a reward notice for him was posted. It was Garahan who trailed him down and got the reward.

Garahan's story has humor, pathos and plausibility. Finally he climbed out of the tramp elass and came to better things in Australia. He eontributes to our language numerous words peculiar to the British migratory. —**Daniel Tower.**

# Brief Editorials

## A Hold Up

The claim that business will not improve until federal taxation is changed so as to encourage it, is merely the way big business has of threatening and compelling legislation in its interests.

Any man who can read the reports of dividends paid by big business in the past ten years and then conclude that taxation interferes with it, should have his sanity examined. There is no evidence to justify such reasoning. In view of the facts, it's irrational.

The fact of the matter is, that big business wants ever more profits and then more profits still. In order to get them, it pretends it cannot prosper under present conditions and so determines to undermine them to its own ends.

In other words, big business is holding up society in order to compel submission to its exactions.

That's a way it has.

## Undone By Superwisdom.

At Bayonne and Bay View, N. J., the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey has two giant refineries; 14,000 men are employed. Recently they threatened strike for a 10 percent wage increase and representation on the board of directors in accordance with the Rockefeller plan of employees' representation. 700 employees actually went out on strike, and the matter was compromised by an increase in wages.

All this is very significant! The Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey is the most powerful of the Standard Oil groups. Its policy is one of ruthless anti-strike and anti-unionism. It advocates company unionism, employees' stock ownership, and other devices calculated to insure submission, sycophancy and servility. And here it is hoisted by its own petard, thanks to employees who actually believe what it says. Or else are so oppressed as to make revolt imperative! Who knows?

Be that as it may; their course is encouraging. Once more is big industry undone by its own superwisdom.

## The Pacifist Outburst

Conditions alter circumstances. During the war hysteria, pacifism was impossible; it was on the defensive—suppressed. Militarism held sway. The iron heel forced submission, however reluctant.

But now the war hysteria is dying out. Peace prevails between the ruling nations. The various classes are considering war in accordance with their ideals—now mostly blasted because of it. They like it not.

Thus it comes that pacifism tends to put militarism on the defensive, where before it had been in that unenviable position itself. Colleges, church conventions, and other institutions are being torn into disputatious factions, and the despairing wail of the warrior is beginning to be heard throughout the land, as a result.

In view of the modern capitalist necessity for militarism and war, nothing may come of this pacifist outburst. Nevertheless it is a good indication —a promise of more progress rather than more reaction.

## The Farmer-Labor Convention.

Ex-Senator Pettigrew has written a letter to the Industrial Pioneer in order to learn if the Industrial Workers of the World will be represented at the Farmer-Labor Convention to be held in St. Paul on June 17th.

It will not. No provision has been made for such representation either by the last convention or any referendum since then.

Further, it is not likely that either a convention or a referendum would provide for such representation. The Industrial Workers of the World is primarily an economic organization. It believes in working class organization at the point of production and distribution, where labor is robbed through profit, interest and rent; and where all power, including political power, primarily resides.

The Industrial Workers of the World seeks, through industrial union organization, to concentrate working class attention and activity solely on this, the most vital point in the social organism, convinced that the class that rules economically rules politically as well.

## WHAT I REMEMBER OF DOCKLAND

The barefooted children, playing in the alleys, who laughed but were not happy.

The swing bridges at the dock entrances.

The unceasing and deafening noise of the traffic on the granite roads.

The continual rattle of the cranes.

The groups of men at the wharf gates waiting to be taken on.

The rush of these men when a voice boomed from the warehouse.

The fewness of those that were taken on.

The stolid resignation of those that were missed.

The whitewashed doorsteps.

The frequent outbreaks of fire.

The impure atmosphere, scented with the smell of spices, liquors, and rotted fruit. — GORDON HOSKING, in the London Daily Herald.

# A Message to the IWW

By COVINGTON AMI

NEVER before in its history did the IWW ever stand face to face with a greater opportunity than it does today.

Everywhere the masses, sickened and sore with the treasons and inefficiency of politicians, are ready to hear the message of Industrial Democracy if only it is told to them in language they can understand.

Everywhere capitalism is fast rotting into ruin and everywhere the opportunity to overcome it is in Labor's hands if only the teachers of Labor will cease their infantile talk about the "destruction of civilization," and, instead, cry from the housetops: "Workers of the World, Behold, the New Age is at hand! Never before in time was a Grander Day in sight, never was there so much of life, wealth, liberty and pursuit of happiness before you, O Labor, for the simple reaching out and taking!"

Let this be the message from now on, for verily, verily, I say unto YOU, CIVILIZATION is NOT PERISHING! It has hardly yet begun. All that is now happening is that the last great SLAVE SYSTEM is wrecking itself and making the way clear for a mightier civilization, a more splendid freedom than Man has ever known!

Into this New Order it is the IWW's privilege to lead the way if only its young men and women so WILL it, for the field is wide open to them. Everywhere the Elder Statesmen of the Unions have practically ceased all efforts at organizing the workers on the economic field and are all busy wasting their time and the unions' funds playing petty politics, while the workers cry for **leadership.**

Young men and women of the IWW, THIS IS YOUR great opportunity! Seize it! Go to the Lumber, Steel, Automobile and all unorganized, unskilled and semi-skilled workers with the message of THE ONLY UNION that can bring the hope for BREAD and FREEDOM! Center ALL your strength on THESE! Do it NOW, today, crying, "Behold! the boundless wealth, material and spiritual, O Workers, that is yours if ye WILL!" and you will win them and the age-long fight!

Something New in
Every Issue

Gets Better from Month to Month

# The Industrial Pioneer

**Is the Only Illustrated Labor Magazine Devoted to Working Class Interests Along Industrial Union Lines**

**No Workman or Woman Should be Without It**

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# Boycott All California Products!

# The Industrial Pioneer

An Illustrated Labor Magazine
July - 20¢ Single Copy

## AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' NUMBER

*Big Bend, Washington, in Harvest Time*

*The Harvest Drive*

*CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT*

*Smoke Wreaths and Visions*

*The Boy from Washington*

*FARMERS AND INDUSTRY*

*"The Japanese Peril"*

# PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

THE working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 450, I. W. W.

# The Harvest Drive Is On!

The 1924 drive of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union is on!

Initiated at the Omaha, Nebraska, conference on May 28, with 70 delegates present from all sections of the the country, it promises to be a history-making one.

Never before was the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union a greater necessity to the agricultural industry and its workers than at present.

Agriculture is undergoing a great change. It is becoming industrialized. In the process, the small farmer is being driven from the farm into the city, there to compete with the industrial worker.

In this transition, the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union can do much to prepare the small farmer for entrance into the industrial unions of the cities on his arrival there.

Further, this transition adds "auto tramps" and "auto families" to the labor market; as does the prevalent unemployment in the other industries. The harvest fields, as a result, are likely to be overrun with an excessive labor supply.

Under the circumstances, the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union will be an important factor, in remedying adverse conditions, or making the best of them, with better wages and other results.

The Omaha conference took many important steps to this end. It decided to push the IWW press wherever the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union operates. By means of the IWW press, small farmers, farm hands, "auto tramps" and migratory workers can be reached and converted to organization.

The Omaha conference also took steps to extend its work to Canada, to promote the California boycott, to strengthen Industrial Union finances, to perfect Industrial Union ramifications, discipline its membership, and make the 1924 drive the best one ever.

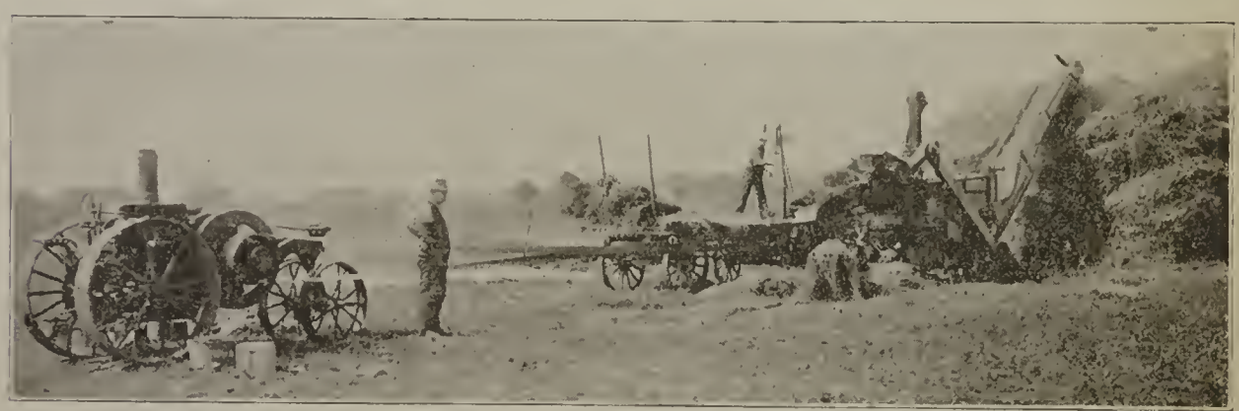
With such enthusiasm and preparation success is bound to crown the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union.

On with the drive!

# In the Good Old Harvest Time

A SELF-BINDING HARVESTER

PHOTOS COURTESY INTER. HARVESTER CO.



KEROSENE TRACTOR OPERATING THRESHER

# Down On The Farm

WHERE THEM "PESKY GO-ABOUTS" SWARM

AN OSBORNE MOWER

# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Edited by JUSTUS EBERT

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# Smoke Wreaths and Visions

By JAMES LANCE

**The migratory agricultural worker, grown conscious of the dependence of the world's bread basket on his filling, dreams a dream of organization and emancipation 'round the jungle fire that is slowly taking shape in reality—urge of economic necessity, responsible for the migratory urge, becomes, also, the urge for a new society.**

CERTAIN urges and instincts which motivate the inhabitants of this old world, to an interested observer, are an endless source of wonder and speculation. Through them birds, beasts and their prouder biological descendants act in a manner which seems to have been determined by forces above and beyond their control or power of resistance. Our northern songbirds leave us to doleful contemplation of those days rendered more melancholy by the absence of their soul-stirring voices when the first breath of old King Winter paints the leaves bronze and purple and threatens dire things to come. The king salmon feels the urge thousands of miles down the latitudes and returns from his wanderings thru the spaces of the southern ocean to spawn in the river in which he was a fingerling. And every spring when the breezes in the cities begin to give promise of hot stuffy nights and sweltering days between walls of stone and pavements of yielding asphalt the migratory worker thinks of the open spaces lying beyond the confines in which he has been passing his days in irksome monotony and—starts for the harvest.

Migrations all, and of the three perhaps his is the strangest and saddest. Not for him the security which Mother Nature vouchsafes to his feathered brethren. Not even the thrill of satisfaction which must come to the bruised and starving salmon when he fulfills his destiny and insures the coming of more of his kind before he dies in the stream which was his earliest home. Not even the surety of enough work to make his migration a shield against the time when he again will chafe at the bonds imposed by zero weather and despairingly count the days until he can once more migrate to the waving fields of grain.

Yet on him, saddest and strangest of the world's migratories depends whether the bread basket of his more fortunately situated brothers is filled or empty. Without his labor the world which has condemned him to live like a pariah would be slack-bellied. His brawny back and straining arms are the source of food for millions who thoughtlessly shove him aside when the harvest is over and only wish that instead of being a migratory, he was of those breeds which hibernate, so that his woe-begone presence when the harvest is ended would not occasion them displeasure in viewing his misery.

For such a reward this "son of Martha" labors long and suffers much. The harvest fields in which he adds to the store of the world's wealth are not ideal vacation places. Down in the far-famed wheat-fields of Kansas Old Sol pours down his fiercest rays on the sweat-soaked back of the harvest slave; winds like those from Dante's Inferno scorch his fatigued frame and beards from rye, barley and winter wheat penetrate every niche and seam of his

scanty clothing and add further to his agony; and when the parching wind dies for a moment great clouds of flying ants appear and add their torture to his already mountainous burden.

Later in the season he lies in the rattle-trap barns and granaries of North Dakota and shiveringly pulls the shoddy comfort or stinking horse blanket with which the farmer, in his greatness of heart, has supplied the "harvest bum," closer around his freezing body and burrows deeper into the spikes of foxtail hay to escape the biting breath of the northwind.

Aye, a bitter lot is that of the great army of migratory workers who follow the lure of the elusive "winter's stake" through the grain belt from Texas to the Canadian boundary. His life is an anachronism; in a modern world, he lives as the savages of by-gone centuries. His food is often prepared in jungle camps, his bed is Mother Earth with the firmament for a canopy and the dew for covering. In inclement weather his abode is a boxcar, or if he is unusually fortunate, a refrigerator car or deserted building. His camp-fires send smoke wreaths into the upper air across a thousand miles of territory, just as in long-forgotten days those of the Pawnee and Sioux sent their streamers floating skyward before the West was "civilized". That civilization was not intended for him, if we can judge from his experiences.

Behind this migration of human beings which promises so little and which is so laden with hardship lies a force even stronger than the natural urges which send the songbirds and the salmon on their yearly journeys. In a world in which the storehouses are bursting with food and clothing, in which enough is produced to feed, clothe and shelter all, a vicious disregard for equal distribution and an insane desire for possessions, which by no stretch of the imagination could be deemed necessary to those who in their avaricious power have grasped them, forces these slaves of the harvest to return year after year to those fields in which they have never yet received aught but misery. This is the sad and strange feature of the harvest migration, and it is, as yet, beyond the control of its unwilling victims.

"BROTHER TO THE OX"

Countless thousands of them have vowed never to again make this gainless pilgrimage but the forces that spur them on are an empty belly and shoeless feet. Economic necessity, that greatest of human driving powers, is behind them, and year after year, the ripening grain beckons, hunger drives, and their footsteps again point toward their season of slavery.

Strange, too, is the fact that in a world of daily increasing wealth, greater civilization and wider culture the number of these miserable migratories is increasing rather than diminishing. In the last two or three years a new addition to their forces has appeared. Formerly the migratory harvest hand was alone, in the sense that he was a single man, unencumbered by wife or children. Now, however, whole families are to be seen on the rainbow chase. Small automobiles, made famous by a certain genius with a remarkable aptitude for coining millions out of scrap tin, now litter the highway throughout the harvest belt, and if the mode of transportation of this new type of migratory is different, their lives on the whole, are much the same as those who depend on boxcars and "head-ends". And the reward for them is just as scant and the misery to be endured much greater than for those who have no dependents.

But he who imagines that humans will indefinitely endure such hardship, misery and privation is expecting the impossible. The following of this mistaken premise has been responsible for the fall of dynasties and empires. And, as the dropping of water will wear away the hardest stone, so the increasing burdens that have been added to the load of the harvest slave have worn something from him. No longer is he satisfied to accept the dictum of those who have made him brother to the ox. No longer does he stand, stolid and stunned, before the powers arrayed against him and which seem ever bent on reducing him to an even lower place in the scale of life. Too long has he carried the burden of the world in meekness and silence and now his back is straightening, his eyes are regaining their sight and already the "whirlwinds of rebellion" which Edwin Markham so truly foretold in his epic, "The Man With The Hoe" are shaking the world.

Slowly, gropingly, as might be expected after years of submergence and slavery, but steadily, daringly even, as he becomes sure of the justice of his demands and of his ability to enforce them, the slave of the grain fields is making known his decision to no longer be driven blindly by those he so long accepted without question as arbiters of his destiny. A new consciousness has arisen in him, suffering has stricken off the bandages that blinded his vision for so long, and his eyes, now that he has learned to employ them, and his brain, now that he has put it into use have shown him that on himself, the food gatherer, depends the magnificence of

(Continued on page 8)

A HEADER CREW IN KANSAS —INT HARVESTER CO. PHOTO

# The Farmers and Industry

By JOHN HAYHAND

**The great change that farming is now undergoing makes it a subject of paramount importance. Especially is this true at the present moment, when the harvest time approaches, and agriculture plays a most prominent part in the prosperity of the entire country.**

**The following article points out the nature of the agricultural revolution and its similarity to the beginnings of trustification in the industrial developments of forty years ago. In connection therewith it discusses farmer-labor politics and dwells on the necessity for industrial union organization.**

**As a contribution to the solution of a many-sided problem it will be found both interesting and valuable.**

AGRICULTURE in this country is undergoing a great change. It is beginning to be more like factory industry, from which it was one time held to be separate and distinct. It is developing co-operative societies, banking, farming, export, and other corporations, involving big capital. It tends to squeeze out the small farm in favor of the company and the larger farm. It is developing scientific cultivation and management, all requiring improved, up-to-date, machinery and larger capital outlays.

The conditions in agriculture at the present time are similar to those in existence at the beginning of the great trust movement in manufacturing industry 40 years ago. Then trade syndicates and combinations were organized to remedy the conditions due to competition and overproduction. Then small business men were crowded to the wall and many new forms of corporations took their place. Then the gap between employer and employee widened, as the armies of workers in the trustified plants grew and labor organization, consequently, developed.

In agriculture, overproduction is giving rise to combinations of all kinds. These combinations include the cultivation, selling, financing and exporting of farm products. They aim to restrict acreage, provide markets, both at home and abroad, abolish the middleman, and regulate the labor supply. As in all combinations, the big farmers reap the most benefits; while the small farmers are neither provided for, nor permitted to survive.

### Some of the Combinations

The names of some of these combinations are given in the following list:

American Farm Economics Association; American Association of Commissioners, State Secretaries and Departments of Agriculture; National Grange, American Farm Bureau Federation; Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America; Farmers' National Grain Dealers' Association; National Co-operative Milk Producers' Federation; National Board of Farm Organizations; National Association of State Marketing Officials; Sun-Maid Raisin Growers; American Committee on the International In-

stitute of Agriculture at Rome and the United States Department of Agriculture.

**The census of 1920 gives the number of persons "gainfully employed" in agriculture as 10,953,158. The department of agriculture estimates that since 1920 from 1,700,000 to 2,000,000 persons have left the farms. Congressman Summers claims that, at the present time, 100,000 persons are being starved off the farms every month. But, as it is claimed that the farmers are 25 per cent too numerous, it would appear as if this tendency will continue somewhat longer before it finally runs its course.**

Competition in factory-industry led to overproduction and combination. It led to the concentration of industry into fewer hands; and the creation of great armies of wage workers, or wage slaves, as some prefer to call them. In agriculture, we see the same thing coming up in the company farm, with its few owners and armies of workers. This is particularly true of such farms as those of the Earl Fruit Co. and its many subsidiary companies on the Pacific Coast and the Borden Farm Products Co. in New York state. On these farms the workers are subject to rules and regulations as in the city shop or factory. They are hired and fired as profits demand.

### Cause of it All

The cause of this condition is the necessity to produce cheaply and then more cheaply still. The country that can, with up-to-date machinery, scientific methods, ample financing, and compact organization, produce most cheaply for the markets of the world, will dominate those markets. The farmer with all of the foregoing elements in his favor will win out there as well as elsewhere.

The small farmer has none of these features. He produces at a value that embodies more labor than is socially necessary. That is, his goods are too dear, because he is not abreast of the methods which social development has evolved and made imperative.

His farm is too small to employ modern machinery; and his capital is not big enough to permit its introduction. His methods are antiquated; they are out of touch with the mass production of large enterprise, and he cannot secure ample financial backing or favorable freight rates on that account.

The company farm and the larger farm command all these things and produce, market and sell cheaper, as a consequence. And so the small farmer goes to the wall in the struggle, as did the small industrialist, similarly situated, before him.

There is no way, apparently, by which the small farmer can increase his capital, extend his holdings, introduce machinery and scientific management, secure better financial backing and more favorable marketing and markets. He has to make way for those who possess all these advantages, and who, possessing them, can combine to more advantage still, and thus survive the struggle. And so combination of all kinds goes on apace; while the small farmer leaves the farm for the city.

It is getting to be so that most of the crops of the country are being raised by wage slaves; that is, by the regular farm hand, who is employed all year around, and the casual migratory worker, who is employed at harvest time mainly. The latter comes from the city, to which oddly enough the farmer is going. He is meeting with considerable competition from "auto tramps"; that is, farmers who are traveling with their families about the farm country in autos seeking employment wherever it can be found and obtaining it, at times, at lowest wages possible.

Conditions on the farms are growing scandalous. The migratory families (make note of that, reader: "migratory families"), earn very little wages. Some earn as much as $5 a day; others earn less than $2 a day. Children of tender years, according to government reports, spend long hours in the fields, not only picking berries and hoeing vegetables but also ploughing, working machine cultivators and transplanting. Many of them are younger than ten years.

It is to such conditions, rivaling the sweat shop in industry, that agriculture has fallen, despite its great advances in a scientific and mechanical direction.

From the facts above cited, it is clear that, since the small farmers' troubles are mainly economic, there is no relief to be had from them in poliitcs. What the small farmers need to realize is the nature of economic tendencies. Since these are forcing him into the ranks of the working class he should study and prepare himself for working class conditions and for organization in working class unions. Whether he goes to the city, to work there in the auto, movie, steel, and other industries; or whether he stays on the farm as a hand or as an auto tramp, he needs to join an industrial union. Otherwise, the revolution on the farm will redound not only to his disadvantage but also to that of the workers everywhere, as well.

### The Workers' Duty

And vice-versa, it becomes the duty of workers everywhere, to get in touch with ex-farmers, farm hands and migratory workers and families, and point out to them the need for industrial unionism, not only among auto and other industrial workers; but also among agricultural industrial workers of all kinds as well.

**That the small farmers cannot expect anything beneficial from politics may be seen in recent federal export legislation. This legislation would enrich the Big Five meat packers to the tune of possibly $200,000,000. It will give more ample returns, in the way of profits, to the big farm cooperatives, backed by big financial interests, and the big farm corporations. Such legislation cannot be utilized by the small farmer as he does not measure up to its requirements. He's like the small industrialist, who, despite protection and subsidies, is not big enough to profit from them and so must go to the wall.**

(Continued on page 14)

I NEED A HAND BUT I DONT WANT NONE OF THEM PESKY I.W.W.'S
WHY DID YER QUIT YER LAST JOB?
I DIDN'T LIKE THE FOOD
MAYBE YOU BE ONE OF THEM AGERTATORS? WHAT WUZ THE TROUBLE WITH THE GRUB?
A MONTH AGO AN OLD PIG DIED AND WE HAD PORK TO EAT FOR A WEEK AND—
WAL, PORK AND BEEF AIN'T SO BAD FER FARM HANDS
THEN AN OLD COW DIED AND WE HAD BEEF TO EAT. BUT-
LAST WEEK THE OLD LADY DIED AND I QUIT— YOU OLD SCISSORBILL!
C HUMLEY

YOU CAN NEVER TELL; STRANGE THINGS HAPPEN IN THE LAND OF JOHN FARMER

# Smoke Wreaths and Visions

(Continued from page 4)

modern civilization. With this realization has come the determination to make that civilization recompense him for the hardship he endures that society may continue on its upward march and to see that his lot is made more endurable. The harvest slave is becoming a man, with all the attributes that term implies.

Not this year, perhaps not next, but as surely as the sun rises, this new decision of the harvest slave will bear fruit. He knows now that his yearly migration with its attendant miseries and scant returns is not a natural migration. He is beginning to understand the forces behind it and he can see the remedy by and through which it can be replaced by a more sane method of feeding the world. The new vision, seen faintly outlined in the drifting vapors of his camp-fire, is one that will remove forever the necessity of spending his summer months in the burning heat of the fields and his winters in a fetid lodging house on a back street of some city. He can see the harvest of the future being gathered by an eager, willing army of real men, not semi-slaves, proud in the knowledge that their labor is appreciated and reciprocated by toilers in other industries, and that they have at last risen to the full status of manhood.

Failing to give the credit for his awakening to those to whom it is due, would be doing a grave injustice. The suffering of the harvest slave had long ago made him rebellious, but his ignorance and blindness prevented him from using his inherent strength in righting his wrongs. Blindly, madly at times, he struck out, but his blows lacked direction and judgment. His arm has always been strong enough to feed the world, but in defense of himself and his place in the sun his strength was expended without the intelligence needed for victory. His eyes were always on the ground and the world was satisfied to keep them there; real rebellions are never instituted without visions, and visions do not come to him who never sees the stars.

Toiling, straining, eyes blinded with sweat, fingers bleeding from the spear-like beards, at last to his consciousness come a voice that had a message for him. Long it was unheeded, for he was in the very depths of slavery and voices, unless they were demanding more of his labor meant nothing to his sodden brain. Persistently, appealingly, beseechingly, the voice continued until finally, away back in some corner of his brain, came the realization that at last someone was speaking to him, not shouting at him. The message that the voice finally impressed on his consciousness was the wonder-worker that has caused him to awaken. From a whisper at first, dimly heard through the barriers of fear and superstition built up through years of servitude, it grew and grew until it filled his whole mind as the cadences of a massive organ fill every nook and corner of a cathedral.

"Organize," said the voice, "organization will lead you out of slavery. Lift your eyes and behold the world as it is, see the mighty part which is yours in the drama of life. Awaken! you are bound with chains because you are asleep. Strike off your shackles! Ignorance keeps you where you are. Organize and follow me and the world shall be yours."

Doubtfully, in the beginning, half fearful that this was some new scheme to add to his burdens, the harvest slave looked upward and about him. As the voice continued and pointed out the wealth which he had created he understood at last the reason for his slavery and saw the road to freedom. From that faltering start the migratory worker of the harvest has followed his new friend, the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union of the Industrial Workers of the World many steps upward from his former status. He has learned that in union there is strength and he has become an ardent advocate of unionism. He has never turned back because he has found that organization is the key to emancipation and he has learned that every one of his brother serfs are needed to make his union complete and his freedom certain. With the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union as a guide he has mapped out winning campaigns year after year and as his education advanced he has seen that there are many more steps to take and that the way will be long and tedious.

He realizes that rebellions are not accepted meekly by those in power and he has already felt the heavy hand of organized authority but his vision of a future in which camp-fires, boxcars, barns and lodging houses will not be the reward of back-breaking, soul-stunting toil, in which he who feeds the world will not starve, and in which no such unnatural migrations as he has made for years will be necessary, keeps him fighting ever onward.

The smoke wreaths of his camp-fires will be seen across the prairies this summer and his rebellions will make spicy news for space writers but he has seen a vision and he knows at last that his destiny lies in his own hands.

There we will leave him, sure in the knowledge that his future is in the best of care and that no matter what the cost or how difficult the way, his vision of a better world will keep him henceforth in the ranks of those fearless fighters of other industries who are also on the upward road from slavery and in whose eyes a vision of a New Society is also shining. With these men and their vision the future of the race is safe.

# The Boy from Washington

By BOB PEASE

**A lumber jack follows the migratory stream eastward, works in "The Long Straw Country," and has experiences that thrill and astound!**

**One of the most vivid and virile tales of the Knights of the Road since the days of Jack London—read how the struggle with economic reality turned the dreaming idealist into a man of determination.**

IT was in the midst of one of those rare, warm, bright afternoons in late October and the sun seemed to shine with a special warmth and brightness on a certain spiked iron railing around the entrance of a certain basement barber shop in the slave market of Milwaukee.

There, leaning against the railing with due deference to its crown of thorns, a tattered, overalled detachment of the army of the unemployed was drinking in the sunlight in great gulps, as tho instinctively trying to capture and hoard as much of it as possible for the cold, cruel months of hunger lying just ahead of them.

And there on the curbstone, gazing at them with a smile, half quizzical, half pitying, stood the boy from Washington!

He seemed queerly out of place in that squalid setting, so straight, so sturdy looking with his square shoulders and level gaze. In his clear grey eyes seemed to be mirrored something of the grandeur of the great, smiling, clean open spaces of the West now dead; and something of the stolidity of his native hills. Also something lying dormant there, something of the dreamer, of the seeker after truth, and much of the poet who can write, should need arise, in burning deeds, instead of words.

Early in the summer of the same year he had been driven from the lumbering district of Northeastern Washington, where he had been born on a stump ranch, and where he had worked in the logging camps for the two years since the natural growth of younger brothers and sisters had made the tiny cabin called home too crowded for comfort and the oldest had to move to new shelter, by a general shutdown of the camps and sawmills, caused, so the daily papers said, by the overproduction of lumber.

Micawbers, Waiting for Something to Turn Up

Idle and Demoralized

Having a little money, plenty of time and his fair share of the adventurous pioneer spirit, he had followed the crowds of homeless, unemployed loggers and had made his way by easy stages in empty boxcars, towards the land of the great harvest. North Dakota, called by the migratory harvest slaves, "The Long Straw Country," or "Big Dick."

The boy encountered many other slaves of all ages, all traveling towards the same goal, and sensed and caught a sort of infectious eagerness to get there and so, longer and longer stretches he traveled and shorter were his rests. Also he learned that the men and boys with whom he traveled alluded to themselves as "hoboes." He found the term pleasing and it gave him a thrill of wickedness to be classified with them for he had read newspaper accounts of "hoboes." But when a sour-faced "shack" called a group of them "bums," he was insulted and hurt to the depths of his being, for he was not a bum! He bought all his meals and clothes and had nearly a hundred dollars yet in his pockets.

No! Emphatically he was not a "bum" and he would never be one; he would die first, as any good American should. He even went so far as to question, in his mind, the Americanism of the "shack" who had called him such a name.

As they neared the eastern Montana line, the talk of his companions drifted to the IWW, or the "Wobblies," as they called them. They told many tales of violence and personal injury, which, they alleged, was suffered at the hands of "the Wobs" in previous years, and said that when a "hobo" got into the "Big Dick," the best way to keep out of trouble was to "buy a ticket" from the first delegate he met. The "ticket," they said "the crazy Wobs" called "a card" but it was really a little red book, and was, when paid for in advance, good for a ticket on all freight trains in Dakota and also good for a meal ticket in every jungle where "Wobblies" congregated!

One old man with a patriarchal grey beard, even went so far as to declare that "the Wobblies" were not such a bad bunch of boys at that. But he was shouted down by the others who protested loudly that "they are too d—n radical" and the boy decided that the majority must be right. When the boy reached "Big Dick" he met "the Wobblies" 'right enough and when he was told that the "card," which the other "boes" had said was good for a railway ticket all thru the harvest, and for a summer's board in the jungles, only cost three dollars, he considered it a good investment and took one at once.

But otherwise the boy was not so lucky. He found that the army of slaves from the west met a larger army of slaves from the east and there were three slaves competing for every job, so the rest of the summer for the boy was a series of long rides by freight and short jobs where the sun was hot, the hours excruciatingly long and the pay surprisingly short. His hundred dollars dwindled away and soon, when he found that the wheat was all harvested and there were no more jobs on the market, he had very little left and was a long way from home.

From time to time he heard the other "Wobblies" kicking, and saying it was the rotten system which made times so hard and then a lot more about Labor and Capital, master and slaves, and other things that the boy didn't quite understand. But when he remembered that the slaves had been given their freedom in Civil War days and that "the Wobblies are too d—n radical" he didn't try to understand.

With the harvest over and the money nearly gone, the boy found it imperative to go somewhere. With his brain fired by some tales he had heard by the jungle fires about fortunes to be had for the making in the industrial centers of the east; of chances for a bright boy to work up and become a corporation head; and strong in the spirit of adventure the boy turned his face towards the rising sun, towards the new frontier of industry and traveled.

Now we find him standing on the brink of the abyss looking down on the wrecks of humanity who have fallen in the mad race of youth with fortune. Eight silver dollars, each with an eagle and a goddess of Liberty to consecrate it, lay in his pocket and idly his fingers clinked them one by one.

Someone plucks at his sleeve and, turning with a start, he sees besides him an Austrian, squat, dwarfed, stunted and twisted in childhood by poverty, twisted and scarred in manhood by industry, with black pits in his face where chunks of coal have one time been imbedded by a mine explosion or even in the course of his regular duties as a coal miner. But now, as he smiles up at the boy, there is a look of wheedling friendliness in his eyes that is pleasant for the boy, who sees beauty even in most ugly things.

"Boy, you like get it goode job?"

"Why, sure!"

"Boy; you got it money? You get it, we eat. I give it you address goode job!"

"All right; come along!"

They enter a Greek restaurant and for the next fifteen minutes no word is spoken and no sound is heard except the rattle of iron knives and forks on the greasy counter. Then the boy obtains an address in Cleveland, Ohio, and hardly knowing which is the winner in the deal, watches his companion disappear in the crowd.

His money is getting low! He must make all haste to the job. He inquires his way to the yards and boards an east-bound freight. Then ensue days and nights of frantic scurrying about in miles of freight yards and long, jolting rides, no longer in friendly open boxcars, but on tops, in gondolas loaded with coal and on tanker platforms.

At last, a friendly open boxcar door! He climbs in, finds some straw on the floor and falls asleep among other forms slumbering in the darkness. The train pulls out with a roar and rattle and thump and the knights of the road are on their way again.

The train rattles to a stop in the yards of Toledo, and two yard bulls, guardians of the private property and rights of the railroads go down the line "looking her over." They see the slightly open door. They open it wider and climb in!

Suddenly a startling beam of light in the darkness and a voice, "Get up, you bums and put 'em up!"

The boy from Washington, not knowing what is happening, sits up and rubs his eyes. The others, more wise in eastern etiquette of the road, are lined up alongside the walls, reaching for the skies.

A vicious kick in the ribs brings him to his feet, and he is staring into the white muzzle of a flashlight and the black muzzle of an automatic! He puts them up!

"Stand over there!" He stands.

One bull keeps them covered with his flashlight and his "rod of iron."

The other "shakes them down."

When he comes to the boy his hands feel the silver dollars.

"We'll take you along."

Then to the others: "Get to hell out of these yards and make it snappy."

They need no second invitation.

When they are gone he turns to the boy and, with a grin, takes over the remains of his harvest stake.

"Now you get to hell out of here; and if you open your yap, we'll 'vag' you."

The boy stumbled away thru the darkness across the railroad tracks and up a bank into the poorly lighted streets of Toledo's slave quarter. On and on he wandered, taking no notice of time or distance.

His mind was in a daze. His whole theory of society was crumbling about him. He had been robbed of his last hard earned dollars by men who, he had seen, wore gleaming stars on their coats; badges of that authority which, to him, had always seemed to mean the protecting power of the America he loved, guarding her sons.

He had been robbed! Also they kicked him and his ribs ached. They had even threatened to "vag" him if he told anyone about it and he didn't doubt that they would carry out their threat. He was down and out, tired and hungry, thru no fault of his own that he could see, and he didn't understand. A dumb wondering look was on his face as the sun rose that morning, but his spirits rose with the sun and after a while he sat down in a doorway to rest and to see what the yard bulls had left him of his possessions. Not much was left.

He found in his pockets only a few broken matches and the little red card of "the Wobblies." He opened it and started to read it for the first time.

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." That couldn't be right. Did not all Americans have everything in common? The same country, the same flag, and all the other things he had read about in the district school at home?

And again: "There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people." That was too much. "Hunger and want among millions of the working people." He knew better than that. He had learned when very young that hunger and want came only to those who were too lazy to get a job and stick

**Using Family Needs to Force Wage Cut**

SOAP-BOXING SEASON IS HERE

**Proclaim Industrial Unionism Throughout the Land, Unto the Denizens Therein, that Labor May Organize and Flourish**

to it. It was too dismal reading for an empty stomach, anyway!

He closed the book with a snap and his first impulse was to fling it into the gutter, but on second thought that he would pass thru Dakota on his way home and might need it again, he put it back in his pocket.

Toward evening, the boy found his way to the railroad yards again and boarded an east-bound freight! There were no "empties" this time; and he sat on the top of a boxcar clinging to the platform. Night came on! A chill wind blew down from the Great Lakes, and seemed to cut him to the bone. His body ached, his hands were numb. Then an icy rain began to beat on him. Terror gripped him. What if he should fall asleep and roll off the car? He had heard of other "boes" who had "greased a rail."

The train ground and jerked to a halt! The boy climbed stiffly down. He wanted to crawl away somewhere where it was dry and sleep; but he dare not. He was hungry and he must make Cleveland and the job on the morrow. He "went over" the train and the best he could find was a "gondola" loaded with fertilizer going from a Toledo livery barn to a Cleveland hothouse to raise out-of-season vegetables and fruit for some millionaire's table.

As the train pulled out the boy climbed up and stood for the rest of the night half up to his knees in the stinking mess, facing the driving rain. At dawn of a cold, drizzling day, he arrived in Cleveland and started in quest of his job.

He showed the address to a friendly-looking po-

liceman, who said he did not know the street but directed him to the police station. Arrived there the boy showed his address and was informed by a blue-uniformed sergeant that no such address existed in Cleveland.

The boy, head down, hunger gnawing at his vitals, stumbled down the steps and slowly, almost instinctively, turned towards the slave market. There he stood hungry, wet, disheartened, almost beaten, a look of dumb misery on his face, and watched the other slaves, now ownerless, like himself, wandering aimlessly about; thousands of them! "Bums," he muttered. "Why don't they work?" And, after a moment, "I wonder if they are thinking the same of me?"

Something caught at the boy's sleeve, giving a metallic click as it came away, caught again and held. He looked around, straight into the eyes of a child. Large brown eyes they were and in those eyes all the dumb suffering of generations of beaten childhood, all the agony of the ages of slavery, was mirrored.

This the boy saw and it made him creep. Cold sweat broke out on him. He had never seen such horrors in eyes before. He looked at the face. It was white and drawn and pinched. The hair on its head was matted and filthy. One bare arm, with crippled hand upturned, was held out to him. The other arm—the boy shuddered—the other arm was off at the elbow! It had never been doctored. The flesh had withered and drawn back from the wound, exposing about an inch of dead, white bone. Thru this bone was hooked a stiff, rusty wire and the other end of the wire was hooked in the boy's sleeve!

The child was about 10 years of age; whether boy or girl could not be told from its appearance. Its only clothing was a neckless, sleeveless smock of blue denim reaching to the knees. Its feet were bare; and there it stood on the cold stone pavement in the icy fall rain.

It spoke in a pitiful, thin voice: "Please, mister; give me a penny?"

What was the boy to say or do? Had he been fuller of years and piety, he might have loosed himself and passed on, saying: "The child is being punished for the sins of its fathers, even unto the thirty-second generation! God's will be done."

Had he been a young Jesus he undoubtedly would have talked to some of the paving stones and turned them into bread and cheese. Had he been a young Lincoln he might have said, as did Lincoln in the chattel slave market: "If I ever get a chance to hit this thing, I will!"

But being only a young lumberjack, the boy from Washington said nothing. He couldn't. For something was in his throat, strangling him! Something as hard and cold as the soul of capitalism! Something as bitter as the tears of labor's orphans wailing in the gutters of the world!

He only gently loosed his sleeve from the hook on the mangled arm and ran, slowly, heavily, blindly. He knew not where he ran nor why. But at last, nearly exhausted, he came again to railroad tracks and to a west-bound freight.

The boy climbed into a straw-littered boxcar and shut the door. Then, in the semi-darkness, he flung himself down on the filthy straw and wept. Mind and body were numb. He only wept into the straw and cried to himself, Why? Why?? Why???

A long time he lay there in the groaning, swaying, car, and his brain was on fire, burning with a fierce, scorching, searing heat, and a crimson flame, red as the blood of labor's dead. Burning! Burning!! Until at last the brain and the spirit were purged of all false hopes and vain fancies and the boy saw the world as it is. There was born of the spirit, the brain and the flame, red hate and understanding!

The boy struggled to his knees and fumbled in his pocket. He brot out a little red card and clasped it in both hands. Then kneeling there in the swaying car, his face lifted, as tho in prayer. Slowly, distinctly, fervently, the boy was speaking:

"I have been a fool. The country that allows that maimed and innocent child, half-naked and half-fed, to stand in its rags, begging the penniless for pennies, while strong men search in vain for work, is not the America I have been taught to love!"

He clasped the little red card closer. "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people . . . . . ."

He did not say "Amen!" He put the little red card back in his pocket with one hand and clasped the other over his empty belly. Then, seeing the incongruity of his posture he laughed. But it was not the laugh of a boy. The boy from Washington was dead; and the man who had taken his place will not be so easily reckoned with.

Now that You Have Read "The Boy from Washington", Get Ready to Read in Next Month's Pioneer

# ANNIE

The Wobbly Girl who Unwittingly Fell in Love with a Labor Spy. You'll Hate the Tribe More After Doing it.

# "The Dreaded Yellow Peril"

By SYDNEY WEISE

**Some information regarding Japanese exclusion that is not included in the increasing war propaganda directed against the far easterners—Who brought the Japs here and why?—The empire builders and their cheap labor tactics laid bare.**

**To many people over the greater part of the United States the Japanese is a quiet, tireless bellhop whom the fiction writers have represented as being an admiral of the Japanese navy, intent upon securing information concerning the coast guard defenses at Minot, N. D., and Tulsa, Oklahoma.**

**To the Babbitts regarding the Saturday Evening Post and the Police Gazette as the official expressions of "Our Great Americanism," he is the "Dreaded Yellow Peril which hovers so threateningly over California, and is rapidly getting control of the best land in the state." He is taking away the opportunity to labor from the American laboring man. Is lowering his standard of living. Is creating a little Japan right here, and is not intermarrying with the white race. He does not absorb American Culture and ideals and therefore should be stopped from immigrating.**

THE manner of his first coming is not mentioned, and this circumstance, together with his activities since landing could well furnish material from which a novelist could write a tale that will live, without drawing on the imagination.

Had the Jap arrived on these western shores with a blunderbuss on each hip and a cutlass in his teeth, seeking the extermination of red savages possessing gold ornaments; or to trade rum to them in return for furs, he probably would have had the romantic setting which would have entitled his name to a place among the founders of Great American Fortunes.

However, he awaited the invitation of the Empire Builders and other aggressive spirits who desired laborers that would perform a maximum of labor on a minimum of fodder. No doubt James J. Hill had the picture of thousands of these coolies at work with no "talking back" in mind when he made the famous declaration that he'd "make the stiffs eat their blankets." At any rate the Japs arrived in numbers and for a time the extra gangs were composed of orientals. The sawmills had their share—also for a time.

Existence in a boxcar does not include family life and the oriental had no intention of continuing the life of the homeless migratory worker who has built the canals, roads and highways of the United States and now is denied the privilege of riding on them. In California he saw land that would produce crops in greater abundance than that in his native country. He began to transfer his interests to the soil and to bring over the wife and family. So far he was no menace. Was he not developing wild land and raising valuable crops which were handled by the Chamber of Commerce members, and were hauled on the railroads he had built. He was also raising a family which for size "deelighted" the Rough Riding Teddy. The great lawmakers and perennial saviors of the nation wrote no impassioned speeches about the poor white farmer and laborer being competed out of business—no, not then.

Along with his smiling face and busy hands, the little Jap also possessed a brain that worked. He knew that the railroad magnate did not employ him because of his particular type of beauty or that the commission merchants did not bid for his garden truck because they loved him. So he and his fellows pooled their produce and established their own com-

IF THAT BRANCH EVER BREAKS—
GOOD NIGHT FOR HIM!

mission houses, thus saving the middleman's profit for themselves. He rapidly established stores and restaurants, and went into nearly every commercial enterprise from which the whites took their toll.

At this time the weather changed. Black clouds appeared on the brows of the politicians who drew their campaign funds from the captains of finance. "No single women can come here from Japan!" A sort of long distance marriage is arranged and they continue to come. Next "Drive them off the land—the farmers should back that." So it is made illegal to sell land to a Japanese . He leases it. Next it can only be leased for three years. The Jap works a tract for three years and then moves on to another. He is still in business in town. He must be stopped, but it wouldn't do to suggest that it was for the benefit of the white business man. It must be made to appear for the benefit of the laborer who is carrying his bed on his back from one construction job to another, and so the cry is started. However, the white farmers and resident city workers are not familiar with the plight of the stiff, or much concerned. So a sort of patriotic appeal must be made. Wave the flag and tell them about "the destruction of our beautiful state by the Jap." That takes better. So we see an exclusion law passed for the expressed purpose "of saving our western civilization from being extinguished by Oriental Culture." Immediately invitations are extended by some of the lumber companies to the Jap to work in the sawmills. This shows the depth of the mill owners' concern over the plight of the white workers. The Jap declines without thanks—he has been there before.

He is content to stay on his little ranch which he secured before the land laws were passed and when occasion demands he will hire a white farm hand, paying him usually fifty cents per day more than the white rancher pays. He has him eat at the table with the family and take a daily bath in place of the Saturday night tub, customary with the Nordic American. This smashing of an ancient custom is impossible for our "best citizens" to forgive.

Besides this the Jap spends many hours in the libraries which should be employed around a pool table or crap game. He does not make, sell or drink moonshine, nor use or peddle dope. His children are being educated instead of being put to work in factories at a tender age. His women are not inmates of brothels. His home country has had no Admiral Barrys in their navy and no YMCA incidents such as made Portland famous.

Not wasting his time on political platforms, none of his fellows are even mentioned in the Teapot Dome exposures or the Veteran's Bureau revelations. Likewise he has had no part in the making of the California Criminal Syndicalism Laws, and his brothers in Nippon are boycotting California produets until the victims of that statute are released. He has never lynched a "nigger" or burned one at the stake, and he has no Ku Klux Klan to conduct night shirt court martials. He does not break strikes or guard seabs. There are only seven members of his race in the California penitentiaries—all of these for minor offenses—and he does not furnish his quota of the three hundred and seventy-five murders which has been the state's average for several years past.

Does anyone wonder that he does not intermarry with the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West?

His race is increasing so fast that at present one child out of every eleven born in the state is a Japanese. At this rate the oriental will in time dominate the land of orange groves and jails. Then western civilization will indeed be doomed to give way to the culture of the east.

Oh, won't that be terrible?

## THE JAPANESE BUGABOO

While from 1910 to 1920 there was an increase in continental United States of 38,853 Japanese, there was an actual decrease of 22,737. Of the increase of 38,853, 29,672 were women and children, most of whom were born here. During the past three years 4,207 more Japanese have returned to Japan than have arrived in this country.

# Farmers and Industry

(Continued from page 6)

It is certain that politics will not stay the crushing effects of farm development on the small farmer. This development leaves him in the background—broke. Nor will polities for the farmer benefit the industrial workers. Three provinces in Canada have farmers' rule; that is, the farmers dominate three provincial parliaments in the Dominion. They have spent this power in modifying and removing beneficial labor legislation, like the 8-hour day for governmental employees. They have done this on the theory that the farmers wouldn't be able to keep their labor on the concessions if conditions elsewhere are made too attractive.

Thus it becomes evident, from the viewpoint of both the small farmers and the industrial workers that only organization for economic purposes will prove beneficial to both in the long run. The small farmer cannot stand up against modern development. He is starved off the farm into the city, or is forced into the ranks of the migratory workers, together with his family. What is there left for him to do, if not to organize, when in the city, with the workers in the industry in which he works? And when on the farm, with the agricultural workers' industrial union, affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World?

**The farm revolution is making wage workers, or as some call them, wage slaves, of the farmers. Consequently they should realize the fact and get together with other wage earners in industrial unionism. That is the only way in which they can seek both relief and emancipation. That is the only medium through which they can gain independence and liberation once more.**

# Railroad Work and Railroad Workers

By ALONZO WALTERS

**The writer of this article has worked at railroading during the past eight years, in various capacities. He has worked on the section, tamping ties, driving spikes, and handling steel rails. He has worked in the shops, as a machinists' helper, as a shop laborer, a storekeeper, and finally, on the rails as a brakeman and a fireman.**

**In the course of such varied experience, he has, quite naturally, observed many aspects of railroading, especially the inefficient system of organization that the workers have. Involved in the shopmen's strike, and with its humiliating defeat still fresh in his memory, he is in a position to set down a sensible view of craft unionism vs. industrial unionism. This he does in the article below.**

**RAILROADING has always been generally regarded by people not intimately acquainted with it as an extremely fascinating, thrilling and romantic line of work. Many songs have been sung, many tales and yarns have been told, much talk has been heard, by many people in many walks of life about railroad men and their work. From the pig-faced, pot-bellied, chubby old president, who sits in a swivel-chair, cooled by an electric fan, pondering through his cunning and unscrupulous old cranium the most feasible schemes for pulling the next public swindle, or trying to make up his mind which bunch of his slaves it would be most advisable to slash the wages of next, to the office boy, who recounts in his innocent and childishly credulous but ambitious little brain all the numerous stories he has heard about office boys who became railroad presidents—from the very highest to the lowest, railroad men, as a class, are celebrities.**

The country school boy has a sort of deep, mysterious and inexplainable reverence, an extremely intense admiration for railroad men, accompanied often by a secret longing to some day become one himself—an ardent desire to get into railroading, to have the glowing pleasure of hearing at close range the rattle of the mighty iron wheels of transportation, and the glory and satisfaction of knowing that he is acutally helping to make them rattle. Many a young American has undergone the most brain-racking experience of his life trying to decide whether he ought to go ahead and become president of the United States, or give up that pet ambition and become a locomotive engineer.

Likewise many a shy, modest little country girl, in her sweet innocence and blissful ignorance of this mad, crazy old world, has felt a warm flush creep over her rosy cheeks and a romantic thrill rush through her entire being as she sang,

"I'm not goin' to marry any farmer's boy,
Who drives a four-mule team;
I'm goin' to marry some railroad man,
Who rolls his wheels with steam."

However, to those actually employed in the railroad industry, and therefore in a position to know it for what it actually is, there is very little about the nature of the work that appeals to them as fascinating or romantic. As a rule people find very little romance or fascination in working amid innumerable dangers, among people who are ever "knocking" one another, enduring untold hardships, ruining their health by working irregular hours, eating irregular meals and sleeping irregular "naps," all for wages that are pitifully inadequate to provide them with the means of living a decent and enjoyable life, even had they the time and opportunity of doing so.

The prevailing belief among a large portion of our people is that railroad workers are about the most highly and strongly organized of any of the many classes of wage-earners in this country, that their working conditions are ideal, and that the

wages paid them in return for their services are so great that the average railroad worker barely has time during his off-hours to count his money. As one who has worked in a number of different branches, different positions and different capacities of railroading for several years, it is my purpose in writing this article to explode this misleading and fallacious belief, shared by so many people. Greater stress shall be laid in the following paragraphs on the system of organization that prevails among railroad workers than on any of the other topics, for the simple reason that it is always due to the organization or lack of organization that workers in any industry or any branch of industry are successful or unsuccessful in their struggle for a living against the greed of their employers.

Instead of being one of the most highly organized of American industries, **the railroad industry is and always has been an "open shop" industry.** A man may go to work in any department of railroading, and work there all the rest of his life, if he so wishes without joining any labor organization whatever—with the exception of a few roads which, since the shopmen's strike, now have a requirement that all mechanical workers shall belong to a "company union."

Their organizations, such as they have, are, and have always been, more detrimental than helpful to the advance of the workers' welfare. The railroad industry is a typical and vivid example of craft unionism and its futile methods of functioning—craft unionism, in all its uselessness and rottenness, with all its prejudices, dissensions and "jurisdictional disputes."

It is due to that system of organization—or, more properly speaking, DIS-ORGANIZATION, that the railroad workers have suffered all the set-backs, reverses, miseries and defeats that have been suffered by them; it is due to that system that they are in such a miserable and deplorable plight today.

That system has built sixteen different walls, dividing the workers into sixteen different "craft unions"—sixteen different "crafts" and "trades," each with its own false pride, vain egotism and innumerable little prejudices and jealousies against all the other "crafts"—sixteen little pedestals of caste, upon each of which sit the members of that particular "craft," looking down, with sneering contempt, upon those "crafts" that are less fortunate than themselves, and upward with spiteful envy upon the more fortunate ones. From the section men to the locomotive engineers, each separate class of workers is an egotistic, arrogant and disgusting caste, in every sense of the word, having no co-operation and but very little sympathy for any of the other "crafts."

That system is good for nothing but to keep the workers divided and to foster conceit, arroganee and prejudice between the various classes of workers, and even among workers of a single craft. I have before me a copy of the Machinists' Journal for May, 1924, in which I find an article by J. F. Anderson, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, in which he attributes many of the reverses recently suffered by that organization to the large numbers of machinists admitted into that organization during the period of Federal control; "war babies" he contemptuously calls them. Thus we see here an endeavor on the part of an organization official to create prejudice and ill feeling even among the members of his own organization.

That system of organization is responsible for the fact that the railroad workers have never won a strike of any importance during their entire history. The heads of the various organizations which make up that system have deliberately and willfully brought about the defeat of every effort that has ever been made by the railroad workers to get together and accomplish anything really worth while. They killed the ARU in 1894; they broke the Switchmen's Strike in 1920, in a manner that will be an indelible blot of shame on the darkest pages of the history of craft unionism as long as time lasts; they kept the various classes of railroad workers from pulling a general strike in the fall of 1921; they caused the shopmen to meet with a humiliating defeat in 1922.

Under this system of organization, when the wage slaves in any particular branch of the railroad industry go on strike their fellow slaves in the other "crafts" are left on the job to render whatever and as much assistance to the bosses as is within their power.

And this is the system of organization that the railroad workers have with which to combat one of the most powerful organizations of plutocracy that ever existed in this or any other country. Pitted against the workers is the entire force and full strength of the railroad management, not only on one particular road where they may happen to be on strike, but on all the roads throughout the country, backed by the bankers, the manufacturers, the Chambers of Commerce, and all the other gigantic aggregations and organizations of wealth and greed; with the strong arm of the state and nation, the militia, the army, the courts, and all the other numerous "officers of the law," and institutions of "government"—always held in reserve, ready to be called into action if and when needed. Of course there can always be but one outcome to such an uneven struggle.

Observe some of the consequences:

The wages of railroad workers are lower than the wages paid to men performing the same class of work in any other industry. Approximately 400,000 of them—the section men and shop laborers—are paid less than $3.00 per day. Approximately another 400,000—the shops crafts—are paid wages ranging from $3.92 to $5.76 per day—the latter figure being the wage paid to the most highly skilled mechanics. Even the mighty locomotive engineer receives less than $8.00 per day, for all his responsibility, all the exposure which he must endure, all the risks he must run and all the dangers he must brave.

(Continued on page 26)

# Readers Boost The Pioneer

LISTEN to what the Marine Worker, of May 15th, has to say about the Industrial Pioneer: "The May issue of the Industrial Pioneer is an unusually good number. **It is chockfull of interesting articles about the labor movement.** An article of exceptional interest to MTW men is 'Oh, For the Life of a Sailor.' Be sure to get a few copies of the Pioneer before going to sea."

*

To this add the praise of E. H. C., Pittsburg, Pa., as follows:

**"The Pioneer is certainly the very magazine that every worker should read. It is getting better every day in every way. May the good work continue upward and onward."**

*

And then listen to this from R. H., Denver, Colo.:

"The Pioneer for June was fine. I have not missed an issue and I would not know what to do if I should miss one."

*

**Card No. 365,393 writes in this strain from Casper, Wyoming:**

**"I wish to congratulate you on the success you have made on the Pioneer. I hear nothing but praise for it and am glad to hear that you are back on the job again."**

*

H. G. W., Oakland, Calif., joins the swelling chorus in this wise:

"I understand just how hard you people work to turn out the Pioneer. I think you always succeed so splendidly. The May Day number was a good one from cover design to the last page. I wish you and every one of the staff continued good health and success."

*

**From the Sacramento, California, county jail, G. H. writes:**

**"Fellow workers here in this can are sure a bunch of boosters for the Pioneer. They say it can't be beat as an industrial magazine. With more power to you, for a bigger and better organization, and more education for the workers."**

*

The Pioneer wants more boosters, not only in the can, but wherever workers are employed, live, congregate, assemble in meetings, and otherwise move and have their being. The Pioneer needs advertising; it needs circulation. It can get both if you pass your copy 'round among your friends and fellow workers. Send for sample copies; we'll help you, too.

**Get your fellow workers interested. Call their attention to the articles on unemployment; on the danger of commercial wars; and on the many other important subjects of working class interest. Tell them of its propaganda for industrial unionism, and its many other organizing features. Tell them of its pictures and its stories from working class life. Get them to know the Pioneer and they will want to read it.**

THANKS BLOCK, I'LL HAVE SOME INVESTIGATORS TO LOOK THEM OVER!
WYO. OIL INTERESTS
MR. DOUGH, I FOUND A COPY OF THE PIONEER THEY ARE TRYING TO GET A LOT OF WOBBLIES INTO OUR OIL FIELDS TO ASK FOR A SHORTER DAY' MR DOUGH I ASK YOU, WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO IF WE HAVE TO LAY 'ROUND 16 HRS?
CARD NO X 7575

AN AWFUL PROBLEM

The subscription is only 50 cents for three months; $1.00 for six months; and $2 for one year! We give a copy of Ralph Chaplin's poems, "Bars and Shadows" for three one year subs.

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## NOSTALGIA

By GENEVIEVE LOUISA LYNCH

[This little poem, descriptive of the homesickness of the farmer driven off the farm into the city of Chicago, is timely. It fits into this special agricultural workers' number very appropriately.]

At Sixty-third and Halsted Streets
All night the noises ebb and flow;
Like a great swinging pendulum
The people come, the people go.

One knows not if the moon is full,
One never sees the evening star;
But all the lurid street-lamps flare,
And trolleys pass with clash and jar.

And in a hoarse and strident voice
The newsboy calls the day's bequest—
A bank's door closed, a girl found dead,
A politician laid to rest.

But through the solemn woods at home
The katydids and crickets shrill,
Persimmons ripen with the frost,
And sumach flames on every hill.

# James P. Thompson

**Famous as an IWW orator and prominent in 1912 Lawrence strike, is now on a speaking tour taking in cities from coast to coast.**

**Thompson is speaking under the auspices of the General Defense Committee. His subject is "The Prison-Shadow on Labor." It discusses the Centralia Armistice tragedy, and the long series of persecutions of IWW members under the Criminal Syndicalism law of California and other states.**

**Thompson will speak in Chicago, Ill., on July 4. From there he will proceed eastward, by way of Detroit, July 6; Cleveland, July 7; Buffalo, July 8; Schenectady, July 13. New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Worcester dates will be announced later.**

**Thompson opened his tour at Spokane, Wash., under most auspicious conditions. Despite the revoking of a permit for the use of the Lewis and Clark high school auditorium, he spoke in the church there before an audience that packed the main floor and balcony. Sentiment was good; collection liberal. He reports good meetings all along the route. Help to make his coming meetings also successful.**

**Other cross-continent tours may also be arranged.**

## "OF COURSE THERE'LL BE ANOTHER WAR"

In the opinion of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, as voiced by C. A. Livingston, assistant to the president, there will be another war. He spoke in the La Salle Hotel to the National Aeronautic Association. "We have," he added, "some pacifists here in Cook County, but, of course, there will be war."

## OVERHEARD AT THE PICNIC

1st Speaker—Are you a Finnish IWW?

2nd Speaker—No; but I am an IWW to the finish.

# A Jest

By LISA

OLD Lady Life has strange gifts
In her rag-bag carry all.
You can hear her cackle indecently as she hands them around.

There is an Italian man—
His name is Bartolomeo Vanzetti.
He has a round face, and genial drooping mustache,
But his eyes are gaunt with love
For that Old Harridan.
Mostly he is sober, but when he smiles
A thousand sunbeams dance a jig around him.
He is a man who hates all moneyed things.
Joy comes to him through velvet, starless nights
And yellow days;
Through those, his masters first, and now his friends,
He served in solitude—
Karl Marx, and young Rousseau,
And Tolstoy, Dante, and Garibaldi
And many hundred others.
Joy comes to him through teaching brother-love
And freedom to those slaves,
Whose slavery tears his heart.
He has no hate for little things
Like men and gods—
But most, most bitterly he hates
That ceaseless, grinding mill
That some call capital and others greed—
That grinding, grinding, grinding, night and day
Crushes those men he loves to nameless dust.
His life was crowded out of time for love
Of women.
But children used to crawl upon his back
To tweak his hair, and like a bear
He'd growl and shake them off
And they would scream with laughter and climb back.
Sometimes he was a laborer, a cook,
A dish wiper behind a dirty bench.
He fished, he was a porter, kept a store,
And times he roamed about from place to place
Just living.
A dish of raviola and a not too good cigar
Made Plato all the sweeter
To Vanzetti.

Wouldn't you think that shameless Old Spinster
Would be generous to a man like that?
She cackled indecently and pawed through her rag-bag carry-all
Then she handed out a conviction of
Murder in the First Degree
For a particularly bloody business.
The Old Lady has a wry sense of humor.

**PUSH THE PIONEER. GIVE US ADVERTISING AND CIRCULATION! SEND FOR SAMPLE COPIES; GIVE US SUBSCRIBERS AND THEN MORE SUBSCRIPTIONS STILL. 50 CENTS FOR 3 MONTHS**

# The Causes of Unemployment

By JUSTUS EBERT

**An address delivered at a meeting of unemployed, held at Moose Temple, South Bend, Indiana, May 31st, 8 P. M.**

## INTRODUCTORY

**South Bend is the second largest city in Indiana. About 100 miles east of Chicago on the Lake Shore railroad, it is a typical industrial center, with its many problems of unemployment and organization.**

**It is here the Studebaker Bros. began the manufacture of farm wagons at a crossroad some 60 years ago; and, after various expansions and changes finally became the Studebaker Auto Corporation. The latter has its main plant at South Bend and employs approximately from 10,000 to 14,000 workers there, as conditions demand.**

**It has always been the policy of the corporation to employ men who became home owners on the installment plan. This has tended to make South Bend a city of home guards. A home guard is one who guards his little home against anything tending to prevent installment payments or its upkeep in other ways.**

**As a result, home guards are afraid to join a labor union for fear of discharge; and, for the same reason, submit to wage cuts and other indignities without protest.**

Last February the Studebaker corporation inaugurated a series of drastic cuts in piece work rates. Some of these cuts were as high as 70 per cent. The employes, already hard worked, were blandly informed that they could make up the difference by increased output.

Some of them, however, called on Metal Workers' Industrial Union No. 440, to come to South Bend to organize in protest against these extreme reductions. "Four-forty" responded and some Studebaker employees were organized into the South Bend branch, as a result.

Handbills announcing meetings were circulated in the plant. The foremen took notice of the agitation and the superintendent became interested. And on the heels of the activities described, there came a restoration of 30 per cent in some of the highest cuts; this concession is attributed to the work of organization, thus barely begun.

Recently the Studebaker plant has all but completely closed down. Overproduction is said to be the cause. Employes say that even floor space in departments not devoted to the purpose is used to store autos in; such is the surplus production. This has affected organization in the plant adversely.

In addition to the Studebaker plant, the Oliver Plow Works and the Singer Sewing Machine Co. are also located in South Bend. At this writing, the former, with 3,000 employes, is also almost shut down; though conditions in the latter, with 4,500, are somewhat better; though also bad. It is estimated that between 13,000 and 15,000 workers are idle in South Bend.

For a city of about 90,000 population, this is a serious condition. The big stores complain of a drop in business. Small retailers talk of selling out; and the workers who are not tied down are seeking employment elsewhere. Nevertheless, there are many South Benders who believe that this condition will only be of short duration, and that soon the plants will be in operation again.

With the exception of some building trades, South Bend is almost wholly unorganized.

It is amid such conditions that "440" is pushing industrial unionism and holding unemployed meetings. It is amid such conditions that the following address was delivered.

## WHY UNEMPLOYMENT?

THE subject of unemployment is a very important and far-reaching one. It is the symptom of a deep-seated disease, that is attended with many very grave complications.

Unemployment affects not only the wages, hours, conditions and standards of living of the workers in South Bend and elsewhere, but is also reflective of developments that may ultimately affect the peace of the world and end in another world-wide war, worse than the one that has recently afflicted civilization.

It is therefore necessary that we give the subject our serious attention, for not until we realize its profundity will we be able to grasp its significance and act accordingly.

What is unemployment? Every worker knows what unemployment is. It's the loss of a job. It's the lack of work. It's idleness without wages, or the wherewith to pay the taxes, rent, food, clothes, light, medicine and other bills of the family. It means, if long continued, destitution and starvation for multitudes.

Just now many, very many, thousands of workers are unemployed in every industrial center in the land. Steel mills, auto plants, open hearth furnaces, electrical equipment manufacturing works, textile mills, shoe factories, iron foundries, in fact almost every kind of industrial enterprise, is laying off employees. So are the railroads and the mines. The railroads alone have laid off a quarter of a million employees since last August.

During the past week, Chicago newspapers reported that industry had slowed down 16 per cent, as a whole; while some specific industries, like the steel industry, for instance, were operating only 65 per cent of capacity.

It is this wide-spread laying off of employees that gives rise to these large numbers of unemployed and to the unemployment now so general.

But let us ask, why these layoffs? Why this curtailment of industry; this terrific reduction in capacity production Why this abnormal condition of affairs on all sides, regardless of section, or state or city?

In answer we are told many things. For one thing, we are told, that this is a presidential year; that unsettled conditions always prevail during presidential years, and that industry always slows down pending the results of election. Some also contend that unemployment is part of an attempt to influence election results in favor of big business.

If the latter is the case, then it must be confessed that the democracy which is said to rule this land is in a decidedly perilous condition; is, in fact, dead and buried.

But the causes of industrial curtailment are undoubtedly not of a political nature. They surely are not of an anti-Republican nature, or such as would threaten the overthrow of the present national administration. The administration is decidedly conservative and though it is torn by discreditable exposés, it in no way threatens the safety of big business. Thus there is no sound reason for desiring its undoing by upsetting industry and business in general, thus bringing such pressure to bear as will lead to its defeat and overthrow.

Nor is there any danger from the Democrats. They are as much like the Republicans as two peas in a pod. And as for the third party movement, that is not strong enough to unseat the Republican or Democrat parties, nor do harm to both.

For these and other reasons which will develop later on, we may dismiss the argument that unemployment is due to politics. Politics do not cause unemployment, especially the dominant politics. Had there been a different brand of politics likely to gain federal control to the injury of big business, the argument might have been true; but as no such danger threatens we must conclude that there is nothing to this argument; that there is nothing to support or sustain it.

As a consequence, we must look elsewhere than to politics for the cause of curtailment, layoffs and unemployment. We must dig deeper, much deeper, in fact; for politics are only reflections of industrial conditions instead of vice versa.

Some years ago President Harding appointed a commission to find out ways and means to end industrial curtailment and unemployment. It was recognized that business, or industry, is affected by alternating periods of good and bad times. It was the duty of the Harding commission to study these so-called business cycles and to abolish them, if possible.

These facts are recalled in order to make more evident still, if possible, that unemployment is not political but periodical and consequently it makes no difference which party is in power; it is bound to come and come it will, in spite of them all. We had unemployment and hard times in 1913-1914, which were not presidential years, and when President Woodrow Wilson was in office. We had them again in 1921, another non-presidential year when President Harding was in the White House. And now we have them again, in 1924, under President Coolidge. Politicians may come and politicians may go, but unemployment and hard times are still with us.

What, then, is really the cause of curtailment and unemployment?

Overproduction, comes back the answer, just like that! The mills, auto plants, etc., produce too much and, as a result, they must be shut down until their surplus stocks are disposed of.

All this no doubt is partly true. There is no doubt that the industrial equipment of this country can produce more than is required, or than can be bought and paid for, and consumed. But why is this so? Why is this the case?

The Secretary of Labor, James J. Davis, cites some facts tending to show the overdeveloped nature of production in this country; a production whose capacity is simply overwhelming. Says he:

"Some industries were so overdeveloped during the war that nothing can be done to warrant their full-time operation in peace-time production, since such production could not possibly be marketed either at home, or, at present, abroad.

"The bituminous coal industry is both overdeveloped and overmanned. They are capable of producing over a billion tons of coal a year, which is about twice what we consume.

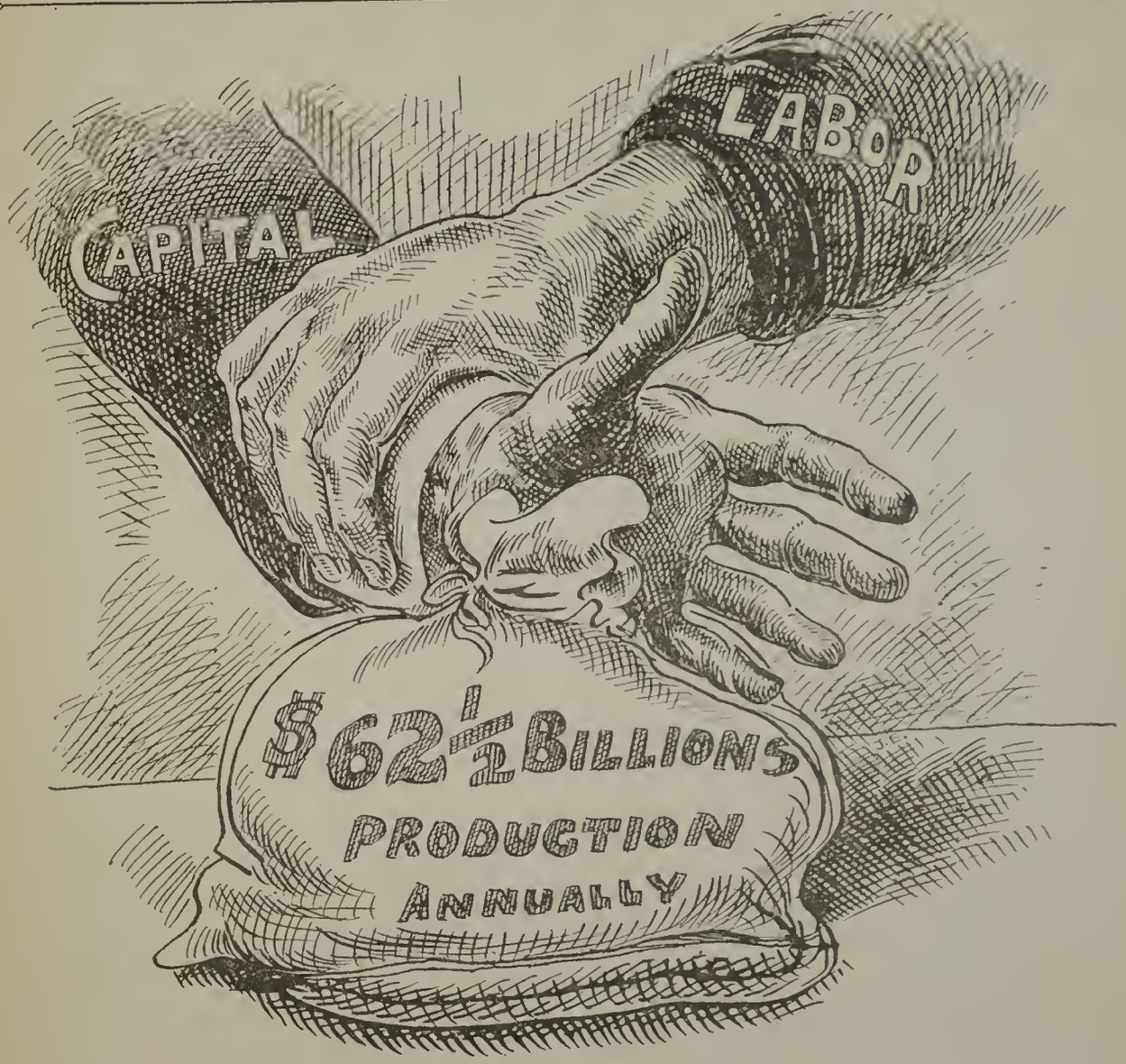
"We can produce in seven months all the iron and steel needed for a year, and if all the plants were made as efficient as our best plants, our steel and iron requirements could be produced with one-third the men now employed.

"In the window glass industry the hand blowing factories seventeen weeks out of the year, can produce all the window glass than can be sold; but if the machine window glass plants were to decide to operate at full capacity 80 per cent of the time there would be no hand blown window glass factories.

"In boots and shoes we have a capacity of 758,000,000 pairs to produce a salable product of 325,000,000. If all shoe factories would do what Endi-

# HANDS OFF!

**WHEN LABOR ORGANIZES TO GIVE THAT COMMAND, UNEMPLOYMENT AND WAR WILL BE NO MORE**




cott-Johnson is doing and get 12 pairs of shoes per employe per day, 25 per cent of the men now employed in the industry could produce all the footwear we need."

We might go on multiplying these quotations from Secretary of Labor Davis. They go to show once more that politics have nothing to do with unemployment. No matter who is president, whether Democrat or Republican, Farmer-Labor or Communist, as long as the industrial equipment of the land is overdeveloped, overmanned, and its products underconsumed, we will have overproduction and unemployment. Under the circumstances, they are inevitable, no matter which party rules.

Despite this, let us go a little deeper into this phase of our discussion. Let us seek to find what is at the bottom of this vast overdevelopment, with its vast overproduction. Why is there underconsumption? Why is there not as much consumed as there is produced?

Has every family in the country got an auto? Has every small storekeeper and business man got a motor truck? Has every farmer got a tractor and up-to-date equipment? Has his wife and all other housewives got an up-to-the-minute sewing machine, wash machine, or any of the other thousand and one electrical equipments needed for household work? Are there no ragged, badly shod men, women and children in need of better clothes, footwear and other wearing apparel, including hats, ties, shirts, underwear, etc.? With so many shacks, slums and furnished room houses to be seen on all sides in the

big cities, has the limit for cottages and apartment houses been reached? Is there no more need for good roads and other internal developments? Are the railroads supplied up to all requirements with rails and equipment? In brief, what's the matter with consumption that it does not keep pace with production? Why is it that for every dollar's worth of value produced there is not another dollar of value in wages wherewith to buy and consume it?

When we answer these questions we will learn why so many are unemployed and why it is that industry is overdeveloped, overmanned and overproductive, regardless of the political party in control, or seeking to secure control. We'll also learn some other things, such as the cause of imperialism, war and so on .

Let's begin with some bank figures. Bank figures, as a rule, are in keeping with the Volstead amendment. That is, they are very dry. Nevertheless, like some of the products of the wets, brewed despite the amendment, they are also very illuminating and instructive, if not destructive of myths and fallacies.

Acording to figures published by the National City Bank of New York, the largest bank in the country, production in this country in 1919, amounted to $62,500,000,000. Of this vast amount, $10,000,000,000 was paid in wages.

Now then, just think that over. Let those figures sink into your head. Here are some 30 or more millions of wage-earners in this country getting only one-sixth of what they produce in wages. Under the circumstances, how can they buy the other five-sixths and consume it? And where do the other five-sixths go to?

They go to the owners of industry, the capitalist and ultra-capitalist class; the men and women who own and control the big corporations—the strategic capital—of the country. They live in wasteful, extravagant luxury, owning many residences, in various parts of the country; sustaining great hotels and pleasure resorts, like Palm Beach; traveling in palatial autos, Pullmans and sumptuous steamships; and dissipating their excessive returns from industry, in a large number of other ways, many of which are lawless and degenerating, a la Harry Thaw.

They also reinvest part of these excessive returns in more enterprises. For, try as they may, they cannot "blow in" all of them. So back into industry they go, in the form of new capital. That is, to the already overdeveloped industrial equipment of the country they add more equipment. And to the overproduction already in existence they add more overproduction. Thus we come to have overdevelopment, overproduction, underconsumption and no work.

Now consider what would happen if those 30 millions or more workers got another ten billions of the returns from industry that now go to the comparativcly few capitalists.

Or consider what would happen to them if their hours were cut in half and 15,000,000 more wage workers were thereby added to the pay roll!

With another ten billions of dollars in their pockets, the 30 millions or more wage workers in this country could double their purchasing power and thereby consume twice as much as they do now.

With their hours cut in half, they could add 15,000,000 more workers to the pay roll and thereby increase purchasing power and consumption in the same proportions. In brief, with increased wages and reduced hours, paid for out of the values expropriated, misused and misinvested by the capitalist class, the 30,000,000 or more wage workers in this country could set industry a-humming, create a demand for labor and bring prosperity back to all of us once more.

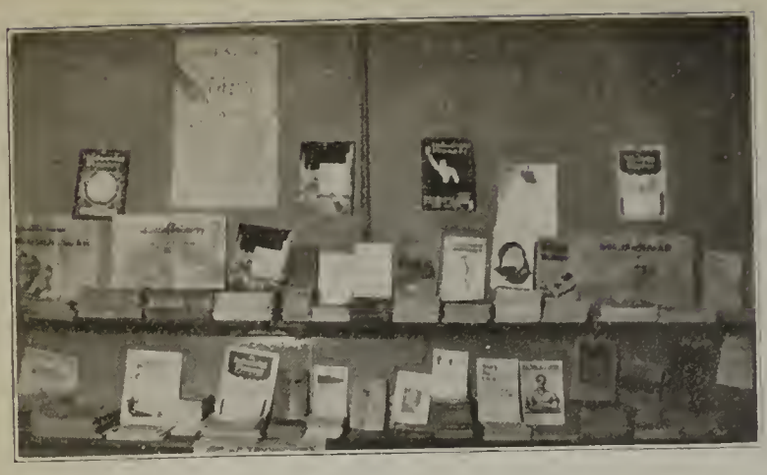
But to increase wages and reduce hours requires intelligent organization on the part of the millions of wage-earners. Employers, as a rule, don't care about the individual worker. The individual worker can be easily replaced. Not so, however, the armies of workers employed in industry according to the requirements of industry. They are a factor that must always be reckoned with. This is shown in the great care taken to maintain and retain their loyalty and devotion. It is shown in every big withdrawal of labor from shop or plant, pending the settlement of grievances. Then heaven and earth are moved to get the workers back on the job, offering every kind of bait, promising concessions and otherwise cajoling or intimidating them.

Intelligent organization of the workers in industry, according to industry, is just what it says. It means the putting aside of trade, color, race, religious or other distinctions in order to create a solid organization. It means organization just as the workers work. All the auto workers in an auto plant organize that plant as auto workers. All in an agricultural machine plant as agricultural machine workers. And all combine together in a metal workers' industrial union, there to unite with the unions of other industrial workers, similarly organized.

This is the day of big scale organization. Wherever you look in industry, you see big corporations, big banking groups,—big enterprises of every kind. These create big production, big underconsumption, big problems. They can only be offset and counteracted in all their evils by a big labor organization, proportionately conceived and carried into practical execution. Such labor organization is industrial unionism. It organizes the workers according to industry instead of trades; and for the emancipation of labor, as well as its improvement under the present system.

Either the workers must exert themselves to get more wages and less hours, by way of industrial unionism, or else they must prepare to meet more serious problems, indeed.

As the first of our quotations from Secretary of Labor Davis shows, peace-time production "could not possibly be marketed either at home, or at pres-



Literature and Newsstand in Hall, New Orleans Branch, Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union. Increase Them Everywhere!

ent, abroad." That is, conditions are deemed so bad as to make overseas trade impossible of very great expansion.

Nevertheless, despite this contention by the Secretary of Labor, there are men prominent in the world of capital who advocate the seeking of more markets outside of this country; and who, to this end, would lower wages, lengthen hours and reduce the standard of working class living here.

We all know what this means: it means war: war not only on working class conditions at home, but war on other nations abroad.

President Woodrow Wilson in his famous St. Louis speech, said that the cause of modern war is commercial rivalry; and we know that commercial rivalry is born of overproduction and the need for world markets. And so, we appear to be facing another great crisis, not only industrial but international as well.

The markets of Asia, especially those of China, with its half-billion population, are among the biggest possibilities in the world's markets. Already the leading newspapers of this country bristle with intimations of the necessity for a war with Japan, who seems intent on a monopoly of China, if possible. Immigration discrimination is believed by many to be only the beginning leading to this deplorable end, namely, war between Japan and the USA.

Under the circumstances, which is it that labor prefers, greater wages and more markets at home, or war and destruction abroad, with all that that program implies?

**More wages, less hours and peace at home or lower wages, longer hours, commercial rivalry and war abroad, such are the problems that overproduction and its evils create.**

More wages and the increased consumption of US production on the North American continent, have many friends to boost them. Even among conservatives it is realized that the tens of millions of wage workers in this country provide the very best market for its products. They accordingly, favor increased wages and then more wages still.

Mr. George Branting, writing in "Wall Street Magazine," declares: "A liberal economic viewpoint will indicate that the higher the wages, the greater the spending power and the more firmly secured our economic position. The safeguard of this nation does not consist of holding wages down but rather the reverse."

Thus, labor's slogan should be "More wages, ever more wages," until it gets all that it produces; with the result that it will be able to consume it all.

And likewise with hours. The best scientific thought, like that expressed by Steinmetz, the electrical wizard, for instance, sees a four-hour day coming. So does Edison; and more recently so do modern industrial engineers.

The four-hour day in the near future was predicted by Arthur B. Jones at a "Human Engineering" conference in New York City, which was attended by 150 delegates from 13 Eastern colleges. Jones explained that the present output of industrialized concerns, if properly systematized with due regard to the workmen, could be produced in half the time it now takes.

Let us organize industrially then, for more wages and less hours. Only by means of industrial unionism will the workers get these immense advantages and be in tune with modern progressive tendencies. The workers that are unorganized are unheard and unsung. They are oppressed, enslaved and destroyed.

So let us, as industrial workers, organize. Let us go forth from here to proclaim to our fellow workers, the necessity for more wages and less hours, in order that we may be placed in a position to get rid of overproduction and provide ourselves with more employment. Let us impress them with the necessity of getting together in order that we may be factors of importance in modern affairs and not merely dumb-driven cattle.

Above all, let us build and circulate the workers' press. Let us place ourselves in a position to be heard through our own organs in our own way. Let us place our program in print for the consideration of our fellow workers everywhere and to the end that our cause may grow and triumph throughout industry,—all industry.

Rally round the Industrial Union. Organize industrially.

All for one and one for all.

Organize, organize before it is too late.

Working at Dizzy Heights

Painting Wireless Towers

$16 Million Strauss Building

North from Strauss Tower

16th Street Bascule Bridge
(Longest Single in World)

Chicago structures erected and painted by members and friends of Industrial Workers of the World.

"Paddy" Morrin, AFL structural iron official, denounces the IWWs as "un-American."

These are samples of their "un-Americanism."

Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330 has increased 100 per cent recently. They rejoice in their growth. Their press is exposing Morrin; hence his barks.

Photos by IWW members.

They are good photographers, too.

Chicago River Bridges Upraised
(Foreground, Lake Carrier)

# Railroad Work and Railroad Workers

(Continued from page 16)

The railroad workers are subjected to a more rigid discipline, more humiliating rules of order, than perhaps any other class of workers in civilian life. Pick up a book of rules and read some of the rules governing the eonduet of railroad employes. They read more like the regulations of some kind of military establishment than the working rules of wage workers in one of the supposedly most highly organized industries. And, to eap it all, they are constantly dogged and spied on by "railroad detectives," finks, stoolpigeons and divers other species of vermin in human shape that ever infest their midst.

In the meantime, while this pitiable state of affairs goes on—while railroad workers who have always been "union men in good standing" are suffering from wage cuts, lay-offs, and other sueh reverses at the hands of the railroad kings—Grand Chief Warren S. Stone, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, eontinues to establish banks and operate "yellow dog" coal mines; William H. Johnston, president of the Maehinists, goes ahead with his plan of turning his organization, and the men whom he has the DIS-honor to MIS-represent into an adjunct of "effieiency" and "eo-operation" to the railroad corporations, whenever and wherever he can get the officials of a railroad eompany to listen to him; the infamous and stinking Bill Lee, of the Trainmen, watehes and listens, with both eyes open and both ears stuek up, for an opportunity to break another strike—and all the other officials of all the other "organizations" are doing likewise.

How long—O how long—are the railroad workers going to put up with this rotten, abominable and ineffieient system? As long as it exists—as long as the workers eontinue to separate themselves into organizations of CASTE and PREJUDICE—as long as the members of one "craft" eontinue to bind themselves by "saered agreements" to seab on the members of other crafts—as long as they eontinue to allow themselves to be thus divided and disrupted—just so long will their neeks be held tight and fast in the strangling yoke of industrial bondage to tyrannizing autoerats.

Railroad workers, one and all, whether you are yet beginning to realize it or not, you have only one great common interest, namely, better eonditions and a better living out of life in return for your labor. It matters not what you may be doing —whether you are a section man or an engineer, a coal shoveler or eonductor—you are all equally interested in one eommon cause, involved in a struggle with one common enemy, suffering from one eommon injury and affliction—all of you and all of us. Why not then, be bound together with the bonds of one common sympathy; why not tear down the many walls of craft unionism that have so long divided us, and under the glorious and courageous banner of INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, press forward, eonquering as we go, into our very own.

Railroad workers, a new world unfolds itself to our view; a world of security, prosperity and peaee; a world where envy, hatred and greed are not; a world of brotherhood, fraternity, fellowship, love and truth; a world belonging to LABOR, and where naught but LABOR counts. Shall we go? Railroad Workers' Industrial Union 520, of the Industrial Workers of the World points to the only safe and sure way for railroad workers to travel, if they wish to get there.

# O Servile Slaves!

MORTON KOMINERS

SERVILE slaves of industry,
Do you not long to be free?

Who is it that the rich soil tills,
Who builds them and who works the mills;
If you had courage and were brave,
Would you still be a servile slave?

You work long hours in the mines,
Meanwhile your boss in plenty dines,
While your wife cleans his tainted clothes,
Against a grindstone is your nose.

Servile slaves of industry,
Do you not long to be free?

You feel the furnaee's hot breath,
Within each steel mill lies your death,
Aside each eauldron you must bake,
Oh, Slave, when will your spirit wake?

Whose brain is it that guides eaeh tool?
It is your brain, submissive fool;
You bear eaeh wrong without appeal,
You kiss the boss' iron heel.

Servile slaves of industry,
Do you not long to be free?

When from eaeh day's hard work you ereep,
Your only solaee lies in sleep,
You work and don't know where you're at,
Just for a dirty autoerat.

Then when you finally sueeumb,
Within your coffin, still you're dumb;
Dumb as you were in toilful life,
Dumb as you were in servile strife.

Servile slaves of industry,
Do you not long to be free?

# Industrial Unionism in Building Industry

By DEL. B4-11

**How it appeals to the various crafts in the East—Workers alive to trade union's weaknesses and corrupt officialdom—Oppose color line also.**

THE question of organization among the industrial workers of the eastern section of the country is often raised. In eastern industries there are millions of exploited slaves in the factories, shops and mills. The greatest part of them are working for starvation wages. Something must be done to get these workers to realize the necessity of organization.

As a building construction worker, employed in the great metropolitan district of New York City, with its ten or more millions of inhabitants, it will be my purpose to say something of this situation and the way to remedy it.

"Yes, it's very good. I feel it is the right kind of a union! But the 'organized' building tradesmen cannot comprehend the necessity for it, because they belong to various trades unions, which unions they believe are upholding their wages as well as reducing the hours of the workday."

This is the consensus of opinion about industrial unionism heard among the workers in the building industry inclined to think some; at least here in New York city and vicinity. And there can be no question but that the above ideas exist among the building workers. Some of them believe that their conditions are so good that they need no betterment. And with others the wages are supposed to be so high and so great that they don't know how and where to spend them. But this is not by any means actually so, as there are thousands of families of building workers that are daily deprived of the most needed necessities of life, because thousands of them are in the army of the unemployed; while the masters' dailies are picturing the wonderful prosperity in existence in the building industry at the present time. (It may be stated that prosperity has run amuck, but it has done so mainly among the contractors, material dealers, jobbers, real-estate speculators and the like grafters, who are always ready and willing to suck the life blood out of the workers by any and all means.)

Still another fallacy is that of union control, so-called. We hear a great deal about it. By union control we understand the control by the union of every man on the job, regardless of occupation. When this matter is analyzed according to the facts we find that on many supposedly union jobs, there are men working in all occupations who never belonged to any union but who, through the boss, hold their jobs by various means, as well as by tipping the union delegate. And, by the way, the delegates seldom speak to any of the union men. They usually visit the boss, who often stands with his back to the delegate and his hands behind!

The master class, of course, with the help of their various kind of union tools, have realized the above facts. They are certainly keeping pace with the situation as well as keeping the slaves thinking on the lines that are of benefit to the master class. There are the theaters, movies, newspapers, magazines, and books of a thousand and one different kinds that keep the workers busy thinking on the lines suggested in and by the masters' organs—when they think at all!

### Craft Unions and Race Lines

Not only are the craft unions helping the employing class to keep the workers in ignorance but they are creating hatred among the workers towards each other, especially so on national and color lines.

It may be interesting to mention an occasion where, on "a union job" a bunch of "union carpenters" threatened to strike when the foreman hired two colored carpenters. And mind you, at least one of these colored carpenters was a "union carpenter," belonging to the same brotherhood of carpenters and joiners as the brothers that they were going to strike against if they were put to work. This was done regardless of the colored men's protests and explanations of being members of the same union.

The colored men had to look for another master.

Perhaps, where the "union carpenters" are not agitated so badly by the color prejudice, or the fear of the boss is not so great in them, they haven't the courage to object against whatever the boss and

the "union" delegate decide is final on color lines.

This is the kind of unionism the "great A. F. of L." is composed of; there is no doubt, however, that the great majority of the workers in the craft unions are honest and well meaning. Yet that does not justify the existence of craft unions for the workers' benefit.

### Contentions of the IWW

We contend that even if the officials and delegates of the craft unions were ever so honest, and even if the jobs were strictly under the craft union control, that such unions are wornout, and grown powerless at the point of production. The points we make against them are as follows:

1st: Wherever the officialdom dictates in union affairs and the job conditions of the workers, there the workers lose out.

2nd: Wherever the workers are divided into 16 or more unions in any one industry, there the bosses win out.

3rd: Wherever time contracts are signed to guarantee the boss a certain amount of labor power for a certain period of time, there is a condition absolutely detrimental to the workers' interest.

In explaining these "wherevers" we will say, that we know from experience that it is as bad as putting the workers on the block to sell, to permit AFL officials to dictate how and under what conditions the workers should work. These officials are practically ignorant of the conditions on the job, on account of having been in office for years. In some cases, they have never been wage workers in the industry in which they presume to act. History amply proves that they, consequently, act against the welfare of the workers for whom their deals are made.

Second, where the workers are divided into many craft unions in one industry, and the conditions become such with a craft that they cannot longer delay bringing their grievances to the masters and are forced to strike in order to gain their demands, the other crafts continue working. The result is that they often do the work of the strikers as well as their own. They are thereby helping the boss in defeating the strikers and, naturally, injuring the cause of their fellow workers, as well as their own.

But where there is only one union, which includes all the workers in that industry the case is different. When any part of them have any grievances, they all have grievances. In the event that they are forced to strike, they all strike, leaving no one behind to help the boss, or scab. This will bring results to the workers.

Third, wherever a time contract is signed with the boss by the union, binding the workers to work for him a certain number of years for the agreed wages and conditions, the workers are sold outright. They are helpless, no matter how fast the cost of living is rising. Nor how unhealthy and injurious the jobs may be. This in itself plainly proves our contentions.

Agreements can be made with the boss, but no time limit must be made. Whenever an opportunity offers itself and the workers feel that they are not getting enough wages, or that they are worked too long hours, the workers should and must use that opportunity to their own advantage and demand and take as much as they possibly can get; particularly, what is necessary for their welfare and comfort.

Of course, at no time will the workers get anything unless they use direct action, that is action by the workers directly, and which does not notify the boss in advance when striking. Always decide it quickly and do it ourselves. Certainly, strike and keep on striking till we have all that belongs to us.

As stated in the first part of this article, even the building workers are sympathetic to the industrial union idea. This, too, though some of them are enjoying somewhat bettter conditions than the average worker in other industries. Why then are not more of them interested in industrial union organization, especially as represented by the IWW?

Let it be realized once more, at the outset, that while many of the building workers, practically in all crafts, are sympathetic to the industrial union idea for various reasons, it is difficult to expound the real importance of the one big union to all of them.

They may realize the weakness of craft unionism, and also the corrupt dictation of trade union officials, but success among them is slow. This is so on account of the tremendous opposition that the masters' lickspittles, including the craft union officialdom, are launching against the idea and the movement in its behalf.

Now there is also the lack of co-operation among the industrial unionists themselves. They need to get together more and give atttention to organization in a more serious and efficient manner.

Propaganda, as distributed at present, is also too general. This propaganda does not appeal to the workers in the lines they are interested in. For instance, if you appeal to carpenters you must talk about their line of work. Same way with a plumber, a bricklayer, a mason, etc. You must talk about bricks to a bricklayer, saws, shingles and lumber to a carpenter; and so on; otherwise they are not interested.

Also, let us realize what we should do if the workers do not want to come to us. Will we not have to go to them? "Yes," we say, "we do go to them." What do we offer to them? The bulk of the workers are not interested in what they will want fifty or hundred years from now. They are interested in what they need today. All workers wish to run their union affairs themselves rather than have someone else run them for them.

Industrial Unionism is a somewhat beautiful dream to the great masses of workers here in the east and lots of them have never heard of it yet. Now let us get busy and see to it that this dream will become a reality to them within the near future.

Suffer Little Children to Come Unto the Profits of Capitalists

# Childhood and the Evil Influence of Capitalism

By J. D. CARLIPH

**In this our twentieth century, in the year of super-affluence, when "our coffers" are fairly bursting with gold and "our storehouses" with provisions, a mother of thirtcen children—a prize winner in child bearing—was evicted, together with her brood of thirteen American citizens, good and true, because, for sooth, "her husband was unable to pay the rent for the small flat in a rear dwelling" in Chicago, USA.**

**Eight of the children and mother availed themselves of the generosity (?) of the police station in the neighborhood of their former home, while the rest found shelter with their poor neighbors. The father stood watch through the night over his earthly belongings, dumped on the street by a "landlord," the owner of the property where the home was located.**

**History repeats itself. The family lived on Dickens Street; the police station is on Shakepeare Ave. and landlordism is as vicious today as it was in the days of Dickens, when he wrote Little Dorritt or Dorothy—the name of one of the children evicted,—and in the days of Shakespeare, too.**

CAPITALISM need not respeet a mother; it need not have eompassion toward ehildren; it is not here for that. It is here for profit, nothing more nor less, and all the cruelty, perversion and other attendant evils that go with it, as a matter of eourse. When a mother and her little ones interfere with profit, OUT THEY GO!

Eaeh room in a building, dwelling, or so-called home, must earn a eertain ineome—even if the world comes to an end.

The wonder is, how could the poor parents manage to keep their brood under roof and shelter that long? A father of thirteen ehildren is not paid in wages any more than a father of none. Capitalism does not pay wages aeeording to needs; it pays what the labor market dietates. And how will this poor father keep a roof over the heads of his thirteen and put food into their mouths until such a time as the elder children are able to work and "earn" and help keep the family? Miraeles, it seems, do happen even in this day and age.

Our "small family" advoeates might gloat over the ineident and say "I told you so. Raise a small family and the dear tenement boss will not evict you." To paraphrase this, it means simply this: "Raise a family as large as your wages will stand and no more. Have a small family and you ean work for small wages." O, there are many sides to the story. But does anyone visualize a family of thirteen, all grown up, where the father had a suffieient income to feed, elothe and shelter all? Why it is a small dominion by itself. And when these, too, have families of their own and all honor and love the "old man" and the "old lady" and bring ease and eomfort to their declining years—are many ehildren a curse and a plague, then? Indeed they are not. And there is lots of room in this little world of ours.

We know such families. We know of a family of eight children where the "old man" is now dead, but the ehildren are still keeping the flat of seven rooms where they were raised, and a servant to boot, in New York City, for the old lady.

Of course, they are seissorbills, but they are mostly wage slaves and their families are, too, just the same. Between the eight of them, they manage to furnish a fine old age insurance poliey for the "old woman."

The problem, then, is not so mueh a large or small family as it is, after all, a question of being able

to maintain any size family at all.

The solution is evident. Organize with your elass, abolish eapitalism and then regulate the number of your offspring to suit your own partieular inelinations or opinions. Were the workers able to dietate as to what an income should be, the question of a ehild more or less would be of no eonsequenee. A new child born would mean an increased ineome. But under the present system—where the worker permits his wages to be dictated by the owner of his job and the paee set by his neighbor worker whose aim eonstantly is to outdo him in output and reduce thereby the wages of all the workers—both father and mother are foreed to work in order to support even one or two ehildren.

Under capitalism, childhood is an investment in time and money expended that is highly unprofitable. Children should not be born at all. Men and women—vigorous and enduring should, like Topsy, be "just growed" full size, ready to work and produce profits and not be small and helpless and an imposition on our profit mongers—our masters—like ehildren.

And in the meantime thirteen little pairs of feet were driven out of a house and home; thirteen little heads were obliged to rest at night, on the hard benches of a police station and thirteen prospective eitizens of this great and glorious nation, have been subjeeted to the indignities and disgrace of eviction. We hope this experienee will not mark the beginning of an evil influence on those poor, young minds.

And unless present tendeneies take a turn for the better, many more evietions are soon to follow.

We say again, ye workers, organize in your might and make eviction, starvation, unemployment and misery an impossibility, so long as the sun shines on this, our mother earth.

# For a Northwest Workers' College

THE members of General Construetion Workers' Industrial Union No. 310, Industrial Workers of the World, employed at Kelly & Sullivan camp No. 2, Natron Cutoff, Oak Ridge, Ore., in meeting assembled, adopted a series of resolutions pointing out "that the greatest handicap in effeetive organization work is a lack of educated members at the point of produetion." Also asserting that "it often happens that a few fellow workers get organization work going on the job, only to find that organization work is not carried on after they leave the job." Concluding: "We realize that we have the largest membership and aetivities in the Northwest; therefore be it resolved, that action be taken to establish a eollege on the Pacific Coast where economics and other subjeets of interest to the working elass will be taught; and be it further resolved that we go on record in favor of a Northwest College stamp, to be issued to build the same."

Accompanying the above resolution is a lettter addressed to the editor of The Industrial Pioneer, requesting the latter to write an artiele on its significanee.

This the editor gladly does. There is nothing that appeals to him so much as a program of education, especially working elass education, otherwise he would not be an editor, as that funetion is primarily one of education, in its best sense.

But there's education and education! In all education, one thing is essential, and that is comprehensiveness,—a program that will inelude not only one but every phase of working class neeessity. Is it not possible that the working class may need not only educated workers at the point of produetion, but also many other things that are eomplementary to job organization? May they not need well developed branches and industrial unions with trained and experienced officers at their head, as well? Is it not possible that, with a comprehensive, well-built organization, properly officered, that the problem of job organization will be reduced to simple terms? Is it not possible that the frequent election of men to office may undo the work of educated members on the job, destroy braneh and industrial union formations; and create eonfusion and disgust generally, together with all of their reactions?

These questions are asked, not to eonfuse the issue of education raised by the 310 resolutions, but to emphasize it.

Undoubtedly, capable, edueated workers to funetion on the job, is a prime essential to good organization work there. Undoubtedly, also, the need of more workers' colleges to this end, is desirable, not only in the Northwest, but everywhere, if possible. The labor movement is not seetional; nor are its general requirements peeuliar to any one loeality.

The Work People's College at Duluth, Minn., is an example of good that workers' eolleges do. Some favor concentration on its upbuilding before others are attempted; but that there's room for more there cannot be any doubt; and, if at all possible without serious damage to existing institutions, should be undertaken in localities where most needed.

By all means, give us edueated workers on the job. By all means, give us workers' eolleges. Both are essential; both are basie and fundamental. But don't stop with them! Consider other, related factors, also. Develop them, too!

In eonclusion, we suggest a consideration of the question of education, not only as raised in the 310 resolutions, but also as raised in the article on "Science and Labor Organization." This article was in type when the 310 resolutions were reeeived. Read them both over; ponder on them; and give them both the eareful consideration that they deserve.

**Editor INDUSTRIAL PIONEER.**

# The New Labor Displacers

## MECHANICAL HANDLERS DO AWAY WITH UNSKILLED WORKERS, OR MAKE EVEN SKILLED WORK A CHILD-LIKE FUNCTION, EASY TO PERFORM.

By JOSEPH OSTRANDER

**The many problems of overproduction and unemployment are being accentuated and made more complicated by the continued introduction of new machinery that displaces workers and saves wages—for the employers, of course.**

**This tends to reduce purchasing power and makes it more impossible for consumption to keep pace with output. Thus, the need for reduced hours and greater wages, through industrial union organization, becomes ever more imperative. It's either this evolutionary development, or a social breakdown, ending in chaos and disaster.**

**All of which is duly set forth in more detail in the following article.**

**A new species of labor displacing machinery has arisen, one that aims, not to displace skilled, but unskilled labor. That is, this species of machinery, though not entirely new, is being introduced at such a rate of speed, and is being pushed with such intensity at present, as to attract wide-spread attention. Its effects will be very extensive and revolutionary, if continued in the future as in the past.**

**Reference is here made to materials handling equipment. By means of such machinery, materials are routed directly through various operations in a plant. They go in, practically, at one end of the plant, and come out as finished products at the other, with little or no handling by labor en route. The result is a displacement of old style equipment and the men who operated it; with a consequent reduction in cost and increased output, to boot.**

MATERIALS handling machines are of various types. They are known as tructractors, large conveyors, portable conveyors, locomotive cranes; electric cranes and hoists; loading machines for mine cars; cupola charging machines; automatic stackers or pilers, spiral chutes, etc.

The greatest user of materials handling machinery is automobile manufacturing. Though known as the baby industry, in 20 years it has made more progress in mechanical handling than has textile manufacturing, one of the oldest industries, in a century. In this respect, auto manufacturing has profited from the steady advance in mechanical handling made in the metals industries in general. Iron ore digging, loading and unloading, shipping and storing have been done largely by this method; and so have puddling, rolling and other successive mill operations. But now the principle is being applied to mostly all industries in which much handling by labor is, or was, required. In the wholesale drug trade, for instance; materials handling equipment is being introduced; in the mail order houses, also. Thus, its use is becoming extensive.

The present big boom in favor of mechanical handling of materials is alleged to be due to the shortage of labor occasioned by restrictive immigration. By cutting off cheap labor supplies, so it is claimed, this measure has made the introduction of mechanical substitutes imperative. This, however, is essentially untrue; as the beginning of the use of this type of labor-saving machinery, as already indicated in previous paragraphs, antedates restrictive immigration by many years. It would be nearer the truth to say that the present large-scale introduction marks a climax in its evolutionary development.

**1,200 Lose Jobs when this Automatic Money Changer is Installed on New York Subways**

Materials handling machinery displaces unskilled labor and reduces skilled labor to a degree of unskill such as was never thought possible before. The simplicity of motion, or function, which it requires, as in auto plants, for instance, is hardly believeable. It does away even with "knacks" or the peculiar quirks in manipulation characteristic of unskilled labor even; and could be operated by a child, had the latter the alertness and endurance necessary to prevent accident and physical collapse.

Longshoremen, coal shovelers, freight handlers, car loaders, sack stackers, operators of wheel barrows, truck-shovers, etc., etc.,—all are affected. They are being displaced, with nowheres to go—except it be to hell or the abyss below them. (As yet, they do not show enough intelligence to demand a better social system than the one that makes outcasts of them. But more of that later on).

Some figures used by Secretary of Labor (?), James T. Davis, in his campaign in favor of selective immigration, give an idea of the nature and extent of this labor displaced by mechanical handlers. Here are some:

"In one of our southern ports we have a ship-loading conveyor and a spiral chute. The material handled is crated oil. FOUR MEN now do what ONE HUNDRED MEN before laboriously accomplished.

"The Taylor plant at Bridgeport, Conn., now handles hot iron cauldrons by a mechanical conveyor and shifting system with ONE MAN where they formerly had twenty-five.

"The automatic stacker or piler, which is practically a traveling ladder on wheels with a jack lift, is rapidly making unnecessary the class of labor that only the immigrant or negro would perform."

To these may be added other quotations from articles in technical journals descriptive of materials handling equipment, as follows:

"The Atlantic Coast Electric Railway Company operates three portable conveyors . . . to handle coal. Formerly the work was performed by shovel and wheelbarrow. About seventy days' work per year is required to handle the total 24,000 tons of incoming fuel under either method, but FOUR MEN with the conveyors now do the work of THE PREVIOUS THIRTY, saving 260 man hours per day."

"At the Warren Foundry and Pipe Company three methods of handling are used—electric traveling cranes on yard runways, locomotive cranes, and hand work. One operator runs an electric crane, three men operate each locomotive crane, and from 8 to 12 men are required on corresponding work by hand labor."

"At the American Splint Corporation, a 15-ton crane handles 50,000 ft. of logs in a 9-hour day, piling 30 to 40 ft. high and back piling to the same height, doubling yard storage. The crane and THREE MEN do the work formerly requiring TWELVE MEN, or at a cost of $19.17 per day against $75.60 formerly, saving $55.43 per day or $16,629.00 in 300 working days."

"On the Boston Elevated Railway a 10-ton crane with a crew of operator and two men carries out the following:

"Unloads from flat cars 540 ties per hour. Formerly took twelve men 2½ hours. Crane piles 18 ft. high. Men could pile only 12 ft. high.

"Handling cages of treated wood block paving. Crane will dump 12 cages or about 18,000 blocks per hour. Same work formerly took 12 men about 4 hours.

"Crane and crew handle about 75,000 ties and 1,500,000 bd. ft. of lumber per year."

"A 20-ton Link-Belt crane and six men load on freight cars an average of 25 crated Hupmobiles daily for export shipment. Each crate weighs 4,000 pounds. Recently this crane loaded 28 crated automobiles on freight cars in 1½ hours. This work alone formerly required the full time of 30 men.

"The crane is also used for unloading coal and building material from freight cars. At top speed it unloads a 70-ton car of coal in 40 minutes—while with hand shoveling it would take four men practically the entire day to unload one.

"On the basis of 6 months' actual service the crane has saved the entire time of 35 laborers—something over $40,000 yearly in wages—and pays for itself every 4 1-2 months from the standpoint of labor economy alone."

These quotations may be continued to a much greater extent. Soap-works, granite works, foundries, lumber and dairy companies, paper box concerns, sugar corporations, architectural tile companies, and many others, too numerous to specify, tell the same tale. They all employ mechanical handling with the great displacement of labor and saving in wages already hinted at above.

Where will it all end? With labor being displaced, unemployment will increase and become more continuous, without any breaks of "prosperity" to relieve it.

With labor being deprived of wages, purchasing and consuming power will be greatly curtailed; thus also adding to the unemployed. It is time labor, both employed and unemployed, woke up to the gravity of these conditions and did something to end them.

Labor can only remedy these conditions through extensive industrial union organization. Such organization can reduce hours and increase wages in accordance with the introduction of machinery and its output. It can secure a share for labor in the benefits of invention and machinery, such as is necessary, if the breakdown of the entire present system is to be averted in favor of peaceful evolution.

Such organization involves much agitation, much discussion—distribution of leaflets, circulation of labor press, soap-boxing, shop talks, speaking tours—in fact, a campaign of education, in which, em-

(Continued on page 34)

# WOBBLES

## PUTTING IT BLUNTLY

The national wealth is now $320,863,862,000. The last three circular formations, figuratively speaking, seem to indicate that the workers' share has been discovered and included.

## THE PERFECT HYPOCRITE

Teacher—"Johnny, can you tell me what a hypocrite is?"

Johnny—"Yes, ma'am. It's a boy what comes to school with a smile on his face."

## WOODROW CALLS MOSES!

MOSES (to new heavenly arrival): "Well, Woodrow, they didn't do a thing to your fourteen points points down below, did they?"

WOODROW: "That's nothing. You ought to see what they did to your ten commandments."

## FULL SPEED TO THE REAR

The difference between a motorman
And a conductor is quite strange
The motorman changes the handle—
The conductor handles the change.

## DON'T DISTURB THE HANDS

A manufacturer of motor-car accessories was engaging a factory superintendent.

"There's just one thing more," he said to the applicant, who appeared to be satisfactory. "Could you run a house organ in connection with your other work?"

"House organ?" said the man, with a puzzled expression. "What's the need of music in a factory?"

## PREPAREDNESS

Murphy, the fireman, died at sea, so they got his body ready for burial.

It was discovered that there were no irons to sink the body, so the chief engineer gave orders to the black gang to get some big chunks of coal to lash to the body, which was done.

As the captain was reading the burial service, Sullivan, the fireman, roared laughing.

The captain looked sternly at Sullivan and said, "Now, Sullivan, have you no respect for the word of God or for the dead?"

"Sure, captain," Sullivan said, "I have. But, I have seen many a fireman die and go to hell, but Murphy is the first one I have seen take his own coal with him."

## PUTTING IT BLUNTLY

Parson—You should be a good christian; and go to church in order to provide for your hereafter.

Unemployed—If it's the same to your reverence, I'd sooner go to work and provide for the present. The hereafter can take care of itself.

## A WOODS CONUNDRUM

IWW Lumberjack—Why is an unorganized lumberjack like a snail?

Scissorbill—Dunno, I'll bite!

IWW Lumberjack—Both carry their homes on their backs; and are slow at getting good things.

## PILING IT ON

Inquirer—"Well, Ephraim, what are you going to preach to your flock these days? I hear you are making a mighty stir."

Ephraim—"Well, sur, yassir, I is. I gives it to 'um dis way: Fustly, I tells um what I'm gwine to tell 'um, den I tell 'um what I said I wuz gwine to tell 'um, and den I tells 'um what I done tole 'um."

## AND THEN IT HAPPENED

One hundred per centers, law abiding every one of them, had a meeting in Frisco. One of them pulled this one on his friend: knowing his friend carried a flask on his hip, he disguised himself with false beard and badge and walked into the hall in a boisterous manner.

Flashing his badge, he cried, "I arrest you on complaint of violating the prohibition law."

Forty flasks hit the floor.

# "Sedition"

By EDMUND VANCE COOK

You cannot salt the eagle's tail,
  Nor limit thought's dominion.
You cannot put ideas in jail;
  You can't deport opinion.

If any cause be dross and lies,
  Then drag it to the light;
Out in the sunshine Evil dies,
  But fattens on the Night.

You cannot make a Truth untrue
  By dint of legal fiction.
You cannot prison human view
  You can't convict conviction.

For tho' by thumbscrew and by rack,
  By exile and by prison,
Truth has been crushed and palled in black,
  Yet Truth has always risen.

Truth asks no favor for her blade
  Upon the field with Error,
Nor are her converts ever made
  By threat of force and terror.

You cannot salt the eagle's tail,
  Nor limit thought's dominion
You cannot put ideas in jail;
  You can't deport opinion.

# You, the Producers

HAL BROMMELS

FOR ages now you've had to bow
  To kings and lords and parasites;
You've never known a day your own,
You've never had the thing called "rights."
You groaned as masters crushed you down--
And yet you cowered 'neath the crown.

The masters slew your brothers true,
  And nailed your champions to the cross;
You trembled then like weakened men
  And only mourned your fearful loss.
Though you were great and they were few
You feared the righteous thing to do.

You still are slaves to idle knaves,
  And thousands in their prisons lie —
Their deeds for you proclaim them true—
  They wait and hope to hear this cry:
"The earth is free for Toil is free!
We won through Solidarity!"

It's up to you, Producing Men,
  Your word will set your comrades free—
When you DEMAND, but not till then,
  Can you control all industry.
Remember this: No Christ shall rise—
All earthly power in YOU lies!

# The Wobbly

By 4S-602

WHEN my upper lip is trembly, and a lump gets in my throat,
  And the fellows that I'm scared of have tried to get my goat;
And I'm feeling kind o' lonesome, and I'm losing all my sand,
It's great to have a Wobbly just grip you by the hand.

With a Wobbly for a "buddie" I'm as happy as can be,
For I know whatever happens, he'll always stand by me,
For he knows me, and I know him, and tho other friends may fail
I always feel contented when with him I hit the trail.

You cannot keep discouraged—you cannot long be blue,
When your "partner" is a Wobbly, and you **know** that he's true blue,
He's always there to help you, when the "goings" rather hard,
And he plants himself beside you, 'cause you pack the old red card.

## NEW LABOR DISPLACERS (Continued from page 32)

ployed, as well as unemployed, can take and should take an active part. The unemployed, as well as the employed can, and should, help it along, or else be classed as helpless morons and willing slaves.

If the persistent, continued introduction of mechanical methods continues, overproduction will swamp us all in a sea of unemployment and misery, which can be avoided, if we workers hasten to take time by the forelock, and act before it is too late.

More industrial union organization and industrial union remedies alone can meet the situation. We should make every effort to make them possible now, while conditions permit it.

Let's get busy, without delay!

# How It's Done in California

By CALIFORNIAN

**Reciting the questionable methods by which workingmen are sent to jail for organizing labor unions—the whole campaign of misrepresentation, frame-ups and professional witnesses laid bare, so that all may become familiar with it.**

WHY are so many men convicted under the Criminal Syndicalism law in California, if they have committed no crime? This is a question often asked of members of the IWW.

To answer that question as briefly as possible is the purpose of this article. But, first it is necessary to make one comment. It is the custom brought down through the ages, to consider a man innocent in the eyes of the law, until he is proven guilty. Just the reverse is true in California. The mere fact that one belongs to a labor union is sufficient for conviction of almost any crime on the statute books, that is, in the mind of the average juror.

But the people of California are no different than the people elsewhere. As a matter of fact a large percentage of the population is made up of people attracted to the state by the glowing promises held forth in all the advertising campaigns of the various commercial clubs. Their state of mind is due, however, to the vicious propaganda put forth by those who control the resources of California.

To begin with, California's eastern and western boundaries are natural physical barriers that serve to keep within its own confines the lust for the blood of workingmen. On the north, however, lies the domain of the Hammond Lumber Co., who, together with a few minor companies, own and control several counties rich in standing timber; while throughout the rich valleys, the California Fruit Growers' Association holds full sway and on the south the state is dominated by the oil companies and real estate operators. All of them large employers of labor.

Down through the center of the state, running from north to south is the Southern Pacific Railway, like a giant octopus, its tentacles reaching in all directions and devouring all within its reach. In former years the S. P. controlled the government of California completely, but of late it has yielded some of its power to the lumber, oil and power companies.

It is the representatives of the above mentioned groups, that meet in the capital and discuss ways and means of further exploitation of the workers and how to get rid of the hated IWW. For it is these class conscious workers who are the only ones effectively challenging the self assumed rights of the industrial lords.

Imagine yourself at one of their private meetings. Probably you would see about you a half dozen representatives of some of the largest corporations in the United States, all sleek, well fed and showing signs of a life of luxurious ease. Mr. Wood of the lumber trust is speaking. He is raving over the fact that the IWW are active in the logging camps and "something must be done." "Humph," says Mr. Blank of the power trust, "Doesn't your prosecuting attorney know what to do?"

"Oh, yes." The prosecuting attorney knows what to do alright but, there may be some farmers called for jury duty, who may have their own ideas of justice. Then again, there seems to be some complaint about high taxes, due to the high cost of railroading workingmen. Wouldn't some funds judiciously placed be useful at present?

Certainly. The funds are forthcoming and the drama begins up in the lumber country. First comes the plot. All regular Criminal Syndicalism trials begin with a plot. To be sure the plot exists in the minds of the locally subsidized paper, but nevertheless, furnishes an excellent groundwork for sentiment. The following is a fair sample of the beginning of an IWW case.

IWW PLOT NIPPED IN BUD

....., California. Date. ..... Two alleged IWWs were arrested today at the camp of the Northern Lumber Company while distributing inflammatory literature, and brought to the city to be lodged in the Hokum County jail.

Deputy Sheriff Hurpock Sholmes who made the arrests states "that he believes the men are forerunners of a gigantic conspiracy to destroy the redwood forests of this state, etc. . . . ."

This, together with a few more articles of a similar nature, is broadcast throughout the county, and for the next few weeks furnishes the only topic for conversation. True, nothing definite has been stated, but the mind of the public has been aroused and the prosecution is prepared to go ahead.

In the meantime, Johnny Lumberjack and Fellow worker Delegate have been safely lodged in the Hokum County jail and are awaiting the outcome. While, on the outside, continue the ravings of the newspapers and the rantings of the local politicians about 100 per cent "Americanism," until the local citizenry are ready to go to any lengths for the lumber trust.

After a few weeks a sort of hearing is held and the trial date is set. A hearing in these cases doesn't mean anything, it being a mere formula handed down by tradition. The indictments are filed and everything is ready to proceed according to Hoyle.

We will spare the reader the unessential details of the opening of the trial, but, merely mention that it consists of the selection of a jury, the reading of the indictment and the entering of the plea of "Not guilty." The first named process is for the purpose of finding out whether or not some workingman has been accidentally called for jury duty. We are now ready for the first witness.

The first witness in this case will be Deputy Sholmes, the arresting officer. Deputy Sholmes has covered himself with glory in making the arrests, but his testimony is not interesting. He is there merely to identify the defendants and their cards. However, if you are witnessing a trial of this sort for the first time, you would do well to notice them carefully, for this is the last you will hear of the defendants or cards until the judge is ready to pass sentence.

The identifications over, the trial is ready to proceed in earnest and Mr. Coutts is called to the stand. Whereupon a slinking individual with a degenerate countenance will mount the stand and swear to tell "the truth, the whole truth so help, etc." After a few preliminary questions by the suave attorney for the state, the moron will begin to unfold a tale designed to make the jurors hold their breath. Here is where the preliminary work is intended to count, for all of the stories published by the local papers, concerning the IWW are at once recalled and the jurors listen with intense interest.

Boiled down, Coutts testifies that the purpose of the IWW, when he was a member, was to burn farmers' barns and commit other such outrages. However, upon cross-examination we learn by his own admission, that he has served time for burglary and that his chief means of livelihood, before he became a professional witness, was by "begging and stealing." He even admits he never told the truth before in his life.

After a few hours of Coutts' testimony, the jury has heard enough blood curdling tales to last them some time. But wait! . . .there is more to come. Another professional witness is called to the stand. This "Thing" is called Townsend. His testimony is on much the same order as that of the previous witness, differing only in its locale. Upon cross-examination of Townsend, facts are brought out, showing him to be a degenerate of the lowest order. One would have to be charitable indeed, to raise him to the rank of a common fink or stoolpigeon.

A few more witnesses of the same type, and the prosecution is ready to rest and they surely need one; in fact, the whole courtroom needs a rest. The jurors' minds have become so inflamed, listening to the weird tales emanating from the diseased brains of the state's witnesses, that they have as much use for the IWW as they have for a dose of potassium cyanide. Of course, the defendants have not once been mentioned. No one has ever seen them before or even heard of them.

Th defense is now ready to go on and starts out at once with an argument over the first witness. It seems, that the witness must prove that he is at present a member of the IWW. Must even show his card or his testimony is not acceptable. But this does not feaze the defense and the card will be shown and the witness will proceed. But the moment he steps from the witness stand, an officer at once places him under arrest for Criminal Syndicalism.

Even this does not stop them and witnesses continue to testify to the character of the organization. Men from all industries show that the IWW is a revolutionary labor union, organized for the purpose of bettering the condition of the wage-worker. None have heard of violence being preached; on the contrary, they all have heard the organization teach that violence is a sign of weakness and always reacts against the user. They have been taught that the organization depends upon its economic power and that violence is detrimental to that power.

But the jury is not interested, they are speculating within their minds how soon they can get home to their families. Their minds have already been made up. But the judge sits in his chair ever on the alert. The judge, by the way, is an individual hired by the state to sit through the trial and overrule any objection made by the defense and sustain those made by the prosecution.

And so it goes to the end until the attorneys are ready to make their pleas to the jury. Sometimes it may be necessary for the attorney for the state to point out the defendants during the course of his address, in order that the jury will remember who is being tried. The speeches over, the jury retires to the anteroom, plays a few games of pinochle and brings in a verdict of "Guilty."

We have not exaggerated. The above performance has been repeated over and over again. Occasionally there may be some change in some of the minor details but the essential facts are the same. It is only in such places where the defense has been able to counteract the influence of the local press, that any measure of success or any semblance of a fair trial has been secured.

But the silver lining is already beginning to show. The effect of the intensive educational campaign carried on by the California Branch of the General Defense is being felt. For the people of California are just as susceptible to educational propaganda as anyone else. What is needed now is a campaign of activity by the members of the organization, to the end that the persecution in California will be a matter of a dark spot on its history.

## HE TOLD HER

Short-sighted Lady (in grocery)—"Is that the head cheese over there?"

Salesman—"No, ma'am; that's one of his assistants."

# Alex Dowell's Home

By R. J. W., 721016

**The realization of wedded bliss, bought on the installment plan, it proved a test of character, only to be taken from him and his beloved wife, by the mortgage holder and wage cuts in the long run—A little tale, with a moral, that is all too common.**

WHEN Alex Dowell married Nellie Poore, it was rumored about the community that the matrimonial ties of this couple were of an ideal nature. Alex had advanced himself to the position of timekeeper with a local steel corporation with whom he had been employed for a number of years. Beginning at a very young age, in a humble capacity, he had worked faithfully and rendered efficient service, which was responsible for his numerous advancements. Nellie was one of the happy go lucky kind—good natured, jolly and always ready to have a little fun when the opportunities permitted it. She was fairly well educated, and a lover of discussion on numerous subjects which she was not well versed on.

Many an evening she and Alex sat in the parlor and discussed different things; that is, they discussed the making of steel. He would explain to her how it was melted in the open hearth; how they poured it into molds; how the molds were stripped, leaving the ingot stand erect on a flat car to be transferred to the blooming mills to be rolled into billets; and how they were again transferred to other mills for the final process that made them finished products.

This was one advantage Alex had over Nellie: he knew the difference between an open hearth and a rolling mill.

Alex, at the time of his marriage, had saved about five hundred dollars. This he intended to use as a down payment on a little five-room bungalow that was for sale on one of the best streets of the community. This little love-nest had a value of approximately six thousand dollars. But this mattered not at all to Alex—nothing was too good for Nellie.

It was one of those bright spring days when the trees were beginning to bring forth their blossoms of fruit and all the grandeur of nature was evident.

To Alex, this was a happy day. It marked the beginning of his prosperity. This he felt as he whistled modern refrains as he proceeded down the street to the real estate agent to deposit his five hundred dollars and close the deal on his little bungalow.

Upon reaching the office he informed the agent of his intentions. The agent at once ushered Alex into his little private office and explained the details and red tape that is usually connected with the installment plan homes. The agent said, it would be necessary to make a down payment of five hundred dollars to close the deal. This, of course, Alex was aware of. Arrangements were made to have the remaining fifty-five hundred paid off at the rate of sixty dollars per month, plus six per cent interest. This was agreed to by Alex and the deal was closed.

The newlywed at once hurried home to the temporary light housekeeping rooms to tell Nellie of his wonderful buy; and how it would be possible for them to reside on one of the finest streets in the community.

This news overjoyed Nellie. She threw her arms about Alex. She couldn't help it. She really loved her husband; and for two solid hours they sat and talked about the kind of furniture they would buy for each room. They considered that the best of furniture would be necessary to make the inside appearance as nice as the outside.

The Dowells were now ready to purchase the household furnishings to complete the little bungalow on Fine Street; that they might enter and enjoy the comforts of their own home.

To Nellie and Alex, all this seemed to be a dream. They wondered if these wonderful things weren't too good to be true. They even pinched one another to be sure they were not asleep. And finally they were satisfied that all this was to be a reality.

As Alex leaned back in his chair and began to yawn he pulled his watch from his pocket and discovered it was past midnight. So the Dowells decided to retire for the day—for Alex had to report to the mill at seven a. m.; seven days per week.

Arising at an early hour the following morning, Nellie prepared the breakfast and saw her husband off to the mill; and, as some women usually do, Nellie returned to bed to sleep a part of the forenoon. When she awoke, she just lay there to daydream of her future home on Fine Street, as it was only two days off from pay-day at the mill; which would allow them the down payment on their furniture;—then the little love-nest would be completed and ready to be occupied.

Then the mill pay-day came and this again was a big day for the Dowells. As soon as Alex had finished his supper, he and Nellie started for the easy payment furniture company and in less time than an hour they had picked the necessary furnishings to make their home one of the most attractive

on their street. The furniture company called up the steel mill officials for recommendation. The official did as asked knowing that Alex was a faithful employe and naturally he was recommended very highly.

The next day while Alex was at work the furniture was delivered. Nellie, aware of this, did not go back to bed that morning but went to sweep and dust and do the little things that are usually done before moving into a new home.

That evening when Alex returned from the mill he ate his supper and proceeded to join Nellie in her labors,—that of getting every thing ready—that they might enjoy its comforts as soon as possible.

At last everything was ready; the gas and electric light was to be turned on the following day and nothing more remained to do except invite a few friends to be present the next evening, as this would be the first night in their own home.

When the following night came the Dowells were seated on the front porch of their little bungalow, awaiting the arrival of the friends who were to take part in the house-warming.

The party enjoyed the evening very much and when the guests began to depart they bestowed on the Dowells many compliments, which were all accepted and thankfully acknowledged. And now Mr. and Mrs. Dowell were located in their permanent residence.

All through the summer months the Dowells prospered. They never missed a circus and usually went to see a show of an evening and on Sundays they went to the amusement parks. Ofttimes they held little card parties at their home and thus the Mr. and Mrs. Alex Dowell were really enjoying life. Now that summer was passing, life was beginning to look still brighter to Alex Dowell, because he was one of those fellows that liked to stay by the fireside during the winter months, and Nellie also was looking forward to the time when just she and Alex could sit in the parlor and talk of their future plans—and this they did.

It was during the winter that the Street Railways Co. employees were forced to go on strike for better wages. The striking street car men were so poorly paid and the cost of living kept going up. This made it impossible for them to support their wives and families. As usual with workmen, they had done everything to avert a strike. They offered to arbitrate with the company. But the company only turned a deaf ear. From all appearances the company wanted the men to strike. They wanted to break the union. They knew it could be done, because the strike would occur at a time when all the other big industries were reducing their forces.

Under the circumstances the railways company knew it would be an easy matter to recruit the necessary strikebreakers to keep the cars in operation. This was just what they did; for as soon as the men went on strike, scabs were put on the cars and the strike was practically lost on the first day. The strikers stayed out one week. They couldn't stay out any longer, as they were in the grip of winter and the low wages they had received made it impossible for them to save enough for these emergencies.

Thus, the street carmen's strike was lost. They sacrificed all their demands and returned to work under the old conditions.

During the strike period, the Mr. and Mrs. Dowells would set in their comfy little parlor by the fireside and discuss the horrible attitude the street car company assumed towards its employes. You can imagine how Alex would cuss the scabs for taking the strikers' jobs. Alex was by nature a real he-man. He wouldn't scab on any man. This his wife agreed with: she didn't want her Alex to be a scab. And that night before the young couple retired for the evening they had resolved that the name of Dowell would never be tainted with the crime of strikebreaking.

Little did they know that their resolution was soon to be an issue with them—a test of character, as it were.

Alex couldn't understand the forces that were at work around the steel mills. He knew the company was cutting production and this of course would force them to lay off the workers.

Thousands of steel workers were laid off; the furnaces in the mills were banked, and only the necessary help was retained to keep the mills in condition. Alex Dowell was a timekeeper. It was necessary to retain him, to look after the few workers that were not laid off.

For several weeks the mills were idle. The little town's people that were dependent upon them, were beginning to face starvation. The charity organizations began to dole out baskets of food. The steel corporation contributed thousands of dollars to these organizations; and the workers existed for another month on nothing but their alms.

Then the news was let out that the mills were to resume operations. **But due to a fall in the price of steel they would be forced to cut the wages thirty per cent.** When Alex Dowell discovered this order was to affect him also, he began to weaken. After carefully figuring what his earnings would be he couldn't see how he was to keep up his payments on his home and his furniture and keep food in the house at the same time. The gloomiest feature of all, however, was to arrive in the near future: there was an increase coming in Alex's family and this he had been looking to with the happy thought of being a father. But now everything seemed to turn against him. His wages were to be cut thirty per cent. The enormous fees charged by doctors on these kind of cases, were altogether out of Alex's reckoning. He just couldn't meet them under the new wage scale, as under his previous obligations, all his savings had been pre-empted.

Then around comes the first of month, when all Alex's payments come due. He was in a position to make the usual payment this time; but the next one he couldn't.

Upon arrival at the real estate man's office, he

took up the matter of reducing his monthly payments on the home. This was refused and Alex was informed that his original payment, as contracted, would fall due on the first of every month. He met with the same results at the furniture company also.

This made Alex a little hysterical. He began to cuss the steel corporation for cutting his wages and the real estate man for not reducing monthly payments—the furniture company likewise. But what could he do?—only try to do his best to make ends meet.

As the days passed by, the increase came in the Dowell family. It was necessary for the doctor to use instruments to bring the little one into the world, and this made the cost burden on Alex greater.

Mrs. Dowell was to be confined to her bed for several weeks. It was impossible for them to employ a nurse, and Alex couldn't afford to lay off from work; so this put more worries on Alex's mind. It was only a short time, however, until a widow woman whom Alex had assisted during the depression, while her son was out of work, volunteered to look after the Dowell household while Alex was at work. To the young husband this was a lifesaver.

And so the days and the weeks went by with Alex trying to keep up the former standards of living. But his struggles were in vain. He was forced to ask credit from his grocer; also from the butcher. The faithful young worker and husband now found that he was going so far in debt that it would take him some time to get out.

**Then along came the steel corporation with another ten per cent reduction.**

This, to Alex, was a complete knock-out; and the beginning of his downfall.

The second wage-cut became effective. The mills were working full capacity and the multitude of workers were discontented. This discontent went on until it began to breed hatred; and, finally, little groups of workers began to congregate and discuss the wage cuts; and then the question of a strike for more wages got passed throughout the mills—and later again, the day of the strike was passed around.

While all these rumors were going about, the steel company placed its stool pigeons throughout the mills to find out who the agitators were—that they might be fired in an effort to avert the strike. But the stool pigeons were helpless: it seemed as though all the workers were agitators.

The steel company realized it was confronted with a big issue. At once it began to send its representatives to all the big cities in the surrounding states to recruit strikebreakers. The steel company was determined to whip the strikers at any cost.

The hour of strike approached and when it finally came the workers almost to a man laid down their tools and walked out, only a very few remaining. As the strikers marched out, they discovered that the town was being patrolled by the state police and the state militia. Their ranks were subsequently invaded by the state police and the workers were forced to segregate and get off the streets.

Among the thousands of workers that had the courage to strike that day against one of the largest combines in the world, was Alex Dowell.

The strikers were not allowed to congregate anywhere. If they did they were subject to brutal punishment at the hands of the state police. If the strikers attempted to hold a meeting the state police would throw tear gas bombs amongst the crowds, which forced them to disperse.

The strikers never gave up hopes, until they saw the trainloads of scabs being taken into the mills and only then did they began to weaken. A number of them broke the ranks and returned to work. But the strike was not called off; and those who still had courage to hold out did so.

It was only a matter of short time when the ranks of the remaining strikers were easily counted.

The mills were now working full capacity again, manned by those that had returned, together with the imported scabs. The few strikers that stayed out until the last minute went back to get their jobs again. Alex was one of them—and when he approached the employment agent he and the rest of his followers were informed that they had committed the unpardonable sin against the steel corporation and would never again be employed in its services.

Thus does the story of Alex Dowell approach its end. He secured outside work but could not make the necessary payments on his home. He fell down on his payments to the furniture company. The real estate man foreclosed the mortgage on the home and the furniture company came and took back the furniture.

Mr. and Mrs. Dowell and their little baby are now living in two light housekeeping rooms, which are situated in the working-class district of the town. Nevertheless, after all their setbacks they are happy—knowing that the name of Dowell has not been tainted with the stigma of strikebreaking.

Just here, let us pause to moralize some. Alex Dowell, the character about whom the foregoing story is woven, was not an agitator. He was a faithful husband and a lover of home life. He wanted life as it should be. He didn't believe in living in tenement houses or being crowded into the dirty houses which are occupied by the wealth producers of the world, while those who do no usefulness to society live in the finest of mansions and enjoy all the luxuries that money can buy. He took a chance that many other wage workers had taken and lost.

Alex Dowell did not lose his home because he went on strike. The wage cuts, in themselves, would have brought about that loss. The real reason he lost his home was because he was a wage worker. The employing class does not want the workers to own their homes or to acquire wealth. This may cause independence.

**The industrial despots that control our present system of wage slavery allow the working class very little prosperity and those married people who have saved a few hundred dollars with the objective of buying a home, are usually robbed of it by the depressions that follow the short periods of prosperity.**

**Strange to relate, however, instead of the workers fighting the system that prevents them from owning a home and enjoying the real comforts of life, they are supporting it.**

**If the working-class are to enjoy life, they must be organized—not only for the everyday struggle for hours, wages and conditions; but to a point that they will understand their true position in life. And when this is accomplished it will be possible for the persecuted working-class to take over industry and operate it for the benefit of all. To have this objective come about in reality it must be done through an economic organization formed on and following the lines of industry.**

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# A Protest

OUR Dumb Animals for June eontains the following anti-war protest:

"Encouraging War."

"This magazine has always been for peace. So we express now our protest against the war department's plan for a great national 'Mobilization' Day, September 12. Citizens in every city and hamlet will be asked to offer their serviees to the country as if in aetual war. Boy Seouts and Camp Fire girls will be asked to turn out; even faetories and other organizations will be mobilized to do their part in the imaginary war work. Millions all over the country will be aroused to bitterness and hostility against the War Department if this thing is pushed to extremes. No folly h s been more often exploded in the history of nations than that to be prepared for war means peace. It means war. It always has. It always will."

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## GIANT POWER SURVEY

Morris L. Cook, representing Governor Pinchot's giant power survey eommission for Pennsylvania, told the senate eommittee on agriculture that there are 1,000,000 farms within transmission range of Muscle Shoals, and that within five to ten years electric power can be eeonomically applied on all of these farms. The range of transmission is 300 miles. About 100 uses for electrie power are now reeognized in farming. Ordinary waterpowers, far less efficient than Musele Shoals, will soon be doing the work of cheap man-power. And giant power stations, burning coal at the mine-mouth, give eurrent at 4c per kilowatt more than ordinary waterpower. Linked together in one great pool of power, they make possible the use of small local waterpowers that hitherto have been inefficient.

# Unemployed Intellectuals

IN New York City there are scores of newspaper writers out of work. In addition there are seores more of them wondering when they will be in like condition.

This lack of employment by men of ability—this fear of displacement by men who have spent deeades in journalistie pursuits of the highest intellectual nature—is due to the merging of metropolitan newspapers.

Under the direction of Frank A. Munsey, many of the latter have been bought up and put out of existenee. It is believed that Munsey will continue his performances in this direction, with the result that more of the penmen of the press will be unemployed.

It is alleged that Munsey is acting in the interests of big department store advertisers. They will have fewer newspapers to pay bills to as a result; hence their backing, so goes the theory.

On the bulletin board of the New York Newspaper Club is pasted a bit of verse. Some of the members laugh as they pause and sean the doggerel.

THE ITINERANT REPORTER

Say boss, can you give me a job?
I'm fairly good, I guess.
One time I worked with Munsey
On the New York Press.

Oh yes, I've had experience,
And many's the yarn I've spun.
I also worked with Munsey
On the New York Sun.

I won't say that I was a star
Nor wore any royal robe;
But I did have a job with Munsey
On the New York Globe.

You say the staff is full up—
Well, I'll be hittin' the trail.
But remember, I worked with Munsey
On the New York Mail.

I then joined up with the Herald
And that was a terrible jam,
And, let's see—I worked with Munsey
On the New York Telegram.

This doggerel tells the tale of what has befallen the unemployed intellectual.

O, Skill! Where is thy victory?
O, Ability, Where are thy palms?

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## IN OTHER WORDS, "NO TRESPASSING"

On a farm in South Georgia is posted this sign:

Trespaser's will be persekuted to the full extent of 2 mean mongral dorgs whieh ain't never been ovarly soshibil with strangers and 1 dubbel barlet shot-gun which ain't loaded with no sofy pillers. Dam, if I ain't tired of this hel raisin on my proputy."

IT'S NO DERNED WONDER THAT PEOPLE CONTRACT RHEUMATISM BETWEEN THEIR EARS!
THE WALL ST. BOOSTER
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF BIG BUSINESS
FARMER'S BURDEN TO HEAVY!
INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM DETRIMENTAL TO THE BEST INTERESTS OF FARMERS
BUT SENATOR KIDEM SAYS IT WILL BE LIGHTER WHEN THE LIGHTS ARE TURNED ON
I.M. RICH TAKES NOBLE STAND AGAINST I.W.W.
THE WALL ST. BOOSTER
TERRIBLE DISASTER OCCURS!
POLICE INVESTIGATE AS GREAT CROWDS BLOCK TRAFFIC IN FRONT OF LUNCH ROOM
IRRESPONCIBLE COOK DROPS CLAM IN THE CHOWDER!!!
WALL ST. DEMANDS PROFITEERS SHALL BE PUNISHED!!
SENATOR BUNK'S BILL IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL!
THE BUNK BILL WHICH PROVIDED FOR THE FENCING IN OF ALL CEMETERIERS WAS DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL TO-DAY. THE SUPREME COURT HELD THAT THERE WAS NO-ONE WHO DESIRED TO ENTER A CEMETERY, AND THAT THERE WAS NO-ONE IN WHO COULD GET OUT.

**Don't get "Rheumatism between the Ears," that is, don't destroy your ability to think right, by reading capitalist misinformation. Avoid this danger by reading the Workers' Press; especially the publications of the Industrial Workers of the World.**

**The latter consist of the following 10 daily, twice-a-week, weekly, and monthly, newspapers and magazines.**

INDUSTRIALISTI (The Industrialist) published in Finnish daily at Duluth, Minnesota. Write to Box 464, Duluth, Minn., for subscription rates.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER, English, published twice a week. Subscription, $4.00 a year; six months, two dollars; 3 months, $1.00. Bundle orders, 3 cents a copy. Single copies, five cents. Address, Box 1857, Seattle, Wash.

INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY, English, published weekly. Subscription price, $2.00 per year; six months, $1.00; 3 months, 50 cents. Bundle orders, 3 cents a copy; single copies, 5 cents. Address, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER, English, published monthly. $2.00 per year; $1.00 for 6 months; 50 cents for 3 months; single copies, 20 cents. Address, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

BERMUNKAS (The Wage Worker), Hungarian, published weekly at 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Subscription price: $2.00 per year; six months, $1.00. Bundle orders, 3 cents per copy; single copies, 5 cents.

IL PROLETARIO (The Proletarian), Italian, published weekly at 158 Carroll St., Brooklyn, N. Y. Subscription price: $2.00 per year; six months,

(Continued on page 46)

# New Process Makes Rustless Steel

**A PROCESS for the manufacture of rust-proof iron and steel which will make possible an annual world saving of approximately $3,000,000,000 has been perfected by Dr. Beram D. Saklatwalla, inventor of the basic process for the manufacture of vanadium steel.**

**The process makes possible the production of rustless steel and iron with inexpensive ferro-chromium (raw) alloy previously used, thus bringing the discovery to the stage of immediate commercial use.**

**Dr. Saklatwalla, who is internationally known as an authority on metal products and who holds the Carnegie medal for scientific research, explains the details of his process and comments on its economic significance.**

### Will Bring a New Industrial Era

He says that the full utilization of rustless steel will bring a new industrial era. "We are entering another industrial age—the age of steel alloys. It is comparable in importance to the new industrial epoch which began with the perfection of the steam engine."

It is necessary only to visualize the intricate maze of steel which constitutes the skeleton of modern industrial civilization—ceaselessly preyed upon by rust—to realize the sweeping economic significance of this new discovery.

The deep underpinnings and the tall superstructures of skyscrapers, the great spans and cables of bridges, ship plates and hulls, smoke stacks, metal roofing, steel rails and transportation equipment, mining and agricultural machinery, automotive machinery—all form the basic physical structure of economic life today, and all are ceaselessly, relentlessly attacked by the gnawing cancer of corrosion.

By surface coatings of rust-resisting material, by constant painting, by all sorts of experimental processes, engineers and chemists have fought the foe—but they fought a losing game.

### Losses from Rust Billions

The best scientific estimates place the annual corrosion loss at from 62 to 64 per cent of the total quantity of steel displaced. During a period of thirty-four years the output of iron and steel was approximately 1,760,000,000 tons. Of this amount 400,000,000 tons were discarded as worn out or useless, and 718,000,000 tons were eaten by rust. Sir Robert Hadfield, in a report to the British Institute of Engineers, estimated this annual corrosion loss at 700,000,000 pounds.

In 1922 there were 51,750 buildings erected in New York at a cost of $587,690,925. Thus the annual world waste due to the rusting of iron and steel would take care of New York's building operations for about six years. There are 1312 office buildings in New York including all the great skyscrapers. Allowing an average cost of $3,000,000 for these buildings, one could rebuild this vast maze of stone and steel every year with the possible economies of rustless steel.

### Finds Cheaper Chromium Ore

Dr. Saklatwalla, filed his basic patents in 1914. His problem was to find a means of using the raw chromium ore, which is inexpensive, in the manufacture of steel, instead of the expensive ferro-chromium. He now announces that he has succeeded in this and he has filed his patents in twenty-six countries.

His solution, when he finally reached it, was simple. It consisted in using silicon as a reducing agent, by which, using raw chromium ore, he was able to fuse the chromium into the structure of the steel and draw off the residue without using the expensive chromium alloy. The tests upon which he now bases his assertion that he has brought rustless steel to the large-scale commercial stage extend over several years.

In addition to corrosion experiments they include tests of ductility, tensile strength and resistance to electrolytic action. His reports show greater tensile strength and ductility. He says the tests involving electrolytic action are incomplete, but that he believes his product has an increased resistance to electrolysis.

### New Process Gives Steel Greater Strength

He is definite and emphatic in his assertion that the use of chromium not only prevents corrosion but that it produces a metal of greater physical strength than ordinary carbon steel. He claims that the economic changes which will result from the use of rustless steel and iron will be overwhelming. The replacement of rusted iron and steel represents not only the actual value of the steel but also the loss caused by the slowing down of industry, the cost of labor and the time spent in replacement.

It often happens that the rusted member is a key part in a complex system in continuous operation, and its replacement means the disruption of the entire system. For instance, the rusting of the great iron towers which carry high voltage power wires is a constant source of waste and inconvenience. It should be understood that the use of chromium for rustless steel and iron is not a new

(Continued on page 46)

# The IWW at Home and Abroad

Chilean IWW Building Strikers

The Industrial Workers of the World is more than a mere propaganda circle. It is an influence in domestic labor affairs.

Note how "Paddy" Morrin, Czar of the Structural Iron Workers' Union, AFL, denounces it, because its press gives "Paddy's" downtrodden members a right to be heard in their own affairs. This gets Paddy's goat; hence his peculiar bleatings. And Paddy is only one of many "labor leaders" that are howling against the IWW.

*

The Metal and Coal Miners' Industrial Unions Nos. 210-220 held a convention at Butte, Mont. Steps were taken to expand the organizations. The Metal miners are supporting the miners' strike at Santa Eulalia, Mexico. John Martin is now Secretary-Treasurer of 210-220.

*

Despite the industrial depression the miners in the Comstock mine at Gold Hill, Nevada, are on strike for release of all class war prisoners, abolition of bonus and contract system, $6 flat scale for all underground workers, six-hour day, and withdrawal of support from all Gold Hill merchants selling California products.

*

Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520, John Grady, Secretary-Treasurer, has resumed publication of the Railroad Workers' Bulletin. Art Young has contributed a striking cartoon on unemployment. A conference of 520 members was held at Great Falls, Montana, on June 15.

*

The IWW lumberjacks won a river drive strike at Wenatchee, Wash. This is the third largest lumber drive in the United States. The following demands were granted: Better food, clean sheets and pillows, $7.00 a day for eight hours' work. The company tried to run the drive at first with scabs, but they changed their mind when they found out that it could not be done.

*

The small industrial unions of Seattle have opened a membership drive among the city workers.

Two chartered branches of city workers, the Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 460, and Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330, are located in Seattle, besides other small industrial unions.

The building workers have an organization drive on and have lined up a good many members. They have succeeded in getting a good competent speaker and organizer to operate in Seattle; Arthur Boose being the man.

The call of the small industrial unions lays stress on the co-operation of all the members of the small industrial unions to the end that the workers of Seattle may be educated and organized in industrial unionism.

*

From another city, Cleveland, comes reports of open air meetings in the City Square, with Fellow

Organize, City Workers!

Workers Bowerman and Turner as the speakers. The results were an interested crowd and good literature sales and distribution.

*

Some years ago, in a moment of well-administered defeat in an attempt to secure control of the IWW, the Socialist Labor party formed an opposition organization, first known as the Detroit IWW and latterly as the Workers' International Industrial Union. The last named has just decided to disband. The SLP, reduced to a handful, finds itself too weak to sustain its offspring and so has done away with it—but not without a struggle. In order to do so, the SLP completely reverses itself—repudiating its "two wing" philosophy, i. e., of the need for political action based on economic organization, and vice-versa, and now says the political alone, as organized in the SLP, will suffice. Of course, this is a form of senile dementia with the SLP, but such is the mental status of all "liquidators" of the IWW. They all attempt and believe in the impossible!

*

The IWW is also an international influence.

The Stettin, Germany, branch of the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union out on strike are assisted financially by the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union branches here.

*

The MTW has succeeded in getting all Scandinavian ships sailing out of the port of New York under IWW job control. This was done through intensive job action and a boycott of Scandinavian scab shipping agencies. The highest wages and best conditions are the results.

A branch at Yokohama, Japan, is being agitated also.

*

In Santa Eulalia, Mexico, 3,000 miners, members, some of them, of the Metal Miners' Industrial Union, are striking against intolerable conditions under the auspices of the Mexican administration of the IWW. They also have the support and backing of the IWW general administration.

*

Santiago, Chile, is also a battleground for better conditions. The Chilean administration of the IWW is leading a successful struggle there for the 44-hour week in the building industry. 4,000 workers are involved.

# "The Mill Has Shut Down"

By BOOMER

"THE mills have shut down," was the remark that greeted the ear of the newcomers in the little sawmill town in Oregon. To many who heard the remark it did not have much significance; but to those of the workers who labored in the mills it meant much.

To have steady work for the heads of the families it meant regular food, a place to sleep and clothing of a kind for those dependent. With the closing down of the mills of course the income would cease, and that meant . . . . .? Such random answers to the imploring of children for a nickel to get an ice cream cone, were usually, "Now, you can't have a nickel; the mill has shut down." To the child who received the answer it raised another question, what did the mill shutting down have to do with whether it could have an ice cream cone or not. Poor kids, they did not know that their living depended on the operation of the mills and the ability of their fathers in being able to satisfy the bosses so as to have steady work when the mills did run. The question of why the mills should shut down never entered their heads, in fact it never entered the heads of their parents. All that they knew was, "that the mills had shut down."

But as the children of the mill town grow older they learn to dread the sentence, "The mills have shut down," because they recall that every time the mills have shut down it means a time of hunger and suffering for them. But it is not until they learn by a great deal of suffering that as long as the mills are operated for profits to a few that the mills will continue to shut down with recurring frequency and the spells of hunger and want will soon come to be the accepted order for those who labor.

"The mills have shut down" affects not only those who work in and around the mills but also thousands of others who sell their labor power for a living. The purchasing power of the community is lessened, clerks are laid off in the stores. Workers in the laundries are laid off; in fact, with the stopping of the income of the laboring people, the whole industrial life of the community slows down.

There is a way to prevent the shutting down of the mills meaning hunger and want; there is a way by which the mills shutting down will mean a period of vacation and gladness for those who toil; there is a way by which the closing of the mills for a brief period will be hailed with delight by the workers. To bring this change about depends upon the workers, but at present the workers don't realize it. When the workers own all industries, then the shutting down of the mills will mean that there is enough lumber produced to build homes for all, it will mean that none are shelterless, and for a while they who have labored can enjoy a little leisure until they are called upon to produce more lumber to be used for the good of society, and not to be sold for the profits of just a few.

But until that time comes when the workers realize their economic position clearly and thoroughly, then we can expect the cry of "The mills have shut down," to bring dread to the workers.

# Science and Labor Organization

By INDUSTRIALIST

TECHNICAL journals convey the impression of a vast improvement in industrial management. No longer are thumb-nail methods in use in operating industry. Instead industrial management tends to become a science. Science attempts to systematize knowledge in any one department of human thought or activity; and to apply the knowledge thus systematized in a manner conducive of the best results.

In industrial management, science may be summarized as systematized knowledge of the best way of doing work, not only for the industry as a whole, but for each industrial operation in the industry.

Scientific management tends to the creation of scientific managers; that is, men who have been trained in a scientific manner in the various phases of management; and who, individually and collectively, make up the managerial staffs in all great industrial enterprises.

These men take engineering courses in universities and otherwise study intensively management theories for years. To this they add also years of good practical knowledge; so that they are not only trained but experienced men as well.

So great is the increase in scientific management that in the cotton mills of the South, the old style managers and superintendents are being "retired;" technically trained executives are taking their places. This holds true also of industry in general; the old type of business head is being rapidly displaced by the newer one. The extensive comprehensive character of modern industry demands it!

This improvement in industrial management has brought about an improved industrial manager. An improved industrial manager is one who employs science in the handling of all industrial problems; all, of course, for the profit of his employers, the corporations and trusts.

### Facts Main Thing

He employs science in the selection of workmen, that is, he finds out all the facts about workers in his industry. He employs science in the formulation of wage rates and adjusts labor difficulties according to it. He gets his facts first and then uses his training and experience to the best of advantage, from his own viewpoint.

The modern industrial executive is usually up-to-date in all labor theories and practices; and what he doesn't know about them, he can learn from his own staff, or associated managers operating together with him in the same industry.

With and through them he solves problems involving engineering, economics, psychology, health, accountancy, publicity methods, employment, etc. Together with them, the modern industrial executive presents an entirely different proposition than did his predecessor of old; especially in the handling of labor problems and labor organizations.

Corresponding with this, going hand-in-hand with it, and as a result of it, there is a desire for more scientific management in labor unions. It is beginning to be realized that the old style thumb-and-nail labor union executive is not sufficiently well equipped to meet his scientifically trained and experienced opponent.

Further, it is also beginning to be realized that such an executive needs the backing of a staff approximating that of the managerial staff, or the staff of his opponent on the other side.

### Scientific Union Tendencies

Accordingly, in recent years, the modern labor union tends to employ scientific experts in the preparation and defense of its wage movements. This is the case particularly with the railroad labor organizations, who employ economists, accountants, and other scientists and technical men in wage disputes, and in the promotion of their various schemes.

The labor press also reflects this tendency, in that it prints wage reviews, forecasts, and other economic and technical information of value to the labor unions. These reviews, forecasts, etc., are prepared and furnished by labor research bureaus and industrial editors in the employ of labor news agencies.

Labor education also reflects the influence of this new managerial phenomenon. The schools maintained by the trades unions, among other things, aim to train officers as well as members. They aim to make the former as well as the latter, more scientific and efficient in every respect, both in the managerial and other phases of modern industrialism.

They realize that the modern labor struggle is getting to be more and more a matter of scientific ability and technique; and is no longer a haphazard guess or development dependent on intuition and so-called luck. They realize that a great number of facts, or phenomena, must be considered and coordinated in every labor struggle; hence their new tendencies, as described above.

They further realize the tendency toward workers' control of industry and are likewise teaching the rank and file the facts of modern industrialism in furtherance of this latter development.

**Of course, the fact that trades unions persist as trades unions, the fact that they are essentially auxiliaries of capitalism, engaging in many capitalist undertakings, like banks and the B & O "co-operation" scheme, militates against them. They are unscientific in their divisions according to trades. They are unscientific in attempting to get out of capitalism by becoming more deeply immersed in it. Modern industry obliterates trade demarcations where it does not entirely eliminate them. It makes the conflicting interests of capitalists and laborers more**

obvious the larger it grows. To organize contrariwise is to show, not the scientific, but the unscientific, spirit.

But despite all that, the trades unions show themselves, in their educational program, alive to the times. In training and developing their officers and members in the new management, they show themselves alive to the dependence of modern industrialism on scientific training and efficiency. And, in so doing, they point out the dependence of all modern labor organizations on those same qualities.

Industrial unionism proclaims itself scientific. This proclamation is true, in that industrial unionism is a development thoroughly in accord with modern industrial growth. But is industrial unionism scientific in every other respect? Are its executives trained and experienced men? Is its rank and file grounded in the facts of modern capitalism? Is it alive to the intensive as well as the extensive character of modern industrialism? What does it know about the fluctuations of production and their effects on labor organizations? Or of the new industrial psychology, as exploited by capitalist agencies? Is it only theoretically, ideally, revolutionary, and logically sound, without being practically so?

These are some of the questions that confront not only the student of, but the actual participant in, industrial unionism. Industrial unionism, despite its theoretical soundness, its ideal revolutionary spirit, its irrevocable, logical position, nevertheless seems woefully lacking in practical application and results. Why?

On the answer to this question and the questions above, depends the fate of this new form of labor organization!

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# IWW Publications

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$1.00. Bundle orders, 3 cents per copy. Single copies, 5 cents.

SOLIDARIDAD (SOLIDARITY), Spanish, published twice monthly at 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Subscription price: $1.00 per year (26 issues). Single copies, 5 cents.

JEDNA VELKA UNIE (One Big Union), Czecho-Slovak, magazine published at 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Subscription price: $2.00 per year. Single copies, 20 cents. Bundle orders, 14 cents per copy.

INDUSTRIALEN RABOTNIK (Industrial Worker), Bulgarian, newspaper published twice a month at 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Subscription price: $1.50 per year; six months, 80 cents. Bundle orders, 3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.

TIE VAUPAUTEEN (Road to Freedom), Finnish, magazine published monthly at 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Subscription price: $1.75 per year. Bundle orders over five copies, 20 per cent allowed. Single copies, 15 cents.

# New Steel Process

(Continued from page 42)

discovery. The chemistry of the process has for a considerable time been clearly understood.

The importance of the new process lies in the fact that it obviates the problem of prohibitive cost. Non-rusting steels were sold at from 50 to 75 cents per pound, compared with a price of 1½ to 3 cents per pound for common steels and 4 to 6 cents per pound for high grade alloy steels, 12 to 15 cents for copper and 18 to 20 cents for aluminum. This prevented any general use of rustless steel. A suitable grade of rustless steel or iron can be substituted for almost any material that is now manufactured of ordinary steel, iron, brass or aluminum, whether in the engineering industry or in the domestic arts. As compared with brass, it should be noted that the rustless metals do not require any protective coatings, such as lacquer, and it is also important that a greater economy is attained in tensile strength, thus reducing the amounts of material to be specified to attain the safety factor in construction.

There is no field of industry, whether it be domestic, such as for cooking ranges, utensils and hardware, or in the industrial arts, for mine machinery, pumps, turbines, wire rope, roofing materials and structural members exposed to the elements, or in marine work for ship plates, refrigerator pipes, etc., or railroad engineering, or in the automotive industry, including aeronautics, that rustless steel and iron cannot be used to great economic advantage on a large scale at a low cost. With the production of these metals there is no doubt that rustless steel makes possible industrial development previously impossible.

### Thousands of Workers Will Be Forced Out of the Industry

Whether the present slump in the steel industry is a result of this invented process is not known. But one thing is certain as soon as this new process will start to develop: thousands of steel workers will be forced out of the steel industry. The steel workers today have no organization to speak of. The other industries are developing new labor saving devices and machinery as well as the steel industry. What is going to become of all these workers that are thrown out of work? The struggle for a job is becoming a real issue. Not only are we interested in getting better conditions, but we must first have the job to better our conditions. The steel workers have a problem to solve, not tomorrow, but today, right now. Today it is a rustless steel process, tomorrow, new labor-saving devices, and in the meantime thousands of workers are added to the army of unemployed.

In order for the steel workers to combat for a job, they must have an organization that will take up their fight.

Join the I. W. W. Do it now.

# Fields Plowed as You Sleep

WHETHER electric service can be employed to reduce the cost of farming, increase production and lighten the burden of the farm wife, is the primary purpose of a nation-wide survey which has been undertaken by the rural electric service committee of the National Electric Light Association, G. C. Neff, Madison, Wisconsin, chairman of the committee, declared before the recent convention of the association held at Atlantic City.

"Investigating committees, including agricultural engineers, university professors, government officials, farm organizations and public utility men, have been organized in seven states," Mr. Neff stated. "They include Minnesota, South Dakota, Kansas, Iowa, Wisconsin, New Hampshire and Virginia. Fourteen other states are now planning to organize similar committees in each of these states.

"A locality will be set aside in each state as a sort of farm laboratory in which each type of appliance or machinery that can be used on the farm will be employed. These experimental farms are expected to produce facts on which sound progress can be made in electrifying the farms of the nation. Publicity utility men believe that electric service can be made profitable to the farmer as well as to the electric service company.

"Approximately 2½ per cent, or 164,347 of the six and one-half million farmers in the United States are receiving service from electric light and power companies and about 200,000 farmers are procuring limited electric service and individual farm lighting plants. This shows conclusively that the development of rural electric service from central stations has just started and that this is the opportune time to give intensive thought to this subject in order to avoid costly mistakes which may occur out of haphazard development.

"At the present time experiments are being carried on with electric plows which can be started in the evening and the farmer can go to bed and the plow will work all night. Electricity lends itself very readily to automatic control, which makes it possible for the farmer to accomplish much work with very little effort."

# Never Too Late To Mend

By JIM SEYMOUR

"OH, Sir, please don't arrest me!" pleaded the aged quilt to the policeman who had discovered it resting behind a garbage barrel in the alley. "It is true that I am homeless and unemployed, but I came of good stock—I was made of the very best grades of shoddy and cheesecloth."

"Tell it to the judge," advised the cop; "he's an authority on quilts."

"Oh, I was, I was!" wailed the quilt; "I was made in New England. Please don't take me to the horrid jail to associate with criminals and politicians. I'm old, hut I'd still be useful if I could find a job."

"I don't believe you ever worked in your life," said the cop. "You don't look it."

"Oh, sir, I did," replied the quilt in a worn voice. "I was sixteen years in the chambermaids' quarters of a big hotel. Then I performed casual labor years and years, until finally I secured a berth on a lumber schooner. I had been there nearly three years when a sailor traded me for a plug of tobacco to a wandering California prospector who knew right where he could find a fortune if someone would only grubstake him. For seven years he looked for the grubstake, he and I and the two dogs sleeping together."

"Then what?" asked the cop, getting interested.

"He died," said the quilt softly, trembling like a bunch of cotton in the breeze. "He left me at a hobo camp along the railroad track. For years I tried to induce one of the hoboes to employ me, but they all sat down on me.

"Finally a tramp took me to the city and traded me to a furniture mover for a can of canned heat. I worked for my new boss faithfully for a long time, bumping up against the hard corners uncomplainingly, until my constitution weakened and I could no longer keep things from bumping each other. I hope you understand me."

"Sure," said the cop sympathetically; "I used to be on traffic."

"So," continued the quilt tearfully, "my employer abandoned me—cast me out to die by the roadside. Then a junkman picked me up, put me in a sack and sold me to the big junkhouse. But the sorter discovered that I was shoddy and threw me into the alley. And yesterday—boo-hoo—a man got me to clean the axles of his flivver and didn't even thank me. What is an honest old quilt to do? I can't get a job with a front like this."

"Cheer up," said the cop as he pinched a bit of shoddy from the quilt's innards and mopped his eyes with it. "I ought to pinch you, but tonight's pay-day and I feel soft. Come on, I'll get you a job."

Ten minutes later, in consideration of receiving a sample of whichever brand of cigar that happens to be advertised in this issue, the kindhearted cop got the poor old vag a steady job in a workingmen's rooming house that was operated on the uplift plan.

# Time For Action!

Don't let any adverse incident in the struggle between employer and employe dampen your ardor in the cause of labor.

Labor is not easily beaten; nor is it ever completely destroyed.

It has a history not only of reverses but victories as well.

Labor is most encouraging when active and alive to every phase of development.

Are you unemployed, and, therefore, unable to render financial assistance to the working class movement, then turn that item to the undoing of the system that places you in such a humiliating position.

Point out incessantly to your uninformed fellow workers the wrongfulness of a system that cannot provide the industrious with an opportunity to labor and subsist as becomes willing and intelligent producers.

Point out to them the wrongfulness of a system whose only remedy for overproduction is civil war and international war, or war on the working class to reduce wages and increase hours, and war against foreign nations to secure more markets.

Such a system is the height of economic absurdity! It is bloody, murderous, uncivilized, inhuman, and wasteful of life and wealth. It is a blot on the escutcheon of mankind; and should be abolished.

Agitate among your fellow workers against its continuance, as at present constituted. Urge them to join with you in protest against it. And to organize together with you on the job when you return to work, in order to combat its downward tendencies there.

Above all spread the workers' press, that the truth about the workers' organizations may be known. Organize to promote its circulation and sale wherever possible.

Don't succumb to indifference and apathy. Nothing would please the oppressors of labor more!

Arouse then! Agitate, Educate, Organize!

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1924 Aug

# The Industrial Pioneer

*An Illustrated Labor Magazine*
*August 20¢ Single Copy*

## *In This Issue:*


Robert M. LaFollette
San Pedro Outrage
Machine Steers Ship
Annie: Love Story
The Matteotti Murder
The Harvest Message
Farm Combinations
Unemployment

*Poetry* :: *Illustrations* :: *Wobbles*

# PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.


# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

**Edited by JUSTUS EBERT**

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# Labor Banks Fail Labor

The labor bank as an aid to the working class in its struggles with the capitalist class is receiving a practical try-out in New York City.

In the great metropolis, during the past two years, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have operated one of the most successful of these institutions.

In the great metropolis, also, 40,000 Amalgamated members struck recently to wipe out the near-sweatshop conditions that have risen during the past two years.

Apparently, together with the growth of the Amalgamated Bank in New York City, there has also gone a return to previously bad industrial conditions—a retrogression in fact.

This could not very well be otherwise. Labor banks cannot change industrial conditions. That is not their function. Their function is that of all banks, namely, to hoard and to lend middle class funds mainly, at higher rates of interest than are paid for their use.

In brief, they are profit-making, capitalist institutions; and, as such, act in an anti-labor manner. Witness the Warren S. Stone company, backed by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' bank at Cleveland, O. The Stone coal company fought the miners' union and the latter had to strike against it.

What is needed to change industrial conditions is industrial unionism. Labor banks prevent this. They make for craft division. They develop special craft interests and entrench craft officialdom more firmly. They are obviously failures in the class struggle; and stand in the way of progress, instead of making for it.

However, the workers will be forced to leave the labor unions of which the labor banks are born if the former do not function as they should. In this lies the hope of working class progress.

# Scenes from Battlefields of Class War

Interior San Pedro Hall After June 14 Outrage

Exterior San Pedro Hall

(See Opposite Page)

Decorating Graves of Speakers Killed in 1920 Revolution, Stettin, Germany. Branch MTW is located here.

# Over Eight Hundred Hear Geo. Speed

## EXPOSE THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SAN PEDRO RAID

By HARRY FISHER

**The Damnable Fiendishness of the Brutal Outrage of June 14, Described in Masterly Address That Did Not Mince Words. Shipping Interests Shown to Have Engineered Diabolical Affair in Which Death of Navy Sailors Was Utilized Unsuccessfully in Their Protection.**

**IN an address on Beacon Street, San Pedro, Calif., at the foot of what was Liberty Hill, before the steam-shovel razed the historic promontory overlooking the harbor, Fellow Worker George Speed held spell-bound for nearly three hours one of the largest crowds ever assembled in this city to imbibe the story of Industrial Unionism. The possible exception was one or two meetings during the memorable scenes of the harbor strike of a year ago.**

**In his discourse, the speaker did not mince words in describing the damnable fiendishness of the brutal outrage of Saturday night, June 14, just twenty-four hours before.**

**This was the first address on the street, since the riot took place and it is quite probable that at this meeting attended by the Captain of Police and a score of reserves from the Los Angeles police, the IWW conduct turned sentiment to allow meetings on the street and it may be the first rift of the silver lining in the o'er-shadowing cloud.**

**To get an idea of the meeting's significance, it is necessary to draw a mental picture of the environment and preceding episodes, to properly form any conception.**

The battleships of the Pacific squadron lie at anchor inside the break-water. An entertainment at the IWW hall, given to raise funds to defray the burial expense of two fellow members, sacrificed to the avarice of capitalistic retrenchment, is in progress. Not all of the audience are IWW. Many little kiddies with their parents are present. Suddenly the hall is stormed by an infuriated mob, with some wearing white bands around their arms, while quite a number appeared in the uniform of the navy. (The bands were evidently a shield to keep them from murdering each other).

Hear the yell of wild Comanches; see piano and other furniture strewn on street and set ablaze; hear the clang of the fire-engine and see the ambulance drawing up before the hall as the wounded are being carried from the field! Find all the telephone wires in a radius of two blocks cut; see the hall, with not one door or window intact; see tender hands carrying little cherubs to their homes; see the blood-stained parlor across the street, where the mob got its baptism in gore; see a truck, loaded with fellow workers at the points of guns, and on every corner, outposts to cover the retreat of the automobiles with the mob and to prevent relief being summoned; find no policemen in town, though at other meetings there were always several present; then realize that on the next day a report is current that the IWW have made derisive remarks in connection with the death of the sailors and, on Sunday night, while this meeting was going on, newsboys shouting, "All about the IWW plot to blow up the morgue!"

Visualize, if you can, the scene of carnage, realize that on Tuesday the sailors will pay the last, sad homage to their departed comrades! Then you may appreciate the gravity of the tension in the atmosphere pervading this street meeting on the night following the raid, a tension so grave that the police department counselled against meetings and the Admiral of the navy rescinded shore-leave of the sailors.

Then picture a Captain of Police saying, when asked for permission, two nights later, to hold a meeting—"Go to it boys, I will try and calm the public!" If you can draw this picture, then and then only, can you appreciate the enormity of its portent.

### Truth Coming To Life

Truth, so long crushed by the iron heel, is apparently coming to life and it is beginning to dawn on the people that the Industrial Workers' Union is not a lawless element in society—that there are other elements that are really lawless indeed.

See, later, the provost guards around and inside the Wobbly hall, reading during the day, what could be salvaged from the IWW literature and in particular the latest "Solidarity"! Then turn your gaze to the mammoth crowds at night street meetings and if you do not get a thrill, you must be callous to all sensation! For there you will find navy guards and more than a dozen uniformed police, to say nothing of the Captain of the district and the unknown number of picked plain-clothes detectives. ever alert for the slightest sign of any outbreak.

When you see this, then you must feel that some-

how, perhaps these may be the rays of a fairer dawn; a harbinger of truth, ushering in the light of tolerance.

And on a soap-box, if you please, stands the central figure, the cynosure of all eyes, gloriously majestic in the resurrection of the constitution, which he himself so graphically epitomized to the Captain when asked why the IWW persisted in its position, when they were as one against a thousand, by the terse reply that—"I would rather be in the right with two or three, than in the wrong with a thousand." He realized that it was easier to drift with the current and that he is only going through the same experience that has marked the beginning of every advance in progress throughout the ages and that he was so wedded to the cause of his class, that he is, in his humble way, trying to represent, that he could not turn back if he wanted to.

The writer had gone to the post-office to mail leaflets to our publications and stopped to write a few letters, so he did not hear the first part of the address, but the interest of the audience had not abated, if we are to judge from the frequent applause, that some telling point elicited. (The best evidence that from his storehouse of knowledge, he has made an impression, may be gleaned from the statement that at last night's street meeting exactly one week later, many women were in the crowd and one gave a ten dollar contribution toward the care of those in the hospital.)

But this is getting ahead of the story of the first public street meeting on the night following the raid.

### Diabolical Fiendishness

There the speaker had waxed emotionally eloquent, when, with a dramatic intonation, he made reference to the raid and said "he did not think that words could ever adequately describe the diabolical fiendishness and satanic cunning which characterized this as the blackest crime ever perpetrated in the annals of modern society.

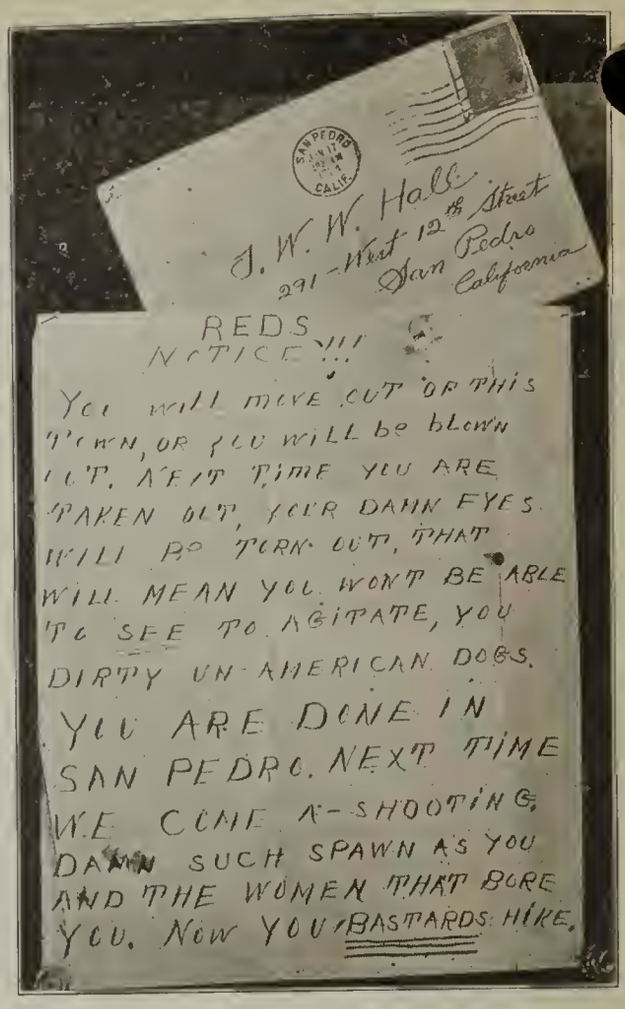
"It was the culmination of the nefarious plot that was hatched by the powerful interests that are yet chafing at their own impotency, when ships lay idle and cargoes did not move because labor, the main-spring of all activity, had demonstrated last year, that, without its guiding hand, not a wheel could turn.

"So among all the schemes, that greed could devise, to make labor more docile, the outrage of Saturday night will go down in history as the outstanding disgrace that ever cast its blighting shame on any community.

"In all the travail and persecution that marks the mile-stones in the economic struggle, history's pages have never recorded a crime so monstrous and at the same time so low.

"Shame on a society that prates of its culture and yet will not rise in indignation at such an exhibition of savagery.

"Shame on those who sought to use the uniform of the sailors as a cloak to screen their cowardice.




SAMPLE, SAN PEDRO SAVAGERY

"Shame on those who perhaps were led, unwittingly, into lending themselves to take part in the attack!

"Shame on the press, the venal press, that seeks to capitalize the tragedy that befell the comrades of the sailors, by seeking to arouse their feelings in their great sorrow!

### Patriotism A Cloak

"But no shame for those who are behind the curtain and who, in the hour of the nation's mourning, would in the name of patriotism, attack not only men, but women and children, yes, innocent little tots, babes forsooth, of whom the greatest servant of all time hath said, 'Let them come unto me and prevent them not'!

"No; we do not invoke shame on those who plotted and engineered this act of terrorism to cow us into submission as a punishment for daring to assert our right.

"We could not hope that shame would ever move them. For such an element there is no shame.

"As we look back on that scene, we stand aghast in the sight of little children in all their immaculate innocence. literally cooked, as the most expressive

term, to satiate a vengeance that has no parallel. In the days of Herod, we are told that the babes were drowned on the banks of Jordan and that in the heathen land they were thrown in the Ganges, but these were more merciful acts than the scalding that was done here in this city, on Twelfth and Center Streets last night.

"We are not exaggerating, for you do not have to take our word. Go to the homes and the hospitals and see for yourself!

"See if you can look upon their limp, little bodies, in torment and pain! See a nine year old boy in a state of continual delirium. See if you won't recoil when the mother's tender hands lift the cover from his five year old sister! See the agony that even her fortitude cannot conceal-"

### Lena Milos' Testimony

Lena Milos, nine years of age, a most winsome, lovable, bright and talented child, who only a few days ago was as pretty as a flower, is now a mass of ugly wounds and blisters. When asked if they deliberately scalded her, this is the childish answer she gave between sobs, "Yes Mamma, I told him he was pushing me into the coffee and he said, 'That's alright, you won't sing at any more Wobbly entertainments,' and he set me right into the coffee boiler,"

"No, we do not hope that there is any shame for the monster Molochs, who were the master minds that influenced those who enacted and carried to fruition, the most heinous carnival of despotism that put its foulest spot on the sovereign state and sought to besmirch with its blemish, the unsullied escutcheon of the navy, during its stay in this port.

"No, those who are behind the scene cannot be touched by shame. Their life is centered on profits and, to attain their goal by fair means or foul, is their sole life's pursuit.

"They are ever flaunting patriotism as their aegis. They charged us with treason because we asked for an eight-hour day, the while they, patriotically or otherwise, took advantage of the nation's needs by boosting the pre-war price of lumber from eighteen and twenty-two dollars a thousand to one hundred and thirty dollars a thousand.

"They fear no law and we know of no instance on record, where one of the whole piratical crew ever went to jail.

### Patriotism Scoundrel's Refuge

"It was Doctor Johnson who said. 'Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel'!

"They clutter up the press and the records, even to the national congress, with subtle testimonials of patriotism, yet their greatest loyalty is to the flag that bears the dollar sign.

"See the ships, owned by American capital, floating the foreign flags right here in the harbor at this very time!

"Why don't they float the stars and stripes do you ask? It is because there is a law that all vessels under American registry, must carry a certain percentage of Americans in their crew.

—St. Louis Post-Despatch

**"OH, SAY, CAN YOU SEE—"**

**Flies at San Pedro as well as in Washington, D. C., oil scandal.**

"By changing the flag, they can man their vessels with the cheap labor of the country that pays the lowest wages. To them it makes not a particle of difference whether this labor be white, yellow, black or green, so long as a flag flies at the masthead in mockery of all our traditional standards.

"We charge such unconscionable hypocrites, as primarily accountable for the saturnalia that transformed a quiet entertainment into a pandemonium of savagery.

"Every effort has been made to heap opprobrium on our organization by this gentry and its minions. When other means failed to subdue us, they had their friends enact, what is known as the criminal syndicalism law and for a while, they were successful in sending members of our organization to prison for from one to twenty-eight years in this state, but when the trials became too expensive on account of reluctance of juries to convict, they tried other means. They arrested newsboys for selling our papers, papers that are granted mailing privileges by the United States government and are on sale in many news stores, even in this state. In not a few instances, the higher courts have reversed decisions which the lower courts had reached on the paid testimony of unscrupulous hirelings. So they resorted to other means of intimidation, through what is known as the Busick injunction. When they found that this instrument did not

come up to their expectations, they put all their hope in a campaign of terrorism, in the lawless plots, such as marked the occurence of last night, with all its sordid horror.

"No, for them we waste no tears, for they have no compassion and are immune from shame. They are incapable of a feeling of any commiseration for the working class.

"Their power lies in the extent of the subjugation of those who are compelled to labor, with no assurance against the fear of want, after they have produced a surfeit of wealth in commodities when mills are closed down and 'business is slack', until this surplus can be disposed of.

### Attempted Desecration a Myth

"With this digression, we will turn to that other phase of this most unfortunate affair. It has been circulated through the devious channels of rumor, that the IWW, or a member of the IWW, threatened to desecrate the dead, by someone who heard someone say, that someone told a policeman that he saw an automobile and heard two men plotting to dynamite the morgue where the forty-eight bodies of the dead sailors lay in state, in reprisal for the attack on the meeting hall, last night—Just as if we were ghouls.

"This report is so infamous in its character that it is unworthy of consideration on the part of any rational, thinking mind; it is nevertheless published in the large headlines you see in the paper tonight.

"Let me say right here and now, and I think I voice the sentiment of every member of our organization, that the Industrial Workers of the World who were in the hall at the time of the attack, do not believe all those in the uniform of the navy, who took part in that outrage, were part of the navy personnel. Their untidy appearance convinces us in this respect.

"But they were nearly all young men, boys, who as yet do not understand the philosophy of life. And to such, if there may be any present, let me beseech you to a realization of what you have done!

"I am sure there are some who took part in that unmanly and inhuman spectacle, who are ashamed of it tonight.

"It is to you or such of you, whoever you may be, that I want to say that, if ever again the occasion arises, when you may be prevailed upon to take part in such or a similar crusade, think well before you act! Do not allow yourselves to be swept by the hysteria of the moment!

### A Democratic Organization

"We feel that there is good in some of you and that you are misled, misled by forces that were too craven and too cowardly to risk their identity and used you in their effort to put the stain upon the sailors.

"And, in conclusion, if there are among the hearers any who do not understand our organization and its aims, I will say, and say it advisedly, that the Industrial Workers of the World is the most democratic organization, without exception in existence today. It comes nearer to the ideal and ideals upon which this nation was founded than any organization that I know of.

"We have no masks or rituals. We have no password or 'Inner Circle'. We have no political aspirations. We have no quarrel with the government. We leave that to the politicians, while we stand aloof. Our fight is with the boss.

"Our aim and the sole reason for our existence, is the betterment of the conditions of the working class. Ours is the living expression of protest against the cause of the discontent extant today, and so long as the cause remains, so long will there be discontent.

"You may wipe out the IWW entirely, that is to say, if every one in any way connected with the IWW should die tomorrow, it would not be long before its astral ghost would rise again and, phoenix-like, become the nucleus of the same organization or its counterpart.

"I have been connected with the labor movement since 1872 and saw the futility of efforts toward any appreciable progress along craft lines and seeing in the IWW the only logical, practical and effective means of coping with the ever growing problem of labor in its struggle, I became a charter member and have been a member since and hope to remain, come what may, a member to the end."

### A Masterful Address

As this speech is written from memory it cannot do full justice to the masterful address, delivered on the street corner on the night following the raid of the San Pedro hall, for, without notes, it is not possible to record it in its entirety.

Though the speaker spoke almost three hours, his hearers did not appear to lose interest. In this connection there is no doubt some credit is due to Fellow Workers Lorier and Fry. Fellow Worker Lorier is a diplomat, worthy to preside at any meeting, while Fellow Worker Fry dispelled monotony with an interesting account of his experience in newspaper work, pending the announcement of the main speaker.

Complimentary comment, on the part of local business men and others, impressed the writer as a good omen, in spite of the fact that an itinerant street orator is here for apparently no other reason than to fan the hostility of certain elements into another and perhaps greater conflagration.

Somewhere, in the forepart of this contribution, the writer states that he missed the first part of the address, so it is quite possible that the kidnaping episode was described to the assembled concourse.

Realizing that this story would not be complete without a reference to the incidents attending the

(Continued on page 43)

# Robert M. LaFollette

By POLITICUS

**The Senator from Wisconsin Analyzed—Praised for Courage, Ability and Grasp, He Is Nevertheless Declared Retrogressive Instead of Progressive —Looks Backward to Pre-Trust Days Instead of Forward to Industrial Democracy—His 26 Planks Enacted into Law of Land Since 1908 No Brake on Development of Capitalism—Latter Bigger in Every Way, Though Badly Scared by "Fighting Bob."**

**THE candidacy of Robert La Follette for president is the subject of much discussion, principally in the capitalist press. The dominant class seems very much concerned about it. It is feared that conditions may throw the presidential election into Congress, where La Follette and his followers hold the balance of power. This will create an unusual situation in politics, namely rule by a minority bloc rather than by a majority party.**

**In view of all this it might be well to examine what it is that La Follette represents. Is he a revolutionist? Will his measures, if enacted into law, change the fundamental relations of property and man, or capitalist and laborer? Or is he another Wm. Jennings Bryan, threatening, but essentially safe and same?**

In answer, let us consider the proposals made by the Wisconsin La Follette delegates to the Republican convention. They are summarized as follows:

"Housecleaning in government; elimination of private monopoly control over government and industry; congress, courts and administration to be rescued from agents of monopoly that dispose of natural resources, nullify will of people and make lawless raids and seizures; foreign policy to be altered from imperialist warmongering that conscripts sons of the people; genuine farm-relief; recovery of naval oil; repeal of Esch-Cummins transportation bill; ultimate public ownership of railroads and reduction of taxes on producers; reduction of tariff and military expenditures; direct election of president and federal judges; abolition of injunctions against labor; tax on war profits to pay adequate bonus; great lakes waterway; revision of Versailles treaty to accord with armistice terms given to Germany; treaties to outlaw war, abolish conscription and reduce armaments; national referendum on peace and war; nomination of party candidates whose public record is known to match the above platform."

"BOB" LA FOLLETTE
**Under Whose 26 Progressive Planks, Embodied In the Law of the Land, Big Capital Has Grown Bigger Still.**

### Public Ownership Not Revolutionary

As will be seen, La Follette is not a revolutionist; unless his demand for "the ultimate public ownership of railroads" may be called revolutionary. In other countries, like Germany, for instance, "public ownership of railroads" has long been a beneficial factor in the development of big capitalism. What would make La Follette's public ownership proposals revolutionary is the opposing tendency to give over public works to private exploitation. In that respect, La Follette is a revolutionist, indeed. But not wholly so, as the idea of government ownership of railroads is growing in this country and is coming to be regarded as inevitable, if not desirable, by even some capitalist elements.

As far as the working class is concerned, public ownership of railroads will mean the exploitation of labor by the state instead of by corporations composed of private individuals. It may admit of working class participation in management and control and prove more beneficial to labor on that account than private ownership. However, that remains to be seen; the past history of public ownership is not impressive from a working class standpoint. It is therein shown to be more of a saving to the taxpayer than an elevator of the working

class. This is made obvious by the additional clause in the La Follette public ownership plank, viz: "and reduction of taxes on producers." By this La Follette means the farmers and small manufacturers, who see in public ownership cheaper rates and less taxation.

### Reform In a Big Way

Aside from his public ownership of railroads plank, the Senator from Wisconsin is a reformer in a big way. He wants to "house-clean government." It needs it; very badly, too. Also eliminate "private monopoly control over government and industry". Can that be done? We doubt it. The very essence of private monopoly is control of government and industry and unless private monopoly is done away with that control will continue. And so with the proposed rescue of congress, courts and administration from "agents of monopoly that dispose of natural resources, nullify will of people and make lawless raids and seizures." Now that is a very laudable object. Every man of decency will applaud it. But it is open to the same objection as the previous plank. It is putting the cart before the horse. Given a people without economic wealth and power, how can they proceed politically? How can those who possess economic wealth and power be undone, except by the economic organization of those employed in private monopoly and natural resources?

So with the next plank: "foreign policy to be altered from imperialist warmongering that conscripts sons of the people." This plank, like all the others, is a stinging indictment of capitalism. It's great on that account. But otherwise, who believes it possible? Capitalism must expand abroad or swelter in its own overproduction at home. As long as this condition prevails conscription will be as inevitable as capitalism itself.

"Genuine farm relief"—from what? Concentration in farming due to big capital and machine power? High costs of producing products produced more cheaply by others? Farm combinations and corporations that secure credits and rates, to the disadvantage of the small farmers? Bankers, railroads, middlemen via government credit and finance?

"Recovery of Naval oil." Why not all oil?

"Repeal of Esch-Cummins transportation bill." O. K.

"Reduction of tariff and military expenditures, etc., etc."—All of these planks are what Daniel De Leon used to call "trimming the whiskers and manicuring the toe nails of the beast of capitalism," while leaving him intact. They are very desirable from the standpoint of liberal democratic politics but they are not revolutionary. They do not touch the most vital issue of the age and that is the fundamental transformation of capitalism from a plutocratic feudalism into an industrial democracy. La Follette has no such aim nor desire.

La Follette is a bold and unsparing critic of capitalism. His pre-war and post-war exposes show him to be a man of unusual courage and ability. His statistical method is worthy of extensive copying. His "come-back" since the war is a marvel of American political history. His astuteness as a political leader is without a parallel in American history; for though in the minority he holds the political keys of the nation in his hands. As a friend of labor, fighting the injunction and for the railroad workers, he has proven sincere and reliable. An exceptional man in many exceptional ways, Robert La Follette is worthy of admiration and esteem; but after all, he appears to be looking backwards to the pre-trust days instead of forward to the days of industrial democracy, of, by and for the industrial workers, who, together with their dependents, constitute the vast majority. He is a middle-class liberal, but really retrogressive rather than progressive. He is the Granger anti-monopolist slightly modernized and possessing essentially the same principles, which are state regulative instead of social ownership.

Consider the boasts of his spokesman at the Republican Convention, Congressman Henry Allen Cooper. Bold, courageous, able like his leader, he declared, with well-deserved pride, that since 1908 26 out of the 31 planks submitted by Wisconsin La Folletteites, have been enacted into the law of the land. Has not capitalism prospered despite them? Is it not now bigger than it was back in 1908?

It sure is!

No greater criticism of La Folletteism could ever be uttered.

## Welcome!

Beginning August 1st, the Building Construction Worker, now issued quarterly, will appear monthly. The Building Construction Worker is the official organ of the Building Construction Worker's Industrial Union No. 330, Industrial Workers of the World. Its last quarterly issue contains articles of interest to every worker in the building industry and should be given extensive circulation amongst them. With a monthly issue in the future, the propaganda for industrial unionism can be multiplied many fold. For copies address, The Building Construction Worker, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

The Industrial Pioneer welcomes the Building Construction Worker to the circle of industrial Union publications.

## ONE ON US

(From Seattle Star)

Down in California they are blaming the hoof and mouth disease on the IWWs. Probably on the theory that the Wobblies hoof it about the country and get mouthy on the soap-box.

# The Harvest Message

By BARAJEMES

**Deceptive Methods For Overflooding Labor Market In Wheat Fields Laid Bare—Desperate Need For Hands Greatly Exaggerated—Resulting Conditions, Poor Wages, Long Hours, Cause Organization—Improvement Now Noticeable All Along Line—Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union's Influence Wide-Spread.**

**EVERY year, about the middle of June, a great cry goes up for harvest hands. Newspapers carry stories of bumper crops and great prosperity for the farmer and the people in general, if only enough men can be found to garner the grain and thus turn it into dollars. State and federal employment agencies hang out placards declaring that "Kansas needs 20,000 men," and a little later in the season, "North Dakota demands 50,000 harvesters." Local papers, chambers of commerce, farmers' associations and similar organizations swell the cry for help until it seems that every citizen in the nation would have the desperate plight of the farmers brought home to him with emphasis.**

That much of the noise about lack of men for harvesting has no basis in fact does not deter the different organizations from press-agenting the situation. Usually the demand for men is like the report of Mark Twain's death, "very much exaggerated," but the overstatement is intended; indeed, it is as a lawyer would say, done with malicious forethought.

Behind this exaggeration is an economic reason which is beginning to be better understood by harvest hands than a few years ago. More men than are needed are coaxed, or if need be, coerced, into certain sections of the wheat belt by the wily bankers and farmers, who have known for years what the harvest hands are only beginning to understand, namely, that if there are one hundred prospective harvesters in a wheat town which only requires twenty-five, the remaining seventy-five can be, and are, used as a club with which to lower the wages of those actually needed.

### Harvesting the Harvesters

Harvest hands by the thousands answer this cry. From every state and nearly every city in the land come recruits for the grain-gathering army. Boxcars, passenger trains, automobiles, all add their quota of those who have heard of the great demand for men and the resultant high wages to be had. The harvest territory is soon flooded with a hungry, penniless horde of men who are, many of them, hundreds of miles from home, and to whom the only way of escaping starvation seems to be the acceptance of the "going wages," even though it be much under that heralded in the columns of their home town papers.

For many years the farmers took advantage of this feeling and set the wages as low as possible and worked the men from as early in the morning as practicable until sundown and often later. Occasionally men would be found who did not even inquire the wages paid and these men were paid whatever the farmer felt like paying. Storekeepers and restaurant owners reaped a harvest of profit from the men who came to harvest the grain and when the season's work was finished the harvester left the fields with nothing more than a large fund of experience and a determination never to repeat the process.

### Organizing the Harvesters

Among the harvest hands there were, naturally, some men who resented such treatment; men who could see the worth of their services and who were not satisfied to leave the fields in a worse condition than when they arrived. These men, in 1915, organized the Agricultural Workers' Organization of the IWW and started in to make the harvest fields a safe and decent place for labor. Year after year

these men have struggled against all the forces brought against them by the organized farmers, bankers and merchants of the wheat belt. Against laws prohibiting their activity, against countless forms of petty tyranny by police and railroad officials and even against an injunction which was of such sweeping nature as practically to forbid the presence of members of the organization in one state, Kansas.

That the organization has managed to survive the bitter hardships imposed upon it shows its inherent character of right. That it appeals to the best interests of the harvest hands is shown by the undeviating fidelity with which its members have met every assault upon it. Were it not fundamentally correct it would have disappeared long ago; no one will champion a cause through untold suffering unless the abandonment of it will work even more hardship upon them. And if this cannot be shown by concrete facts members will not be attracted to such an organization. These facts have been proven time and again; more wages, shorter hours and better conditions have been gained in every state in the wheat belt through this organization and as a result, in spite of the persecution visited on its members, it has steadily grown until it is now a force which has to be reckoned seriously with in the harvest fields.

From a handful of men in 1915 it has grown until it now numbers over 10,000 members and every season sees further addition to its forces. Today it has a well organized army of delegates scattered in every corner of the wheat belt, stationary offices in the important centers, an efficient system of relief and defense for members who fall victims to organized authority and a propaganda system which floods the harvest country with literature every season.

**Organization Alters Matters**

Since its advent in the harvest it is no longer possible to lower wages because the supply of men in certain section happens to exceed the demand. When its members are confronted with such a state of affairs, meetings are held, the wages at which the grain shall be harvested are set by a majority vote and no one cuts the wages. "An injury to one is an injury to all," is the motto and this motto is lived up to in all dealings with the farmers.

This is perhaps the point which causes the farmers the greatest worry; they never seem to understand that there is a great difference between unorganized men and those who have decided to stay together. Formerly the only reason for raising wages was the scarcity of men, and likewise the best reason for cutting them was a surplus. It is entirely different now; whether fifty men or two hundred are needed, whether there are seventy-five or five hundred available, once the members of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union (name was changed in 1916) decide on what the wages shall be, the farmer pays them, with as much grace as possible.

Shortening the working day and bettering the conditions under which the crop is gathered is accomplished through organized job action. The ten-hour day has been established in many parts of the wheat belt and the practice of buying blankets has been almost entirely discontinued. Better food has been obtained in many places and the old practice of "docking" the men for breakdowns of machinery is also a thing of the past. The AWIU year after year has left its mark in the harvest fields and each succeeding year has seen higher standards of life for those who have joined its ranks. Yes, even more than they have benefited; in the harvest fields, as otherwheres, there are cravens, men who reach out and grasp the fruit of others' efforts without having the manhood to aid in bringing about improvements. Thousands of the worst "scissors," every year find the harvest fields better places in which to work because of the activity of the members of the AWIU.

This year, the AWIU is again on the ground in the harvest fields; before this appears in print their drive will have progressed from Oklahoma to the South Dakota line, hundreds of new members will have been initiated, thousands more will have been reached with propaganda explaining the need of organization, and still more thousands will have seen the members in action, gaining for themselves better conditions, more wages and fewer working hours than the banker and the farmer intended them to have.

The Jungle Dreamer.

But this is not the only function of the AWIU; while primarily concerned with immediate betterments, it has another and more revolutionary purpose. In the harvest fields the AWIU is a great educational influence, its members know that the agricultural industry is only one of

(Continued on page 23)

# Fascism at the Crossroad

By M. DeCIAMPIS

**Mussolini's Government By Rape, Arson And Murder, Reaches Climax In Assasination Of Socialist Deputy Matteotti—Expose Of Dastardly Deed Reveals Full Extent Of Reversion To 15th Century Methods Indulged In By Italy's Imperialistic Bourgeoisie And Rulers—Incident Also Serves To Stimulate The Undying Revolutionary Spirit Of Italian Working Class. —A Lesson For The U. S. A.**

THE cold-blooded, deliberate, shocking murder of the socialist deputy Matteotti of the Turati group of reform socialists, which a few weeks ago so thoroughly stirred the world with its sinister meaning, was nothing else but a clamorous culmination of untold numbers of crimes and beastly deeds that the Fascist party, since its inception, and more frequently and systematically since its assumption to power, has been guilty of planning and carrying through, with the view to solidify and strengthen its political hold on the unhappy Italian people.

It will not do for the capitalist press to make apologies, to minimize the whole dastardly mess, to sing the silly song of social peace and harmony. We think that Fascism has dangerously been playing with fire and that it has gone too far. Too much working class blood has already flown on the altar of bourgeois interests, and the hatred infused into the hearts of workers everywhere, is too deeply rooted to be easily dismissed. Mussolini and his wily band of ruffians, assassins and turncoats, stand convicted before the conscience of honest and forward looking people of wholesale murder of the revolutionary workers of Italy.

The reaction of the aroused world at the news of the Matteotti tragedy has demonstrated that Fascism can count on very little foreign sympathy. At home the people's indignation has conclusively shown how superficial and shaky its power is. Fascism has never ruled Italy with the free will of the people. With the chorographic march on Rome in the fall of 1922, it merely superimposed itself on the nation by the command of brute force and violence as characterized by the murderous tasks of the pretorian Fascist militia. Even the election of April last, called in an eleventh hour effort to legalize through a parliamentary majority the government, as was to be expected, was a ludicrous farce. And such a farcical affair, made **ad usum delphini** by the powers that be, was heralded by the lying capitalistic press as a true victory for Fascism! It seems then, that both the Black-shirt party and bourgeois kept press, have sunk so low that they do not know what decency and fair play is in dealing with the truth.

Regardless of the tight censorship that has strangled the truth, we know that the white guards of Italian reaction on many an occasion have made short work of their political enemies and opponents,

GIACOMO MATTEOTTI

**Lawyer, Economist, Champion of Labor, Kidnaped and Assassinated By Fascisti Terrorists Who Feared His Exposes.**

just in the same manner as they recently have done with Matteotti. Why then, has Matteotti's sad end attracted world-wide attention while hundreds of similar cases have passed almost unnoticed? The answer may be found in the well grounded fact that connected with the latest kidnaping and murder a grave, far reaching, colossal scandal was uncovered and laid into the very abode of Mussolini's entourage. In other words, the ridiculous Duke's close associates were in many ways discovered to be rotten and corrupt to the core. Millions of graft had been pocketed by them, while hypocritically pretending to pose as the virtuous saviors of the country. Most of this gentry, who not so many

years ago we could recall as running around with wide open shoes and dying from hunger and want, agitating the oppressed to break the chains of wage slavery, all at once, by treachery and faithlessness to working class ideals, have become well to do and secured a place among the great of capitalistic society.

In the daily kept press these days we see a desperate attempt to shield Mussolini from blame for the cowardly crimes of his henchmen. Those that thoughtlessly have done so have classified themselves in the same category where the Fascists belong. We all know that the chief inspirer of the Black-shirt pretorians bears direct responsibility for every deed of his mad followers. It is he who is to blame; he has spoken and led; he has been the cunning, savage inciter to rape, murder and arson. The organized workers of the world should see to it that Mussolini be called to account for his criminal shortcomings before the bar of proletarian justice. The working class should remember the countless obscure workers, martyrs to the cause, that lost their lives because they would not betray the pure light of revolutionary idealism that kindles the deepest, innermost corner of their bosoms. The freeing and the economic emancipation of the working class was, to these richly endowed idealistic souls, a concrete, happy, cherished, big idea. Contrary to the ruthless, petty, domineering, narrow, oligarchic Fascist's credo—which, by the way, is the credo of the not less Philistine exploiting bourgeoisie itself—the ideas of these fallen comrades were full of promise, of meaning, of hope, cheer and faith, that bids fair to make the working class movement an epochal achievement, with a supreme and ultimate goal of righteousness for all freedom loving human beings.

The astonishing wave of revolt against Fascism caused by the tragic fate of Matteotti is a very encouraging sign of a sharp turn for good in Italian public life. The whitewashing of Mussolini will [illegible] of no avail. Fascism has given itself a deadly bl[illegible] which cannot fail to give stimulation to the unbro[illegible]en spirit of rebellion that permeates the working class of Italy. It has been our contention that Fascism as a party was not fit to rule; we might add that it has been dishonorable and piratical; that it has governed the country with 15th century methods of government; suppressed all kinds of freedom for the workers, planned and furthered scores of mass butcheries, filled the jails with radicals, encouraged the wanton destruction of proletarian institutions. Italy, under two years of Fascist rule, has gone back to an arbitrary condition of affairs, even worse than that enjoyed before its unification.

The Fascist dictatorship has been a regime of direct-super-government of the newly rich, young, acquisitive, imperialistic bourgeoisie that saw the light with the World War and that nursed itself freely on the blood shed by the fallen war-hating conscript soldiers. That such murderous regime would sooner or later break down under the strain of its inconsistency and absurdity, we have already predicted. Besmirched with war profiteering, bank failures and oil (yes, oil, too), scandals, unfortunately Fascism is still the scourge, the black spot, the very disgrace of Italy. But the avenging harbinger of an aroused working class is on its way. Woe to the traitors when its mighty fist will justly fall crashing on their guilty heads. Italian capitalism then surely will crumble unto dust.

The dawn of a new day full of significance for the workers is not far off. Toilers everywhere should organize on the economic field and prepare themselves for the coming new struggle. Shall the working class of Italy succeed in throwing off the heavy yoke of capitalistic slavery this time? The answer is up to you, workers of the world.

V

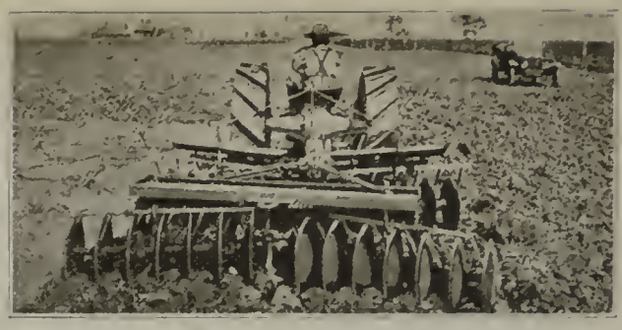
# The Waning Night

By A FACTORY GIRL

I Woke up and greeted the Waning Night.
The moon was shining Silver like.
The ocean, a vast mirror,
The sky, cool-blue, with stars sparkling.
All this mighty atmosphere grew paler and paler.
The cool breeze mingled with the rays of the rising
Sun and I was glad to be awake!
To see all this.

Thoughts of humanity still a-slumber dispelled my mood.
When will the Night of the human race grow paler and paler?
And the rays of the rising R-E-D S-U-N
Mingle with the cold, bleak wind
That rages in the night of Mankind, The Class Struggle?

A factory whistle blows, how shrill
The birds seem affright in their thrilling tunes
But they sing on their carefree natural songs.
The human race too seems affright,
And, wake to their slavish daily task.
They heed the call of the factory whistle, the Master's Voice.
The Master, whose greed for profit enslaved the human race.
When the enslaved race shall see this fact, of their enslavement
They will wake with a thrilling freedom song,
To greet the Red Dawn.
And for the daily task instead the Master's voice,
Heed the call of human Solidarity.
How good it to be awake!
To visualize that day.



MACHINERY ON THE FARM

Baling Crew at Work. Thirteen-Year-Old Boy Runs Tractor.

# Following the Trail of Industry

By JOHN HAYHAND

**Agriculture Now Resorts to Group Production, Group Capital And Group Distribution As In Other Lines Of Capitalism—Larger Farms, Corporation Farming And Combinations Now The Rule—When Will Farm Labor Of All Kinds Combine Too?—Interesting Facts And Figures From Many Sources Show Trend Of Times.**

**"GROUP production, group capital, and group distribution are normal lines of endeavor in commerce and industry. Farming has been the last to recognize their value, but it is now thoroughly alive to it"—O. E. Bradfute, president of the American Farm Bureau federation.**

**The president of the American Farm Bureau federation is discussing the proposed consolidation of the "big five" grain companies with the farmers' 5,000 co-operative elevators, in the Chicago Sunday Tribune of June 22nd. As he puts it, "The farmers are merely following the trail of industry."**

If they are, and the writer believes they are, we may expect to see the "big five" companies—Armour, Bartlett-Frazier, Rosenbaum Grain Co., Rosenbaum Bros. and J. C. Shaffer Co.—swallow up the farmers' 5,000 co-operative societies. That's usually what happens: the big fish swallow the little ones in commerce and industry, though, in this instance, the belief is being propagated that the wheat growers will control the big companies through the farmers' co-operatives. None but the veriest tyro in modern economic evolution will believe that possible, however.

This latest merger proceeds as does all others, viz., with the idea of centralizing in order to save. It is believed that from $1,500,000 to $8,000,000 will be realized in economies growing out of the merger. The latter is expected to become of international importance, if consummated. As one of its promoters expresses it, the merger "will go a long way in the merchandising of the products from agriculture's $80,000,000,000 investment."

This grain merger will follow the lines of the California fruit growers' associations. It will regulate output and markets and seek to enable its controlling interests to market grain to the best advantage. Thus will agriculture follow the industrial trend, by adding combination to combination, and by increasing the size of the farms as formerly industry before it, increased the size of the factory and corporation.

Just recently, a Fordson booklet has come to hand, with some indirect information on the corporate development of farming and the use of farm machinery, which contributes to this development. By-the-way, recall ex-Governor Frank M. Lowden's reason for declining the vice-presidential nomination on the Republican ticket. He considered farm organization work of more benefit and more worthy. Considering his connections with big farm implement corporations his stand is noteworthy. Something big is going to happen soon in farm industrialization and combination.

But to get back to the Fordson booklet. Here's P. G. Blakeley, manager, Carol Plantation, Theodore, Alabama, praising the tractor. Alex Lion of Fresno, Calif., finds the tractor does the work of eight head of horses; and is going to get another for another ranch that he purchased recently. Frederick Gilbert, manager, The Canyon Springs Ranch Company, Rialto, California, finds the tractor a displacer of teams (and also, no doubt, the men that drive them). L. S. White, manager of the Black and White Company, Lindsay, Tulare County, California, finds the tractor "so satisfactory in every way on this ranch" that he purchased one for his own ranch. G. M. Allread of the Allread Contract

Company, Fresno, Calif., owns a whole fleet of tractors, no less than five, and finds them great savers in prune work. The J. C. Forkner Fig Gardens, **with offices in Fresno,** run 50 and 60 different tractors on their **10,000 acres of figs.**

So it goes; the farm corporation, with its manager, machinery, absorption of other farms, and interlocking interests, is growing, principally in California. Other states, however, show similar tendencies. Here's Mr. George Kuhns, president of the Bankers Life Company, Des Moines, Iowa: "I am now using nine tractors of seven different makes on **my various farms.**" (Bold face ours.) On one farm I have a twelve-year-old boy who runs the Fordson." Thus, this banker and multi-farm owner is an employer of child labor, as well.

Farm Manager H. Coffin of the Bingham Farm, near Paxton, Mass., writes, "Mr. Brigham considers the tractor will do the work of four teams of horses and four men."

Here's a letter from Willard Smith, a 13-year-old Fordson operator of Powers, Mich., "Dad has never taken the time to operate the tractor. He thinks I can handle it as good as any man. I have plowed swamp land where we could not use horses. It will plow such land one acre per hour. **We have bought 80 acres more to keep the Fordson busy.**" (Bold face ours.)

On the farm of W. H. Parkhurst, Incorporated, Hammonton, N. J., 2,500 peach trees were sprayed in a single day, with the aid of the tractor.

Its the same story from other states, north, south, east and west. Farms are growing from small to larger sizes; and from private to corporate ownership; and from such ownership into combinations of owners. As will be observed from the testimonials given above, the use of machinery in a profitable manner necessitates the growth of the farm. Machinery does not pay on a small farm. So the small farm must go; and with it the small farmer. And as machinery increases output, combinations to regulate and market output become necessary, and so do other combinations to finance them. Thus, "the farmers," in the language of President Bradfute, "are merely following the trail of industry."

Why shouldn't the workers employed by the farmers do the same thing? Why shouldn't they all, whether migratory, farm hand, or what not, do as the industrial workers did in a similar period, and organize into labor unions, too? It's going to be a difficult undertaking at first; but all beginnings are hard; and farm labor will learn as it goes; the capitalists and farmers learn in the same way. So, You farm laborers of all kinds, climb aboard the union wagon; join Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, No. 110, Industrial Workers of the World; and you'll be following the trial of industry, too.

**CHANGE YOUR MENTAL ENVIRONMENT.**

**SUBSCRIBE FOR THE PIONEER. $1 SIX MOS.**

# The Farmer and High Price

By EDWARD NORWELD

WE still have the financial writers with us. Now we hear the same old song again. They are attempting to blame the farmer's distress on the high wages that labor receives. "Big business has to pay such high wages that it is necessary to charge the farmer an exorbitant price for all the products that he buys." It seems impossible that a man exists who can reason in that channel at this day and age.

The farmer's distress is due to exactly the same causes as the ones that oppress the rest of the community

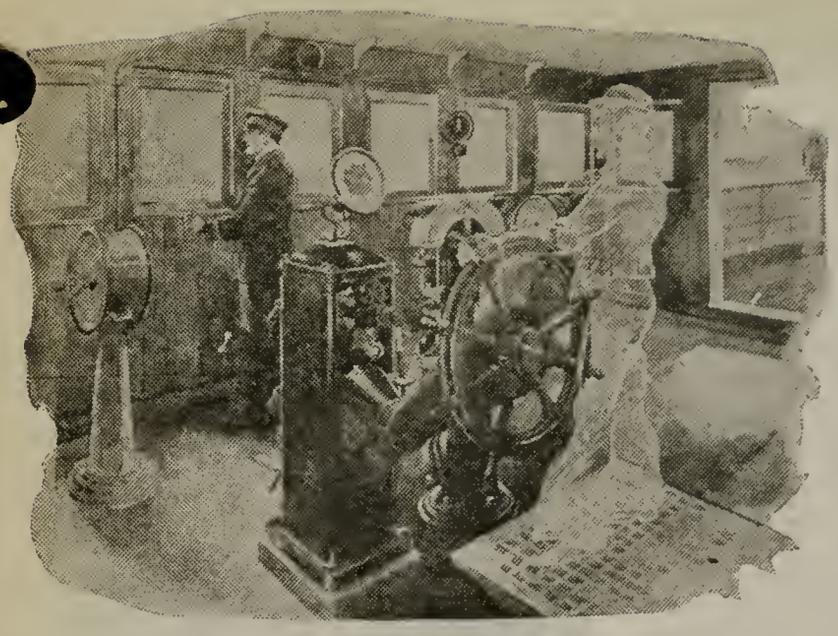
All this can best be explained by taking quotations from Veblen's book "The Engineers and the Price System." "Business men manage the country's industry, of course, and therefore regulate the rate and volume of output and any regulation of the output by them will be made with a view to the needs of business—with a view to the largest obtainable net profit, not with a view to the physical needs of these peoples who have come thru the war and made the world safe for the business of the vested interests.

"It is the working of the price system, whose creatures and agents these business men are. They are not in a position to manage with a free hand, the reason being that they have in the past, under the routine requirements of the price system as it takes effect in corporation finance, taken on so large an overhead burden of fixed charges that any appreciable decrease in the net earnings of the business will bring any well-managed concern of this class face to face with bankruptcy.

"In the recent past earnings have been large; these large earnings (free income) have been capitalized; then capitalized value has been added to the corporate capital and covered with securities bearing a fixed income-charge, representing free income, which has thereby become a liability on the earnings of the corporation; this liability cannot be met in case the concern's net aggregate earnings fall off in any degree; therefore prices must be kept up to such a figure as will bring the largest net aggregate return.

"The protective tariff protects certain special interests by obstructing competition from beyond the frontier. This is the main use of a national boundary. The effect of the tariff is to keep the supply of goods down and thereby keep the price up, and so to bring dividends to those special interests which deal in the protected articles of trade, at the cost of the underlying community."

That is something for every farmer and laborer to think over; facts that cannot be repeated too often. Another thing to remember is: that an increase in wages does not mean anything to labor when prices have been skyrocketed and the dollar deflated.



# Out Goes the Quartermaster

## GYRO-PILOT TAKES HIS PLACE

By CIVIL ENGINEER

A FEW years back, when a ship started out at sea for a trip, every sailor took a trick at the wheel. The officers watched them and picked out the best steersmen. They were the quartermasters for the balance of the trip. This rule is still in operation on cargo boats. On passenger boats, however, another rule has long prevailed. Men shipped as quartermasters and nobody knew exactly about their fitness for the job. There was a great deal of pull or underhand work connected with this hiring. Some fellows were made quartermasters who had never been to sea before. On the Great Lakes, mates used to board at nominal rates with some families during the winter and, in the spring, the son of the family shipped with them as a wheelsman, which is the equivalent of a quartermaster on the lakes.

As a social type, the quartermaster was worth studying. He exemplified several truths of social psychology which deserve to be briefly stated.

### Aping Superiority

First, the quartermaster was in line for promotion to officer's rank. When a man of individualistic temperament fancies that he can rise above his class and in opposition to it, he begins by assuming immediately the clothes, the thoughts and the mental habits of the class to which he wishes to gain access. Most of the time he gets no further. Most quartermasters I have known on passenger boats—and I had a chance to get acquainted with quite a few—considered themselves better than the average sailor. Their pay was only slightly above that of the man on deck, the difference on English ships being as low as one dollar. But the company saw to it that they had special quarters, a little better food and a special uniform and those empty and hollow honors, if honors they were, were sufficient to develop in them an artificial individuality which was skillfully brought into play when labor conflicts arose on board the ship.

In many instances, in case of strike, the quartermasters scabbed. Promotion seemed to go hand in hand with flunkeyism. When two quartermasters had to stand watch together, it was customary for each one of them to take a two hours' trick at the wheel and for the other two hours of the watch he remained on call, most of his time being spent in personal service towards the officer on watch. Many a mate strutting about the decks of a ship with stripes on his sleeves and contempt for the crew in his mind won his promotion by that kind of personal service, which is tantamount to saying that he got it at the cost of his own manhood and dignity.

The whole situation was rather disappointing from the point of view of opportunity for the men of the deck as well as from that of efficiency. The importance of the latter factor is of the uttermost since the safety of the lives of passengers and crew depends upon it.

I never was able to understand why the old style leaders of the sailors imbued with the favorite notions of the American Separation of Labor did not organize a quartermasters' union. They certainly missed a great opportunity when they overlooked

Now Steered by Machine.

that possibility. The often acute disagreements between the deck crew and the "bantams of the bridge," as the quartermasters used to be called, with their bearing upon the necessary solidarity of the crew would have turned out to be quite a boon for the shipowners, those kind gentlemen whose private ownership of marine transportation Mr. Andrew Furuseth and his lieutenants are so anxious to protect against the collectivistic designs of the Marine Transport Workers.

**Quartermaster Ousted by Machine**

But now the problem of the quartermaster is solved once and for all and the machine process has turned the trick. For a leveler of human beings and a destroyer of fancied superiorities the machine process is hard to beat.

The Sperry gyro-pilot was invented as a supplement to the gyroscope. The last-named device was a long step along the road to economy, owing to its indicating instantly to the helmsman the ship's yaw or her periodical departure from her course. While it enabled the helmsman to improve his steering in a marked degree, an appreciable time was required for the human eye and brain to note the yaw and another instant for the hand to apply the corrective helm. In other words, the compass indication was more perfect and instantaneous in its action than the human ability to follow it.

A remedy for this condition suggested itself in the form of a contact maker actuated by the gyroscope which would cause the rudder to respond instantly to slight variations of the ship from its course with the resultant elimination of the human link in the chain. The development of this idea was attempted by Mr. Sperry as far back as 1912. This basic idea for ship control was sidetracked during the war, due to pressure of supplying equipment already developed. The actual work on the gyro-pilot has been in process for the last three years and, in the last two years trial machines on several ships have efficiently steered them for hundreds of thousands of miles.

The Sperry gyro-pilot was on display at the London Marine Exhibition in 1923 and also at the Marine Show in New York last year, while many companies are installing or have already installed the new machines and are advertising their use as an index of the up-to-date character of their equipment.

So, it's goodby quartermaster. There will be no more strutting about the decks and starting up flirtations with fair lady passengers. It's back to the foc'sle, to the common crew mulligan, instead of growing indifferent to the horrible concoctions fed to the crew because one is allowed to feed on the leavings of the officers' mess.

The downfall of the quartermaster by the suppression of his job ought to be an object lesson for those who still have individualistic illusions in the presence of the evident trend of all forms of technical progress. When he comes to realize his real condition as an industrial proletarian, the former quartermaster displaced by the gyro-compass will understand that there is only one avenue of escape from present day economic conditions and that it resides in the improvement of the living conditions of all the workers as a whole on a horizontal level. His next step will be to comprehend that the method to bring about that progress of the men of the sea along class lines is not provided by the old Seamen's Union with its Jeffersonian Democratic pope, old Andy Furuseth, but by the scientific and adequate methods embodied in the organization of the Marine Transport Workers of the IWW.

## AN IMPROVED "HELL SHIP"

**This 'Frisco sailing ship made a trip to the Philippines and back to USA in six months, with a full crew of IWWs, who, through job action, got better food and working conditions for themselves.**

**This kind of ship used to be called "hell ship." But solidarity amongst the workers has improved conditions aboard them.**

**Solidarity will improve the workers' conditions wherever used.**

**Read The Industrial Pioneer for Original Working Class Contributions to Poetry, Economics, Politics, Sociology, Technology, Organization, Science and Art. Subscription, $2.00 a Year; $1 Six Months.**

# Revolutionizing Concrete Plugged Ivory Domes

THE Industrial Pioneer is growing again. Thanks to the effective co-operation of Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, our July number showed a big advance in circulation over the June number. We intend to keep it up, until we have even our present circulation surpassed again. It can be done and is going to be done, reader and fellow worker, with your help. Get behind the circulation campaign of the Industrial Pioneer and roll up its circulation!

* * *

The Industrial Pioneer is meeting with a hearty reception everywhere. Here's what L. L. M. writes from Franklin, Pa.:

"I am certainly sorry that I can't send subscriptions for a million copies of the best labor magazine published; but considering circumstances I am most damn glad to be able to get one copy per month.

"Have tried to get subscribers around here; but these boobs have had a hole bored in their ivory domes when young and in the hole is poured 'Marry young; get a home. A long job at small wages is the best job'; then the hole is plugged with concrete.

"However, am in hopes of my health improving so as to get back on the firing line again."

* * *

That's the spirit: get back on the firing line, among the "boobs" with the concrete plugged ivory domes. If we can effect a revolution in their idealism and ways of thinking, we are revolutionary, indeed. And that's what the Industrial Pioneer is here for: namely, to revolutionize working class thought.

Help it along! Push its circulation everywhere!

* * *

## Above the Ordinary Standards!

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER:

Financial stringency prohibited a peep at the June number until this afternoon. But when I did manage to grab one I sat down and read it "from kiver to kiver"—and including the "kivers"—without even stopping to "roll a pill." Convinced that you already know the June Pioneer—and each article, story, poem, and "Wobble" it contains—to be far above the ordinary standard of perfection, I shall not trouble you with unnecessary comment. However, I must say that "Yes, We Have No Bananas, But We Have Opportunities Galore," by A. Rail Fillosofer, carries a punch that is irresistible. Let us hope he may feel inclined to come again.

Seattle, Wash —**Card 473009.**

**GET BEHIND THE IWW PRESS. PUSH IT EVERYWHERE.**

## A Testimonial

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER.

It has been my pleasure for the past 7 months to read The Industrial Pioneer. In return for my pleasure, as well as the undoubted educational benefits I have received, I wish to send you this brief testimonial:

I have in the last two years read all sorts of working class literature, but in none of it have I seen the facts of existence explained more plausibly, plainly, or more readably expressed.

Your articles on the outstanding capitalists of the world, especially bring out Marx's theory that industry is centering into fewer and fewer hands as the years go by.

They make the truth of that theory more understandable.

Hoping you will continue to be the same high class publication that you are until the worker's yoke is lifted, I remain—**Card X-123895, I. U. 310.**

Karlsruhe, N. D.

* * *

## Some More Boosts!

THE Pioneer is great. I am lending my copies over and over again! **E. V. P.**, Portland, Oregon.

***

The Pioneer gives the slaves' side. All hard pan; no politics. Keep her up! **F. W.**, Milwaukee. Wls.

***

The June issue is great. Keep it up! We'll do all we can to help it. **J. J.**, New York, N. Y.

***

I must say that the workers all like to read the Pioneer, as it educates and makes men out of slaves. **V. N.**, Morgan, Pa.

* * *

I have been a reader of your magazine (The Industrial Pioneer) for the past nine months, and like it fine. I am sure that it is the best work out for the common people. **R. L. G.**, So. Pekin, Ill.

***

Enclosed find two dollars for one year's subscription to the Pioneer. It's getting better right along. **J. Y.**, Tuolumne, Calif.

* * *

We are for the Pioneer! "What's Behind Teapot Dome?" is fine! "The IWW Comes Back In New England" is good! We like "The Diary of a Migratory Worker;" Poem by Dublin Dan is correct. He tells the harp where to head in! As a whole the June number is the best number yet! **F. B.**, Winnemucca, Nevada.

***

I also congratulate you on the wonderful June number. Hoping the July number will be a greater success still. **W. G.**, Klamath Falls, Oregon.

# The Big Gray Castle

By LUCY EMBREE

I AM going to tell you a story
It must be told today,
You'll never guess! It sounds so queer
And seems so far away.

Out there against those hills
Where the sunflowers grow so high,
There stands a big gray castle
With towers that reach to the sky.

It's just like a bedtime story
Of fairies and goblins, too,
Toads that talk in the moonlight,
And spiders that nest in the dew.

Oh: It looks as if a princess
Would climb the iron stair
And sit in the queer little window
And comb her golden hair.

I know you'll never guess
This is the queerest part of all
My only and dearest Daddy
Lives, always, behind that wall.

There isn't any princess
Combing her yellow hair
But a long, long row of prison cells
Behind that iron stair.

I told this little story
To the Governor one day,
I think he's hard of hearing
For he turned his head away.

**Una Embree, Age 5½ Years, on the Capitol Steps, Boise, Idaho.**

I am only a tiny little girl
But there's one truth I understand
The Governor's only a governor
While the workers cover the land.

Some day they'll all come together
And then! What a sight you'll see
Why! They'll climb that big gray tower
And bring my Daddy home to me.

# The Captive Wob

(After Hemans)

By VERA MÖLLER

"Your hour is come, the stage is set!"
The master cried to the captive wob,
"The judge is bribed, and the jury fixed,
And they'll make your sentence a thorough job.
But renounce the convictions that brought you here,
Say a humble slave you'll be,
Give up your button, and your red card,
And you may yet be free."
There was a silence in the cell,
And then the wobbly spoke,
"For years I've called on slaves to rise,
And cast off the boss' yoke.
And I never have known when a prison door
Would swing open for me on its hinge,
I have boldly defied this fate outside,
So why should I shrink, or cringe?

If there must be martyrs in Freedom's name,
If men must be jailed, that the truth be free,
Ere the tyrant's day is done,
Then why should not I be one?"
And when the wobbly's voice had ceased,
Its echo seemed to swell,
Into a clarion note that brought,
Strange shapes to fill the cell.
The spirits of the men who fought,
In Freedom's name before;
For man's right to proclaim the truth,
And still came more and more,
With something that no power could dim,
Exultantly they gazed,
Toward the eastward where the light,
Of Freedom's morning blazed.

# Unemployment Grows

**US Senator Thomas Walsh estimates that there are 2,000,000 unemployed workers in this country. He bases his figures on statistics furnished by officials of labor unions. The Illinois State Labor Statistician declares unemployment is continuing to grow. The above picture shows some of the out-of-works waiting for jobs in a Chicago employment agency.**

## UNEMPLOYMENT AND RECORD DIVIDENDS

**"SIX months' dividend record best in history"—so says a double column headline on the financial page of a leading morning newspaper.**

**"No fewer than 300 industrials and twenty-five railroad companies have improved their dividend payments to stockholders during the six months just ended.**

**"No other half-year in America's history ever matched this."**

There's something for workmen to reflect on.

Farmers may go bankrupt, 1924 business failures may exceed those of 1923, both in number and liabilities, and two or more millions of workingmen may be unemployed; yet, despite it all, the six months' dividend record is the best "in America's history."

With so much bankruptcy, failures, and unemployment, how is that possible? How is it that stockholders do not share in the hard times; but, on the contrary, are richer than ever before?

The answer is simple. They thrive because they own the means whereby all of us live. Through this ownership they can exploit us more abundantly in hard times than in good. First, they can, by means of them, force down wages, or utilize them to install wage-saving machinery. Second, they can also buy out bankrupt competitors for a song; that is, practically confiscate them.

Look at Germany, where the Stinnes and other industrialists grow ever more bloated, though the workers are starved and the middle class is impoverished and exterminated. History repeats itself wherever capitalism flourishes.

But let us take a concrete case to illustrate how big corporations thrive on labor during hard times, especially unorganized labor. There's the Republic Iron and Steel Company, one of the largest "independent" steel manufacturers. According to The Labor Bureau, Inc., this company made in the first three months of 1924 a net income of $2,080,809, **after setting aside a generous provision for maintenance and repair of plants and for taxes.** Further ample charges made against this sum for depreciation, exhaustion of minerals, and interest on bonds left a clear surplus of $1,356,157. **"Earnings for the year to date,"** said John A Topping, the chairman of the Board, **"closely approximate the total preferred dividend requirements for the year 1924."** In addition, the company looks for such prosperous times ahead and is so well financed that it is undertaking additions which will cost about $4,500,000.

Bear in mind, all these reserve and improvement funds are made possible by labor, mental and manual, co-operatively employed.

But what does labor get in return for all this? How are the workers sharing in this prosperity? **By being forced to accept a reduction of 10 to 15 per cent in wages, announced in the early part of May.** Obviously this reduetion was not neeessitated by the financial position of the eompany, which is about as good as ever in its history. **The cut was merely made possible by the fact that recently the temporary slump in production has reduced operations to between 50 and 70 per cent of capacity, thus creating unemployment.** This giant employer has taken advantage of the helpless and unorganized workers further to reduce their share in the joint undertaking.

Clearly, the remedy for reeord-breaking dividends is more organization for more wages and less hours.

# Two Idol Smashers

Review by EDWARD LA RUCRYTH

WHO feels the pulse of the almost mythieal publie at this late age, under the gauntlet of dissimulation, prejudiee, delusion and a million and one ageneies used to eolor their deeds, is justified in his actions whether they be insane, eynical or pessimistieally ieonoelastie; they are but the expression of his eharacter, a test of his toleranee or foresight.

Young men in sueh a position with a resistanee that rebounds are a barometer that may give the old revolutionist heart. In sueh a position will be found groups of young newspapermen, eynieal, though unsullied by the eapitalist contradietions they are forced to feed their "publie." Here and there these young reporters who see the raw ineidents in the lives of both elasses polished into nuggets, with the emery of phrase, word, truth and "two-sides" taboos, for the moulding of that gigantie living fetish, publie opinion, have established forums for their own expression.

What these people think of the mad panorama is worth knowing. Two magazines published by this preeoeious and rapidly growing elass of young writers, mostly in their twenties, are printed in California, the hate state. "Tomorrow," published on the frontier of the elass war, Los Angeles, is, like "Gently Brother," of San Franciseo, pulsing with life and a wholesome irreverence for all the pompous best people, not excluding the Rotary Club, Kiwanis, Lions, Round Table or the 100 per eent Clubs. These two publications are idol smashers of enlightened youth; they do not attempt to reeonstruet, their precoeiousness does not extend to that—that is left for us.

Some may condemn the new arrivals ("Tomorrow" is in its seeond volume and "Gently Brother" in its seeond issue), with the phrase "mud slinger," but this is not applieable as its evidence cannot be contradieted. With Ingersoll they believe that who destroys a weed does the world a favor whether he sows well in its place or not. For this the IWW, whose mission is to tear the false masks and seientifically reeonstruct edueation and the institutions of the people, must welcome the newborn fearlessness embodied in "Gently Brother" and its brother.

# Through a Doctor's Eyes

DOCTORS are of many sehools. Most of them ignore the eeonomie eause of disease. The author of "As a Doetor Sees It" is an exeeption. He finds many human ailments direetly traeeable to the present system and advoeates its transformation aeeordingly. In this volume, his eeonomie bias is evident.

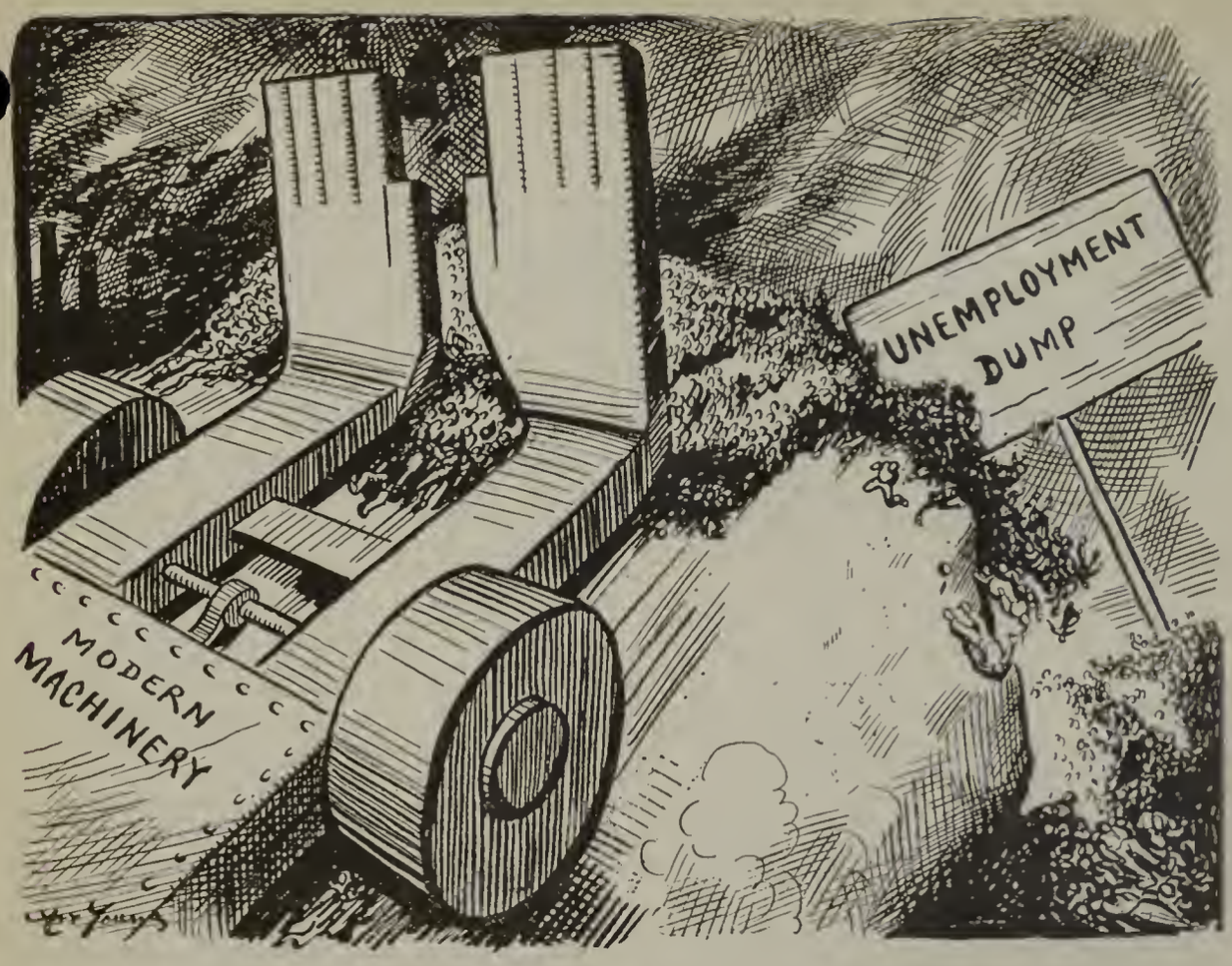
In ehapter one, entitled, "In the Sweat of Thy Faeé," for instanee, one finds this little sketch:—

"A ease of lung tubereulosis. A young man. When I ask him about his past, he lifts his head and his eloudy eyes glimmer. After a while he begins to smile and tells me the story of his adventurous life. Then he concludes with these words—'Yes it is diffieult to stay in the shop, together with so many people, espeeially for a man like me. I was born on the water, in Europe, on a river boat, of whieh my father was eaptain, and I was always out of doors, under the broad blue sky, until a few years ago. Here in the shop I am suffoeating. I eannot breathe. No, I cannot breathe'—And he has a fit of eoughing."

This erisp, sententious style is characteristic of the entire work. There are 200 pages of these briefly told stories. They impress the reviewer as the literary eondensation of a doetor's ease histories. Some are sordid, others tragic; some gay; all real and impressive. They are "dedicated to writers in seareh of subjeets." They eontain the germs of more ample tales.

Sixty-four pencil sketches by the author adorn the book.

**Published by the Critic and Guide Co., New York City. Benzion Liber, author.**




# A Cartoon with a Thought

Arthur Brisbane once proclaimed Art Young the greatest of cartoonists. He called him "the thinker in cartoons" and said, "Every one of his cartoons has a thought in it."

This was never better illustrated than in the above cartoon, donated by the famous cartoonist—thinker, to the IWW press in general and The Railroad Workers' Bulletin in particular. Therein we see the modern machine process pushing the workers off the earth onto the out-of-work scrap-heap.

It is a striking conception, that of two big mechanical hands irresistibly forcing the employed off the planet of work and usefulness into the discard. One has only to walk about the slave markets of the big cities, with their masses of unemployed and unemployable, to realize the profundity of the thought contained in this cartoon. This condition, moreover, is not only national, but international as well; and is increasing instead of diminishing.

It should serve to awaken the workers to the need of organization, to the end that the machine may be made to serve society instead of enriching only the few who own it. Let it be soon.

## The Harvest Message

(Continued from page 10.)

the many needed in the present stage of civilization and that the same problems are to be met in all of them, and will remain a class issue as long as the profit system remains. Every year thousands of men who have heard the message of industrial freedom thru industrial unionism for the first time in some jungle-camp, on the curbstone of some small town in the harvest country or in some farmer's wheat field, take that message back to the cities with them as well as a remembrance of the practicability of industrial unionism as they have seen it used in the harvest. And they have the assurance of the members of the AWIU that industrial unionism will solve the problems of labor equally well in shop, factory, mine, mill, railroad, or any other working-place, as it does in the harvest fields.

**The Message of the AWIU**

This year in particular it will be well for the many city workers who will make the harvest because of the shutting down of industry in the cities, to lend an attentive ear to the teaching of the many Wobblies they will meet between Oklahoma and the Canadian line. As an integral part of the IWW, the AWIU is preaching the doctrine of industrial democracy and pointing the way to end the system which is responsible for the many panics and times of unemployment the workers of the world are forced to endure under the capitalist system and on the attention paid to these teachings will depend whether the immediate future will be made more livable than the past has been. To these city workers, and there will be thousands of them this season, we have this to say:

Read our literature, look back at your own lives, see how closely our ideas coincide with the experiences you have undergone, weigh and consider the remedy we offer, observe its workings in the harvest fields this summer and then use your best judgment: we are not afraid of your decision.

To every man in the harvest, city worker or migratory, our message is: No one will ever give you anything you are not able to take, and no one will ever allow you to retain anything you are not able to fight for. Individually you are helpless; organized with your fellow workers you are invincible. Industrial unionism is the best form of organization, and the IWW, of which the AWIU is part, is the only real industrial union in the world. We and you are of the same class, the producing class; together we are exploited by the masters of industry, robbed of the wealth we produce, made to suffer, fight and die for those who keep us in wage slavery, and finally turned out to starve when we are no longer profitable to the owners of the industries. Your interests and ours are inseparable, together we win or lose, survive or perish. We could have no motive in asking you to do anything against your interests, because as you suffer so do we. United we can go forward to victory; separately we are doomed to the deepest depths of wage slavery. Let us get together under the banner of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union of the IWW and raise our wages, shorten our working hours, better our conditions, and at the same time take the first steps toward ultimate freedom from wage slavery this summer.

# How it Strikes the Farmer

Taft, Ore., June 14, 1924.

Editor, Industrial Pioneer.

Fellow Worker:

It is rather out of my line to "throw bouquets," as a rule I "throw bricks" instead. But the following is too good to keep. Coming up the beach from Reedsport recently, I "ran out" of chuck. Accordingly I stopped at a farm house and secured a dozen eggs, a loaf of bread, and some butter. I offered to pay the man for the food, but he wouldn't take my money.

Then I gave him the June issue of the Pioneer. I explained to him that I would perhaps go to work at Taft. Also gave him one of my calling cards; which of course bear my name.

This evening I received a letter from him which reads in part.

"You paid for the food a dozen times over with the magazine. Although I am 'well read' it is the best I have got my hands on yet. The poem about the foreigner is a classic; and the article by Mr. MacDonald certainly opened my eyes. I think that I will subscribe for it.

With best wishes, I am,

[Signed] **Joe Black.**

P. S.—"The Missus says if you come this way again stop and spend a week with us and the kids.

**J. B."**

And believe me, Editor, I will go that way again, because I sold literature all along the forty-five miles.

Hope Jim MacDonald don't get offended because of the prefix Mr.; it is Black's not mine.

I remain as ever. Yours for increased education, academic as well as economic,

**"Boomer".**

# *The Wonderful Age*

By JUSTUS EBERT

**Greater than that sung by either Homer or Goethe, praised and exalted by Steinmetz, is the present age an age of great abnormality as well as great achievement?—With waste of natural and human resources, with war, revolution, counter-revolution and unemployment its leading features, is it a menacing age, as well as an age of mechanical triumph?—With Labor stirring everywhere, will the greatest wonder of the wonderful age be the industrial unity and victory of Labor, the beginning of the Era of Labor?**

[SEE NEXT PAGE]

## On June 15, the Metal, Building Construction and Foodstuff Workers' Branches of The Industrial Workers of the World, of Detroit, Mich., Held a Joint Picnic. On This Occasion the Following Address was Delivered by the Editor of The Industrial Pioneer.

**YOU, no doubt, will all recall Chas. Steinmetz, "the electrical wizard," "the hunchback who played with lightning," who died only a short time ago. A man of great genius and social aims—a socialist, in fact—Steinmetz admired the present age, which his extensive scientific contributions helped to make famous. Steinmetz was indignant to think that the present age should be regarded as an age without either romance, poetry or art. To him it was a wonderful age, greater than that ever sung by Homer or dreamt of by Goethe. An age too great in its manifestations for the average literary man, immersed in sex or erotics or small town characteristics to grasp and depict. An age vibrant with poetry and romance, in which "we fling the human voice over thousands of miles across continents and oceans by telephone." The age of the submarine, airplane, phonograph, cinematoscope, wireless telegraphy, the steam turbine, "the mighty spinning top . . . . fed by the stored sunlight of prehistoric ages. Turning at a speed that would carry them across the continent in a few hours were they not imprisoned in a power plant, some single turbines furnish mankind with electricity equalling the power of sixty thousand horses. They turn night into day and propel the electric fan with the speed of a gale. They actuate mines and factories and make possible wonderful materials, now unknown, to future generations."**

**The age of the steamship and the railway train, the factory and mill, the electric light, telegraph and motor, the radio, the telephotoscope—a wonderful age, worthy of the wonderful man who sings its wonders while helping immensely to make them possible by his original contributions and to turn them to the benefit of mankind instead of a hated predatory few.**

The wooden horses of Troy never had anything on those sixty thousand real horses displaced by the steam turbine; and absorbed into and symbolized by its achievements, whether in the power house ashore, or in the motor departments aboard the big ships on the ocean waves.

Prometheus bound to the rocks was a childish figment of the imagination compared with electricity bound to the services of man, in its wide multiplicity of forms. The navigators, sung by Homer, "who wandered through the terrors of the ocean's surface at the dawn of history" were pikers compared with the navigators who wander through the terrors of the ocean depths in the submarine, thus surpassing them in daring achievement and giving actuality to the romances of Jules Verne.

And Wilhelm Meister, with all of his fornication, so despised by Wordsworth, was nothing compared to his real industrial successors, the Rathenaus, Stinnes and John Proletarians. They dreamt, aspired and achieved, while the puppets of Goethe got nowhere, except into the ravings of shallow-pated literary dilettantes!

### Detroit, Apex of Machine Age

Truly, we live in a wonderful age—an age of great scientific and mechanical achievement—an age of great organization and production. Who should know this better than you, the workers of Detroit here assembled? You live in a new city that owes its tall skyscrapers and its extensive plants to the automotive industry and to machine power as applied to the farm, both modern wonders. You live amid machines that turn out autos, tractors, and other forms of modern wealth in such vast quantities in such brief time as to fill the world with breathless wonder and many new problems. You live, in brief, at the apex of the machine age, with its billions of capital, its extensive industrial organization, its mass production, its armies of workers, its individual automatism, its autocratic and corporate ownership and rule and its world-wide exports, ramifications and effects.

Talk of the glory that was Greece and Rome! Talk of the battalions and triumphs that were Caesar's! What are they to the far-flung glories of Detroit? Or to the battalions, the victories and the domination of a Ford, with his 158,000 employees and corporations in 8 countries; or the General Motors, with its 135,000 employees and sales in 144 countries?

And yet this wonderful age, like a wonderful jag, leaves a dark-brown taste in the mouth, as it were. Despite its romance, poetry and art—its song and story, over-shadowing the song and story of Homer and Goethe, sung and told by a Steinmetz—despite it all, you, workers of Detroit, appear to like it not!

And you, fellow workers of Detroit, are not alone in this. For everywhere, your fellow workers in cities remote from Detroit, and in other countries, too, share your deep-seated unrest and discontent. Everywhere there exists a straining for release from something—man knows not; and for something towards which he yearns and aspires too vaguely and indefinitely.

### What Ails This Age?

What ails this wonderful age? Can it be that in addition to being an age of great achievement it is also an age of great abnormality? One that has the outward brilliance of the mentally diseased genius, together with his ultimate internal decay

and collapse? What's the matter with the wonderful age, anyway? Is it basically unsound? Inherently corrupt and impossible?

For one thing, the wonderful age is an age of waste, uncertainty, destructiveness and war. It's a threatening, menacing age—threatening and menacing the destruction of natural resources and civilization in its competitive struggles, both at home and abroad.

To those who deny the truth of the Marxian doctrine of the increasing misery of the working class under this wonderful age, this wonderful capitalism, the ten millions killed directly in the late war, died in vain! The many tens of millions more who died indirectly, the victims of blockade, starvation, famine, reparations jugglery, may as well have never breathed at one time, as far as this gentry is concerned! And the many revolutions, with their pogroms, fascismo, "reds hunts," and a thousand and one other destructive aberrations—what of their multitudes of victims? Are they not chargeable to capitalism, whose own President, Woodrow Wilson, condemned it, when he said the late world-war was an economic war, originating in the commercial rivalry, born of the present capitalist system—the present wonderful age?

However, the past is past; let the past bury the past. But what of the future? Are the war maniacs appeased? With war clouds hovering all about us, with the officials of the Illinois Employers' Association saying, "Of course, another war will come," where is that uplift from misery, that surcease from sorrow, which this wonderful age, this glorious capitalism, is supposed to confer on mankind; especially the most numerous part of it, the working class?

With worse cataclysms than the late world-war confronting us, because more scientifically deadly and inclusive of the non-combatants, who wonders that we are straining at the leash that holds us bound to a fate that we deem accursed and of no intrinsic value to any set of men except the giant bloated capitalists who profit most exclusively therefrom?

### Where Is Race Idealism?

Where is the race idealism of such a preposterous condition? Do we live and die simply to make others who exploit and despise us, rich and powerful? Is this the acme of the wonderful age?

Next to war, we have another abnormality, namely, unemployment. At present, there are a quarter of a million railroad workers unemployed. In the state of Massachusetts, 114,000 workers are unemployed, at a loss of $10,000,000 in wages every month. In Detroit, it is said that 50 per cent of the auto workers are out of work. The same story comes from all over the land. And from abroad, too. From England, Germany, Russia—everywhere the cry for work and bread is heard. Surely, a wonderful condition for a wonderful age.

It is not an unusual, or extraordinary condition by any means, either. Every few years, growing more and ever more frequent, we have unemployment and the "business recessions," slack times, panics, crises, and so forth, of which they are born. We had such conditions in 1913-1914, 1921, and now again in 1924. During such times, farmers go bankrupt, business men become workmen, workmen lose their small homes and savings, and destitution becomes more wide-spread and general; while giant capitalism grows ever more bloated.

War and unemployment come from the same cause. We workers, the world over, produce more than we get wages for and can buy back and consume. As a result, fields of investments and markets to absorb the surplus capital and products, must be secured abroad.

But other nationals are also in the same fix. They meet in competitive struggle; war results. Pending such developments, we workers must remain idle. Economic hardships fill the land, and the wonderful age becomes the age of disillusionment, followed by discontent and revolt!

The same thing happens after war, when, following an immense destruction of wealth which gives us "prosperity" of a temporary character, "deflation" ensues: that is, "the wind and the water" are squeezed out of us, and we are left broke, out of work, and presumably ready for another war, worse than before. Truly a wonderful achievement for a wonderful age?

### Causes of War and Unemployment

A few facts and figures will show the common origin of both war and unemployment!

In 1919, for instance, according to the biggest bank in the country, the National City Bank of New York, we produced $62½ billions in new values for which we received only $10 billions in wages in return. Though the workers constitute the vast majority of the population it is mathematically impossible for them to buy back $62½ billions with only $10 billions.

On the other hand, do what they may, the remaining few, the capitalists, who get the difference, cannot spend it, nor can they invest it at home! On the contrary, every investment at home, because of its additions to an industrial equipment already too great, only increases overproduction, and only makes more markets in other countries, more fields of investment there, more imperative.

Since the worker cannot buy back all that he produces, nor the capitalist waste or reinvest it, and more markets and fields of investment are therefore imperative, war or unemployment, or both in turn, take place, with the horrible holocaust of humanity already described.

It is thus that the wonderful age is converted into the abnormal age. Starting originally with the robbery of labor in industry, the wonderful age becomes the age of exploitation, oppression, overproduction, unemployment, war, revolution and counter-revolution, with all of their attendant horrors.

### Age of New Ideas, New Visions

Hence arise new ideas, new visions! These great achievements of the wonderful age, these great industrial establishments on all sides, together with their extensive effects, appear at odds with man's

social and democratic aspirations. They appear to be only possible by the autocratic, despotic rule of the few capitalist owners; and by the complete destruction of individuality, combined with the complete dehumanizing of labor and mankind in general.

That is, in this wonderful age, with its modern industrialism, Labor is not regarded as a quality forming a part of man, but a something that must be made to fit into the machine process and the requirements of capitalism like a cog. Labor, in other words, is regarded as a Robot, a mechanically adjusted creature, devoid of understanding and emotion, whose only mission in life is to produce wealth and die in warfare when necessary, for those whose profit it is waged, namely, the capitalist class.

In brief, the trouble with this wonderful age is that it is too mechanical, too impersonal, and too inhuman. It reduces Labor to an automaton. It exalts capitalist profit above humanity. It opposes both individual and combined action not in accord with its plant and imperialist policies. And, like another Moloch, it cries out for deification and worship even though the race be sacrificed.

To sum it all up, in still another way, despite its brilliant achievements, the wonderful age is a brutal, monstrous age, menacing and threatening the entire human race with its inherent defects and its outward excrescences. It is not likely to long endure. For, say what you will about the inherent depravity of human nature, Man aspires towards something better than being a mere wealth maker and protector for an abnormal class. He has well defined social tendencies that will ultimately sweep this class monstrosity into the scrap heap.

### Workers World's Modern Atlas

Let us turn, then, from pessimism and criticism to optimism and construction. Let's get back to the wonderful age and seek the elements that will save it from the cataclysms that await it, if its present tendencies continue unrestrained. These elements, my fellow workers, reside in you! They reside in workers like you everywhere! It is on your, the workers' labor power and adaptability, that the wonderful age depends for its operation and success.

The workers are the modern Atlas on whose shoulders the modern world rests. Stand from under, refuse to support the modern world, and no power can sustain it. You, the workers, alone make the modern world safe and possible.

Awaken to a consciousness of your great importance! Refuse to give modern capitalism your moral support. Organize to effect its modification and transformation through its immense dependence on yourselves. Organize your economic power just as it is exploited in industry. Organize industrially, for the salvation of yourselves and society—of which you, the workers, are the biggest part.

On all sides we see labor striving in this direction. In Russia, Italy, Germany, England, Japan, everywhere where modern industrialism holds sway, or has left its impress, is Labor raising its head and bestirring itself in behalf of a new era—the era of Labor!

True, it is amid much travail and defeat that Labor struggles; true, Labor appears at times like a rope of sand, or a broken reed; unreliable and impossible. But never before has it struggled on such a big scale and with such a great degree of near-success, as in the wonderful age. Never before has the new society appeared aborning as it does in the great, though apparently futile efforts now reverberating 'round the world. And never before was the old society so perturbed; so upset, so desperate and so frantic as at present. Labor, fellow workers, is far from vanquished!

Let us hope, then, with all the hope that the favorable evidence warrants, that Labor's next great effort is coming, and that the day of its triumph is nearer than may appear on the surface.

Onward Labor! Onward!! And upward!!!

### The Things that Count

Let us onward and upward with a due regard for the things that count, that mean something! Let's turn to our masters to see what they deem important in the strategy of social control. Let's see what Ford thinks, or what the General Motors does, for instance.

Ford's success would indicate that he knows what he is talking about.

In his interview with Chas. Wood, printed in Colliers, August, 1923, Ford said:

"The industrial organism is stronger and healthier than the political organism. It has more life flowing through it, more energy. Wouldn't wonder if industry would eventually absorb the political government.

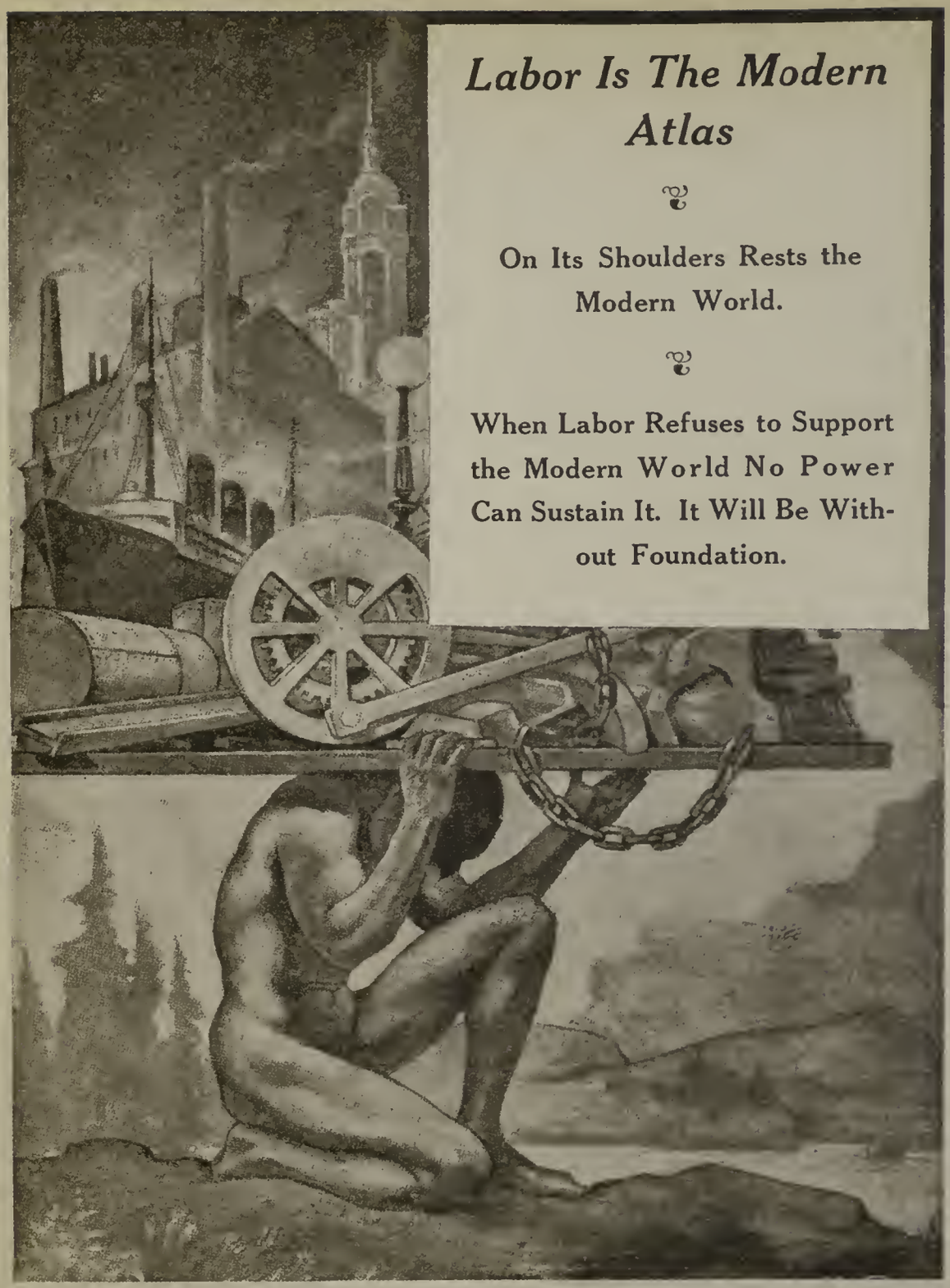
"We speak in awe of our 'form of government' and even pass laws making it a crime to criticize it. You can't imagine an industry thriving if it considered its form of organization beyond criticism."

It's in the industrial organism then that we should primarily organize. It is stronger, healthier, and more fundamental than is the political organism that is based on it.

Further, it is in the industrial organism that we are employed. It is there we are most powerful, because most essential. We should organize just as we work therein.

If we work in an auto plant, we should organize as an auto workers' branch of the Metal Workers' Industrial Union. If we work on a building we should organize a branch of the Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union. If we work in a packing house or a restaurant, we should form a branch of the Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union. And so all down the line. Organize just as you work. Then interlock your industrial unions into one big union.

Don't organize according to trade, race, nationality, religion, or sex. Ford doesn't organize us that way. He employs all kinds of skilled and unskilled labor, mainly the latter; of all nationalities, sex, race, color and creed. Sixty different nationalities are working in the Ford plant, all for Henry Ford.


Labor Is The Modern Atlas
On Its Shoulders Rests the Modern World.
When Labor Refuses to Support the Modern World No Power Can Sustain It. It Will Be Without Foundation.

The industrial organism isn't based on any of these peculiarities. Nor is it centralized to the exclusion of specialization and decentralization. Ford pays minute attention to the individual employee and exploits him accordingly, fitting him carefully into his general scheme. We should also pay attention to individual aptitude and not try to run the entire working class through either a migratory or a home-guard mold. Not only does Ford, with his highly centralized plant, make allowance for specialization and diversity; but so does the General Motors. Its plan of organization, too, admits of wide differences of form and management among its 64 subsidiary organizations. The industrial organism is, let it be emphasized once more, made up of all shades of skill and ability, every kind of nationality, race, creed, color, sex and caste; and, finally, it co-ordinates the most diverse principles into one co-operative whole.

Labor also must organize as one co-operative

whole, embracing all kinds of labor, with room enough for industrial, branch and job autonomy, and an educated, efficient and trained membership and officers; with solidarity at all times as the principle on which all else is based.

Above all we must organize on a big basis, with a big vision and a big ideal to guide us. The wonderful age is a big age, an age of great achievements; and the working class will never amount to anything until it, too, becomes as big class-consciously as that age, and as great in class achievement. This requires big grasp, big ability, which, if lacking, must be cultivated and encouraged. The pride of skill and place, the prejudices of caste, the exclusiveness of race and sect, the jealousies of factional rivalries, have no place in big scale unionism. that is, in industrial unionism. Industral unionism must blend where it cannot modify or climinate these characteristics; following therein the lead of the big industrialism on which it is based.

Capitalism is universal, but within its universalism there is great diversity of group interests and organizations. There are corporations of all kinds, with international as well as national federations; employers' associations, as well as a US Chamber of Commerce uniting them all. Labor must be universal, too. Its universalism must be as flexible and inclusive as that of capitalism; or else cast iron rigidity will kill it, as cast iron rigidity always does.

Above all, Labor, organized in industrial unionism, must be experienced and efficient. To organize so as to place a premium on inexperience and incompetency is to place industrial unionism in constant jeopardy. Capitalism pays well for management, technical, muscular, and other ability and keeps it as long as it produces profits and results. Industrial unionism can well take a cue from capitalism.

But enough of detail: let's never forget the vast sweep of the wonderful age and the necessity for encompassing this sweep in a vast way so as to convert it into working class victory. **A working class victory would be the most wonderful achievement of this most wonderful age.** Do you favor such a victory?

Do you want the end of labor exploitation by securing to labor all that it produces, thus ending the cause of overproduction, unemployment and war?

Do you want a new era in socicty, in which human evolution will be less destructive and hateful and more constructive and happy?

Do you want a new society whose foundations are sunk deep in modern industrialism, with its dependence on labor and its consequent projection of labor into the place of prime importance, with the mission to change the wonderful age into the age of labor?

If you want all these wonders, join the industrial union of your industry. Study your industry; become familiar with its technology and peculiarities, in all their many phases. Prepare yourself for the new time coming! Prepare your fellow workers also. Get active among the unorganized in your industry. Get out among the workers everywhere, at all times, especially at the present time of unemployment. Don't let some dingy little hall, or some handful in a meeting be the limits of your horizon or activity. Get out among the workers. Arouse **them** to a consciousness of their economic power—of the dependence of modern society on the combined efforts—mental and manual—of the working class.

Stir them with the idealism of the new society—of the workers' society, where man will mean more than capitalist profit and capital will only be a means to his enrichment, instead of the means of his exploitation for private individuals, as is now the case.

Throw factionalism to the winds! Get away from caste or personal outlooks and wrangles. Take a big view of this big subject. Get out of the rut! Look up and onward! Expand! Grow!!

Remember the words of the preamble: "By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

To work then! Let's make good those words. Extend our message throughout the land to the auto, building construction, steel, railroad, foodstuff, agricultural, transportation, oil, in brief, all the workers in all the industries. Let's appeal to them all, whether migratory, homeguard, or technician; whether in the box car or in the city! Hold meetings in or near the shops, on or near the jobs. Make house-to-house visits. Spread the workers' press at the factory gate, on the trolleys, in the workers' homes—everywhere the workers move and have their being! Get the workers to think, to aspire, to Unite! And then the wonderful age will be wonderful indeed, for then it will be our age—the age of labor!

Long live Labor!

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# Bought and Paid For

JIM SEYMOUR In "TOMORROW".

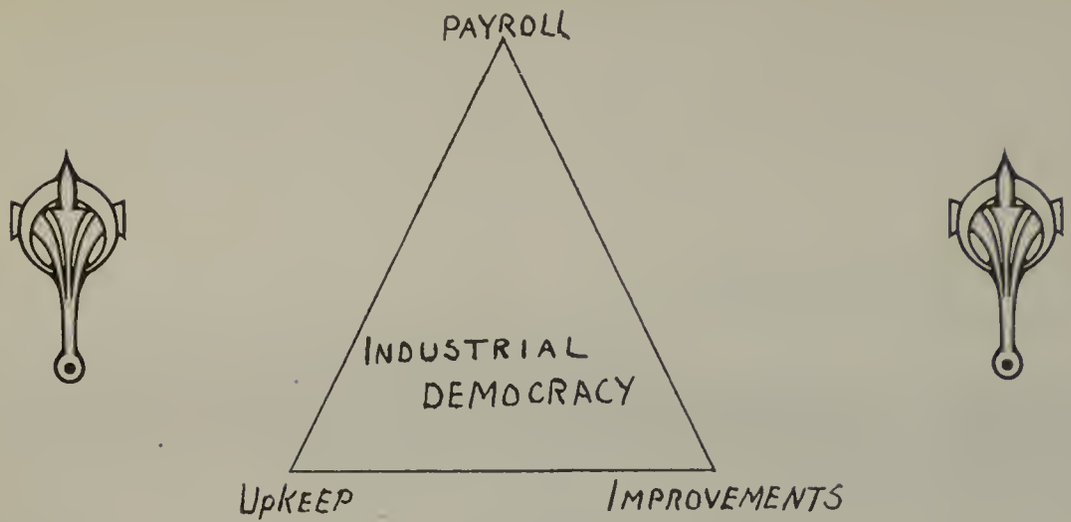
MY LADY is dressed in a wonderful gown
That rivals the delicate flowers of May,
The gold of the poppy entwined with its brown
Resembles the moonlight on wavelets at play;
My Lady is proud of her beautiful dress,
Where transmigrant tints of the rainbow are caught,
And pride is quite natural, all must confess,
To beauty adorned in what beauty has bought.

* * *

Rebecca is toiling away at the loom
That roars with the voice of a demon amuck,
The germs of disease in the dust-flurried room
Are seeking to strike where their fellows have struck;
Rebecca is sallow, consumptive and wan,
Her youth and her health into fabrics are made;
For dresses for others her lifeblood is gone:
Be haughty, My Lady,—the price has been paid.

# Industry and Life

By EDWARD NORWELD




ONE of Hearst's financial writers, under date of June 19th, writes:

"Broadly speaking, every alert management, industriously seeking to effect economics, is working for the benefit of you and me."

It does not take a great deal of insight to see that "you and me" can mean only the kept class, which includes the financial writers who pander to them.

"Are high wages and low selling costs both possible? In a broad sense the answer again is 'Yes.'"

He is right in that instance, but if he realizes how that can be achieved he is afraid to say so. Industrial Democracy is the true solution as shown by the triangle. The fruit of industry is dividends but absentee owners or non-producing stockholders are the parasites that eat the fruit and kill the tree. It is only necessary for any present day business to be run on the basis of the triangle i. e., to pay good wages, upkeep and improvements. All dividends should go back into industry for that purpose. As business is run in America today, dividends usually go to the kept class to furnish the members of that class with all luxuries of life and satiate all their vicious desires.

In another paragraph he says that the enlightened employer of today realizes that the higher the wages which feasibly can be paid the greater will be the purchasing power of the nation and the greater this purchasing power, the greater the business that can be done and the greater, therefore, our national prosperity. It is true that a great many employers realize that fact, but they attempt to bring it to realization without making any sacrifices on their part when it comes to dividends and income. That is impossible for there is a law of economics that is just as rigid and exact as the laws in mathematics. Take away any part of the industrial triangle just to feed the passions of a few pampered rich and the whole industrial structure will eventually crumble and fall.

Speaking of the public and forcing a lopsided deal upon it, he says, it can be done for a time but not as a permanent diet. It simply isn't economically practicable. He is right, but his conception of what constitutes the public is a little hazy. There are two classes—the kept class and the producers. The producers are all workers. The kept class is continually trying to get something for nothing from the producers. The producers are in the majority by millions. The producers equal the multitude and the multitude equals the public. The motto: "Abolition of the wage system," without an adequate explanation is the thing that has driven thousands of these producers or workers away from the greatest labor organization of all. Abolition of the present wage system cannot mean a return to primitive barter for that would only be going from bad to worse. All parasites or non-producers should be eliminated, but the workers, whether manual or mental, would still have to receive an income. If one is unduly sensitive about the word wages we can designate the name of the income one would receive, under Industrial Democracy or a partnership in industry, as salary.

Now when we get back to our financial writer again, he goes on to say, that the things he has set forth are or ought to be A B C truths understood by the least educated workmen. "But, unhappily, these truths are not understood by all workmen." Yes! It is, indeed, unhappily, for the kept class.

Now he quotes from an official of the General Electric Company and it is like putting on an old record on the Victrola: This is the closing paragraph: "Yes, treat workmen so that they will become genuinely interested in their jobs and they can do more than either capital or management to reduce costs and make it possible for you and me and every one else to enjoy a more generous share of comforts, conveniences and luxuries of life."

Some day workers may realize that they support

others in luxury while they receive the crust. There is no question but what big business is ruling because the leaders used their heads; used them to the extent of following this motto: "Any means are fair to an end." But now conditions have come that may make their end anything but what they anticipate. The word of a Chinaman or Turk is good, but the word of a big business man, as a general rule, is no good. Neither is a written contract if he awakens to the fact that one little point in it is inimical to his selfish end. It is usually an easy matter for him to find a loophole so that he can break a contract—"The Guardians of the Vested Interests" are usually up in arms to protect him. It is difficult to entertain the idea that he will expand with the moving forces and increase his intelligence so that he can hold his position against the assaults of rugged, pioneering minds that fear no obstacles. Before it is too late, he may awaken to his true position and abdicate, but I doubt it.

# Oakridge, Ore., Center Big Construction Job

**THE above town is located at the northern end of the Natron Cutoff. The latter is a big construction job undertaken by the Southern Pacific Raliroad. It extends southward to Klamath Falls, Oregon, a distance of over 200 miles.**

About 3500 men are employed by the various companies on the western slope of the grade according to Frank T. Rejotte, of one of the large contracting firms. The larger companies having men employed on the grade and doing actual construction work are: Utah Construction company, Kelley & Sullivan, Wren & Grenough, Bechel Construction, Henry & Mcfee, Rejotte & Winters, and Stewart & Welch who are working out of O'Dell Lake on the east side.

Somewhere in the neighborhood of 8000 men will be employed by the various units when the building operations are in full swing, according to Rejotte. Practically all of these men will be working this side of the summit and will be frequent visitors in Oakridge.

General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310, Industrial Workers of the World, has a live branch at Oakridge. The membership is doing everything possible to extend organization all along the cut-off.

Social features here are not very numerous. Oakridge has more than its share of bootleggers that follow up construction booms. Its one hotel is located on the main street. Town is wide open: red lights and moonshine abound. There is no door on the jail, a wooden box-like structure. Drunks use it for moonshine festivals when money runs low.

**The morale of the IWW has good effects on the workers, as it keeps many old-timers from hitting the booze and getting drunk.**

Other old-timers cannot resist temptation. Some of the old construction workers know the bootleggers and pimps from other big construction centers such as Edmonton, Fitzhugh, Prince Rupert on the Grand Trunk; Anchorage and Seward on the Alaska government railroad; and Cordova on the Copper River Railroad. Of course, the politicians "stand in" with them.

So-called flop houses, also exist. These are put up in a hurry and built of the lowest grade of lumber. Proprietors harvest considerable profit from the workers when construction is going on.

Conditions in the camps, although improved during the last few years are still pretty rotten.

At north end of line Kelly and Sullivan, clearing right-of-way, charge 50 cents a meal for board and $1.25 a week for filthy blankets.

Rotten board; men cannot stand it very long. Lumbermen's employment office, Portland, Ore., is shipping slaves here. It's a grand harvest for the sharks.

General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310 is carrying on a heavy organization campaign. Have to combat narrowmindedness of starving ranchers from stump ranches of Oregon and Washington. They are great in numbers and hard to organize. They are keeping camp conditions down.

The Natron Cutoff is a job that will last three years. Organization is going on at different parts of the line; and is having a good effect on the morale of the workers interested.

# Shattering a Workers' Myth

By MILT WHITTINGTON

**"AMERICA, a prosperous and happy land of workers who own their homes!" proclaim the bourgeoise yellow sheets.**

**"Our valuable employees are those who own their homes, or who are purchasing homes on our easy-payment plan," says the manufacturer. "We insist that all our employees purchase homes and we make it possible for the lowest paid and highest paid alike to own comfortable and respectable homes," he further states in his interview to the "Hundred Percent" magazine.**

Yes, O Yes! It is all so nicely doped out for the gullible Boneheads. The company's interests and the workers' interests are identical. Proof? Sure. The company insists that the worker enjoy a respectable little home, made possible by their gracious bountifulness, and the cost is so moderate. Only a few dollars a month pays for the home. It's easier than paying rent, only the rent purchases the home. And Bonehead's inherent patriotism wells up within him and he is proud to be an employee of the company that looks to the welfare of its workers, whom they allude to as "employees," not low-brow-like: "workers." He enjoys with immense pleasure reading the "human interest" articles in the company house organ that relate in detail the humanitarian activities of the president, in hate of those "home destroying reds." "Home" is the word with the Bonehead; it controls the whole range of his emotions from love to bitterest hate.

Now, why do the companies insist and make it possible for their employees to own homes? If corporations are so heartless and soulless as Bonehead has heard that the "home destroying reds" paint them to be, why are they so intrested in the welfare of those who work for them? And Bonehead immediately decides that the "reds" are a bunch of fanatics who never have had the intelligence or good fortune to have a job with a concern like the good and gracious company for which he works.

Approach Bonehead in a polite manner and put over some propaganda on industrial unionism and the chances are he will admit it is all right. Of course, if you happen to say that industrial unionism means IWW, he will paw the very air and you will have lost your audience. He will grant with you, long as you lay off the IWW stuff, that organization would do wonders. Then ask him how he would like to join the organization that he admits could do wonders. "I'd like to join you," he complains, "but I own a home. If I join I might lose my job, and I can't afford to run the risk. I have a nice little home here, so I can't leave it to hunt another job, though I do need better wages." This statement explains the condition of millions of American wage slaves who are victims of the "fear psychology"; fear of losing their job in the town where they own a home.

America! Our great and glorious land of fourteen-year-old mentalities! Boneheads, and they make up the major portion of our homguard civilization, average about fourteen years each in mental capacity. If they were older, they wouldn't be so easily led to be drugged by the "home" idea.

Now, to drive home the point with a dagger thrust: Corporations compel their employees to own homes so they will be tied to the job and will be afraid to organize and demand a living wage. They can well afford to sell homes on "easy payment plans" to tie the employees. The concern reimburses itself by dropping wages and dropping wages, and the Bonehead, dominated by the "fear psychology" will continue to hold on to the job with a death grasp.

Verily, the "home" opiate is the strongest American drug!

# International Solidarity

By HAL BROMMELS

UNITE! all groups of Labor, cement your strength in ONE—
Go, emulate the masters—and do as they have done.
There must be just ONE union, of Labor and ONE aim
For longings of earth's toilers, and hopes, are all the same.
Enunciate this message, ring out your wish today,
For Labor has been straggling too long upon the way!
Put forth YOUR every effort in that you wish to see
So that the time shall hasten of world-wide unity!
Beware!—Let no group dogma which hinders Labor's growth
Become your sacred leader to which you take an oath.
Permit no yoke to hold you, nor crush your energy,
For Labor has ONE purpose—and that is to be free!
Unite! All groups of Labor, cement your strength in ONE—
Go, emulate the masters—and do as they have done.
Join hands, O Struggling Workers, in world-wide unity,—
For Labor has ONE purpose—and that is to be free!

## PER UNION RULES

In 1905, a Swedish sailor was applying for citizen's papers in 'Friseo.

"What's the constitution of the United States?"

"Coffee and overtime."

"Who is the President of the USA?"

"Andrew Furuseth."

# One of Ours

By MATILDA ROBBINS

WE waited. The high ceilinged room with iron bars for walls through which could be seen the stone stairs leading to tiers of cells, was the prison reception hall. It was June outside, but here the stone floor and the cold, stale air coming up thru the grated walls chilled. Keys clanked. Doors opened and shut. Huge doors that were portions of the walls. They were opened by a guard whose sole duty seemed to be the opening and shutting of these doors. Opening and shutting of doors. He clanked his keys. They were the only living thing about him. He moved like an automaton opening and shutting doors. His face was expressionless. The guard at the table in the center of the dim, gray hall looked neither to the left nor right of him. He sat rigid, looking straight ahead of him. Into the depths he seemed to look through the grated wall.

Doors opened and shut. Keys clanked. Children came to see their fathers. Mothers their sons. Wives their husbands. A young prisoner was smiling up at his sweetheart. Looking up into her eyes ingratiatingly. His own eyes were feverish. There were deep marks around them of sleepless nights and torment.

The west wing door opened and shut. The guard shook his keys and stepped aside. Vanzetti! He came toward us with a quick, springy step, his figure taut, his wonderful smile falling upon us like a pale ray of sunlight. He shook hands with us. "I am so pleased to see you, comrades!" How soft and vibrant his voice! How his sensitive mouth quivered under his drooping mustache.

I had not seen him in three years. Not since that scorching day in July, 1921, when I saw him and his fellow victim, Sacco, in the steel cage in a Massachusetts courtroom. He leaned intently forward, his soft gray eyes full of questioning and of sorrow, while about him was being cast a net of lies upon which the Commonwealth built up its case and found him and Sacco guilty of murder. There was a light in those gray eyes then that could not be extinguished. Four years of the dim cell in the west wing have failed to extinguish it.

We talked. It was hard for me to bring the words up out of my throat. They got mixed up with the tears welling up in it and hurt with their throbbing. Vanzetti has a soft, melodious voice, but charged with the passionate appeal of the dreamer and the social rebel. Except for his comment that his ill ventilated cell hurts his lungs and that he cannot see the sky from the prison workshop where he makes automobile plates, he did not refer to himself again. But he repeated twice that he could not see the sky. He wanted so to see the blue sky!

How eager he was for news of the proletarian movement! How those soft eyes would light up with hope of labor's triumph; how sadden at labor's defeats!

Vanzetti has learned English during his four years of prison. He speaks it with the precision of a foreigner acquiring a new tongue. But he invests it with a charm of liquid inflection with which his own Italian tongue is so exquisitely beautiful. When he spoke to his two Italian friends who were with us, it was like music that rose up and vibrated through the prison catacomb. His smile was like a benediction. His eloquent hands play upon the heart.

"You have many friends everywhere," I said to him, "friends who love you and will continue to work for your liberation."

I shall always remember the wonderful light of gratitude that came into his eyes as he said, "Ah, I know, I know, I feel. That is why I am still living."

Still living! This noble soul, this generous heart, this dreamer of human brotherhood and beauty still living under the shadow of the electric chair! There was the night when 20,000 volts of lightning snuffed out the life of one man! What a night of horror! He lies awake thinking of the men killed and the men that kill. Passionate apostle of freedom and of service to mankind; rebel against a world where men maim their fellow men in the name of law; where justice is in the hands of men who cannot hear, who cannot see, who cannot understand the spirit of Vanzetti.

The jailor brought a little piece of yellow paper and slipped it into Vanzetti's hand. He clutched it. Under his mustache he bit his lips. The prison clock struck four. The visit was at an end. I held his hand for a moment and quickly turned away. Doors were opening and shutting. Keys clanked. I looked back. With head high and quick step Vanzetti was walking through the grated wall of the west wing.

## PROFIT IN 5 AND 10's

With the death of the wife of the late F. W. Woolworth, founder of a chain of 5-and10-cent stores, financial circles are discussing the income of the late Mrs. Woolworth, who was physically and mentally disabled for several years. When Woolworth died, five years ago, his income from Woolworth common stock amounted to $1,080,000 a year. This did not include his income from other investments. Since 1919 a 30 per cent stock dividend was issued, and the total Woolworth holdings will amount to about $57,000,000. It is estimated that the income will now total $2,100,000. This chain of stores is conducted along the usual 5-and-10 plan—employment of young girls at low wages, and trade unionism not tolerated.

# WOBBLES

## S'CANNED OIL!

Scandal is rife and it's all about OIL.
Candidates and cliques for once have to tOIL,
Alibi-ing out of the sinewy cOIL.
Now wrecking their chances the "public" to fOIL.
Dougheny and Sinclair declared that the sOIL
About Teapot Dome would yield them "fiel" spOIL.
Leas-ed we forget—they are sure "donc in OIL."

## HE SUCCEEDED

**Scene:** Small Pacific coast town. First open-air meeting since city ordinance prohibiting street speaking was passed. A fairly good sized crowd listening to Wobbly speaker. Town clown appears, makes his way to the speaker and loudly announces: "You can't speak here."

**Reply:** "I know I can't, but I'm doing my best."

The **law** walks away to escape jeers of audience.

## DELUSIONS OF GRANDEUR

Down in southern Missouri, Mose White, a colored farm hand, appeared at a neighbor's back door one morning and asked for the loan of a mule to do his employer's plowing.

"Why, Mose," said the neighbor, "your boss has a good mule. Why not use him?"

"Well, suh," replied Mose, "dat mule sit in the shade all day. Jes' won't work."

"What's the matter with him? Is he sick?"

"No, suh," was the answer, "dat mule ain't sick. He jes' think he's a gentleman farmer!"—Harper's Magazine.

## NOT SO GREEN AT THAT!

Two greenhorn Swedes were hopping it from the eastern part of the USA to Minnesota.

The fireman was taking a smoke during the night, and was attracted by one helluva splash in the tank.

He finally managed to pull the poor Swede up and squeezed the water out of him.

The latter rolled his eyes and blinked at the fireman. "Hay ye seen may partner?" he asked.

"No; whercinhell is your partner?" gasped the astonished fireman.

"Aye tank he bane in de smokestack."

Stop, Look, Listen! Then think, move, organize.

## THE SAYINGS OF A SEER

T-bone Slim says: After careful **perusal** he can find only one faction in the IWW—dissatisfaction —with capitalism.

## TRUE TO TYPE

FIRST BOOTLEG:—"He's a prohibition officer. Think we can risk bribing him?"

SECOND BOOTLEG:—"Sure; he's an ex-AFL official.

## A MONEY SAVER

An Irish emigrant when leaving the docks of Belfast aboard ship, noticed a diver going down near the vessel. He looked for a long time out at sea, for the man of mystery to come up; but all in vain.

When the ship was tied up in New York another diver was coming up. Pat rushed over and grabbed his hand with a real grip.

"Be Jasus! Old Boy," he exclaimed. "You're all right. I wish I'd a known it. I'd a-walked and saved my money, too."

## FOR CONSPICUOUS MERIT

"Noble man!" said the high-minded citizen to the policeman. "So you refused $3,000 spot cash to let this liquor truck go?"

"Yeah," admitted the modest cop.

"Fine! And were you rewarded for your honesty?"

"Sure. The chief slipped me a couple of cases."

Prices are still ballooning. The housewife trying to buy a mattress finds that even the price of down is up.

### A PLEASANT GIFT

Quick wit is a pleasant gift. A witness was being examined in an assault case. "Did you see this man assaulted?" asked counsel.

"No, but I heard him cry for help," was the answer.

"That is not satisfactory evidence," said counsel.

As he left the witness box the witness laughed loudly. The judge rebuked him and reminded him that he was showing contempt of court.

"What?" said the witness in surprise. "Did you see me laugh while I had my back to you?"

"No, but I heard you," said the judge

"That is not satisfactory evidence," answered the witness.

### RISKY AS IT WAS

A Catholic priest was driving along the road in the land of coo coos and hospitality! He picked up a little Negro who was paddling along the road, too!

"Do you go to church, little boy," asked the holy father.

"Oh, yas suh," answered the boy.

"What's your religion, little man? Are you a Catholic?"

"Good Gawd, man! No!! Aint it bad enough to be a nigger, widout bein a Catholic, too?"

### EASILY EXPLAINED

The new colored parson was all wound up. He was succeeding well in condemning almost every one of his flock to the bottomless pit.

But one old darkey having known the preacher's past, failed to understand why and wherefore the minister had gained the spiritual authority to act as judge of mortal man. So he jumped up and said:

"Look a heah, Parson! Aint you de man what busted into Mister Johnson's chicken roost last yeah?"

"Just lissen to dat foolishness," said the Parson. "Now breddern and sistern, you all knows I ain't tole you to do lak I does, but do lak I tells you."

### THE DOG HAD THE BEST OF IT

A certain young man works in a western sawmill and "keeps bach" in a shack at the edge of town. During a cold snap, he found it advisable to temporarily take a room at a hotel and eat at a restaurant. In his absence, the bottles of milk left on the back porch froze and burst. Said he: "That milk was all spewed out around the top and looked like cones of ice cream. I would have eaten it but I was afraid of broken glass, so gave it to the dog." When told that broken glass will kill a dog as readily as it will a man, he replied: "Yes, I know, but the dog don't have to work in a dam'd sawmill every day."

# Conditions in Alaska

CORDOVA, Alaska—I have just finished reading the Industrial Pioneer for June. I will say that it is getting better and better every month. It seems as if the fellow workers are taking more and more interest in it, for there are sure some good writers sending in some good literature.

This makes me feel like writing, too; so I am going to write about my fishing experiences here, that I have had this summer.

There has been a big run of salmon this year; in fact, the biggest ever known in Alaska. There have been hundreds of nets sunk with thousands of salmon in them.

I sure can't help but think what great exploitation there is in this country.

The following are the prices paid for fish and in the canneries. The company will hire a bunch of men and pay them for red grey salmon, 12 cents and a half; and for King salmon, they get 75 cents.

They are allowed $90 for grub, which includes the whole season and if they go over that they have to pay out of their own pockets. Imagine, to have to exist for six months on $90 worth of grub! They can only buy the very cheapest kind of food in order to exist! And if the cannery tenders break down, why they just have to pitch their fish overboard and have all that labor for nothing!

Now it costs a man $125.00 to come and go from Seattle, Wash., to Cordova, Alaska; so there you are.

The Japanese laborers are hired by the season. This year's wages is $350.00 for seven months. If they get a certain pack they are paid an additional bonus; and if not they are out of luck.

**Card No. 826267**

## WATCH FOR THIS!

**The sequel to the story, Annie, will appear in the November issue. It will be entitled**

**"NEMESIS"**

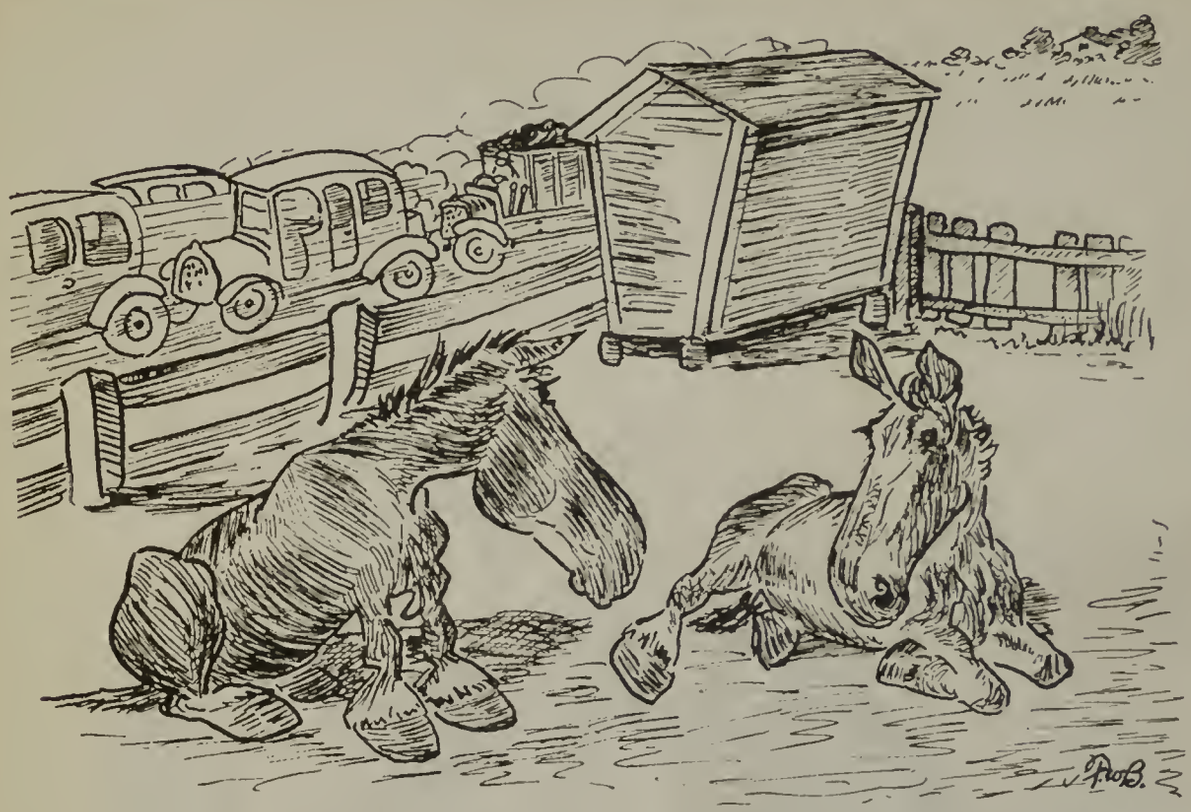
**Anyone familiar with the episode of the Verona at Everett, Washington, will understand what this new story is all about.**

**November 5th will be the anniversary of that terrible scene; and "Nemesis" will be appropriate for the occasion.**

**Subscribe for The Industrial Pioneer now in order to secure this and other good working class fiction. In addition, there will be articles treating of economics, organization, and current events.**

# If Horses Reasoned Like Men—Especially Unemployed Men

By FRED W. BOWERMAN



**First Truck Horse:—Do you think our unemployment will be for long, Charley?**
**Second Truck Horse:—At least until election is over.**

I RECENTLY passed an empty corner lot, where two old truck horses had been turned loose temporarily to loaf until needed again.

Many motor cars and heavy trucks were passing with their loads of men and merchandise.

The question came to mind, what these two old plugs would be talking about if they could converse with each other. They were out of work and loafing, just like a lot of men are at the present time. The workers in discussing unemployment usually make use of some of the following reasons for such a state of affairs:

First Worker:—Well, John, how long do you think before we'll get our jobs back?

Second Worker:—Perhaps not until they decide the present election down in Washington.

Third Worker (butting in):—That's where you are mistaken. The reason that we're out of work is on account of the soldiers' bonus, the Mellon tax bill and prohibition.

And so it goes, this argument about unemployment. The trouble is we workers don't realize that we are like those two old nags who have been crowded out by the machine. Those truck horses no doubt understand this question of unemployment better than we humans. The machine (the automobile) has taken their places, and the same holds true of us workers in the mill, mine, camp, railroad, ship, etc. The machine has taken OUR places.

Yesterday I read of a new machine now in use in the auto factories, which will turn, face and slot pistons at the rate of three a minute, and with an inexperienced operator. It used to take a skilled machinist thirty minutes to complete one piston.

You've seen the steam shovel at work digging as much dirt as fifty pick and shovel artists. You read about the automatic telephone switchboard which does the work without any central operator. New methods of mining coal dumps thousands of coal miners on the street. With the bottle machine they don't need glass blowers any more. In every industry machines are replacing workmen as the auto replaced the horse. The only trouble is, the average worker apparently fails to grasp this truth.

Many who know the machine is speeding up production and piling up more wealth for the owners of industry are led to believe by the company they work for, "that the more they make the machine produce, the more pay they will receive." Did you ever hear of a farmer feeding the team more oats because his flivver runs faster than the old team could? Then why think that the Standard Oil, the United States Steel Trust, the General Electric, the Great Northern Railroad, or any of

the other thousands of capitalist institutions are going to feed you more oats (more wages) because the machine produces more and better than hand labor?

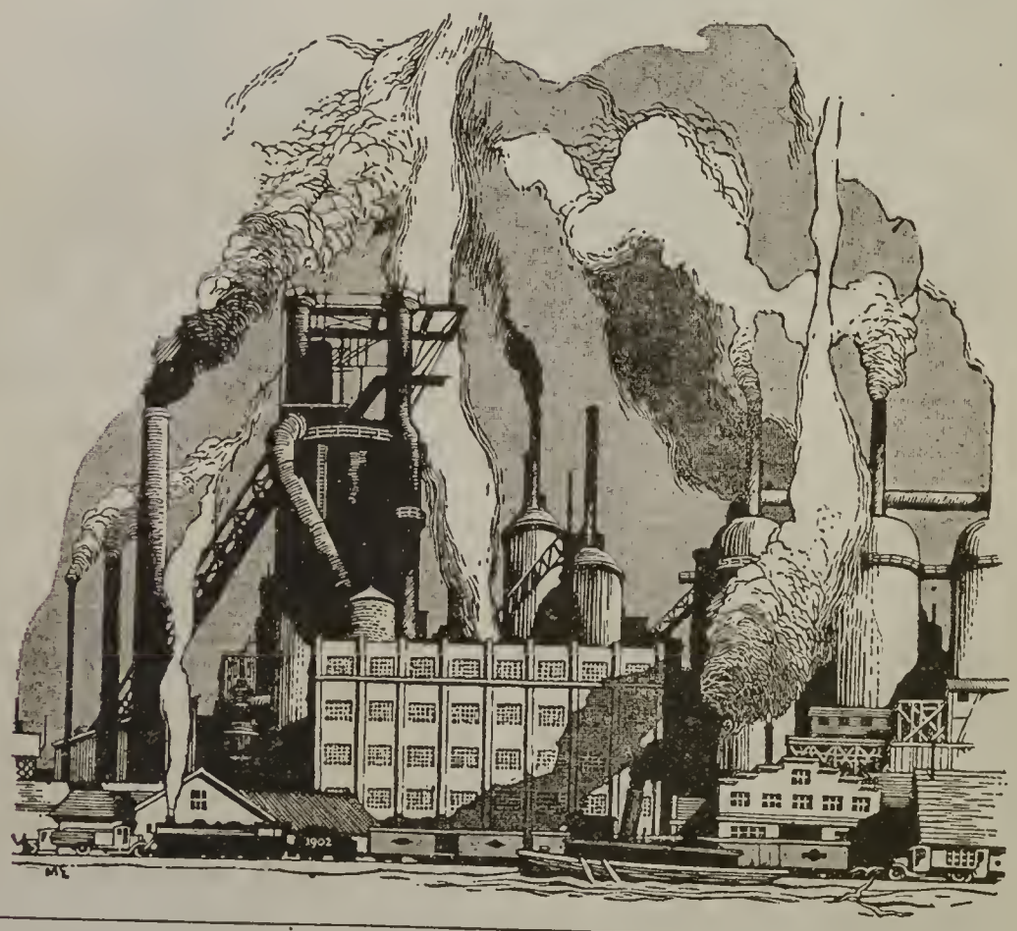
**Remember:** The company is not in business for fun. They are in the game for profits. The more profits the better business.

What are you in business for? You think you're not in business? Oh, yes you are. You are the most important factor about modern business. You who keep the wheels of industry turning. If it were not for you, there would be no business; no such a thing as industry, with all of its complicated and automatic machinery can run without you.

It is time that the workers awakened to their importance. Time the automobile worker, the steel worker, and ALL began to realize that it is the workers who now run, manage and operate industry from start to finish.

It is also time that we began to organize in industry, began to unite in an industrial union, so that our labor power could be used in our interests, instead of for the owners of the machines.

The machine is throwing thousands of us out of work. Let's organize around that machine, build a union, and take control of **those machines,** and run them in the interests of the workers instead of for the profits of the bosses. The One Big Union will do the trick. It is the worker's only hope.




**The Shop is the Workers' State. He Who Controls the Factories, Farms, Mills, Mines, Means of Transportation, and Communication and Exchange, Controls All Else. The Political State is But a Reflex of the Industrial State. There's the Workers' Capitol.**

READ not to CONTRADICT and CONFUTE; Nor to BELIEVE and TAKE for GRANTED; But to WEIGH and CONSIDER.

Be a THINKER, let REASON be your AUTHORITY. Learn to express your THOUGHTS and FEELINGS, cultivate INITIATIVE and ORIGINALITY.

# Annie

By ADAM NOIR

**The Tale of a Wobbly Girl's Unwitting Love for a Labor Spy and Its Tragic End—A Story that Exposes Once More the Viciousness of Industrial Espionage and the System of Private Capitalist Profit which It has Been Devised to Protect and Sustain.**

**"WE don't ask you to believe what we say, we don't ask you to believe what we publish. All we ask is that you give us a hearing, read our literature and THINK. And remember, no argument, either spoken or printed, is worth more than just whatever grain of logic it may contain."**

**The speaker was earnest and forceful, the crowd on the street corner listened eagerly, but it meant nothing to Jim Burton. That is, the IWW teaching meant nothing to him but disappointment. Through all the long weeks since he had been detailed to spy on them he had heard nothing but this eternal challenge to think; "read and think, listen and think. Then act in accord with the dictates of common sense and class interest."**

Never a word about destruction of property, never a word about killing capitalists or burning their homes, never a word advocating crime of any kind. Bah! Jim was sick of it.

Even his membership card; procured by representing himself as a school teacher—a wage worker—had not helped him to any real knowledge of the "Inner Circle" that was popularly supposed to meet in secret and plan all kinds of law violations. He was about ready to believe there was no Inner Circle. For two cents he would ask to be relieved and given something more exciting; a chance on the Dry Squad perhaps, where he could always be sure of his "Morning's Morning." Yes, he sure was tired of it and would have quit weeks ago had it not been for Annie.

There was a girl worth thinking about—that Annie Blythe. She was not pretty, and she was built too much like a boy to take a prize as a Bathing Beauty, but she sure was some little pal. Best of all, he was sure she liked him immensely and it would take but little effort to get her to actually love him. "Well," thought Jim, "if I do win out there, I'll take her out of this. No wife of mine is going to wander about here on the Skid Road at all hours, selling Wobbly papers to rough loggers, taking part in their street meetings, helping with the singing, even making speeches occasionally. No sir; none of that for Annie after we're married."

A collection was being taken up to pay the cost of literature to be distributed among those too poor to buy. Annie came round with the hat. Jim tossed in fifty cents, just as he had tossed in fifty cents each night since he became a member. It irked him to waste his money in this way. He would far rather have spent it over a certain "Soft Drink" bar he knew of, or used it to buy tickets at one of the Chinese Lotteries so numerous in the neighborhood, but then, one had to do something to inspire confidence—and, Annie always gave him a smile.

The collection was taken, the distribution of literature was made, the meeting closed, the crowd dispersed. As Annie started away with a group of others, Jim stopped her: "I say, Fellow Worker, what's the matter with going somewhere and getting a bite to eat? You look hungry, and I'm about to collapse. They won't need you any more tonight."

When Unemployment Enters Home.

Annie was hungry. It seemed to her that she was always just a bit hungry. Jim was a nice sort. He seemed to have plenty of money, so there need be no fear of imposing on him. She accepted.

They sought out a quiet restaurant, ordered a

good meal, and ate and talked for an hour or more. Afterwards, Jim saw her safely to her car and bid her good night.

Next evening, it was the same; except that when it came to paying the check Annie insisted that it was her turn. Jim objected vigorously, but she was not to be shaken. Finally, they compromised by agreeing to dine together each evening after the meeting and take turn about at paying the check.

This arrangement was kept up for many months; sometimes varied by a show or a dance, a boat excursion or a picnic, but always they went fifty-fifty on the expense. What they talked about, what they said to each other, is immaterial; but long before summer was gone they were engaged to be married, and the wedding was set for Thanksgiving day.

Jim believed he was the luckiest man in town. It is not every girl that will insist on bearing half of all expenses. It is not every girl that can be a real pal, and meet a man half way with a genuine spirit of give and take when personal whims and peculiarities are involved. In short, there are not many girls like Annie Blythe, and Jim knew it and was glad.

Annie was more than proud of her love. She spoke of it quite frankly with all her friends. All her friends were quite frankly pleased with her choice. All predicted great things for Annie and Jim. The Central Branch, in regular business meeting, gravely discussed the proposition and voted to give a big dance and entertainment in honor of the occasion.

Late in September a small cloud appeared on the horizon. Jim had utterly failed to turn in any incriminating evidence against the IWW and he was relieved from duty. More, he was dropped from the payroll and told, rather plainly, that the city authorities would be pleased to hear of his departure for other fields.

He was not in a position to loaf without a steady income. At all times, it had been his custom, after seeing Annie to her car, to spend many hours in wild carousal, and his discharge caught him broke and in debt. However, he was not lacking in resourcefulness.

Having always posed as a school teacher, he now told Annie that he had taken a position in a small country school in a neighboring county. While not directly asking for help, he so worded his conversation that she volunteered to lend him sixty-five dollars—every cent she had. He protested, but agreed to take the money with the explicit understanding that he be permitted to return it from the very first funds he received. With her money in his purse, with her kiss on his lips, with her cheery "Bye-bye, Jimmy boy." following him down the stairs, he quietly dropped from sight.

There was, of course, no position as school teacher, but there was labor trouble at Lumberton. The shingle weavers were on strike, and guards were needed to protect the scabs. Moreover, the padded cell in Lumberton jail was said to be crammed with contraband booze, and the sheriff was widely known as a man who never permitted his deputies to want for a drink. So, the very next day found Jim, effectually disguised and under the name of James Smith, on the payroll of the Lumberton Commercial Club and taking orders from the Lumberton sheriff.

Jim's fondest hopes were more than fulfilled. Not only was he permitted an occasional drink, but it seemed to be intended that he get drunk and stay drunk. Every one around the sheriff's office was more or less drunk. A sober deputy was looked upon with suspicion.

The work was pleasant. Nothing to do but walk along with the scabs as they passed to and fro between their hotels and places of employment, or parade up and down in front of one of the mills with a shotgun on his shoulder, and hurl verbal insults and warlike challenges at the few union pickets on duty there.

However, the strike seemed to be winning. The mere presence of the pickets, standing so orderly at the gates, quietly pleading with their unorganized brothers not to take the struck jobs, was apparently sufficient to prevent extensive scabbing. The order went forth that the pickets must be driven away and kept away; they must not be permitted to even come in sight of a scab, or prospective scab.

At first it was easy pickings. All one had to do was to walk out, bat a picket over the head with a club or gun butt, call the wagon and have him run in for disturbing the peace, assault and battery, inciting to riot, or any other charge that happened to come handy.

Jim was in his glory. In five days he broke five heads and sent five pickets to jail. As each arrest was rewarded with an extra quart of Sunnybrook or Canadian Rye, he felt that he was doing very well indeed.

Nor was there lack of material for slugging. For each picket sent to jail, two or three appeared to take his place. One morning a company of twenty or more appeared before the gate at which Jim stood guard.

The mill owner was furious. Hurrying up town, he collected a band of deputies and Commercial Club volunteers and brought them into the mill through a rear entrance. At a given signal, they made a sortie and drove the pickets out upon a long bridge across the tide flats. Another band of deputies charged from the opposite end of the bridge.

Caught like rats in a trap, the pickets were forced to fight; but could not for long, with bare hands, stand up against clubs and revolvers. As soon as one went down, he was thrown from the bridge to the stinking mud below.

Jim was elated. Single-handed, and under the

eagerly approving eye of the boss, he succeeded in beating down two pickets, and shot a third one in the leg. He felt that he had earned extra pay and resolved to ask for it—if he could remember about it when he was drunker and had more nerve.

But Jim was soon to learn that there are two sides to all things, including a slugging carnival. That evening as the scabs and deputies came from the mill they were met by a mob of strikers and sympathizers and given a beating almost as severe as that received by the pickets in the forenoon. Jim was especially mauled. After beating his eyes shut and breaking his scalp in a dozen places, they fixed a rope to his feet and dragged him through the mud for some hundreds of yards; only leaving off when it became apparent that further punishment might prove fatal.

He was a mighty sick man as he lay in the hospital that night; sick in mind as well as body, for he had learned that even a striking slave will occasionally turn upon his tormentors, and the knowledge filled his little soul with terror. The mill owner's wife and a group of lady friends came bearing armloads of hot-house roses, and made pretty speeches praising his heroism and devotion to American ideals. He replied in such flowery phrases as his limited vocabulary would permit; telling them he felt he had but done his simple duty and that he longed for the time when he could again take the field against all enemies of law and order. Nevertheless, he made the mental observation that he would quit and take on a job at honest work rather than again face those terrible strikers.

In addition to the strike, the authorities were being pestered by the IWW. While Jim was in the hospital, a group came to town, opened an office and were trying to hold street meetings. This might not have seemed so bad at some other time, but they were preaching Industrial Solidarity—and they were being heard. There was grave danger that the workers in the lumber mills would heed the call, make common cause with the workers in the shingle mills and tie up the industries of Lumberton from center to circumference. Such a catastrophe must be avoided, whatever the cost, and the sheriff was ordered to run the IWW out of town and keep them out.

Already several meetings had been broken up, the office had been raided a couple of time and the furniture smashed, and the Wobblies had offered no resistance. Jim decided to ask for a position on the IWW squad—as being safer than facing mobs of strikers. As soon as he was fit for duty his request was granted.

Breaking up IWW street meetings proved to be as troublesome as chasing pickets away from the struck mills. As soon as one speaker was arrested there was always another to take his place. Often, as many as ten or twelve were arrested in one evening. If they were turned loose, they mounted

**Bloated Plutocracy Has "The People" Bound and Terrified.**

the soap box again. If they were deported, they returned in a day or so and brought others with them.

Driven to desperation, the Commercial Club ordered terrorism. Each prisoner arrested was beaten to the extreme limit of physical endurance. When he recovered somewhat, he was beaten again, robbed of every article of value or convenience, and shipped out of town.

In time, the bothersome formalities of arrest were dispensed with. A batallion of deputies would simply form a cordon around the meeting and send in a number of their most husky and most drunk members to beat up on all within reach; spectators as well as speakers, women and children as well as men.

This sort of thing was as the breath of life to Jim. He made himself a special club with a rough surface so that whenever he struck anyone over the head he could give it a sort of dragging motion and fetch away tufts of hair and bits of bloody skin.

At first, he was worried by a report that two or three of the invading Wobblies were women, and he feared one of them might be Annie and that she might penetrate his disguise. Anyway, he didn't want Annie to get hurt; she was to become his wife pretty soon and he didn't want her all scarred up. But it proved to be only a trio of great, red faced, frowsy haired, female working stiffs. It amused him to punch them in their stomachs with the end of his club and see them

turn pale and vomit, and sometimes faint.

The leading spirit among the little group who fought so valiantly for free speech was an eighteen-year-old lad known to his fellow workers as Billy La Mar. Billy was not a speaker. He never mounted the soap box except it be to take the place of someone just arrested or knocked out. But, he was always on hand, and always busy; selling papers, leading the rebel songs, holding earnest confab with any who appeared to take an interest. Moreover, he seemed to have, in some sort, a charmed life. In every melee he escaped unhurt; in every one of the numerous times he had been arrested, he managed to give the deputies the slip before they could lock him up. One high official in the Commercial Club was heard to say that he would pay a hundred dollars for authentic news of Billy's death.

Jim wanted that hundred dollars and certainly tried to earn it, but somehow he and Billy never met. Nights when he had a chance to get in close to the speakers' stand, Billy was either absent on some errand or some other deputy got in the way. Nights when Billy stood near the speaker and led the singing, he was too drunk for active duty and was left on guard at the jail.

One night when he was sleeping off a drunk in the jail a prisoner was brought in. His left hand was mangled and bloody, gashes and bruises and smears of blood covered his face. One eye was swelled shut and the other was but little better. He screamed and cried hysterically because of the pain.

"Who the hell is that?" Jim wanted to know. "It's that damned kid they call La Mar," replied one of the guards. "Well, by God, I'll teach him to come squalling around here and wake everybody up," said Jim; and accompanied his words with a well directed blow from his famous club. La Mar sank to the floor unconscious and was dragged to a cell.

However much they tried to avoid it, the deputies were compelled to make an occasional arrest. In time, the total number of Wobblies locked up amounted to fifteen. To feed so many prisoners, against whom there seemed no probability of placing a charge that would stick, seemed a waste of public funds, and Commercial Club ordered deportation; but first they were to receive such a beating that they would not dare come back.

A short time after dark, the next evening after La Mar was brought in, a long line of automobiles drew up in front of the jail. One by one the heavily manacled prisoners were brought out and tumbled into the waiting machines. When all was ready, the procession moved away.

A few miles out of town they stopped at a place where the highway crossed the railroad. On either side of the crossing is a cattle guard; one of those sheet iron arrangements with a series of blades set at an angle of forty-five degrees and the edges serrated very similar to a cross-cut saw. Here, the deputies and Commercial Club volunteers, to the number of seventy or more, armed with sticks and clubs, formed in two lines about six feet apart and facing each other. One by one the prisoners were unbound and made to run this living lane and jump, scramble, or crawl across the cattle guard at the end.

As a prisoner passed down the line each deputy in turn struck him over the head or across the shins. If he became entangled in the cattle guard, all those within reach beat a tattoo on his back until he crawled free. If he faltered along the way, he was urged forward by a husky deputy who wielded a whip in the lash of which was braided a violin string that cut like a knife.

The last prisoner was a slight, boyish figure who stumbled and fell at almost every step. He had hardly more than crossed the cattle guard and disappeared under the trees along the track when the sheriff came panting along, shouting: "Say! Bring that last one back. That's Billy La Mar. We can't afford to let him off that easy." Jim fired his revolver in the direction taken by the prisoner but there was no sound to indicate that he had scored a hit. A few of the less drunk remained to search. The others, including Jim, returned to town.

Jim kept to his room all next day. Reaction from the excitement and prolonged drunk was upon him. His nerves were unstrung, his mind filled with vague forebodings. When he closed his aching eyes, he saw visions. He saw a vision of Annie; a most peculiar vision.

—There was a row of fifteen posts. Bound to each post with heavy chains was a figure swathed in coarse, blood-spattered cloth, dripping kerosene. With a torch, he passed from post to post, setting fire to the oil soaked figures. At the last one he paused to observe the effect.

—The flames roared upward. The cloth dissolved to ashes and fell away in great glowing flakes. The black smoke parted and disclosed the face of Annie. Her hair was burning but she smiled. As the smoke pall closed agan, she said: "Bye bye, Jimmie boy."

Voicing a terrible scream he sprang up and ran down stairs. They brought him back to his room and called a physician. That functionary said it was delirium tremens and gave him treatment for such.

There was much uneasiness in the ranks of the Special Deputies and Commercial Club Gun Men. They figured that if anything would provoke retaliation from the IWW the atrocities at the cattle guard would do it. Panic stricken with the fear of assassination, many staunch supporters of law and order left town.

Sick of it all, certain that a longer stay in Lumberton must end in death by the hand of one of his many victims, Jim drew what wages he had coming, borrowed all he could, laid aside his disguise and returned to the Big Town.

Knowing that boldness is the best kind of concealment in such cases, he reappeared at IWW head-

quarters and volubly expressed regret that the business of making a wedding stake had prevented his taking part in the action at Lumberton.

Annie did not come around the hall. She had taken new lodgings and no one seemed to know where she was. It was more than a week before he found her.

She was in bed. Her face was pale and drawn as if from a long illness. A patch of medicated cotton under a flap of green cloth covered her left eye. She kept her left arm out of sight beneath the bed-clothes. When Jim stooped to kiss her, she gently pushed him away, saying: "Wait, Jim. Wait until I tell you something. You may change your mind."

Protesting that nothing she could tell could possibly make any difference, he kissed her anyway. She burst into tears and, hiding her face under the coverlet, wept for many minutes. When again able to speak she said, in the dull monotone of one who has but little vitality and less hope:

"It was a foolish thing to do, I suppose, but the boys needed all the help they could get so I went to Lumberton."

Jim started, and his lips formed some word of exclamation or interrogation, but she continued as if she had not noticed:

"Of course none of them knew it was me, and I don't suppose any of them except George Radcliffe knows it now; I guess they think I just quit to avoid trouble; for I dressed as a boy, and I took the name of my dead cousin, Billy La Mar."

Jim started again; his hands clenched convulsively, he swallowed as one suffering from thirst. But the voice continued:

"I managed to dodge for quite a while, but one day the Mayor trapped me. He sent me a note asking me to come and talk it over, and saying he thought he could arrange about the meetings.

"They led me into his private office. There were four big policemen in there and as soon as the door was locked they commenced to knock me from one to the other like I was a hand-ball or punching bag. When I would fall, they kicked me until I got up again. One of them kicked me in the eye and it burst. But it didn't hurt as much as one would suppose—guess I had so many other hurts I didn't have time to feel it.

"Finally I fell and could not get up. There was an iron couch or cot or something of the kind in there and the Mayor dragged it over and put one of the legs on the back of my hand spread out on the floor and then jumped on it. The caster kept turning to one side and rolling off, so they took it out. Then one of the policemen held my hand still, while the Mayor and the others jumped on the cot and drove the leg clear through to the boards beneath.

"I guess I must have fainted, for the next thing I knew I was standing in the jail office and a deputy sheriff knocked me down because I cried and disturbed his sleep."

As she talked, Jim left his seat and paced the floor. Great beads of perspiration studded his flushed face, he shivered as with an ague. What thoughts flitted through his clouded brain can only be guessed, but Annie accepted his agitation and terrible look as evidence of righteous indignation and compassion for one he loved, and broke her monotone recital to say: "Please don't look so awful, Jimmie boy. I am not the first to be treated this way and I'll not be the last. It is all part of the game. It is the reward we must expect when we try to help others against their will. Calm yourself. There is more to tell. More, and worse."

Seated again, his hands convulsively gripping the sides of his chair, he stared straight ahead like one hynotized while she continued:

"Well, next evening they came and took us all out and loaded us into automobiles and carried us out into the country to a place where there is a railroad crossing and there they made us "run the gauntlet." But I suppose the boys at the hall told you about that."

"Yes," said Jim hoarsely, "I've heard about it."

"Well, I was the last to make the run. After I got across the cattle guard, someone fired a gun and the bullet struck me in the side just above my right hip."

Jim groaned and sprang to his feet.

"Come, come, Jim," she said. "You simply must not act like that. It only makes it harder for me to tell. Come and sit on the bed and let me hold your hand. It'll make it easier for both of us." He did as she requested and the monotone flowed on:

"It was only a flesh wound and had I not already been pretty well used up it would not have stopped me from running. As it was, I lay until I thought they were all gone away and then crawled to a nearby farm house.

"The woman telephoned for a doctor and one came and fixed me up. About an hour after he went away, five deputies came for me. The woman begged for me the best she could, but when she told them I was a girl and in a dying condition it only made them more determined. Dragging me out of bed, they carried me to a little open spot in the woods and—and—oh, Jim, I never can be your wife now. I never can be the wife of any good clean man. Jim! Jim! . . . " He was gone. Rushing down the stairs four and five steps at a jump.

It is possible that under the influence of her words he had some passing thought of seeking out the perpetrators of this foul deed and exacting summary vengeance. It is possible that he had thoughts of taking his own life as some slight penalty for his own foul deeds. But, as generally happens with such characters, he compromised by getting drunk. He got beastly drunk and stayed so for a week. Moreover, in his maudlin condition, he talked—and he talked to George Radcliffe. George was a timid soul, and his mind was a bit clouded, but he had a memory like a phonograph. He could keep a secret like the Sphinx, but he knew his friends—and, he knew a skunk when he smelled one.

On the ninth day Jim was sober again; eold sober and repentant. His thoughts were of Annie:—Of course, after her little accident, there could be no marriage; the mother of his children must be a woman of untarnished virginity. But after all, Annie was a good scout and he would do what he could to help her. He would rent an apartment and install her as mistress. Maybe, after a while, when she recovered her strength a bit, she could begin to take in a few dollars; she had a very winning way, and he knew lots of fellows who would welcome an introduction. Why, they might even, later on, lease a "rooming house" and install a few girls—as "chambermaids." Yes, that was the thing to do. Surely he owed her that much. And this was Thanksgiving. He would go to her at once with the glad tidings. No time could be more appropriate than now, on the day that was to have been their wedding day.

Eager to spring his surprise, he entered without knocking. She was not in the room, but, on the pillow where it could not be overlooked, was a note addressed to him. Hastily tearing it open, he read:

"Jim:—I know you will come here on Thanksgiving day. I have willed it so and I know it will be so. George Radcliffe has told me all, and I know that George never lies.

"I can forgive a lot. I can even forgive those poor drunken brutes for what they did to me that night in the woods. But I can never, never forgive myself for willingly, eagerly giving my soul and body, my life and my love, to such an unnamable monstrosity as you. I can never survive the disgrace of your kiss on my lips.

"If you wish to further pollute my poor broken body, look for it in the bay."

For almost five minutes Jim stood motionless. Then, with a grim smile, he picked up the 'phone and called police headquarters.

Next day, the newspapers carried the headline: "Female Terrorist Drowns Self Rather than Submit to Arrest." That's all.

# Los Angeles Employment District Snapshots

By JIM SEYMOUR

HE was a cement worker, strong as a bull, as he needed to be. He was out of work but he was Irish and didn't mind it. An unfailing good humor is quite an asset.

"The pay isn't so bad," he replied to my question, but there isn't enough work for all of us. But it is better than most common labor; we don't have to compete with the general run; you have to be pretty husky to handle concrete."

A Ford drew up to the curb and a man climbed out.

"I want to get two men to burn brush," he said.

A tall, lanky youth with an unintelligent face overheard and asked: "How much you pay?"

"Fifty cents an hour."

"Fifty cents! Gee, I'll work for thirty-five!"

My companion gasped and clenched his fist, moving it as though the palms were itching. The farmer looked at the young man in amazement that turned rapidly to contempt.

"I don't want you," he said. But he hired the Irishman and another fellow and instructed them to meet him there at 2:30.

"You see what we're up against?" asked the Irishman as the farmer left. "We don't have much of that on cement, but for most of the jobs we have to buck the likes of that big scissor. Lots of the bosses are looking for them, too. Oh, well, everything is lovely now and I can prove that I'm respectable—beginning at 2:30."

I made some brilliant remark about a long lane with all curves eliminated.

"Sure," he replied, "most things come out all right in the end, but I have always been seriously handicapped as the result of an accident that happened when I was very young."

"How so?"

"The ship that my mother came over in was delayed at sea and I was born just one day out of New York."

"How can that affect you now?" I asked.

"Why, I lost my chance to be President."

He spoke without even the ghost of a smile, but a moment later was laughing heartily.

"But sometimes a bo does make it," he said soberly. "Jack London did. Say, there was a character—never forgot his origin—had quite a lot of Jiggs in his makeup. When I was over in Honolulu he pulled a good one. Some society dame sent him an invitation to attend a feed and wrote 'Full dress' on the card. Jack didn't have any dress-suit but he went out and bought one. Had it delivered to the woman and he stayed home."

We chatted a while about The People of the Abyss and The Iron Heel, then he said: "Well, by the time I climb around some chow it will be 2:30. Hope I see you some time when I'm paying off."

# Over Eight Hundred Hear Geo. Speed (Continued from page 6)

"tar-pot committee's" conduct, "I tell it as 'twas told to me."

As an eyewitness to the raid, the writer can vouch for the scenes enacted there, as well as seeing a truck, loaded with workers, driving away. Many theories were suggested as to the possible destination. A sailor said to the writer that they had sent out patrols to trace the truck, which seemed quite plausible, since the navy might be interested in the report that it contained sailors, but evidently no one found the truck, although we now know that it went to Santa Ana canyon, forty-five miles away.

It took about thirty minutes to complete the wrecking of the hall, when someone gave the command—"Scatter."

There was no way to get out of town without passing through either the upper or the lower business section of the city. As the truck went on Twelfth street, they in all probability took the lower route, thus passing near the police station.

Suffice to say that the Los Angeles Examiner reporter was getting names of the injured before any police arrived. So far as the writer knows, this reporter may have been on the scene all the time and this theory gains color when it is recalled that, in its "scoop" on the following evening, the paper came out two hours earlier than usual. As the reporter also attended the mid-day meeting, following, it is possible that he tried to have the paper on the streets of San Pedro before the street meeting got under way.

In flaring head-lines the Examiner stated that the IWW was going to dynamite the morgue, and then prepared its statement as the result of an ambiguous "rumor."

This brief digression is made in order to emphasize the gravity of the situation under which Fellow Worker Speed so tactfully proclaimed the position of the IWW before that multitude. Many a speaker might have quailed under the existing tension.

Now we shall follow the story of the kidnaped men.

On this night-ride the truck was accompanied by about twenty-five automobiles, while on the truck itself, were members of the mob and some in sailor's uniforms who held guard over the victims with guns. Meanwhile a continuous barrage of terrifying remarks, such as, "which car had the ropes," mingled with threats suggesting Wesley Everest, was cross-fired between the guards.

After a two and a half hour drive, the canyon was reached and across the entrance to a grove was suspended a large banner, bearing Dante's inscription over the gates of hell and "You are now entering the chamber of horrors", "You have come to the end of your journey. Prepare to make your peace."

As the lights of the automobiles added a grewsome terror in this sylvan glen, a fire was started beneath a cauldron. During the heating of the tar, the victims were made to undress. Then a large tub was filled with the tar and some black oil, into which the men, one at a time, were forced to sit, while with a dipper, more of the sticky murk was dumped over their heads.

When one was thoroughly covered, he was led away and secretly told he could get away by following orders, otherwise he would be overtaken and subjected to torture and the rope. The whispered orders were that on the command to run, he would run as fast as he could and when a shot was fired, he would scream as if in mortal agony. They may have also spoken of the hanging of the six Italians in New Orleans, but the writer's informants did not include this in their statement.

Imagine the guttural sound of wild animals roaming in the woods! Imagine the suspense of each succeeding victim, on hearing the piercing outcry of the preceding fugitive, when the shots rang out. Imagine the melancholy feeling of desolation, when a banner is brought out, bearing the legend, "The end of a perfect day."

Realize that the fact that no masks or robes were worn tends to a feeling that this would be the end, where none would live to some day identify their assailants!

Remember the tales of the vigilantes, that were told on the ride to this lonely wilderness! Put yourself in this place and think, if you were the last of the six, whether your stomach wouldn't as lief your lips drained hemlock, rather than castor oil! Yet these plutonic incarnations of the imps of Beelzebub, forced a Spanish worker to drink a quart of castor oil, by strangulation.

The "Fascisti of America" had evidently taken a leaf from Mussolini's black-shirts.

And, lest the reader conclude that, in this recital the writer drew on his imagination, it may be proper to add that the entire ordeal was carried on in a close proximity to an automobile containing a woman and a girl. If they had no morbid desire to witness the shameful proceedings, it was not the fault of the gallants, who invited them to go along.

When the "ceremony" was concluded, the automobiles sped away in the darkness, while the victims returned, only to find that all of their garments, including shoes, had been immersed in the tar.

With what little they could take to wrap around their loins, they set out on the forty-five mile

trip, back to San Pedro. As it was almost day, a good Samaritan picked them up, after they had gone six miles.

In concluding this story, which reads like a narrative from the days of the Inquisition, it might be apropos to suggest, that if any who took part in the disgraceful debacle, have a spark of regard for our vaunted civilization, they at least return the eighty-four dollars they took from their victims and send it to the hospital, to ease the agony of the little innocents, some of whom cannot even sit up, but must lie in one position all the time.

To them, that charge the IWW with being atheists, the writer will say that if these deeds were done in the name of the Deity, then the all-seeing eye may be storing retributive justice in the nether regions, whence emanated the spawn of all that is vile. If you are not the hypocrites your villany demonstrates that you are, then your accursed soul must take with it the condemnation of Hi[illegible] that said, "Whatsoever ye do unto one of th[illegible] little ones, that ye also do unto me."

You may pray in your ceremonies, "God give us men!" but your prayer sinks into a vaporous platitude and becomes a mockery of the lone Nazarene, whose footsteps you profess to follow.

As it is written that "by their fruits ye shall know them," so you may yet find yourselves with Dives, in the charnel house of knaves, imploring Lazarus for a drop of water to anoint your parched and polluted tongue.

Perhaps, when that day comes, we may extend to you our sympathy, feeling that you have made the supreme atonement, but alas! it will be too late.

# A Challenge: Right is Might

By GEO. GARRETT

HOLD up your head, vain swine,
And advance to meet me.
With my trusty blade, bared, naked,
Tempered from the steel of Truth,
I'll pierce your arrant Hypocrisy,
And false Philosophy;
"MIGHT IS RIGHT."
Might that has been built
On the blood and tears of women and children;
On the stunted bodies, and blood-belching lungs
Of toiling wage slaves;
On the wan or painted faces of females,
Compelled to barter their sex charms
As a commercial commodity, and in exchange
Receiving bare necessities, disease and shortened lives;
On your ill-paid soldiers,
Whose blood you use to cultivate
The fields of foreign lands;
On your mental prostitutes, who,
Accepting your thirty pieces of silver,
Consciously betray progress (the real Messiah)
With their lies, lies, lies.
On your scientists, who,
Saturable to your damnable blood lust,
Further the development of guns and gases,
For the destruction of human life,
While babies die through underfeeding,
And defiant disease, unchecked,
Is a faithful ally to your vicious task;
On your drugs, dopes and poisons;
On your churches, professing to save souls,
But standing idly by, while bodies are destroyed,
Advertising subservience to YOU false God Mammon;
On your holy bible, book of absurdities,
Atrocities, contradictions and obscenities,
Reflecting the supposed inspiration
Of some omnipotent paradox, who,
Is very good to some children, (after they are dead)
And destines others to fire everlasting.
Deny, if you can, my accusations,
You ugly, hideous creature,
Whose claws are dyed red with the blood of many victims;
And hear my voice;
For I am the harbinger of the New Age—
Demanding the beauties of life for all mankind,
Not a mere few.
And as my loyal companions, reason and experience,
Grow stronger and stronger,
Your downfall is inevitable,
For happiness is our right—
And RIGHT IS MIGHT!

## EFFECTS OF ENVIRONMENT

Less than two per cent of the 30,000 boys and girls from the Dr. Barnardo's Homes in England, who have been sent to Canada and Australia have been failures. These children came from the most densely crowded and destitute area of the United Kingdom, and every one was a castaway until rescued.

# The "Great" Billy Sunday

By JACK METTE

SINCE the beginning the labor movement has been fought by the churches. Preachers and priests have raved and cursed the labor unions for taking unfair advantage of the boss. Men (?) of the Billy Sunday type prance over the country, breaking chairs, foaming at the mouth, hurling vile curses at unions, IWWs and anything else that looks advantageous to the workers.

Many of us have seen the antics of the GREAT Billy Sunday, who breaks chairs, turns hand-springs, tells eight-dollar-per-week store girls to take whatever pay the boss is minded to pay and to trust in Jesus. Whether Jesus will make up to these poor girls their lost pay when they go to Heaven the GREAT Billy does not say. Sunday is dead against labor unions. He places the curse of Christ on them all. But it seems that he waits until he hits non-union towns to put out these curses in the name of the Lord. I have never heard of the GREAT Billy making one of his anti-labor speeches to an IWW audience.

After listening to Billy Sunday, one wonders just what the good Lord has against labor unions and workers who are trying to better their condition in this world. We are forced to wonder just how long this GREAT slinger of the Gospel would continue to spread the Word of the Lord if it were not for the Iron Men involved. The Good Book, so I HAVE BEEN TOLD (I have never read it) tells us that Jesus was a soft spoken and very quiet man. Then why is it that this loving old fellow sends this chair smashing maniac to put his curses on us? My curiosity is aroused. I ask again: What has labor done that is wrong in the eyes of the unseen power said to be above us? Is it because we are organizing to better our conditions? Is it the Lord who is worried over unionism, or his chief chair smasher? Who pays Billy to sling his muck at the workers? If we knew the answer to that last question most of us would lose what little religion we have.

But Sunday is not the only sky pilot to preach against us. They are everywhere. They rave and tear their hair and shout themselves hoarse over a strike. They put curses on us so freely that we wonder how the Lord keeps up with his muck slingers in fulfilling all their curses. But we have never seen one single damned curse come down on us yet. And still we hear the preachers cry that the people are deserting the churches. Is there any wonder?

Since the beginning of time, man has worshipped something. He is like a small child. PAID speakers tell him of great things to come when he dies, that is, if he is good. Otherwise they have a place called Hell where you roast for all eternity. There seems to be no reward for man on this earth. He has to die to get rewarded. Very few seem in a hurry to collect their reward. The more religion they have the more they fear to die. If I thought I stood a good chance of going to that land of bread and honey the preachers talk of, dying would be my greatest pleasure. But as it is I am afraid that most of these anti-labor Gospel slingers will be my companions in Hell, if there is any such place, and then it will be HELL.

# The Radical Christians

THE churches present an interesting spectacle. Some of them are developing "radical parties." The latter are trying to make capitalism square with the ideals of social service, the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. They are having a hard time of it. Apparently, the worst place on earth in which to teach Christianity is the Christian church of all denominations. They seem to prefer the flesh pots of capitalism instead. Though they denounce "materialism" most strenuously they are not averse to wallowing in the worst manifestation of it ever known to man.

However, the "radical" church "parties" are to be given credit for their attacks on capitalist religion. Especially is the Methodist Federation for Social Service, noteworthy in this respect. Under the leadership of Harry F. Ward, chairman of the Civil Liberties Union, who has proven a staunch defender of the rights of the IWW, it has adopted the following platform:

"1. That the Church should stand firmly for the rights of labor as well as capital to bargain col-

War God Sets World Afire.

lectively through reprcsentatives of their own choosing;

"2. That thc Church should urge the organization of industry in such a way as to furnish continuous employment of labor;

"3. That the Church should advocate the enactmcnt of a Constitutional amendment to regulate child labor in all thc states on a uniform and adequate Christian basis. Furthermore, we advocatc that thc Church should foster and organize campaigns of education among the peoplc of the United States on thc question of child labor;

"4. That the Church should stand firmly against the use of the injunction in all industrial disputes as a violation of the rights of American citizenship;

"5. That we favor the increased socialization and control of public utilities and natural resources and all essentials of life."

The Methodist students in convention assembled at Louisville, Ky., April 18-20, 1924, adopted resolutions denouncing war as "the greatest of all crimes," because "it includes all crimes;" setting forth that "war is self-defeating as it fails to accomplish its own purposes"; and calling for its outlawry through international organization.

In the May 15 issue of the Methodist Federation's organ "The Social Service Bulletin" will be found the following editorial:

**"To Arms! To Arms!**

"By all means let the War Department have its way if it plans to mobilize the entire National Guard, the Reserve Officers and even industry next Septcmber as our newspapers arc now hinting! There are plenty of people in this country who foolishly imagine that militarism undcr the guise of 'preparedness' or 'national insurance' is something holier than it is in Europe. So, on with uniforms! Shine up the brass! Let the bayonets gleam! Let the cannon boom!—munition manufacturers need more business! Cheer the flag, boys, as if the highest form of patriotism is to help build an unbeatable army and navy! We second the motion; 'mobilize our entire nation as if we were going to war!' Call it 'a farewell to Pershing who retires the next day' or 'a hint to Japan.' Nothing could be a more effective text for preachers and Christian editors than just such a demonstration of the lengths to which our miltarists have carried us—citizens' training camps, military training in schools (includng a few so-called Christian colleges) and now a general mobilization! To arms, to arms!—and then, 'Remember Germany!' "

The future alone will show whether, as in the past, Christian radicalism is merely a sentiment that disappears before stern reality; or a factor to be reckoned with.

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Get Behind the IWW Press

Push it Everywhere

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# Young Peoples' Labor Education

ONE of the promising developments within the labor movement recently, is the establishment of thc National Association for Child Development. This organization developed as a result of a number of conferences of labor men and women, educators, and parents, who realized the great need of acquainting thc growing generation with the social and economic problems that face mankind and preparing Youth for intelligent participation in the work of bettering society.

The National Association for Child Development plans to carry on its work through children's clubs, summer camps and other similar means, and is now working on a program that promises to bc fully as interesting to the children as that of any of the present boys' and girls' organizations. There is in this new program no trace of the military or anti-social features that are so prevalent in other children's organizations, and the program includes many social service activities that will be bound to help in the development of the social conscience of the children, and will lead to an understanding of labor problems and of the need for international peace.

This new organization will begin its work this year with a summer camp at Pawling, New York. It is expected that this camp will accommodate fifty children. The fees that will be charged will be just enough to cover costs. Arrangements are also being made with labor, co-operative and community centers, for the establishment of childrens' clubs under the guidance of this organization. Offices of this organization are at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The Executive Committee and officers consist of many prominent labor men, women and educators.

# The Amalgamated Almanac

THE Amalgamated Clothing Workers differs radically from the Industrial Workers of the World. It engages in many undertakings, like banks, co-operation, politics, etc., which obscure the class struggle and its fundamental economic basis. But there are some things within these limitations, which it does very well, indeed. One of these is its illustrated almanac for 1924.

This is a production worthy of the working class. It is typographical, literary, and pictorial art of the foremost kind, combined with history and economics of value to the workers everywhere.

Too long have the workers been content with printing and art of an unbecoming character. They should study the Amalgamated Illustrated Almanac for 1924 and learn how to reflect their own true worth both ably and well.

# More Catholicity Needed

THERE are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in your philosophy," so says Hamlet to Horatio. And so one might say to anyone inclined to take a strictly sectarian view of the labor problem and its solution. What is needed, to these latter ends, is not sectarianism, but catholicity; because the former conduces to warring factions, while the latter makes for a triumphant solidarity.

There are many working men and women who believe that the development of the proper form of industrial unionism is the sole task of industrial unionists. They theorize and discuss this subject among themselves so much as to lose all sense of either proportion or perspective. The result is a loss of contact with the great mass of the workers and a failure to understand their peculiar ways of thinking and acting.

The mass of the workers cannot realize the necessity for an improved form of labor unionism, until they are educated to that end. It will not do to say that the failure of their old forms do that. For that is only partly and not wholly true; as they attribute, quite often, their failures to causes outside of their faulty unionism. They believe that some political cause is to blame, and not their bad unionism. Hence the need for education along economic lines; hence the need for a working class press that will discuss other matters than industrial unionism—such discussion to be a prelude—a clearing of the ground— to and for industrial organization.

No IWW, for instance, can reach a working man or woman who sees free trade, unrestricted immigration, etc., as the cause of working class degradation and misery. They must be disabused about these theories. Again, no IWW can win the Negro, without denouncing peonage and color, race, or creed discriminations. Nor can the IWW reach the believers in craft unionism, or disabuse them of that belief, by a lack of sympathy with the craft union aspirations for more wages, shorter hours and better conditions. It is all right to aim at the abolition of the wages system, but let the aim be a good one or the bull's eye will never be hit. The true marksman will go among the workers, fraternizing with them, helping them in their struggles, counseling and advising with them, and laboring hard, in various ways, for the creation of that class conscious feeling which is the basis of real solidarity.

It will not do to shut ourselves within ourselves; to, squirrel-like, run around the same old ring and get nowheres, despite strenuous efforts to the contrary. The working class is our class.. Let us go to them and be of them, in every sense. Then and only then will we have the workers won to our ways of thinking and organizing.

# Hearst Exposes Himself

WM. R. Hearst is the typical "friend of labor." He advocates high wages for the workers. At the same time he is trying to force compositors on his Seattle Post-Intelligencer to accept lower wages than those paid by his competitors.

The 1924 wage scale, accepted and being paid by other Seattle daily papers, provides for increases of 7 1-7 cents per hour for day work and 10 5-7 cents per hour for night work for compositors.

Hearst demands of his composing room "hands" that they accept decreases of 7 13-21 cents per hour for day work and 8 2-21 cents for night work on 1923 scale.

In other words, Hearst offers to pay the Post-Intelligencer compositors 14 16-21 cents per hour less and 18 17-21 cents per hour less than his Seattle competitors.

As a result, Hearst's Seattle compositors were forced to strike, and are now out, with strike-breakers filling their places.

As usual, union pressmen, teamsters, newsboys, and some dozen or more branches of "organized labor" are remaining at work and helping the strike-breakers to defeat their union brothers.

Not only is Hearst a typical "friend of labor," but so also, is A. F. of L " unionism."

**Don't waste your pennies on the Hearst press, in the belief that you are helping the working class.**

**Buy the IWW papers, such as Industrial Worker and Industrial Solidarity; also The Industrial Pioneer.**

# Pensions Exposed in Court

Some months ago Morris & Co., packers, merged with Armour & Co. The former had a pension fund. which the merger refused to take over and administer. Hundreds of aged employes were thus left without support in their last days.

Twenty-four of the Morris pensioners thereupon brought suit to compel the merger to establish a fund to guarantee payment of their pensions. The court proceedings attending these suits bring out the real nature of these subsidies.

"We have shown by the testimony of these pensioners that they refused offers of higher wages with outside companies because Morris & Co. held out the benefits that they would receive under the pension scheme," Mr. Armstrong, their counsel, said.

Reports of economic experts were read. These held that whenever pensions were paid by employers wages accordingly were lower than in places where no pension funds were maintained.

Pensions, then, are devices wherewith workers are underpaid, and, in cases of merger, cheated out of wages due to them. They are a means by which cheaper labor is secured and all labor is held in subjection. For it is a well-known fact that pensioners are loath to either strike or complain. They fear to imperil what they regard as their dearly bought old age fund.

Workers should object to pensions. They are uncertain of payment, as the Morris-Armour merger demonstrates; and they are destructive of self-reliance and labor unionism. Above all, they are devices wherewith to deny to labor the current rates of pay; which, in the long run, aggregate more than the pensions paid. That alone should condemn them; the other objections only serve to emphasize this primary rejection of pensions.

## Recognition

The Davenport, Iowa, ***Free Press***, organ of organized labor, recognizes a good thing when it sees it. Under heading,

## What to Read

It lists a number of foremost periodicals, like ***The Nation***, for instance; and includes, near head of list,

## The Industrial Pioneer

It also gives particulars as to contents, subscription rates, price per copy, address of publication, and so on. This growing recognition of Pioneer merits,

## Will Stimulate Readers

To Renewed Efforts in its Behalf; So We Pass the News On. Gives Us More Circulation. Pass On Your Copy. Order a Bundle for Sale. And Hustle in Subs.! All Together!!

---

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# Do You Know

## Ten Salient Facts About California?

CALIFORNIA has an average of nearly two earthquakes a week. The seismological report for 1923 gave a total of ninety-four shocks of varying degrees.

APPROXIMATELY 90,000 animals have been slaughtered to date, as a result of the hoof-and-mouth disease at a cost to the taxpayers of $3,732,406.41, and $45,000 more for property.

LAST year over eight hundred mortgaged farmers were driven from their homes in Sacramento County alone. This is one of the richest counties in the state. What of the poorest?

IN CALIFORNIA crops are burning up because of an acute water shortage, yet thousands of dollars are being spent to attract home-seekers.

FEW people know that a small group of individuals have stolen all of California's timber resources. (See report of Public Lands Commission).

OVER 150,000 children under the age of 13 were found working in California's various industries last year by investigators. Proving that child labor flourishes here.

RECORDS show California to be at the lowest of moral depravity. Conditions in Hollywood are too well known to require further comment.

NO STATE is more corrupt, politically, than California. Hardly a week passes without some new scandal involving officials of the state.

ILLEGAL stock selling and confidence men abound in California. Millions are lost annually through fraudulent stock sales —witness her oil swindles.

A CRIMINAL Syndicalism Law which sends workingmen to her "Twin Hells," San Quentin and Folsom, for from one to fourteen years if they dare protest against such infamous conditions, exists in California today.

! WE ASK you in the name of humanity to use no California goods and spend your vacation some other place.

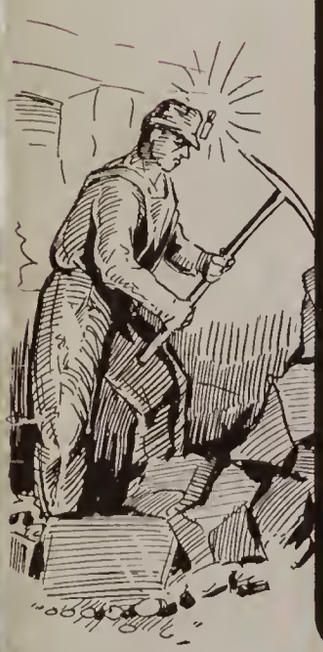
For further information communicate with California Branch General Defense Committee, Box 574, San Francisco, California.

## "Ask Us, We Know"

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 450, I. W. W.

# The Industrial Pioneer

## Mine Workers' Special Number



### Mobilize for Class War

### Events and Victims

A Complete Novelette

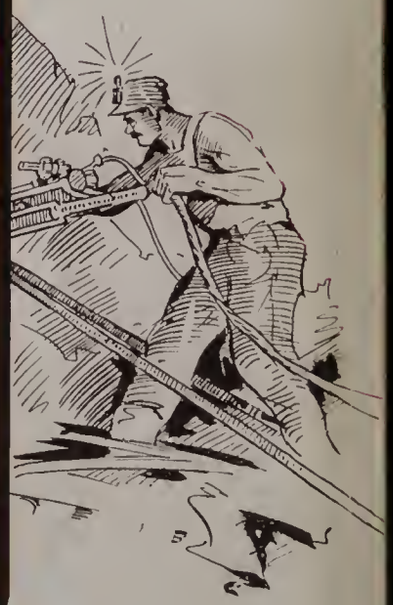
By Bartolomeo Vanzetti

### Moving Mountains

### Machine Revolutionizes Mining

Wobbles — Book Reviews

Biography — Cartoons



## SEPTEMBER

## 20¢

# An Illustrated Labor Monthly

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 450, I. W. W.

# Mobilize for Class War

September 12 is "Defense Day," is mobilization day for the capitalist class of America. They have set aside and appointed this particular time to try their military machinery, to fling great masses of men together; to drill themselves in their rapid equipment, and to play, just to practice, the art of manslaughter.

Just as a test, the capitalist class of America will try for a day to weld us all into a gigantic lightning-flashing, thundering weapon of menace, to have it lying ready at hand for the war lords of Wall Street to seize and wield like Thor's skull-splitting hammer our fathers believed in.

"Defense Day" is a day of doom, a day of death, to all workers—full of threat of war, begetting anger and fear in the debtor nations against whom it is a demonstration.

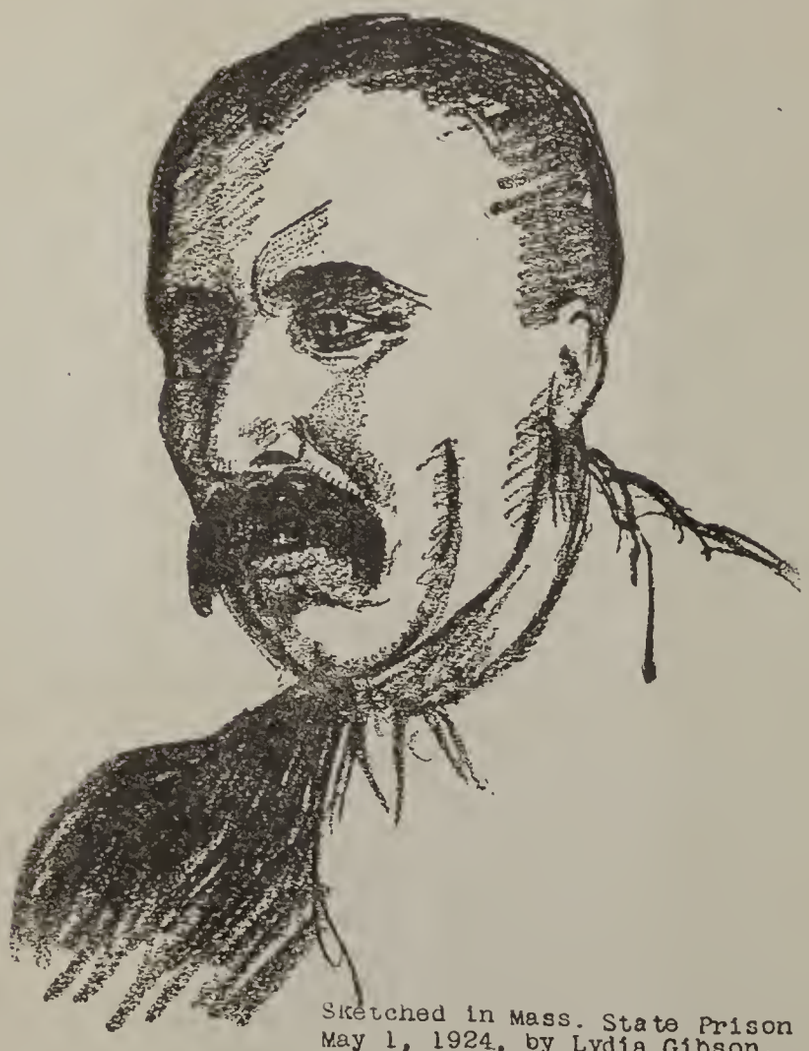
We workers reject this proposed war absolutely! We will have none of it! If Morgan wishes to collect his debts in Europe, let him go shed his own blood—not our blood.

But that is not enough. The hosts of murder and spoliation are in training.

We must be organized, too, and ready of speech; we must be determined; we must be trained, and aggressive, if we are to save them from the buzzard's feast the money masters are preparing for them.

We, the IWW, the fighting vanguard of the labor movement, must rally the working class; we must mobilize ourselves; we must oppose the army of toil to the army of massacre; we must assault, turn over, and entirely destroy this capitalist system that sets us tasks, and steals our sustenance, and sports with our lives. We must mobilize every day for class war, in the same spirit that Morgan mobilizes on September 12 for the cash war.

Join the IWW, and carry the red flag forward!



Sketched in Mass. State Prison
May 1, 1924, by Lydia Gibson.

## BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI

For four years now, Bartolomeo Vanzetti, and Nicola Sacco, the man whose name will go through history, inseparably connected with his, have been shut in a Massachusetts prison, with the electric chair staring them in the face. They were convicted of a payroll robbery in which men were shot, and the chief evidence against them was that they were radicals stirring the populace to anger with their story of the murder of another radical, Salsedo, killed by the Department of Justice and pitched out of the upper story of a New York skyscraper.

Both Sacco and Vanzetti are sensitive, poetical men, full of passion, loving life and liberty, and free air and warm, rich sunshine. They are suffering in that prison, waiting for the hot electric current with which capitalists mean to kill them.

# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Edited by VERN SMITH

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It should be understood by members and others who read this magazine, that it is the policy of the IWW to designate as OFFICIAL, any articles or policies which have the regular official sanction. ANYTHING NOT SO DESIGNATED, IS NOT OFFICIAL. All other matter herein contained is the mere personal expression of the individuals or individual, writing or editing the same.

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Vol. II. SEPTEMBER, 1924 No. 5.

# Events and Victims

By BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI

**A Story of How New Liberia Turned From the Arts of Peace to Those of War, and How the Workers Fared in the Transition—The Power of Movie and Press; How It Was Exerted to Effect the Great Change.**

THE events which I am going to relate to you, my reader, took place in New Liberia, where I wandered for many years, working from time to time, in many different places and under varied circumstances, as dishwasher, pastry cook, porter, storekeeper, gardener, laborer, fisherman; in short, earning my bread by the sweat of my brow wherever and in whatever way I could.

The western coast of that country, according to geologists, is being eaten away by the tides, and the land slowly but inevitably yields to the restless surges which stir it, submerge and cover it. The eastern coast, too, seems subject to the same phenomenon, at least at certain points with which I am very familiar.

Will this engulfment continue, or will it be stopped by one of the many still unexplained conditions which have determined and facilitated the infinite forms of matter and of life? Will they disappear, those shores so vast, so beloved and so desperately disputed; each bush, tree, cliff, rock and hill of which have been so bitterly contested by a handful of men poisoned by greed and folly? What destiny has time in store for that land all-possessed by a foolish and feverish human activity; strewn with shanties, slums and mediocre houses for its industrious working people; with villas and palaces for its idle or ill-occupied rich; with the gigantic creations of human genius and labor interwoven; with the marbles and tombs of its departed poets, sages, learned and proclaimed heroes? Will the blind seas sacrifice that land to their greedy gorges in order that the fabled Atlantises may raise again their heads, bowed many millenniums but still desirous of the light, to the mighty caresses of the sun? Or will that land be spared to witness the tragi-comic auto-destruction of the race; or to become the last receptacle and final grave of degenerated tyrants, deceivers and ruffians, and, from the last hour of the darkest age, to see the clear dawn of sane and free days arise?

* * *

The good New Liberians, instead of watching with philosophical inertia the invasion of the sea, think only of their sea-walls, and busy themselves with constructing and causing to be constructed great concrete walls along the most dangerously threatened points of the shore.

A gang of workmen—all foreigners, from the engineer to the humblest laborer—had been busy erecting one of these walls since the beginning of the spring. They had toiled so hard through the summer and the fall, that at the beginning of winter the work was almost completed.

"Well, in a few days I will be fired; I must look for another job," I told myself one gloomy afternoon, as I watched the fog slowly stealing from me the sea, the sky and the sun.

That night, instead of lying down to smoke and read, I did what I always do in such emergencies,

I went to the poolroom of my friend Gennarino, a very able, intelligent and enterprising barber. There the working men of the neighborhood spend their winter evenings reading, smoking, playing, disputing about politics and chatting about work. There one may learn news of the labor market in the vicinity.

"I hear they are looking for hands in Greenland"—a friend told me soon after I entered, "but I do not know anything for sure. Johnny who works there can tell you more about it."

I went out and walked towards the theatre, hoping to see Johnny, whom I knew to be passionately fond of moving picture shows. That night they were showing a screen version, a fragment of one of those romances which distort truth and realities; falsify history; provoke, cultivate and embellish all the morbid emotions, confusions, ignorances, prejudices and horrors; and, purposely and skilfully, pervert the hearts and, still more, the minds. The characters of these morbid melodramas are always of two opposite types, one very good, the other very bad. The good ones are the good folks who are always good, always do good, are always right, and in the end always triumph. The others are always bad folk, who are always wrong, always do evil and finally pay the penalty. Just the reverse of life!

Thus meditating, I reached the theatre. Of course it was, as usual, crowded to the doors. The common people, being all heart, with little brain and less knowledge, are passionately interested in such senseless stories, and not a scene escapes them. They develop a wild and unreasoning affection for the unreal characters of the unreally good, whose hatreds and loves, risks and triumphs they share, and,—and fervid hatred for and resentment against the unreal characters of the unreally bad gang. They lose their heads, weep, sigh, laugh, smile, fear, hope and throb, and, forgetting their cross and infamy, leave the theatre more stupid than when they entered it. So it is in New Liberia.

As the first performance of the show was still going on, I stopped in front of the main entrance of the theatre, and stood on the curb of the sidewalk. I felt sure that I would see Johnny come out of the show, or that he would see me; anyway, that we would meet. It was still early in the evening and many women were going back and forth doing their shopping, or taking an evening stroll. Some were alone, some in friendly groups, a mother and her daughters, or sisters together. I silently watched them, exchanging salutations with some, —all so familiar to my eyes, though so strange to me.

Beside me on the sidewalk stood a large group of men of all ages—the regular evening habitues of this particular point on the sidewalk. They looked the passing women up and down. They jokingly commented upon the age, walk, figure, face and family relations of each woman that passed. Feeling uneasy, I turned toward the street; almost unconsciously, I lifted my head. The fog of the afternoon had disappeared, the air was cold and clear, the sky cloudless. Beyond the foliage and branches of two fine old trees between which I stood, some stars appeared in the vast black concave of the sky. I looked at them thinking, contemplating, sensing my smallness, and, at the same time, the deepness and fullness of life! The small things and noises around my low level had disappeared, faded from my consciousness.

Just then I felt a hand upon my shoulder. I turned, and there was Johnny standing beside me, looking into my face with a smile—a smile that plainly said: "You fool you, to save a few nickels you deprive yourself of such pleasure as I have just enjoyed." We talked for a while and then separated. The next morning I was to start with him for Greenland.

On my way home I was churning in my mind: "What shall I do? The wages are lower than I am getting now, and furthermore, thirty cents train fare and an hour longer to work daily. Damn the government! But the winter is long, and there I shall be able to work every day regardless of snow, rain or wind. I will go."

The next morning I got to the station just in time to get my ticket and board the train. I found a seat beside Johnny, who had arrived in good season. As soon as the train started on its way, my friend began: "You see, Mr. Greenland's two factories were both closed at the beginning of the war; now, he has begun to manufacture cannon shells in one of them."

"Bombs," I interrupted.

"And now," my friend went on, "they are working day and night, and turning out great quantities of them. You can't imagine what terrible work it is—water, humidity, steam, smoke, smells, heat, fire, acids; a veritable hell. The wages are good, but there are certain kinds of work that nobody wants to do."

"I understand," I mumbled.

"The factory we are going to is manufacturing dyes and colors. Before the war these products were brought from Germany. Now they are made here."

Seeing that I was silent, he added: "Anyhow, the poor fellows are earning a living."

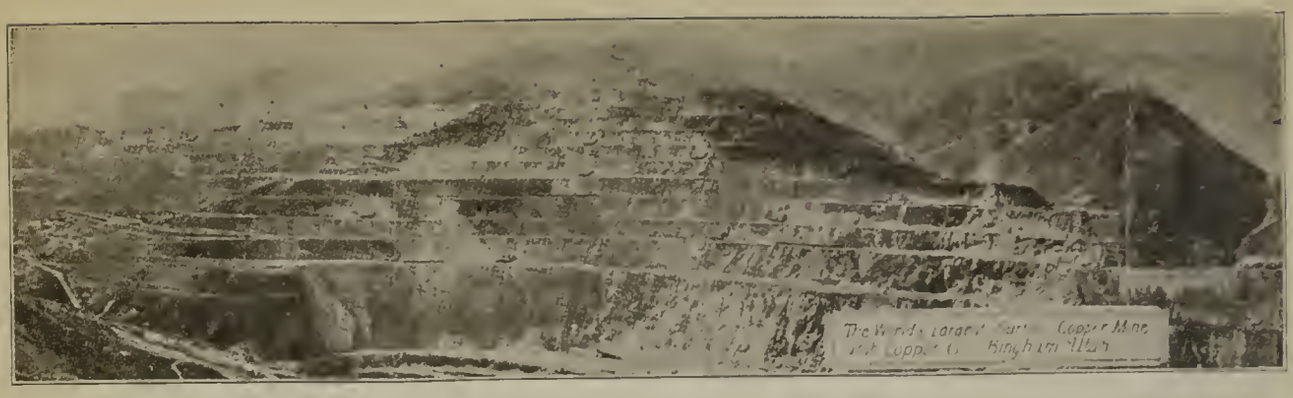
"Yes," said I.

I was not in a talkative mood because I felt the keen need of mental concentration. I was thinking.

There on the other side of the pond the war rages, destroying the flower of European manhood, covering those regions once beautiful by nature, and made more beautiful and wondrous by the hands and intelligence of all the bygone generations, with bloody and desolate ruins.

Here the human beings who have migrated from

(Continued on page 39.)



# Moving Mountains for Molehill Wages

By THE WORKERS OF BINGHAM

**AN ARMY of some 50,000 men," says an advertisement, poetically, "are blasting their way to the heart of the Pacific Northwest's mountain ranges:**
**"Battering in perpetual night at the treasure vaults of the centuries—**
**"And bringing up to the sunlight a million dollars of precious earth each day."**
**This it calls "a mighty episode in the epic of 'The Second Winning of the West.'"**

But what about the men—the miners—who, "battering in perpetual night," bring to the light of day minerals approximating an annual value of $300,000,000?

How do they fare in this "mighty episode"? What is their share of this $300,000,000? They surely must be rolling in prosperity, and steeped in riches such as would delight a Croesus or a Midas!

Unfortunately, one may read the advertisement in vain, but not a word will he find regarding wages, hours, or conditions of employment for labor. On this point, the advertisement is as still as a cemetery on an exceptionally quiet night.

The inference is, of course, that mine labor is well paid; and that to it goes most of this vast annual wealth production.

Nothing could be farther from the truth! The inference is not borne out by the facts, collected from a wide field of mining activity.

Throughout the Pacific Northwest,—in Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington and Oregon,—as well as California and Utah, the metal miners are paid low wages and work amid hard and dangerous conditions to make the dividends of the mining corporations higher every year.

Very truthfully, accordingly, can the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, say, for instance, in the booklet, "Utah's Importance as a Mineral State": "Dividends show large increase. The published divi-

(Continued on page 37)

THE GUNMEN OF BINGHAM CANYON

**A Private Army At Public Expense—Strictly Anti-Union**

# Machine Revolutionizes Mining

By BOB HORSELY

**Not a Static Industry, But One Undergoing Great Changes — Physical Labor Now Giving Way to Power Machinery—The Individual Miner to the Gang System—Miners' Unions, Guided by Wrong Economics, Politics and Competitive District Organization Unable to Meet Crisis of Unemployment that Has Developed—Working Class Principles and Industrial Unionism the Way Out.**

MINING coal appears to be a static industry. It seems to continue without change. But such is not the case. In the bowels of the earth, a change of methods is slowly taking place. This is revolutionizing the industry.

Each industry has a history of its own, from a primary commencement to a technical ending. Coal mining has its history also. But only a miner of long experience, who has seen its growth and advancement, can understand its phenomena.

I started mining at an early age. The mine where I worked had not introduced mining machinery, such as we see today. Modern methods were not known; and mining was done by physical labor applied to the pick, hand drill and shovel. It was a hard task to wrest the coal from where it was placed by Nature.

This mine was in England and conditions of labor in those days were very different from what exist today.

Coal mining, in any period, is a dangerous occupation. A man entering a mine is confronted with some kind of danger from gas, foul air, bad roof, wet work, or explosions. He must understand these things so that his fellow men will not be in danger from his ignorance.

The hours of labor for boys during my days in England were 10 hours a day. They used to go to work at 6:30 and return at 4:30. In winter, we saw sunshine one day a week and we used to thank the Lord on that day for allowing us to live for further exploitation.

Diggers worked 8 hours at the face, working on the two-shift system.

Many of the mines were wet. This had a bad effect on the health of the miners; and caused many premature deaths by its effects. It made the miners susceptible to many of the diseases rampant, such as miners' asthma, flu, etc.

The mines were worked on the block system. They did not have crosscuts, but had to convey the air to the face, by the use of canvas. Bad circulation of air was the result. The miners used open lights in some mines that were free from gas; but safety lamps where there was danger from gas. These lights were very bad for the eyes, causing a continual strain upon them.

The miners had to mine the coal and shear the left side before they were allowed to blast with powder. Drilling was done by the hand-drill. Foul air and wet work caused much dissatisfaction.

In the assignment of places, the companies had a system of "cavels" just the same a sa lotery. This occurred every three months. There was a district to be occupied and the miners worked in gangs of 4, and when their names were drawn out they went to that district. By this method, the companies hoped to even up the good and bad places among the miners and keep them satisfied. If the place was bad there was no chance of a change.

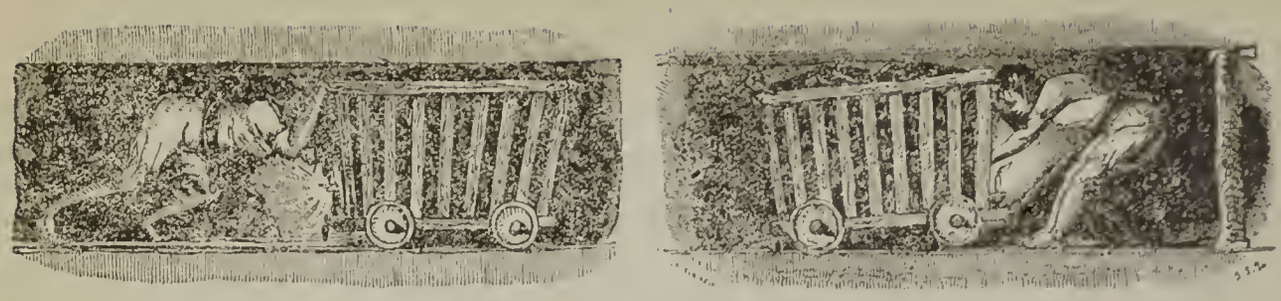
The houses were made of brick and were owned by the company. If a miner quit on account of conditions of labor, it meant evacuating the dwelling place also. There were no sanitary accommodations; open toilets, water faucets were on the street; and there were many other inconveniences. The companies just considered the miner a dumb beast of burden; and, judging by the parasites who lived from his labor, it would be wrong if we said he was anything else.

The companies charged the miners nominal rent, which was kept off the payroll. Only miners with large families occupied the large houses. This was done to make a man think of his family before he quit his job. It was a millstone around the neck of the slave, to keep him fastened to the mining industry.

### Organization Into Unions

Under such conditions, the miners organized into unions. The latter were so constructed that the economic weapon of the strike was rarely used. The miners' unions were political in their character and action. This has been mostly responsible for the rise of the English Labor Party. Because of the betterment of conditions by so-called laws in favor of Labor, the unions' methods of redress were influenced in favor of politics.

The unions ultimately found by experience that laws were always made in favor of the ruling class, irrespective of their alluring character.



Women's Work In Early Mining Industry—

For example: there was a protectionist policy passed recently which was to safeguard the interests of the mining industry. It was to work for the mutual benefit of both sides. After it became effective, 300,000 miners were paid £15,000,000 at a time when £6,000,000 was paid in royalties to a handful of parasites who owned the land by hereditary titles, acquired by fraud and stealing in the early years. In addition, profits were £11,000,000, which made a total of £17,000,000 of surplus value, derived from the socially necessary labor power of the coal miners.

Faced finally with conditions of starvation, the miners used the weapon of the strike, but, with the forces of the state arrayed against them, they returned to their miserable conditions.

The English miners' unions were not organized on the basis of the class-struggle. They were only a form of organization intended to extract from the owners a few mercenary rights surrounding the sections in which they were organized.

### Political Slogans

The use of slogans commencecd with the formation of the English Labor Party. Recently, they have been "Capital Levy," "Abolishment of Militarism," "Nationalization of Mines," "Old Age Pensions".

After years of struggle, the English Labor Party politicians are now in power. But having long visions and short memories they have forgotten their slogans. Instead, they build battleships, organize emergency measures to defeat strikes, etc.

They used to wear short pants when they went to work, . Now everything is "Democratic." Ramsay McDonald wears short pants to go with the King to church and hear the choir render that revolutionary hymn, "Fear Not O Land."

(No red flag there; it is out of place in a church as much as church should be out of place for a red.)

The English workers now begin to realize that the politicians were floating at anchor. Instead of following slogans blindly, they should have understood what they meant and organized as a unit to abolish the wage system and wrest the means of production out of the hands of the exploiter. Not nationalization, but confiscation, should have been their motto. The English unions must be organized into one organization to liberate the workers from the throes of reactionary despotism.

### Mining Advancement

In later years, English mining methods have improved. They now use the drilling machine, new methods of hauling and hoisting. With the quickening of production, the English miners are producing more coal. Although making more money in wages their style of living remains practically the same. Everything they buy has increased in price so that their wages have less purchasing power when they trade at the store. Real wages is therefore the actual **value** the worker receives in relation to the **value** he has produced. It always will remain so that the slave will be on a sliding scale of poverty as long as this form of exchange exists.

—Makes the Present Mining Employer Look Like This

The advancement in English mining methods displaced labor power, because machinery began to do the work formerly done by the miner and, consequently, he was discharged to join the unemployed. With no other work in sight, emigration was the only thing left for him and he was forced to seek a new country to follow his trade.

### Mining In the United States

Many English miners, arriving in the United States, soon found they had to learn anew. Other methods were in operation. There were different surroundings in their home life. The unions outside of mining were craft unions. The coal miners were organized in an industrial union; but this operated on a sectional or district basis. Contracts were signed separately and East was pitted against West during the negotiations to effect an agreement. The miners' demands were "decent conditions," "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," etc. These measures were only palliatives, a further step to more slavery.

Production of coal here was more intensified by the method of shooting off the solid. The miners in the old country did not mine under the coal but used black powder to blast it out. They could load more coal by this method. They worked entries and rooms.

Hauling was done by mules to the parting and by electric motor to the shaft. Before the union compelled them to shoot after the regular working hours, miners used to work amid that blinding smoke and there was always danger of an explosion.

### Mine Explosions

There is nothing more terrible than an explosion. It creates havoc and death wherever it strikes. Explosions are caused by varying conditions. Some by ignorance, such as lack of knowledge of the proper use of safety lamps. Some by accident and some by negligence on the part of the mining company. The last factor is seldom given as a cause.

All haulage ways should be kept in a damp condition. This keeps the air from affecting and stirring up the dust. This dust is a mixture and, when dry, contains the potential force for ignition. This dust will ignite and explode under pressure of warm air stampeded by the concussion from the effects of the shooting of coal. When these shots are fired, the concussion stirs up the air elements in passage ways. Friction ensues and, given the conditions necessary, an explosion will be the result.

Gas ignited sometimes will be local or pocket gas. But where gas is general, there are always some widows and orphans left. There have been a few explosions recently that tell their tale of suffering. The workers are always the recipients of these "benefits".

If one of the aristocrats of labor happens to be there, it is safe to assume that the incident will receive the attention of the press, more than the suffering of the victims who are left without the breadwinner to face this world in poverty and rags. I have seen the effects of a few and it is always the same.

### Conditions of Non-Union Miners

There is a competition continually manifested in the mining industry due to union and non-union production. The East and South are the sections in which most of these conflicts have taken place. Some of the items causing these conflicts may be of interest:

(1) In the non-union mines there is no check on the company and the miners are given a false weight on the coal loaded, sometimes getting 2 tons for a car containing 4 to 5 tons.

(2) The miners are not allowed to see the scales on which their coal is weighed.

(3) Company stores are maintained in defiance of the law against them and against forcing employes to trade in them under threat of dismissal.

(4) Miners are charged 20 to 100 per cent more than the normal selling price of goods and are virtually kept in the status of a feudal serf.

(5) The miners are paid in scrip only redeemable at these stores. They never see real currency and under this method are always in debt to the company.

(6) The companies control the ballot box; presenting the miners with marked ballots and threatening them with dismissal, unless they vote as ordered.

(7) Miners work in powder smoke and there is no inspection of the mines. They shoot when ready to do so. Explosions are always the sweetheart of this system of mining.

Many other items of intolerance could be stated but these few will suffice to show what the open shop means to the industrial worker in the mines.

### Fighting for Rights

A fierce fight took place to organize the non-union field; and many lives were sacrificed trying to better the miners' conditions therein. The miners succeeded on a small scale but not enough to be a power. The reactionary leaders, as usual, miles away from the struggle, gave their moral support.

In the strike ensuing, the atavistic culture of the 100 per cent mine-owners is manifested. Miners are evicted from the company houses. They have their furniture thrown into the street. Hundreds of miners are exposed to cold and hunger in tents, henhouses, and cow-sheds. Under conditions such as these, they live on coffee and beans. Children are born into the world in unbelieveable circumstances. They are targets for the amusement of the guards, and these buzzards of the master class feast on the misery of the miners in their ghoulish glee. Many miners are clubbed into insensibility because they defend their wives and children.

### Appeal for Aid

The appeal for aid is sent out; but the appeal for a general strike is not on the calendar. The mine-owners in other states, reason the union sages, are not responsible for the crimes committed elsewhere.

Union miners still keep the market filled with coal, earning a respite at the expense of the members of their own class who are fighting their battles.

(Continued on page 30)

Ontario Miners Live in These Boxes

# Nothing Whatever In Common

By
D. A. McKENZIE

I WISH to begin this brief statement of conditions of metal mining in Northern Ontario by drawing attention to the first paragraph of the I. W. W. Preamble:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." There is no place on the North American continent where the words are proved more certainly true than in the metal mining district of Ontario. Here we find the married workers who produce millions of profit every month living in little, box-like, insanitary hovels. Those of them that are not so lucky as to own a few pieces of furniture and a wife (who is a slave to a slave) live in vermin and disease infested boarding houses into which no profit-loving farmer would allow his stock for fear that they would contract disease and die off. In the mad rush for gold in these camps the young men of the working class of the world are being murdered, some of them slowly; others more quickly as when tons of rock crush the life out of their bodies. When such an accident happens a mock inquiry is held with the mine managers, captains and shift bosses present to intimidate any witnesses who might accidentally tell the truth and put the blame for these murders where it belongs: "On the profit system."

A short time ago the writer attended one of these farce inquests. When a witness would take the stand there were the managers, captains, shift bosses and other prostitutes of the corporation affected. They sat, piercing the witness with their eyes. An observer could see the witness reach out for the truth, then falter when those serpent-like eyes would cut into his thoughts; and with the threat of starvation staring at him there he, the witness, would wiggle through with the concocted evidence, give a kind of half-choking, half-terrified sound, and with the hunted look of an animal step down off that stand where men are supposed to tell the truth and nothing but the truth. Then sit scowling.

Let us examine the dividend statements of some of these robber corporations. Looking up reports we find the Hollinger Gold Mines at Timmins, Ontario, with a production of over six-millions of dollars for the first six months of 1924. We see dividends being paid every few weeks. To quote from authority, from the 26th of June to the 14th of July this mine paid a dividend of $246,000.

We find the Dome Mines close by producing $2,121,980 for the first six months of 1924, and paying $2 per share on one million shares. In this instance the workers receive $121,980, that is, counting all materials, machinery, etc., and the parasite receives $2,000,000. This is the history of practically all the mines in this district. For the first three months of 1924, there was produced in the mines of Ontario, $811,545,151. The workers received back in wages during that period $1,159,160. This was divided among all the workers who contribute their labor power either mining the ore or manufacturing the machinery for mining and milling the ore, producing timbers and all basic material required.

The workers of Ontario are producing 133 millions of dollars in gold and other metals per year, and receiving only $4,636,640. The miners of Ontario are each year handing over $129,863,160 worth of minerals to the parasite who never works. Here we must ask the question: Is there any other animal as docile as the miner of Ontario? I do not believe any other animal works like hell and hands over to another lazy animal practically all that he produces.

You say: What can we do to change this terrible state of affairs?

### How To Get It

Here the four-cycle internal combustion engine gives us an example of what to do. On the first stroke it organizes or draws in the combustible materials (Organization); on the second stroke it compresses them into a useful or properly assembled effective mass (Education); on the third or power stroke it takes up that energy which has been assembled in the previous strokes and **Bang!** that power is immediately transferred into useful energy (Emancipation); the fourth, or scavenger stroke, purges all exploded or useless gases, or that material that is of no further use (Abolition of Capitalism).

We therefore see a remedy for all these existing evils in the mining and all other industries, which is namely, to organize along scientific lines and educate the workers to the control of all industries. Then only can we expel capitalism and poverty from this earth as does the piston of the engine expel all useless gases from its cylinder.

# The Copper Situation

By LEE TULIN

**FROM the viewpoint of capitalist economists, the present outlook for the copper mining industry in the United States is not encouraging. Prior to a few year ago, a small group of American capitalists virtually controlled the world's copper industry, as 65 per cent of all copper production came from mines here. Most of the remainder came from small, scattered mines that had a high cost of production, and many of these were also owned or controlled by American capital. But in the past few years' great deposits of copper bearing ore have been discovered in South America and the Belgian Congo. No mines in the U. S. can compare with these in either richness of ore or in size of ore bodies, which means that the American stranglehold on the copper industry is about to be broken. This accounts for the pessimism and the comparatively low market price for refined copper.**

Nearly all of the copper mines in the United States have reached and passed the peak of their production, and are now on the down grade on the road to depletion of their ore deposits; or have reached a stage where profit—the incentive of all capitalistic enterprise—is nearly impossible. In this respect, copper mines differ from most gold, silver, and other mines. Copper mines are not worked out suddenly. They drift to a stage where great depth, low grade ore, heat or water and increasing cost of development make dividends impossible under normal conditions of the market.

### Copper God Is Jealous

With the American mines on the down grade, and the cost of production mounting every year, it means that the near future will see other than American financiers dominating the copper industry, unless they can get control of the South American and African properties. It is quite evident that this is the objective now, as a few months ago the Anaconda Copper Mining Co. purchased the entire holdings of the Chile Copper Co. Further concentration will undoubtedly follow.

### Visit Famine Upon Us

The Chile Copper Co. is at present producing 200,000,000 pounds of copper per year, and has enough ore in sight to last one hundred years at this rate of exploitation. The present production of the property can easily be more than doubled, which will undoubtedly be done; as consideration for the future generations is an unheard of quality with those who dominate the copper industry, and all other industries. In fact, instead of endeavoring to conserve Nature's lavish bounty, the object and hope of the profit hungry vultures of the Copper Trust seems to be to reduce resources as soon as possible so as to enable them to secure famine prices for what they have left; and to make it profitable for them to send men down into the dark, hot depths of their old, no longer profitable and abandoned mines to bring out what little can be salvaged of the large deposits of low grade ore that heretofore have been passed by in their mad rush for profits.

From a lecture given June 26th by Ira B. Jorelemon, before the Commonwealth Club of California, we glean the following:

**". . . In the developed ore reserves and the ore which may reasonably be expected from known districts, there is copper enough to last forty years at the present rate of production. New districts may add ten years more. So the copper shortage is probably far in the future. Even if consumption increases at the rate of ten per cent a year, which has been the rate of increase for the past twenty years, the shortage will not come for ten years or more. Unless the consumption increases much more rapidly than before, the copper industry must find some better solution to the problem than the HOPE of famine prices." .. .. "In the United States, the yearly consumption of copper per capita was, in 1923, 13.6 pounds. This is approached only by Belgium with 13.1 pounds. The average for countries of Western Europe was only 4.9 pounds. While in the Orient and in Russia less than half a pound was used for each person. If only the civilized countries of Western Europe used as much copper in proportion to the population as we do, the increased consumption would amound to 1,674,000,000 pounds per year. This possibility brings the HOPED FOR COPPER SHORTAGE MUCH NEARER."**

"Hope of famine prices." "Hoped for copper shortage." Hoping for the time when nature's resources of copper ore will have reached their dotage, knowing that they cannot be replenished! Longing for the time when all the world's' copper mines cannot produce copper enough to fill the needs of Humanity! Here we have a typical example of the psychology of our profit-mad rulers of industry. Never a thought nor a care for what the world will do when the great deposits of copper, the metal that to a great extent made our present industrial development possible, are gone. "We should worry" is still their slogan, despite the warnings of engineers and the statements of technicians that copper is indispensable and that there is no satisfactory substitute for it in electric power plants and transmission lines.

The trouble with those who hold title to the deposits of copper ore is that, after the war had ended, in their excessive zeal to bring the country back to "normalcy"—more work at less pay—they overlooked the economic fact that under normal conditions, where there is competition, commodities sell or exchange at their value. During the war, under abnormal conditions, copper rose to over 30c a pound. Consequently, with the memory of this ("blood money" still fresh in their minds it is hard for

them to now receive but twelve or thirteen cents.

Before the war, the world's copper production was approximately 2,000,000,000 pounds yearly. During the war, the production jumped to over 3,000,000,000 pounds per year, and this production was continued for nearly two years after the war had ended. Prior to the war, production and consumption of copper were practically evenly balanced. As fast as new methods of production were introduced, as fast as new mines were opened up, new uses and needs for the metal were developed. The copper producers had no difficulty in selling at a good price all the copper they could produce. During the war, their problem was production, as production could not keep pace with the demand. But now, due mainly to the extensive surface steam shovel operations and the man killing speed-up system that has been introduced and submitted to underground, the problem has changed from one of production to that of finding markets. The problem is the same in all industries. Because workers are so numerous and so extremely productive that periodically millions of them are unable to find work, a worker, one who merely produces commodities, receives very little consideration under capitalism. But, a salesman, a good salesman, one who can go out and sell people things that they do not want or need is considered invaluable. Thus we now have a "Copper Research Association," sponsored by the leading copper companies to find new uses for copper, and to induce manufacturers to use copper where they have formerly used some other material. We also have an army of salesmen to try and convince the people, that, instead of buying things made of wood, iron, nickel or some other metal or material, they should buy what is made of copper.

### Hail! The Gang's All Here!

The Anaconda, Phelps-Dodge, Calumet, Guggenheimer, Utah and Clark interests control the copper industry of the U. S. Of these, the Anaconda, of Standard Oil affiliations, is the largest. Besides having title to approximately 90 per cent of the ore in Butte's famous "Richest Hill in the World," which in itself is a larger holding than that of any other company, they own or control extensive holdings in Arizona, California, Mexico and South America. Their latest acquisition in Arizona is the New Cornelia properties at Ajo. This mine will soon be producing 100,000,000 pounds of copper per year.

While these great companies have been organizing, concentrating, expanding and forcing smaller producers to the wall, what have the men who have sweated and toiled to mine the copper, and those who mill and smelt it been doing? Have they followed the example of the owners and organized themselves into a powerful economic organization that represents their interest? It is regretable that the answer is, "No," for the industry as a whole. Although the nucleus of a powerful

**Machine Miners Get Copper Out Fast**

organization has been built among the miners, there is yet no semblance of such an organization among the mill and smeltermen.

The smelters are the key positions of the industry. The smeltermen hold the most strategic position, due to the fact that a sudden strike in a smelter would mean the immediate loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars to the owners. This is a fact that the boss realizes full well. And understanding the menace to his profits by the presence of a militant labor organization, to check this, he has encouraged the reactionary Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' International Union of the AFL and in many places the check-off is in effect.

### "There's Power in the Union"

The great stack of the East Denver smelter, which still stands, is a monument to the economic power of smeltermen. No smoke has soiled the heavens from this stack—once the highest west of the Mississippi—since July 5th, 1903, when a strike was called and all the metals in the furnaces were "froze," never again to pour their stream of profits into the owners' greedy clutches.

The process of taking ore from a mine and converting it into refined copper requires three months' time. The present supply of refined copper in the U. S. is but slightly over 200,000,000 pounds. This is only enough for one month's consumption. It is doubtful if the surplus of refined copper will ever appreciably rise above this figure, as the copper companies do not care to tie up money in surplus stock. This means that a thirty day strike in the copper industry would wipe out every pound of surplus, bring about copper famine; and assure victory.

This is but the beginning of the age of electricity. The great power plants cannot live without copper. The copper miner's day is nigh if he will but organize in his Industrial Union of the I. W. W.—the METAL MINE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 210.

# The Labor Press; Past and Present

IN a lamentation against the "proverbial ingratitude of democracies," The Nation, as quoted in the article on Terence V. Powderly, to be found elsewhere in this issue, declares:

"Labor does not honor its past; labor papers are born and die whose editors never suspect that Boston had a labor daily in the sixties."

The latter charge cannot be truthfully alleged against the editor of the Industrial Pioneer. He has in his possession a little leaflet issued by the American Bureau of Industrial Research conducted by the University of Wisconsin. It is entitled, "Report of Work, 1904-1906."

Therein we learn of the discovery of files of 9 labor papers published in this country between 1827 and 1837. One of them is, "THE MAN, of New York, a penny daily published from 1834 to 1835, and said by James Gordon Bennett to have been the first penny paper in this country." From which it is easy to see that that Boston labor daily of 60 years was not the first nor the most remarkable of its kind. There were others, that surpassed it in many ways, even before its advent.

There have also been other labor dailies since that Boston one. There is the New Yorker Volkszeitung, now 50 years of age and the oldest labor paper extant. In 1886, it made possible the launching of The Leader, a daily organ of the Henry George mayoralty campaign of that year. Then came The Daily People, Socialist party organ, launched about 1900. Later came the Socialist party's New York "Call" and still later the Leader. All are now defunct. So is is the Minnesota Star. The Milwaukee Leader and the Seattle Union Record are still with us. So are the Jewish Forward, Daily Worker, and Il Lavoratore, lately arrived in Chicago.

Industrialisti, begun in 1914, at Duluth, Minn., is the only daily I. W. W. paper in existence. It is printed in Finnish. There has been some talk of making The Industrial Worker, twice-a-week I. W. W. organ, a daily, too. But nothing actual has transpired yet.

We like to talk about the labor press, without realizing how really insignificant it is compared with either labor's importance, or the capitalist press, whose poisonous propaganda it is created to combat. As shown above there are just a half-dozen dailies devoted to as many labor elements. They are scattered all over the country. While this is a big improvement over previous conditions and therefore worthy of encouragement, it still leaves much to be desired.

Compare these six dailies with the daily press of New York City for instance. Says a recent survey:

"New York City now has seventy-seven daily newspapers, printed in fifteen languages. These seventy-seven papers circulate daily in practically every corner of the city. There are thirty-two foreign language papers, enjoying a circulation of over one million. Seven papers are devoted to the interests of the boroughs of the greater city. Of the seven financial papers, three dominate the field with 90 per cent of the circulation. Class papers add twelve to the list. Finally two small papers are issued by colleges in the city. The total circulation of these papers is far over 5,000,000. Over $100,000 a day is spent by citizens of New York for their newspapers. There are 15,000 people employed by the newspapers of New York. If those indirectly employed by the papers were counted in, the figure would be much higher."

Consider what this flood of 5,000,000 daily circulation means to the labor press! Why, the latter is simply overswamped, drowned out in this overwhelming deluge of words, words and words. Under the circumstances, the labor press certainly needs development; it needs increase in numbers and efficiency. In The Federated Press, there is a good beginning towards this end. This is a new departure in labor publications. Its membership is approximately 200 labor and liberal papers. While this does not bulk very large, as compared with the Associated, United and Universal, Press, with their thousands of member papers and ramifications all over the world, it is an encouraging showing in the right direction.

Another thing that will help to build the labor press is a better working class understanding of its problems and difficulties. The workers generally expect the labor press to duplicate the capitalist press in every way; if not surpass it. They fail to realize that the capitalist press is an evolution, in which big capital and trained ability of the highest order play the most important parts. The workers on the contrary, expect the labor press to subsist and thrive on poverty and with the most undeveloped staff and environment possible.

The workers should realize that getting out newspapers is a giant job, requiring lots of capital and ability; and they should hasten to secure both for the labor press by giving their pennies to the support of its various publications, instead of the capitalist press, which is engaged in stifling labor's aspirations in every direction.


**INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY**

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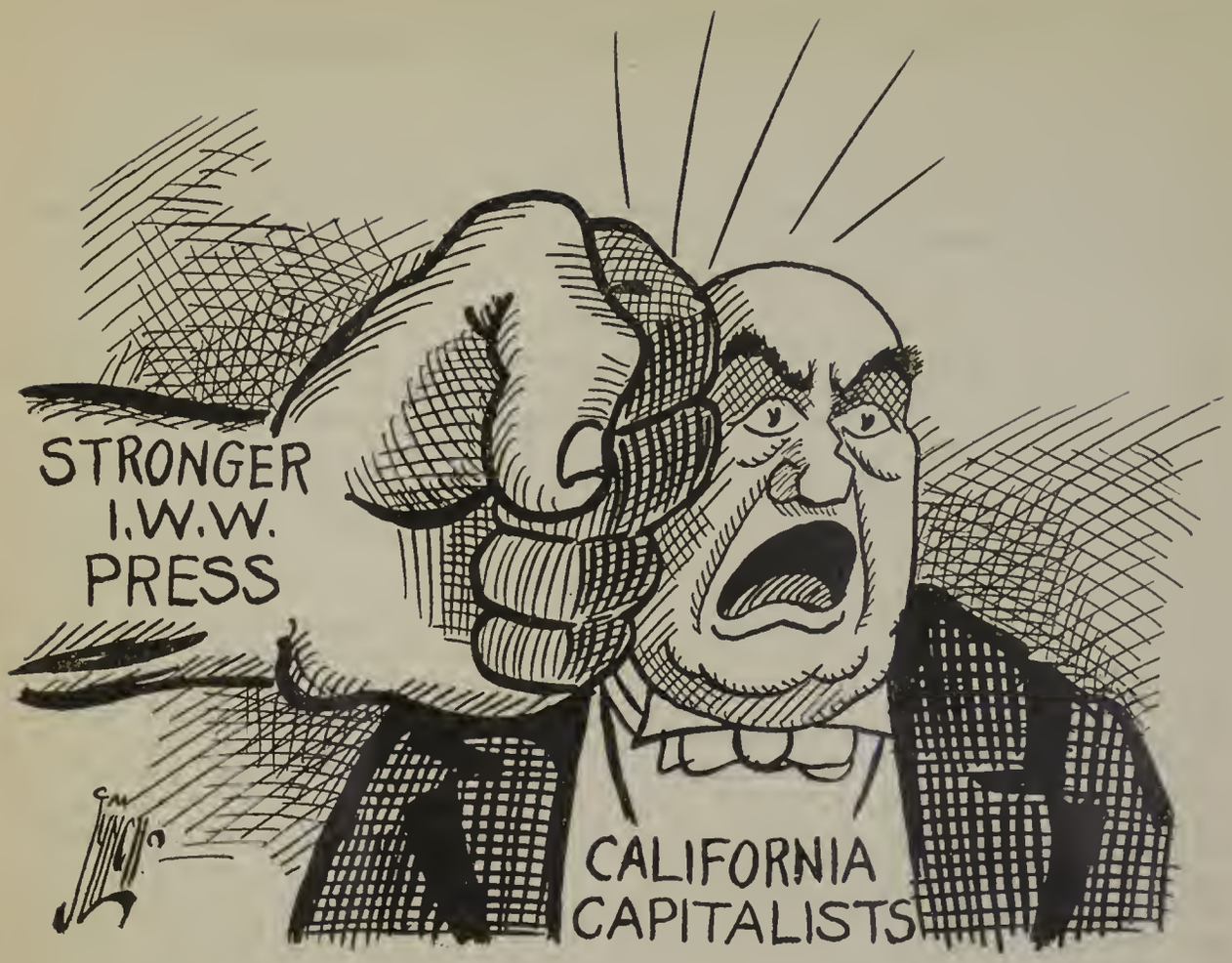



# Let's Strike Back

IT isn't necessary to tell again the story of California. It isn't necessary to remind the workers who read this magazine that the capitalist's gunmen, the bloody mob of Ku Klux Klansmen who raided the IWW hall in San Pedro on June 14 have got their victim, at last. The IWW weekly and semi-weekly papers have told the details of the death of Mrs. Lizzie Sunstedt, our fellow worker, brought to the grave by injuries sustained during the raid, complicated by the worries and difficulties into which she was thrown through having to care for her little daughter May, who was scalded so badly by the same mob.

No, we think all who read the IWW papers know these things. We think they know enough about the horrors of San Quentin's jute mill where union men are confined until their lungs give way from the dust, just because they will not promise to surrender their cards in the Industrial Workers of the World, the only union of the migratory worker, and the hope of Labor everywhere.

We think they know of the thousand and one other infamies: the perjuries, the frame-up, the police consenting to gunmen's violence against the IWW, the fate of Mooney and Billings, still languishing in prison, and of the Wheatland hop-field pickers, still suffering through their terms of life imprisonment.

What, indeed, is the use of telling you all these things again?

Let us remedy this situation at once. Let us tighten up the lines, grit our teeth, and hit the enemy and hit him hard.

We must be more aggressive. We must fling ourselves into the business of educating and organizing with greater zeal. We must carry the battle into the enemy's territory. Our answer to the California outrages must be greater resistance when raided, and ceaseless, day and night effort to build up an organization that can meet the raiders half way and take them by the throat.

NO MORE NON-RESISTANCE. **There's nothing in this bunk about turning the other cheek! If you do it in California, they pour boiling oil on it!**

# Does Labor Prevent Thought?

By JANE STREET

**One of the Big Questions in the Minds of Thinking Revolutionists Is One Dealing With How the Workers Will Ever Be Able to Voluntarily Submit to the Monotony of Machine Production.—The Article Following Hints Indirectly at a Solution of this Problem.**

**IT is commonly admitted, though without statistical proof, that the skilled worker is less revolutionary than the unskilled; the reason usually assigned therefor being that the mind of the skilled worker is so engaged with his work that he has no time to think of revolutionary matters.**

**In line with this argument is the preconception that the unskilled workers so greatly outnumber the skilled that taken en masse their potential power renders the revolutionizing of the skilled workers of minor importance, until, as one writer expressed it, "cataclysmic changes jar them into functioning."**

This latter statement involves a rather befogged outline as to just what the revolution is, as contrasted with the clearly-painted and well-defined scheme of organizing the workers industrially as an imperative revolutionary prerequisite, as conceived by the IWW.

**IWW Not an Organization of Unskilled Workers**

It is not true that the IWW is an organization composed mainly of unskilled workers. The agricultural worker, irrespective of what he knows about the seeds, soil, the growth and fecundity of plant life, furnishes the technological skill and knowledge necessary in manipulating the machinery of agriculture. Nor is it merely the unskilled workers engaged in machine production who have gravitated toward revolutionary organization. The handicraftsman is not unrepresented: The woodsman wields his axe, a hand tool, with the most marvelous dexterity. The seaman performs most unusual feats of skill with his rope, to say nothing of the self-discipline evinced by scaling the dizzy heights to which in his work he must become accustomed; besides which is his maritime knowledge and skill in handling the big machines of transportation which plow the ocean from continent to continent. Nor must we leave out of consideration the miners,—for instance, the tunnel workers, those magnificent fighters on the Hetch Hetchy project toward whom the heart of the "revolutionary-minded" is still beating its silent applause. The IWW embraces all these skilled workers.

**Classification Into "Skilled and Unskilled" Out of Date**

But the classification of the working class into "skilled" and "unskilled" is peculiarly out of date. The distinction is hardly noticeable in the machine age; the differentiation is of no consequence to the proletarian; and the bourgeois statistician fails to compile any figures in regard thereto. It belongs primarily to the ideology of the AFL craftsman, placed there in the very early days of craft unionism, when he depended on winning his strike on the fact that his work could not be performed by the uninitiated or unskilled. For reasons of expediency, he continued to regard himself as "skilled" long after the machine process and the specialization of labor rendered his trade, so far as manual operation and previous preparation were concerned, oftentimes on a level with the unskilled.

The preparing of the suds of dishwater so that grease will not adhere to the cooking or eating utensils and to the receptacle in which they are washed (which ought to be regarded as an important act of social service!) requires as much skill and technological knowledge as the mixing of mortar in building a house, and more mental and manual finesse is required in the handling of the dishes than in the carrying of the hod. But the job of dishwasher, unlike that of the hod-carrier, has never been dignified by being described as "skilled labor." The self-complacency of the craftsman is not due to his "superior knowledge" but to his higher wages; not to his creative interest but to his greater sense of economic security.

**Skill Does Not Require Mental Application**

So also the contention that the skilled worker is obliged to think about his work (and hence pres-

**A Wobbly Trying to Make 'Em Think**

ent an argument for increased wages for his particular craft!) is a curious bit of old-time craft unionism propaganda. The very meaning of the word "skill" precludes the idea of the necessity of conscious mental effort. It presupposes a task which repetition has rendered automatic. Work which requires conscious thought cannot properly be described as "skilled."

All labor requires thought. "Unskilled" labor is merely labor which the generality of human beings have acquired the skill to perform, such as sweeping, tamping, shoveling, etc. The mental application necessary in learning these movements it is impossible to estimate. They involve the tedious efforts of infancy in learning the co-ordination of muscles, ability to judge distances, etc. Man has a curious little habit of making his hands think for him. This leaves his brain free for further exploits.

The amount of thought required, or the amount of time the thought process requires (the time element being immeasurably short!) of a porter sweeping a doorway and that of an electrician in placing a wire through a hole in a wall is about the same. The porter must know where the dirt is and the electrician must know where the hole is.

**Workers' Brains Not Single-Track Affairs**

An electrician can install the most delicate electrical apparatus, say in a modern office building—can pick out his tools without error, fasten the parts of the equipment together without hesitation, test the finished job to his entire satisfaction, while all the while he can be talking to the office stenographer about some American Legion dance; and in the meanwhile she has transcribed her shorthand notes and typed a business letter that is a perfect masterpiece of "brain work." Yes, just as well as a bell-hop can carry a grip, a pitcher of water and a parcel to three different room numbers without a mistake, all the while sizing up some new guest for tips, figuring out with more or less accuracy, his business, disposition, family affairs, destination and the probable size of his pocketbook, and cursing him inwardly (the only part of the whole mental process, perhaps, which takes on the form of words!) for his class-conscious arrogance. And the dentist in performing his dignified scavenger work does not have to review all that he has learned in college about the composition and decomposition, formation and growth of teeth when he looks in your mouth, but after the momentary mental effort required to size up the case, he proceeds to apply his skill—provided, of course, that he has had experience enough to become skillful—with his mind possibly as free to roam as that of a "gandy-dancer." And if a carpenter can't drive a nail and not think about it, he isn't a carpenter; if he can't put in a window and ruminate on the chances for industrial freedom if he wants to, he is not used to putting in windows—he is not a skilled worker at all.

**Ways In which the Worker's Mind Is Tied To His Job**

It is granted, of course, that mental application is exacted in many occupations in connection with both skilled and unskilled labor. The chiropractor, who is properly speaking a mechanic, must weigh carefully certain considerations before applying his mechanistic knowledge of the human spine to the requirements of the patient before him. Were the machinery of the human body less complicated, the weighing process would resolve itself down to that of a stationary engineer in looking after the needs of his particular pattern of engine.

In the running of a streetcar, a locomotive engine, an elevator, an automobile or tractor, the sewing machines in garment factories or the looms in the textile plants, however automatic the workers' operation of the machines themselves may become there must always be in the background of the mind of the operator, an alertness, a keen judgment for details, a sense of responsibility which preclude the possibility of anything like a restful attitude of mind. This is characteristic of the machine age. The average worker nowadays performs in a matter of fact way, work, commonplace jobs, which considering the points of speed, responsibility and regularity, would have driven our ancestors to immediate nervous prostration.

In the pecuniary management of industry there are great armies of "mental" workers. These are machine operators. They operate the telephone, the typewriter, the adding machine, the dictaphone, the multigraph and mimeograph machines, etc. Although their clothes and hands are unsoiled, these workers bear all the earmarks of the machine process. The great god Machine breathes into them its breath of life—speed, responsibility, regularity. They are all keyed up to an approved American standard. In practically all large telephone exchanges in this country are hospital rooms, where operators who have fainted or become hysterical or who have become otherwise temporarily incapacitated, are given medical assistance gratuitously by the telephone companies. The large percentage of cases of nervous prostration among stenographers is a matter of common knowledge. They are all highly skilled workers. Their efficiency is gauged, not by the degree of concentration they are able to bestow on the operation of their various machines, but upon the extent to which their minds are free for other minor important details, the operation of the machine having become automatic.

A telephone girl, after months and months of careful training must be able to break in on the line of the "B" operator, busy with an incessant string of numbers, and, finding a pause of a few seconds, pass her call and get her trunk line. She must be able to pull down her cords and put in her plugs automatically, her mind must be free from the bewilderment of the unskilled, before she can

funetion in modern industry—in this age or in any other. Otherwise she is as incompetent to perform her task as a ehild of six years is to sweep a house. A stenographer who must use conscious mental effort every time she pushes down the shift key or the back-spacer of her typewriter eould never get out the correspondence of a modern business office. In faet, matters of punetuation, spelling, the transeribing of shorthand notes, and sometimes the eopying of typewritten pages may beeome automatie. In evidenee of this last instanee are eases of stenographers who have failed to reeognize page after page of words they have eopied, the same having left no traee on their conseious memories! A bookkeeper whose mind must be so engrossed in the use of an adding maehine that he will make a mistake in his figures if anyone says to him, "Give us a grand total, too, please" isn't effieient enough to hold a job.

These "mental" workers deal in words or figures, spoken or written, all day long. Their minds are probably chained to their jobs more than those of any other class of workers. To enslave the worker's mind by such a process, however, so completely that the thought of rebellion has no time to enter, is an impossibility.

### One Thought that Was Born In Labor

If the human mind thought in words alone sueh might possibly be the ease. But great truths come crashing down upon the human intellect, having little to do with words, and asking afterwards for expression. At the very point in the slave's life where his mind might have been totally enslaved, rebellion is **born**! The IWW never originated in the restful mind, in brains unstimulated by aetive hands!

In faet, where no rebellion exists the propaganda of the IWW is misunderstood, repulsed. Words never make rebels; at most they ean augment rebellion, develop it, express it. Words that express unheard-of, undreamed-of ideas make little impression on the human mind. To be a rebel a man has to be a slave, a worker; to build a new soeial order, to come to eomprehend its possibilities, he must organize and let his intelleetual insight unfold with the exeeution of the plan.

### How Do We Think?

Who knows, perhaps man's natural way to think is to do? Perhaps the modern "projeet method" of edueation for ehildren is applieable to all mankind. How tediously and painfully man has set himself to the job of thinking! From time immemorial he has coneoeted various poisons which stimulate the brain but in the end destroy him. The male has required of the female that she inspire him to effort, and failing has cursed her for his failure. How tragic is that great silent army of human beings in this age who earry with them to the grave the knowledge of their own latent talents which they laeked power to develop. With what bitterness and shame they secretly eondemn themselves for not unehaining these saered impulses within them that so shriek out for expression! Only a few geniuses have been abnormal enough to achieve sueeess, whom investigation shows to be physieally related in many cases to the insane. The thinkers, in this age in whieh we live, go into the silenee and grope about their ancestral brains and by the use of words diseover ideas which had never oeeurred to them before, veritable gems of thought, truths whieh merit the admiration of the world. Whenee eame these truths? Perhaps they are but the grooves left there by some former doer of things.

### Future Possibilities of the Intellect

Perhaps in some future age man in making an automaton of part of his intelleetual powers will use the faet toward the advaneement of the other parts. Lesson two will follow in the wake of lesson one. The willing hands onee thinking will whisper to the mind to think on much farther! Thought will beeome a spontaneous thing! Improved methods of produetion, seientifie diseovery and invention will suggest themselves to the liberated minds of the automata of industry! The human mind will be able to grasp the interrelation of all human aetivities. Spiritual truths, philosophieal explanations, historic faets will no longer eonstitute the esoteric knowledge of the eapitalistic universities, where edueation is a means of soeial prestige for further enslaving the workers, but Labor no longer despised or inarticulate, balky or beggarly, will take to her bosom her prodigal offspring!

### IWW Only Human Institution Ever Based On the Instinct of Workmanship

This might be possible if mankind's instinet for workmanship were given a ehanee for development under maehine production. But everywhere we find this instinct on the deeline, a faet the IWW regrets but utilizes.

Yes, he utilizes it. He knows that a real interest in work is ineompatible with a feeling of rebellion. An agitator thrown in the midst of a group of satisfied, interested workers finds himself a misfit.

Where are the workers who love work? Where are the wonderful artisans of the age preceding us? Where are the beautiful produets of their handiwork? The wage system and maehine production have destroyed them. The instinet of workmanship under maehine produetion must beeome a specialized instinct and the only element in present eivilization whieh tends to develop and soeialize this instinet is the organization of those workers with a view to owning the industries themselves and elaiming full interest in the produet of their soeialized toil.

The IWW recognizes the faet that the progress of mankind from the brute stage to its present day eivilization has been due to this same instinct of workmanship, whieh the ignorant aecuse him of destroying! Yet his organization represents the only

institution in the history of the world based fundamentally upon respect for this particular human proclivity. He is the only known conservator of it. He is the scientist who makes use of rebellion. He would make a new world where brute force and war, where the predatory civilization of today, would cease to exist, because of the organized determination of the workers not to uphold it! He would make a new world that would be based upon the productivity of the workers, masters only inasmuch as they were makers of the world's wealth; he would make a world based on the limitless capacity of the human intellect to create and perfect, to plan and to execute, and where the beauty of the sex instinct might keep apace with this its less notorious sister, the instinct of workmanship.

# Ten Years Later

## If the Dead Could Speak

By VERA MÖLLER

Beneath the earth our heads lie low,
Above us summer poppies grow.
How kind and soft would seem the sod,
How calm would be our rest, Oh, God!
If those we loved we knew were warm—
Untouched by want—safe in the storm.
For us the poet's fancy weaves
Sweet rest 'neath palls of poppy leaves,
But sometimes, from each narrow bed,
See dear ones' homes and know if there
The hearths are cold and cupboards bare,
We see them ground against the wheel
And flinch for every pang they feel;
Those things for which we died, how far
From what our search reveals, they are!
By turns we've wept, cursed and laughed
To find corruption, greed and graft;
The blackest of war's prison hells
Was not more foul than those dark cells
Where men are cast for speaking truth.
We view the land and find, in sooth,
The very crimes of which we sought
To free her, when we bled and fought,
See hunger, waste in banquet halls,
And turn when back each grave-house calls.
I ask the comrades at my side:
"Did they break faith with us who died?"
Then thru the silence speaks each wraith,
"Let them break faith, let them break faith;
Seek to defile its flame—the torch
We tossed to them—'twill sear and scorch.'
Then said one spirit, " 'Tis not so,
Take this one thought 'ere ye lie low:
The growing boy may soon forget
His brother's wrongs will rankle yet,
The world's a house, war like a storm
Tore thru its walls deemed safe and warm,
But like a storm, brought fresh clean breath
To close shut rooms that smelled of death,
As winds sweep dust and webs away,
Drove out old beliefs that bred decay;
Those men in old traditions shut
Of kingly right, torn from the rut
To battlefields and hailed as men—
Will they be humble slaves again?
Though men seem foolish, mad or blind,
Look around you, seek, and you shall find
New forces working, minds grown clear
To grasp the truth and banish fear;
And truth shall triumph, tyrants yield,
So rest at last in Flanders field.

Would They Be Slaves Again?

# Terence V. Powderly

**A Power Among The Workers Forty Years Ago, He Dies In Washington Almost Unkown And Forgotten—An Office Holder For Over a Quarter Of A Century. What Was The Secret Of His "Pull"?—And What Was The Knights Of Labor, Of Which He Was The Master Workman At The Climax Of Its Great Career?**

THERE died in Washington the other day a man whose end recalled both his one-time greatness and his present obscurity. His passing created a stir, that is, it served to recall the man and his career in its many phases. The Dearborn Independent of July 19, 1924, for instance, contained this brief notice of his death and his by-gone influence:

"Terence V. Powderly is dead. Thirty years or more ago this announcement would have caused genuine sorrow among millions, but today few will remember the power he exerted. For Terence V. Powderly was once the most powerful labor leader in the world.

The Nation of July 16 is neither so brief nor curt when treating the same subject. It draws some morals therefrom as follows:

"Terence V. Powderly died in Washington the other day almost unknown and forgotten. Forty years ago he was a power in American life. For fourteen years he was master workman of the Knights of Labor, leader, in his prime, of 700,000 organized workmen. Few labor leaders retain their leadership, like Samuel Gompers, into old age; most suffer the proverbial ingratitude of democracies. Powderly outlived his movement. Not many labor leaders today know his name; most would be surprised to hear that a Labor Party candidate had been thrice elected mayor of Scranton, as Powderly was in 1878, 1880, and 1882. Labor does not honor its past; labor papers are born and die whose editors never suspect that Boston had a labor daily in the sixties. The Knights of Labor gave way to the better organized and less vaguely idealistic Federation in the early nineties; Powderly took a government job and became a Republican Party orator—and the news of his death sounds like a moan from a musty encyclopedia."

The United Mine Workers' Journal contains the following article on Powderly's passing:

**"Former Head of Knights of Labor Dies in Washington**

"Terence V. Powderly, general master workman of the Knights of Labor, when that organization was militant, died suddenly at his home in Washington, D. C., on June 24. He was internationally known as a Labor leader and when the Old Knights of Labor was at the height of its power he directed the organization with a skillful hand and won many notable victories.

"Mr. Powderly was born in Carbondale, Pa., in 1849 and was chosen chief of the Knights of Labor in 1879. He resigned as head of the organization when it was supplanted by the newly organized American Federation of Labor.

"In 1878, he was elected mayor of Scranton, Pa., and served three terms and was very successful as an administrative officer. He was admitted to the bar in 1894 and since 1897 had been connected with the Federal government in some capacity. At the time of his death he was chief of the division of information. He was the author of several books on labor subjects and made many addresses over the country during his career as an active labor leader.

"Mr. Powderly watched with interest the growth of various labor organizations and there was never an international convention of the United Mine Workers that he did not telegraph his good wishes and a labor sentiment for the delegates. The body of the labor leader was buried in Washington and the funeral was largely attended.

"On the day of the funeral, June 26, the Board of Review, Immigration Service, and other branches of that service with which Mr. Powderly had been associated for so many years, suspended business and attended the funeral in a body. The honorary pallbearers were from the Department of Labor and were chosen from the close personal friends of Mr. Powderly. They were: James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor; Judge W. M. Smelser, Kansas; Hugh L. Kerwin, Director of Conciliation; G. W. Love, Ohio; Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, and Judge F. J. Phillips, New York."

Lawrence Labor (Lawrence, Mass.) of June 29, has this to say about the same subject:

**"POWDERLY DEAD**

**"Man Who Sold Out Knights of Labor Expires After Years of Soft Government Job.**

"Terence V. Powderly, for many years General Master Workman of the old Knights of Labor, died Tuesday at his Washington home.

"Like many other labor fakirs, he wound up in a soft government job at Washington. Besides being active in politics, he served as Commissioner General of Immigration under McKinley and later as Chief of the Bureau of Information in the Department of Commerce and Labor.

"In 1893 he resigned from the Knights of Labor. In the general strike for the eight-hour day agitation in 1886-87 he was suspected of knifing the movement in the K. of L. by issuing secret circulars opposing the move. His treachery at the time began the disruption of the Knights of Labor, which, was the One Big Union movement of its day and very powerful, at one time enrolling more than a million members.

"Powderly's reward for his labor treachery came in the form of political successes and government jobs. He was also a practicing lawyer. In his early working days he was a railroad worker."

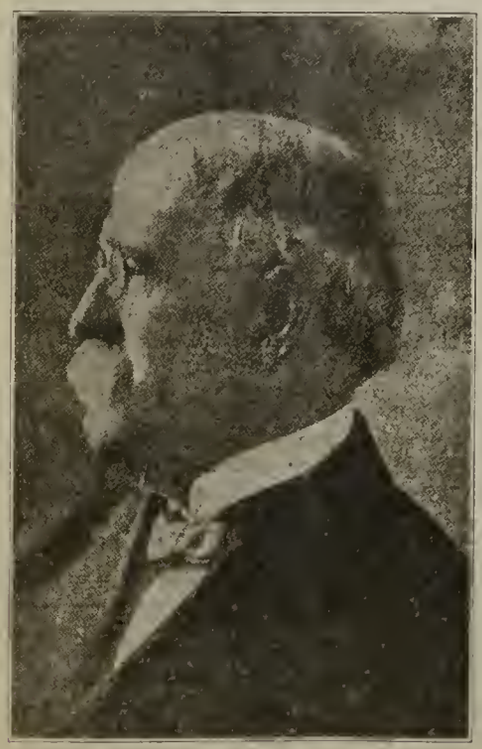
### Did He Feel Remorse?

Finally in The Advance, organ Amalgamated Clothing Workers, July 11, 1924, one reads an article headed, "Terence V. Powderly, (A Personal Appreciation)" by Clinton S. Golden. This appreciation is due to the fact that Powderly, as a member of the Board of Review of the Department of Labor, spoke against the deportation of an Italian member of the Amalgamated. The Italian was not deported. During this hearing, Powderly introduced Golden saying:

"He is a representative of a large and responsible organization of labor, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, a great industrial union of which I am proud," and as if by afterthought he added, "and what is more, he has not stooped to the depravity that some men have, by becoming a lawyer."

Whether this indicated remorse, Golden says not.

News of Powderly's death has has also caused others to wonder many things, one of which is this,



Terence V. Powderly

how did Powderly manage to secure influence enough to get and hold political office for over a quarter of a century?

The writer was a boy when, in 1886, the K. of L. was at its height. He heard and read much about it in a vague, sinister way. Later, in the '90s, he came to know it better through his associations with many of its members and ex-members. He saw how during this period the A. F. of L. scabbed it out of existence, with the aid of internal discord. Of the latter, he heard the reverberations from his associates. They accused Powderly of many definite things. They claimed that he was not a real Knight of Labor, as prescribed by the principles of its founder, Uriah Stevens, whom he is alleged to have displaced by methods which they condemned. The Knights of Labor of Uriah Stephens was a secret, working class organization, with industrial union tendencies. Powderly removed the secrecy, so they contended, in conformity with the wishes of the Catholic church, which is opposed to secret organizations not its own; so they alleged.

### Hard to Explain

They also denounced his ending or mis-ending of the strike on the Southwestern railroad system, then owned by the Gould family. This strike, under the masterly and heroic leadership of Martin Irons, was being waged in a victorious manner, when Powderly went into session with the Gould representatives, following which he called the strike off. For this action Powderly was roundly condemned in the labor press of the time; particularly in the socialist press. He was accused of having sold out the strike; and of having left the strikers in a deplorable lurch. The results were demoralizing to the K. of L. also; as it lost prestige and influence through them.

To Powderly, my boyhood K. of L. associates attributed real gifts of leadership. They said he was a persuasive speaker, a man with grasp, and an able parliamentarian. As a presiding officer, they said, "he could make the gavel sing"; and he was also described as a skillful and able politician.

In after years, when noting Powderly's continued office-holding, they attributed it to the backing of the Catholic Church and the Gould family, for had he not served them as a dutiful son and servant should? Apparently, this may be so; it looks very much like it. For it goes without saying that Powderly, the leader of a militant labor organization, would not prove acceptable to the powers that be, unless he had served them in approved style.

### An Unconscious Traitor?

Still, it is doubtful, if Powderly ever did anything deliberate to gain the support of the combined clerical and capitalist interests for office-holding purposes. It is safer to say that he was typical of the lack of class-consciousness in the labor leadership of the day; and, as such, acted unconsciously in favor of the dominant interests. Neither workers nor leaders had developed far enough in those days to see opposing class interests clearly and to be guided by them.

# Los Angeles Employment Snapshots

By JIM SEYMOUR

HE was undersized and shrinking, his face and attitude branded with the blight of chronic malnutrition. Rather timidly, as one not at all hopeful of success, he braced me for a dime.

"I hate this kind of stuff," he said apologetically, "but what chance is there for a shrimp like me? Only thing I'm good for is playing the piano. I can handle Liszt and Chopin—you know, the old classical boys—just like rolling down hill. But you don't get paid for anything but jazz and I can't thump it. I might beat the drum for the Salvation Army but that's as far as I can go."

He sipped his coffee appreciatively.

"Only thing for me," he continued, "is common labor, and that's open about as much as the heart of a miser. I'm too little.

"You see that big guy there—with the double order of rotten hamburger? Six feet if he's an inch. And husky. He don't know what trouble is. Man comes down here looking for a mucker picks him up first shot. He's got all the best of it. World was made for the average. I get the worst of it. Go hungry lots of times and for long stretches. When I do get a job it's hard on me. When he gets one it's easy. And it's easy for him to get 'em. He never goes hungry. If he did he'd yell like a stuck pig. So used to having his own way he couldn't stand it not to.

"I could walk the legs off of him. That's more near 50-50. He's stronger but he carries more load. But he wouldn't take off any of that. What he wants is loaded dice. And he gets 'em. I guess the geography is right about the world being round; it sure ain't square.

"I believe I'll take a slab of that pumpkin pie. Chemistry is a wonderful thing, ain't it? Who would ever think they could convert sesquioxide of iron into grub?

"But anything is good enough for a workingman. All he does is the world's work, so he ain't entitled to any more consideration than any other machine. But it does look like a machine-owner would have sense enough to oil it."

We left the restaurant.

"Well," he said, "I feel better now. Think while it lasts I'll start out for Frisco. Pretty tough there too, but if a fellow does get a job he gets paid for it. Better organized—higher standard. Besides, Frisco business men got at least brains enough to know that you can't buy if you ain't got the money.

"One o'clock. Well, so long. I'll hit the highway to Saugus, and then I know the S. P. will be good to me."

And he optimistically clambered aboard a yellow car, expecting to get out of town before dark.

**....Note.—For the benefit of those who have not seen the wonder city of Los Angeles it is well to explain that, aside from its locust swarm of hungry real-estate sharks, the second wonder of the city is perhaps the glacier-like service of its yellow street cars, the first wonder being how the inhabitants can tolerate such a monotonous joke.—J. S.**

# The Artist

HE was pale and esthetic, in his eyes the dreams of the ages. Obviously he didn't belong in the employment district, but, just as obviously, neither does anyone else. Anyhow, his Windsor tie attracted no attention—a man who is down and out is excused for wearing what he can get.

"I am an artist," he said, with a complete absence of the familiar absurd pride. "I love beauty and want to do my part toward making the whole world beautiful—and they drive me here."

"Who—the police?"

"No, the police know nothing of beauty. It is beyond their grasp, and they are busy grasping what they can.

"No, it is not the police—not merely the police—it is the likers of ugliness—the people who see no wrong in poverty and its accompanying filth, misery, despair and insanity. It is they who drive me here."

His voice was soft and dreamy; not resentful, but very sad.

"I want to paint," he continued, "and naturally I feel that each new picture may possibly live, so I have to use the best paints, paying as high as 80 cents for a trifle that, if it were house-paint, would cost about two cents.

"But I could stand that if only rents were reasonable. I've spent three weeks looking for a studio that I can afford, and I've had to give it up.

The good old days of the Baker Block are over. Before that was sold to those sordid charity people we had ideal places at low rent, and they didn't collect very enthusiastically either.

"The other day I found a place for $20 a month. That's too high and I knew I'd never be able to make it by painting signs. But the man asked me why I didn't work. That struck me as being a good idea, for I know that some people do get along that way. So I came down here and applied for a situation—anything.

"He said he could place me and asked me if I had any restaurant experience. I told him I had and was going to tell him how many different kinds of restaurants I have eaten in, but he was busy and sent me right around to a place where I was to wash dishes.

"The manager showed me what to do, but before I started in I began sketching the cook on the window-pane with a piece of soap. It was very interesting and I forgot about the dishes until the manager came in again and said he guessed he wouldn't need me any longer and I could go to the desk and get my three cents if I thought I'd earned it.

"So now I'm looking for another job. You don't know where there is one suitable for an artist, do you?"

Regretfully I told him I didn't, and left him trying to roll a cigarette with some of my coarse cut-plug.

# Two of a Different Kind

## NO, HE WOULD NOT

He was a nice, bald-headed man
And had a pleasant smile
He'd been inside the County Jail
For quite a little while.

And when I asked him how he fared
He beamed with ecstasy,
For he had met the biggest joke
That he could ever see.

They'd been to tell him if he would
Just throw his card away,
And simply work and just be good
He need no longer stay.

And they would gladly let him go,
From jail he would be free,
And that is what had made him laugh
In fine spontaneous glee.

And would he throw his card away
And change his awkward lot,
And serve the master every day?
My brothers, he would not.

## SCISSORBILL

By MORTON KOMINERS

Young Scissorbill, a silly chap,
Desired to sit on Nature's lap;
Said he, "I'll offer my devotion,
To Nature on the boundless ocean."

And so he got himself a job,
Aboard a workhouse, as deck slob;
No duty did this beauty shirk,
For Scissorbill was born for work.

He painted every deck and mast,
Ye Gods, but Scissorbill was fast;
That bright young lad could surely paint,
The first mate thought he was a saint.

Whene'er the workhouse came near shore,
Young Scissorbill arose at four,
And when she sailed he worked 'til ten,
With all the other sailormen.

When all the rest arose and quit,
Said Bill, "I wouldn't think of it."
He's sixty now and working still,
A wise old owl is Scissorbill.

# Let's Make 'Em Go With Us

(With No Apologies to "COLLIERS")

By CARD NO. 306858

WHITING WILLIAMS, "in overalls again," is telling the world in the July 5th issue of "Colliers" of the "benefits" the employees of the B. & O. are receiving since the finish of the strike, thru co-operation with their masters, and of the "benefits" both parties are deriving from "good-will."

This pawn of the masters, this LITTLE fish in a BIG puddle, starts out his article with this—supposed to be said by a striker—"Course we guys on the outside ain't got no idea exactly how many scabs like you get killed when the dynamite goes off in there where you're going to work. But take it from me, bo, it sure does make one hell of a noise." Ain't that poetical.

### Old Stuff

Wall Street, which owns all the railroads (and controls the press) is progressive—for itself—in every way but one. It seems that it cannot get away from that old "bull-con" that all labor halls have unlimited supplies of explosives on hand for use at any and all times. For the love of Mike, Williams, be up-to-date, that old blowing-up stuff has whiskers on it, it's got one foot in the grave. Invent some other story. Let me suggest an unknown Ray that the strikers use to knock the scabs cold. We cannot get a "kick" out of that old bunk any more.

### Sherlock on the Job

Mr Williams at the time of the strike was "disguised" as a "tough-looking laborer," but he was, as he hastens to inform you, "in reality a Colliers observer," at Garrett, Ind. Now, dear people, get an ear-full of this. Recently our "observer"—that's slang for scab—was back in Garrett, and, he says, "mixing with the same persons. But with what a difference." But here is where we hand him the putty medal:

"As you know," the same master mechanic I had worked for was saying to the same leaders of the organized strikers, "we are meeting today in order to get 'all set' on the new program of co-operation in the interest of the railroad that pays us our wages." Holy old smoke! "WE are meeting today," "WE," the master mechanic who played the part of a dirty scab all thru the strike, arranging a plan of "co-operation." Say, you rails, what co-operation did he show you during the strike? Do you think that a leopard will ever change its spots? Wake up.

### Barnum was Right

Some of you have fallen for this line of bunk and fallen hard. Two of you are born every day, and if they don't get one, they get the other. Some times they get both of you.

Further on in his speech this master mechanic—more slang for scab—showed his true colors when he said, "to consider every suggestion you can get from your members, or we foremen can get from

our work, for saving money and improving our service."

"Co-operation," say, Mr. Williams, (have a little mercy as I have a split lip) "co-operation" in the interest of the railroad, "co-operation for saving money and improving our service," say, you workers, where the hell do you come in?

There is nothing said in this "co-operation" about improving YOUR conditions, nothing about arranging a system **whereby all men will be working and thousands of idle men will not be competing for your job.** Oh, no! Nothing like that was transacted. Save money for your master was the main theme.

Mr. Williams ends this spasm with the remark: "The whole B. &. O. system has arranged to sit up to the same table." Yes, folks; the lion lay down with the lamb, but the lamb was inside of him.

### Innuendoes

This literary prostitute then remarks: "Perhaps it's because the murders, miseries and other bitternesses of the 1922 strike made me sick of Industrial Wars." He does not say by whose side the murders were committed, but leaves you to suppose that the strikers were the murderers. He does not mention the small army of gunmen and thugs who patrolled all the yards and entrances, nothing of the state constables who guarded the scabs, and nothing of the scabs who were blackjacked by other scabs during gambling orgies.

This black-jacking information leaked out through a colored man who scabbed all through the strike at Jersey City.

He next raves about the "black and sweaty men who show such a heart's bottom spirit of enthusiasm for their work," but nothing about the foreman or straw boss who is hollering down the back of their shirt "Hurry up." Some spirit.

Then we have an account of the bird "who begs you with one hand on his drill and the other on your coat sleeve" to wait a moment and he will show you the tool HE invented. "Cuts down this operation from seven hours to two." More co-operation—for the company—and he cannot see that while speeding up production he is digging his own grave and buying the shovel to do it with.

One machine displaces two and one-half men, and these men will compete with him for his job.

### Nothing in Common

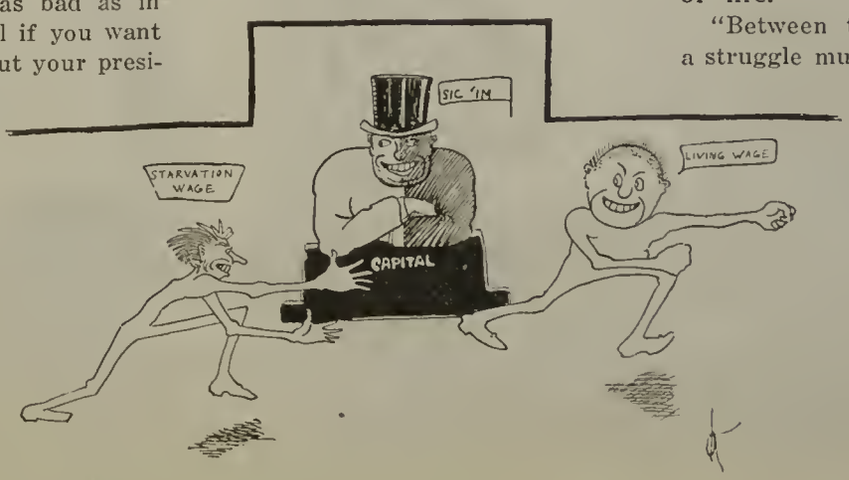
Our "observer" next goes on to quote President Dan Willard of the B. & O. Gentlemen, allow me to introduce the President; give him your attention: "For years I have dealt with the unions because anything else appeared impractical. Now I have accepted the offer of President Wm. H. Johnston of the International Association of Machinists, and President Bert. M. Jewell of the Railway Shop Crafts of the American Federation of Labor. That means that instead of simply accepting them because there is nothing else to do, I have engaged to work with them, and they with me to the very fullest possible extent."

Three presidents are arranging for your welfare. Where was the President of the AFL during the shop strike? Where were your brother workers in the railroad industry, members of the American Federation of Labor, when carload after carload of scabs were transported across the country and into the shops. Where were all the good "union" engineers, conductors, brakemen, firemen, etc., the brass pounders, and the gandy dancers? Surely they did not help to break your strike?

How many "unions" have you in the railroad industry?

### Real Co-operation

Railroad men: take a tumble to yourselves. Your "co-operation" has only resulted in thousands of you being "laid off" all over the country. In other industries also there are thousands of idle men. This year there is a "business depression" almost as bad as in 1921. Why? Well if you want to find out just put your presidents with their "welfare plans" in the discard for a few moments, and do a little thinking for yourselves. Here is one you can draw on for a while: You workers who follow railroads for a living, and who are now laid off owing to "slackness" you have to get a living somehow, so what happens? Say that you strike out into the harvest fields, what happens? What are you doing? You are glutting the labor market in that industry and driving the wages down, you are driving the harvesters out, and they are forced, perhaps, into your old work, and are the means of wages being reduced in the railroad industry. **The bosses are playing both ends to the middle.**




### The Golden Mean

And there, in the middle, what is happening? Why, the big corporations are issuing more dividends than ever before; the value which you have created, and which you did not get, is being wasted in imbecile fashion, in gaudy parties, for the transportation of Los Angeles movie stars in violation of the Mann Act, for palaces, and yachts, and country houses, for $100,000 gowns, and to purchase the crown jewels of decadent monarchs. They are building marble pig pens, and mother of pearl dog houses and putting diamond collars around the necks of their monkeys.

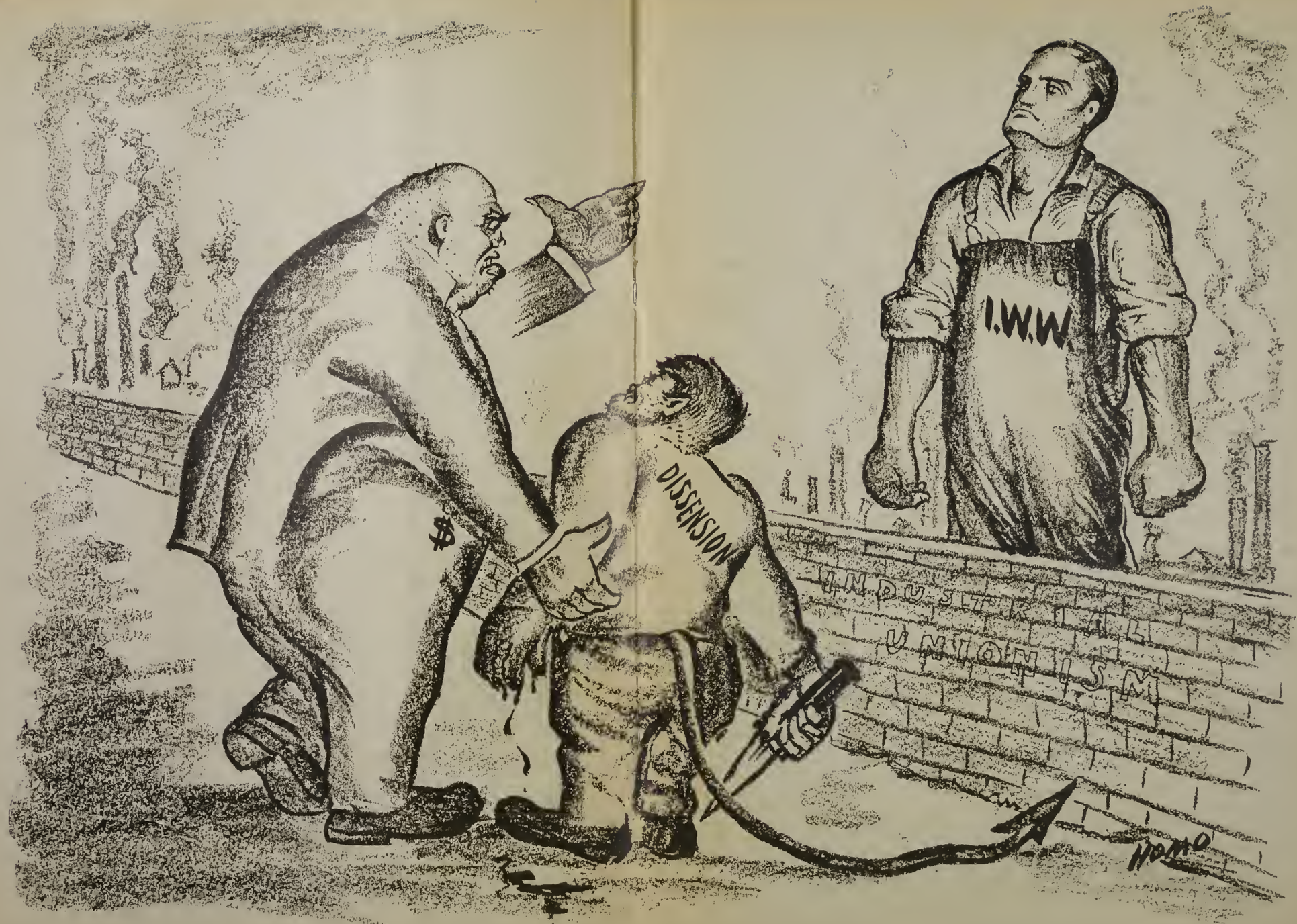
Their young sons are murdering boys in knee breeches, for the "thrill" of it, and their fathers are working children to death to get the millions necessary to prove that their sons are "not sane enough to hang".

And the worst of it is, the effort fails. They can not spend it, and the goods accumulate, and the factories shut down.

This "tool which I have invented, which cuts down the time from seven hours to two," is driving you into the bread line. Machines are displacing labor in all industres, **and the hours of labor are not being reduced to allow the absorption of the men who are displaced.** They are roaming the streets hungry, and unless you workers **organize industrially** there will be thousands more in the near future. Old time obsolete "craft unions" are unequal to the struggle, and the time is at hand when the workers will have to organize into one big union of all workers, and reduce the hours of labor so that all will be working. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have **all the good things of life.**

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system."

**This will be real co-operation.**




CAPITALISM:—"I've raided 'em and framed 'em and jailed 'em and hanged 'em; I've even scalded their children, but the IWW still stands there. Now you see what you can do!"

# EDITORIALS

*By The Editor*

## WHEN LABOR GETS INJUNCTIONS

THAT the American Federation of Labor should resort to injunction, the typical weapon of the master class, is natural. The $25,000 per year officers of the craft unions are really, as the IWW has many times charged, not workers, but brokers of labor power, merchants selling the brawn and brain of the members of the unions to their masters and taking a commission for it.

So, though we must regret the decadence of "labor leaders" who go to the capitalist judge and seek to utilize him against their own fellow members of the unions, we are not very much surprised at such actions on the part of the officials of the iron workers who were mutually enjoining each other here in Chicago a few months ago, and also in St. Louis, nor are we much shocked to find that one Albert Workman, president of the longshoremen's local in New Orleans has obtained an injunction restraining the rank and file of his union from ejecting him from the office which he has misused.

These things are not pleasant to think about. Indeed, they are so incongruous that the very judge before whom the ironworkers brought their case scolded the injunctioneers, saying, "This sort of thing shows why Union Labor does not make more progress."

Injunctions in the AFL are a sign of its degeneration, and commonly accepted as such.

## RULED BY INJUNCTION

GOVERNMENT by injunction is extending itself. The old rights of trial by jury, trial by one's peers, trial before the public, are giving way. These things are too slow for the capitalists of this age, confronted by the necessity of putting down ever greater rebellions of ever more class conscious workers.

Even in California where juries of farmers and petit bourgeois have been very ready to convict the IWW on the sliniest sort of testimony, Capitalism has about given up the clumsy method of criminal syndicalism laws, in order to smash organization all they can with the nimbler, more up-to-date, more scientific and vastly more unfair method of the injunction.

The injunction smashed the railroad shopmen's strike. It crippled the strike of the girl garment workers in Chicago. It is the ever ready weapon of Capitalism in its war with Labor. Nothing but absolute defiance can win for Labor. If the judge enjoins the workers from striking, they must strike anyway, and face whatever penalty there may be, in the way of contempt proceedings. Even the yellow AFL admits this. Everybody admits that the power of the injunction, thoroughly immoral, thoroughly dangerous to Labor, must be broken down, or it will crush all labor organization. The IWW in its close contact with the Busick anti-IWW injunction, well realizes this. The AFL wishes to see the injunction abolished, but has not the power, and its membership have not the courage.

The IWW with its more efficient type of organization, and better fighting spirit, can develop this power, and must do so, and at once,—or Labor perishes!

## ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED

THERE is a general inclination to regard the United States as though it had a labor movement. This conception is fundamentally erroneous. The facts are that less than four million workers are organized, even in the weakest, most divided, and nearly useless forms of organization, the craft unions. The laboring population of the United States is about twenty-five to thirty million, depending on the state of industry. Can an organization membership which can claim to be only between one-sixth to one-fifth of the population of workers be seriously considered as a labor movement?

The AFL of course isn't growing. In fact, lately it has been shrinking in numbers. Its leaders do not want it to grow. The craft ideal is not large numbers, but limitation of membership, in order to create an artificial monopoly, a job trust.

How much different is the IWW! The Industrial Workers of the World makes no difference between skilled and unskilled. If you work in the industry, you join the one big IWW union established in that industry. The result is, that while craftism is sinking into disrepute and helplessness, the IWW industrial unions are growing, even in hard times, wherever real organizing energy is expended. Lumberworkers' Industrial Union No. 120 of the IWW is spreading into Canada and into Maine. Metal Miners' Industrial Union No. 210 of the IWW is getting stronger and stronger in Canada, and the Mexican administration is growing by leaps and bounds around Chihuahua, and in general through Northern Mexico.

The Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the IWW is getting away with one of its best harvest drives—lining up men by thousands, and doing it in spite of the opposition to it in North Dakota of the combined county, state, and national governments, and in spite of strike breaking organized by state universities and farm bureaus.

Industrial Unionism has the right of way!

All we need to do is to organize, **organize, ORGANIZE!**

# EDITORIALS

*By Pioneer Readers*

## DOWN TO SEE IN THE SHIPS

By G. EDMUND CLINES

**Seaman Tramp and Slave Extraordinary**

REGARDING an article in the May number of the Pioneer, "The Life of a Seaman," can it really be called a life? It is rather a meager existence, I think.

As I am only a young fellow and have only been traveling around since 1913, perhaps you will pardon this seemingly unjust statement, which is nevertheless a fact, as you well know. But for the benefit of some of the so-called one hundred per cent Americans I will merely state a few of the reasons why I claim that a sailor does not live.

First, when he signs on a ship he renounces all rights, if he had any in the first place, packs what few belongings he has and goes aboard the ship, for the simple reason that somehow he does not seem to fit into the general run of things ashore and perhaps he knows no better. The queer thing that I cannot understand is that the mate does not seem to realize that he is merely a tool of the capitalist class and takes particular delight in making life as miserable as he can for all hands. He speaks in such terms as "my ship" and "our company," and I have even heard some of the slaves use the same terms. But thanks to IU 510 some of the latter at least are beginning to realize the truth of the old adage, that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common.

The last excuse that I had the misfortune to get on was the SS Sumaneo of the notorious Transmarine Company of Newark. I figured it out that the average allowace for eats on that particular ship was about thirty cents per day, and some of the food was absolutely unfit for human consumption.

The first officer was a fellow who seemed as if he were afraid for his job, and the second mate was carrying the ship around on his shoulders, if you know what I mean. I remember one night in particular. We were steering from the upper bridge, coming up the coast, and it was rather cool. Not having had a thing to eat I could not stand the cold and asked him to let me steer from the lower wheel house. All the sympathy I received was, "It ain't cold. If a little thing like that bothers you, what did you come to sea for?" Being rather quick tempered I naturally gave him a piece of my mind, and finished my wheel turn in the pilot house.

I have been on ships of seven different nationalities, but this was the worst of them all—two watches and the worst of food. Sailing out from the great port of New York in 1924, not 1824, I thought that the days of the galley slave were over, but I see that they are not. I ask my fellow workers and also the 100 per cent Americans who kept the ships running during the strike, what is the difference between being chained to an oar in one of the old fashioned galleys and lashed by an enemy, and being forced to take a job in one of these ships to be driven and cursed by your own countrymen? Now I ask you.

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## MORE OF CALIFORNIA'S JUSTICE.

MERELY to back up our old statement that California is not part of the United States, that it is the most inhuman and atrocious place in the world, we are giving out another bit of information that is not commonly known.

The law of California says, that the state will not care for anyone who is or becomes mentally defective in the State of California, if the person has not resided in California for over a year.

To the average person this may seem quite alright. But stop and think a moment. Think who it is that harvests the grain of the country; who is it that hews the forests; who goes down to the sea in ships and brings foreign produce to your shores or who it is that makes it possible for you spin over magnificent highways or ride on the most smooth road beds for railroads that there are in the universe. Who is it that does all these things? It is the migratory worker, the person who is forced to follow seasonal work. He is forced from place to place and each year takes him through many states; the very nature of his work will not allow him to live in one state for a year.

Then again, each year numbers of the people who follow this line of work are injured. In many instances these injuries result in some form of insanity. That happens in California too. Now ask yourself what happens to those unfortunate people. California will not care for them. They are not residents of any other state, so what does become of them?

Here is your answer. Many of them are thrown in jails, from there no one knows where they go; they disappear in thin air. No one investigates, for no one is interested. Others are loaded on trains in large numbers and shipped out of the state to other jails, where the same thing happens. Just recently over one hundred and fifty of these unfortunate folk were taken from California. In the group were men, women and children, a few guards with them. They were taken to Colorado, Texas, New Mexico and Oklahoma; their relatvies were supposed to meet them. Upon their arrival at the different destinations, no one came forth to claim them, they were put in jail. Where will they eventually land? In a home? Or will they, too, disappear as countless hundreds have—in thin air, no one knowing where, no one caring!—**Delaney.**

# Finger Prints Imperil Workers

A Book Review by James Coleman

THOSE who believe the newspapers undoubtedly would be willing to wager more or less substantial sums that when a man's finger-print is found upon the scene of a crime that individual had some close connection with it; if his finger-mark is impressed upon a gun or a knife with which a murder was done, they would say, he is the guilty man! For thirty years this doctrine of infallibility has been spreading throughout the world. No two finger-prints are alike, the accredited experts assert. And one man has been hanged, in Chicago, solely on the strength of finger-print evidence.

But this doctrine of infallibility is due for the scrap-heap. It is an utterly fallacious doctrine, according to Albert Wehde and John Nicholas Beffel, authors of a new book entitled "Finger-Prints Can Be Forged." This volume describes a process of finger-print forgery conceived and perfected by Wehde while he was a political prisoner in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth.

He declares that no expert can distinguish between an original finger-impression and a fake produced by his method. In this claim he is supported by two former fellow prisoners who were sentenced in the Chicago IWW war trial, and who are qualified authorities on finger-print identification.

### Light Thrown into Dark Corridors

Unquestionably this is an epochal book. It throws a searching light into corridors which have too long been dark; it will compel a revaluation of values in an important region of evidence; and it may well save the lives and safeguard the imperilled liberty of many innocent men, accused of crimes perhaps because of efforts to better the lives of their fellows.

Wehde was sentenced by Judge Landis to serve three years in prison for an attempt to transport arms to East Indian revolutionists—before the United States entered the European war. Because of his experience as a photographer, he was placed in the finger-print laboratory at the penitentiary. Here it was his job to develop (with contrasting powder) and photograph latent finger-marks on objects associated with crimes, objects sent in from various parts of the country; also he made etchings of finger-prints for escape cards when prisoners ran away.

Subsequently Wehde was impelled to begin experimenting in finger-impression forgery by observing a visiting Oklahoma police officer, H. A. Murphy, attempt to doctor a finger-print photograph so that he might get in on a $33,000 reward in a train robbery case. How Wehde happened to achieve what he sought is described in detail. His process is not forgery in the same sense as the counterfeiting of a signature; it is actually a transfer—from the original. **He could lift a genuine finger-print from a drinking glass or a paper weight in New York and plant it on a weapon used in a Seattle murder, and on that evidence, under prevailing court rulings, a man who was never west of the Alleghanies might be arrested, convicted by a jury, and hanged for a crime with which he had nothing to do.**

After Wehde had demonstrated his method to several of his fellow experts, a chart of genuine and fraudulent finger-impressions made by him was placed on the desk of his superior, A. J. Renoe, then special agent at Leavenworth for the Department of Justice. For two weeks this chart remained on Renoe's desk, but Renoe would not venture to choose between the real and the forged prints, although he was and is credited in police circles with being the nation's leading expert in this field.

### Renoe Sends False Report to Burns

"Soon after the chart incident," Wehde relates, "William J. Burns, then chief of the bureau of investigation in the Department of Justice at Washington, wrote to Renoe asking him to state candidly whether there was any known process by which finger-prints could be successfully forged."

The letter was turned over to a political prisoner who was Renoe's secretary, with instructions to answer it. The latter showed the communication to Wehde, and asked what he should write in reply.

" 'Tell him we can do it to defy detection,' Wehde said.

" 'That won't do,' the other prisoner declared. 'The agent wants me to write a negative answer.'

"So the two of us," says Wehde, "formulated a letter in which we emphatically and solemnly asserted that the forging of finger-print impressions was an utter impossibility. We chuckled at the irony of this. Then the letter, in finished form, was handed to Renoe, who signed the pronouncement as his official verdict, and thus Burns was furnished with authoritative evidence that nobody could do what I had no trouble in doing whenever I wished."

President Harding commuted Wehde's sentence in 1922. Wehde then made public the facts connected with this discovery through an interview in the Defense News Service, issued by the General Defense Committee of Chicago. This interview was published in many labor and liberal papers on six continents.

### Experts Try to Suppress Facts

In a magazine artiele published in Mareh, 1923, Renoe sought to diseredit Wehde's elaim, though without naming him, and urged "those who elaim they ean forge finger-prints" to submit their method to the principal experts of the eountry, and ask them to distinguish the original finger-prints from the fakes involved. "Sueh a test would be of scientifie value," Renoe stated, "and I am sure the finger-print experts would weleome it."

But when Wehde wrote to Al Dunlap, president of the Illinois Association for Identification, requesting the privilege of the floor at the assoeiation's 1923 eonvention, he failed to receive the welcome Renoe had prophesied. Dunlap and several leading finger-print experts visited Wehde's offiee, watched the latter eounterfeit several prints, and left without eommenting. Then Dunlap sent Wehde a letter denouneing him and denying him the eonvention floor. And at the convention, with nobody to eontradiet, two of the experts who had participated in the test "proeeeded to blast Wehde's claims to smithereens." Telling of all this, Dunlap's paper, The Deteetive, said that Wehde had elaimed that he had "invented a proeess by whieh to aeeomplish **this hellish design**" (of successfully forging finger-prints).

But if Dunlap was able to keep Wehde from disturbing the tranquillity of the identifieation convention, he eould not keep the world from hearing about the Wehde forgery process. Publieation of the present book is the answer to the attempt at eensorship. Wehde deelares that the adherents of the finger-print system uphold the doetrine of infallibility simply to keep from losing soft jobs.

### Big Profit In Training "Experts"

In the light of Wehde's discovery, Beffel has eonducted a minute inquiry into the whole history of finger-print usage, whieh antedates the time of Christ, and analyzes the motives behind the propaganda for universal finger-printing. Beffel points out that the business of training "experts" in this field is highly profitable, and simple. For $70 anyone ean buy a course of lessons and by studying only in his spare time ean beeome an "expert" in a few months. He need not have mueh education. "If you ean read and write English we will teach you the rest," asserts the so-ealled University of Applied Seienee in Chieago, whieh in four years became prosperous enough to ereet a $100,000 building!

"With the forgery of finger-prints an established and eertain possibility," Beffel contends, "no man's liberty or life is safe—if the eourts eontinue to admit finger-print evidence as eonelusive proof in itself of erime. . . . . Poliee officers or proseeutors who wanted to 'get' some innocent man eould plant his finger-prints on the seene of a murder, 'find' them there, and fasten the erime to him; or when they had failed to solve some atroeious murder mystery they might satisfy publie clamor by thus laying the killing to someone not guilty. Criminals, too, eould lay the blame for their own erimes on someone else.

"There is no guarantee that the poliee anywhere will destroy the finger-prints of persons aequitted of criminal eharges, or dismissed after false arrest. . . When Valentine Rodriguez, organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World, was arrested in Sacramento, California, for distributing an IWW leaflet attaeking the state eriminal syndicalism law, his finger prints were taken and he was handled roughly. In poliee court he was released beeause he had not violated any law. But the police retained his finger-prints."

And if anyone in this eountry is still naive enough to believe that the police and proseeuting authorities in our cities are all zealous and impartial guardians of human rights, Beffel urges that sueh persons read the report of J. B. Densmore of the United States Department of Labor, on the Mooney and Billings case. And he eites Emerson Hough's book "The Web" as showing how the police and the federal government departments worked hand in hand during the war hysteria.

### Champions of Workers Endangered

"If a universal finger-registration system were in vogue in the United States," Beffel avers, "any person, alien or native, who aggressively criticized the politieal, soeial or industrial institutions of this eountry might well beeome the object of perseeution engendered by reaetionaries. It would give additional ammunition, for instance, to those upholders of the prevailing order who have sent 107 members of the Industrial Workers of the World to prison for from one to fifteen years in California, not for any overt aet, but solely for holding membership in the IWW, which is legal in every other state, and which enjoys seeond-elass mailing privileges from the Post Office Department for its publieations. These convietions of IWW members have been effeeted on the testimony of professional witnesses who have 'confessed' repeatedly that they eommitted felonies while members of the IWW, but who have never been prosecuted for any of their admitted crimes."

In the writing of this book a vast amount of painstaking researeh has evidently been done; it has the ring of aeeuraey and sineerity. How will the advoeates of universal registration answer it? How long will the public continue to pay salaries to finger-print "experts" attaehed to the poliee?

**Finger-Prints Can Be Forged, by Albert Wehde and John Nicholas Beffel. Chicago: Tremonia Publishing Company. 125 pages. $1.65 postpaid.**

**Books reviewed in the Industrial Pioneer can be obtained promptly by ordering through the IWW Book Department, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago. Send money with order.**

**STEAM SHOVEL MINING**

**Page 5 Shows An Entire Hill Being Removed In This Way**

# Machine Revolutionizes Mining

(Continued from page 8)

Union men are pitted against union men; members belonging to the same organization are used to crush their own kind into the pit of poverty and despair!

An injury to one is not an injury to all.

There is still turmoil in the eastern field and it is very acute since the present stagnation has entered into the industry. The outcome can be measured by the statements of the union leaders.

**They admit that they don't know what to do because the bottom has dropped out of industry, leaving the unions powerless to stop the onward march of the greed for profit.**

There are 200,000 more miners than necessary in the coal industry. When in spite of their ignorance they are told what to do to put these men back on the job they do not see it, because they still want to be the respectable "law and order" brand of labor leaders.

Educated only to the policies of capitalistic thought, the district organizations began a furious conflict among themselves, one to outdo the other in grabbing a few more dollars at the expense of decent working conditions.

As far as I have been able to learn, no monuments were ever erected to "millionaire miners" who died in luxury. It is safe to say that more of these gluttons died for the want of a set of brains to tell them when their back was breaking. These men, by outstripping the machine in loading, have been one factor in creating more men than necessary.

Machinery introduced into mining is revolutionizing the methods of mining. No more is the hand drill or the pick a factor. Mechanical power applied to mining and drilling machinery signed the miners' death warrant. Intensified coal cutting caused production to gain by leaps and bounds; miners began to produce more coal per man, doubling the output, which meant less working days to fill a normal market. Collective interest gave way to individual greed and new methods were introduced in the routine of work.

### Enter Gang System

Entry work and turning rooms off the entry formerly were done by miners who were going to continue to work in those places. The miner would cut on the left side rib and yardage was paid when he completed the turning of his room. The entry men only worked in the entry, two men generally working together in each entry. The method was cutting and shooting from the solid. With the introduction of the cutting machine these customs and conditions have changed. We now have the gang system.

This system works in a different way. Instead of one or two men having an individual working place, we now have three men who work the entries and rooms. They cut all crosscuts and room necks. This gives to them about seven places

to develop continually. They are never idle for the want of a place to work.

There is one man, a machine cutter, who when he gets the places out, assists in the loading.

Through this method the gang can load about twenty tons per man, where formerly five to eight were loaded.

The gang men are classified as the aristocrats of the mine. They have the preference of the turn of cars, and they load more than the average miner who is working in the room. It is an unequal division which creates a great deal of dissatisfaction among the miners.

When contracts are made with the operators, the payroll of gang men's wages are always brought forward as the basis on which they determine the yardage and tonnage for the next term.

These gang men thought that they would always be the selected class, but such is not the case.

The inventor, always busy, has now perfected a machine for loading coal, which will displace human labor; and many miners will be placed on the market with the unemployed.

The mine workers will realize in the future that the remedy is not doing more and getting less but organizing as a class to do less and get more. This can only be accomplished by the ownership collectively of the industries.

The development of this method of work has created a condition which is going to react on the miners' organization. So called leaders have in many instances aided and abetted these conditions instead of keeping an equality of rights in the mines, as it was necessary to do. This one step in the mining industry has made the competition for jobs much keener.

### Contracts

Contracts are sacred; under no consideration must they be violated. Thus the motto still remains. Contracts made are just kept by the subject class because they are powerless to enforce them. This is due to the methods of construction of the union and treacherous policy of the reactionary leaders in signing contracts, pitting state against state.

When the Illinois miners signed the contract specifying a stipulated price for certain classes of work, they expected to receive it in cash. Many of the mines have shut down and the employes have received no wages. There are many who have $150 to $250 for payment for work done, for a period of four to six weeks.

There is no security of any kind to guarantee the payment of same, and the miners' union is helpless to enforce their own wage contract.

Contracts are only insurance policies in favor of the employer to pacify the miners and to cause them to fill the market for a specified term and guarantee peace and quietness, so as to enable employers to cull as much profit as they can.

The employers always appeal when making a contract on the basis of market competition so that they will base a scale of wages accordingly. The miners' leaders, only schooled in contract and capitalistic economics, do not understand the fact that, high or low wages, the employer extracts his surplus value at the point of production. It is of no interest to the workers where or how he disposes of it. It is only to their interest to force him to give as much as possible.

Contracts are an emergency and should be understood as only a means to keep the industry moving.

Resistance must at all times be made at the point of production, in order to stabilize the miner's pay envelope with the price of commodities that he has to buy. The contract system as arranged does not permit this to be done.

With this condition of reasoning on the price of markets a fierce internal struggle enters into the union.

For example, in Kentucky the scale for a working agreement is much less than the scale of Illinois. They have $7.50 for day work in this state. The Eastern field is on a low scale where non-union fields are in competition. Many would say that the operators of Illinois were very generous or they don't know what they are doing. The future will tell.

Let us look at the development of mines in Illinois. Many mines have been shut down, true, but many will not open again. There are new shafts going down. These are large and meet a future necessity. They are preparing to produce coal as they never have done previously.

The method of taking out the coal as the mine developed has been discarded. The companies have been allowed to develop new mines in a new way. They are driving the entries to the boundary. Larger cars are going to be installed. They have also introduced a loading machine for the loading of coal. This machine can load an enormous amount of coal and never get tired. This will displace, in future, many men.

The mines are to be fenced around by strong wire, ten feet high, which can be charged with electric current. It is of small mesh and is placed there to keep the "vermin" away.

Inside there is a good sized tract of land. On the tipple the companies have placed searchlights.

Now they have everything ready to carry on large scale production. They will be able to compete with the eastern market because they will produce coal at less cost, with less miners. This condition of affairs points to one thing, namely, that they will not need a contract to keep the miners idle three years from now.

Appointive powers will be abolished because there will be less dues to support a large useless "machine."

Conventions called to discuss the effects, without considering these changes taking place within the

industry are only a debating society to fool the workers while their contracts and their organization dwindles away like a snow bank before a summer's sun.

It is time the miners realized that they must organize industrially and carry on the fight where the conditions for settlement arise. Their leaders are causing a chaos by their methods of organization and delivering the workers' interests piecemeal to the wolves of finance, the coal operators of America.

### Conclusion

We have seen the development of mining, at home and abroad, from small production to superproduction; from hand labor to machine production. Owing to this revolutionary change, thousands of miners will be unable to secure work. We see the unions remain the same while the development of industry undermines their foundations.

As Marx points out: "The modern laborer, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident that the bourgeoisie (capitalists) is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an overriding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its **slave** within his **slavery**, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state that it has to **feed** him instead of being **fed** by him. Society can no longer live under the bourgeoisie; in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society."

These facts are now facing you miners. You have carried on many strikes to remedy the effects of this system. Your rights as union men were subjected to the whim of the state during the war, but when you tried to better your condition in this war to exist the corporations used their forces against you.

Sectional strikes have dotted the country; but one state pitted against the other in coal production has always spelled defeat to them. Legalized by the methods of the union, offset by the palliative of "moral" support.

This form of the strike is hopeless and useless. It is like a man trying to pull himself out of a bog by tugging at his own hair.

We found also that union men hauled the coal from the mines that were on strike.

Industrial organization of transportation and mining into one union is necessary to stop this state of affairs.

You have 200,000 more miners than the industry can use. This through the advancement and quickening processes of machine production. They will be thrown out to take their place among the unemployed—no room for the slave within his slavery.

You will condemn the machine. It is not the machine. It is the ownership and control of the industry whereby machinery produces profit for a few and not for the workers, as it should.

Mankind stands at the door of a new era. Your past will not save you.

Unions as now constructed cannot cope with the situation. Instead of fighting for wages, contracts, check-offs, insurance, as static conditions, we must understand they should be only a means to an end to carry on the work of organizing the workers as a class to fight as a class to wrest the industries from the hands of the exploiters.

A revolution has been going on under your very eyes. You did not understand it. Now you realize it. It forces you to wander for the elusive job.

Each industry has developed along side of mining and has acted in the same way: the surplus workers are also forced to join the unemployed.

Each day this army is growing with no chance of diminishing. They are victims through the ignorance of the working class, not understanding the economic laws governing society.

Coal! Coal! Shining Black Diamonds! Your color is slightly red. You are stained with the red blood of the slaves who sought in their quest to earn an existence. In future your color will be jet black, because the machine will be your partner. Human labor will be pushed aside, and the miners will be forced to starve or fight.

The miners thought they could compete with their brawn against the machine, but it was an illusion.

Machinery has enslaved mankind, but it will also be its liberator.

Thirty-six thousand miners in Illinois are on the verge of disinheritance.

Miners, study your condition: learn the correct way to organize. Your future is at stake. The industrial form of organization points out the way.

All workers must organize in one union to offset the tyranny which is surely coming, and stop the injustice created by working against each other.

## INJUNCTION DEFINED

An injunction is law made by a judge; and its penalties are fixed by the same judge; and the offenders are tried before the same judge; and the verdict is rendered by a jury of one man—the same judge; and the sentence is pronounced by the same judge.

An injunction is a law that is found on no statute book.
A law that has never been voted on by any set of legislators.
A law that has never been signed by any governor or president.
A law that exists without the consent of the people.
A law that came into being as the law of one man.

# WOBBLES

## DOWN SOUTH

A negro went into a bank down south to get a check cashed. He stood in line a long time and finally his turn came. Just as he got to the window the teller put up a sign: "The Bank is Busted."

The Negro: "What do you mean, the bank is busted?"

Teller: "Well, it is, that's all; it's busted. Didn't you ever hear of a bank being busted?"

The Negro: "Yes, but I never had one bust right in my face before."

## SLACKER

Foreman—"'Ow is it that that leetle man always carries two planks to your one?"

Laborer—"'Cos 'e's too blinkin' lazy to go back for the other one."

## THE EARLY BIRD

"So you're working for Deacon Klutch now," said one hired man. "'S'pose you're woke up every morning by the roosters crowing?"

"No," replied the other hired man. "I wake the roosters up and start 'em crowing."

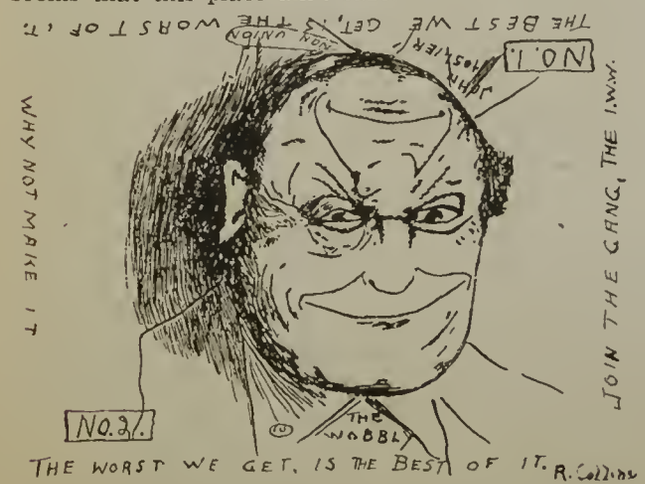
## IN AN UNSAFE PLACE

A carpenter sent to make some repairs on one of the more fashionable sorority houses, entered the place and began work.

"Mary," said the house mother to the maid, "see that my jewel case is locked at once!"

The carpenter understood. He removed his watch and chain from his vest in a significant manner and handed them to his apprentice.

"John," said he, "take these back to the shop! It seems that this place ain't safe."



**The Savior of the Capitalist**

Millionaire (after a hard day's golf): "I'm dead tired tonight."

Wife: "Never mind, dear; perhaps La Follette will abolish golf! He's very radical, you know."

## HOW COULD HE KNOW?

A certain employee in a big manufacturing concern ambled into the office about 9:30 and found the boss infuriated.

"Do you know what time we begin work in this office?" he thundered.

"No, I can't say that I do," replied the tardy one, "but they're always at it when I get here."

## LUXURY

**MISSION STIFF** (to worker just paid off): Brother, kin I have . . .

**WORKER**: Sure; sit down here at the counter. Order what you like.

M. S.: Coffee an'.

.W.: Naw, I'm flush, see? Go ahead, eat a real meal; order up!

M. S.: Oh, thank you, thank you, brother. Uh, two coffee an's!

# New Proof in the Centralia Case

"MURDER will out," and evidently, so will perjury, also the proof of legal frame-ups. There are eight members of the IWW in the state penitentiary of Washington, at Walla Walla. They are serving sentences of twenty-five to forty years, that is, life sentences, for being convicted of murdering Warren O. Grimm, an officer of the American Legion in Centralia, Washington.

Notice we say, "convicted" of murdering, not "guilty" of murdering. The evidence piles up, inexorably, bit by bit, to show that these men are guiltless, that if any of the eight now in prison fired the fatal shots at Warren O. Grimm, they had every moral and legal right to take his life, and are therefore, not guilty of any murder and should be walking about in freedom, at this moment.

STATE OF WASHINGTON }
COUNTY OF LEWIS } ss

I, Clyde DeWitt, residing at 1201 Marion street, Centralia, Washington, was standing on the sidewalk at the northwest corner of the intersection of Second street and Tower avenue in Centralia on the afternoon of November 11, 1919, when the Centralia division of ex-service men in the Armistice Day parade, after marching northward to Third street and x turning back, was marching southward again. Some time during the week before Armistice Day, I remember hearing some boys in the X Logan district of Centralia, where my home is located, talking about a plan to raid the I.W.W. hall.

When the Centralia ex-service men were in front of that hall on their return trip, they stopped. Then a man on horseback who was some distance ahead of them blew a whistle. I saw several soldiers run toward the I.W.W. hall, and saw them pounding against the front of the building. Then I heard a lot of shots and I turned and ran into Second street, so that the Co-operative Store building, near which I had been standing, was now between me and the Centralia soldiers. I crossed Second street, and went behind the Ax Billy confectionery store. Shortly afterward Lieutenant Warren Grimm also came behind the Ax Billy store. He pulled up his shirt and said: "Oh, God, I'm shot!" I saw a wound in his abdomen. Another soldier was with him and caught him as he fell.

I had seen Grimm many times on the streets in Centralia, and knew xim that he was a lawyer and a fine baseball player. I am certain that he was not near the corner of Tower avenue and Second street, where I was standing, at the time when the I.W.W. hall was attacked and when the first shots were fired on Armistice Day.

(Signed) Clyde DeWitt

Subscribed and sworn to before me, a Notary Public for the State of Washington, residing at xxxxxx Chehalis, Washington, this twenty-first day of June, 1924.

O. A. Tucker

Witnessed: Pearl Malin.
G. M. Tucker.

**One of the Three Latest Affidavits**

The latest thing in their favor is a set of three affidavits, secured by the General Defense, from citizens of Centralia. Two brothers, Cecil and Clyde DeWitt were high school boys at the time of the shooting, on Armistice Day, 1919, and they now swear on their solemn oath that they heard the American Legion men planning to raid by force of arms the IWW hall in Centralia on November 11, for the purpose of misusing the members of the Industrial Workers of the World who might be in the hall. These two boys watched the parade of Legionnaires on the date set, and saw them attack the hall. Warren O. Grimm was near the head of the attacking party, and they saw him when shots were fired in self defense by someone inside of the hall.

This evidence is duplicated by another affidavit, sworn to by P. M. Crinion, a retired property owner, who stood not over 150 feet from the hall when the attack took place.

The prosecution which tried to hang these members of the IWW knew all these facts, for Cornier told them to the prosecutor, personally. But the prosecution concealed them from the defense, and from the jury, intimidated the defense witnesses, filled the town with soldiers and intimidated the jury, and brought about a false verdict of guilty. Nine of the jurors admitted before these last affidavits were secured, that the verdict should have been "not guilty" and six of them made affidavit to that effect.

# Gus and Ole

By ADAM NOIR

**EXCITEMENT ran high in the Oleson home. There was much turning and twisting and running about, much high pitched conversation, much joy; for tomorrow would be THE Sunday and everybody was going to the picnic, and it was necessary that everybody and everything be ready when the truck came along.**

**The truck would be furnished by the mill company. In fact, it was the mill company that was giving the picnic—for the pleasure and benefit of its employes and their friends. Of course, each family would have to furnish its own eats, and each individual would have to contribute his share of entertainment, but the company furnished the trucks that would haul them to the grounds, and the grounds belonged to the county in which the mill was located, so, you see, it really was a company picnic after all.**

More than that, the company had donated the money to be distributed in prizes. A dollar for the fat women's race, a dollar for the three-legged race, a dollar for the high jump and a dollar for the broad jump; a dollar for this and a dollar for that, probably ten dollars in all.

Best of all, there would be a competitive tryout to choose members for the company baseball team, the company drill team, and the company rifle team, all of which would compete for the championship of the county with similar teams from other mills at a great inter-mill tournament to be held the first Monday in September—Labor Day.

Thelma, aged fourteen, was almost sure she would win the prize in the girls' race; she won it last year, and had been training for weeks.

Carl and Ivor, aged eleven and eight, had tied themselves together, ankle and knee, and were practicing industriously for the three-legged race.

Mrs. Oleson knew she could not enter for the fat women's race. For, although she had once been rather plump, it was in the old days before she had so many children to care for—before she had to work so hard.

Gus was almost certain to make the rifle team. For he had served as a sharpshooter in France, and already had several medals attesting his skill.

Ole had also served his country overseas and was even a better marksman than Gus, but, somehow, he did not seem to care for such things any more. He had the air of one who had met with great disappointment and disillusionment. He seldom spoke, but when he did it was not comfortable to hear. Not that he was bitter spoken or sarcastic, but his words had a habit of penetrating to the very center of one's consciousness and causing one to think—and thinking is seldom a comfortable occupation.

When Axel, the father, came home to supper, he did not contribute to the general enthusiasm. In fact, he was a sort of wet blanket, gloomy and silent. Notice had, that afternoon, been posted announcing a wage cut to take effect the following Monday.

The superintendent had been kind enough to call the men together and explain to them that wage reduction was made necessary by a falling market and consequent reduction in the price of lumber. He did, however, cheer them up somewhat by saying the mill would operate overtime, two hours a day, and those who worked this time, at the regular price per hour, would actually receive more money than they had before.

Axel was eagerly glad for the few extra cents a day he would receive—for every cent he could scrape together would not begin to pay for the things he longed to provide for his family—but he did not believe he was physically able to stand the gruelling strain of those extra two hours. Since the eight-hour day had come. the pace at which the men worked had grown faster and faster until now it seemed to him he was more fatigued than he had been in the old days when he worked from daylight 'til dark and seldom saw his family except by lamp light.

Gus and Ole had also been notified of the cut and it became the topic of their supper table conversation.

Mrs. Oleson did not like the idea of overtime, for it meant that she must get up earlier in the morning to cook breakfast and be an hour or two later in serving supper, but she quickly calculated the benefits to accrue from the added income and decided that if Axel would take care of his health and would not drink so much home brew beer, (he drank a full pint almost every evening), and would chew less "snus," maybe he could stand it. Anyway, he owed it to his family to work as many hours as possible, health or no health.

Thelma thought her father a perfect brute to even hint at quitting or losing time just when she was entering high school and needed so many new dresses and things. She broke down entirely, and almost spoiled her eyes with weeping.

Carl and Ivor did not, I am afraid, catch very much of the conversation, but they got the idea that their father was planning to do something terrible that would spoil their fun, and they stormed and wept, and said they did not believe Axel was their father anyway, and begged their mother to get a divorce and marry a man that would be good to them.

Gus told Ole, in an aside, that the wage cut would probably not affect them. For the superintendent had privately told him that those who qualified for the baseball, drill and rifle teams would not have their wages reduced, and would not be required to work overtime on practice days.

Said Ole: "Listen, kid. I should think you'd 'ave had enough of that drilling and shooting over in Argonne wood. Don't you know these rifle teams are being organized for no good purpose? Don't you know that the mill companies plan to go on cutting wages and lengthening the hours and speeding up the working pace to the very limit of human endurance, and that when the limit is reached and the slaves begin to growl and grumble, the rifle teams and the baseball teams, and all such, will be expected to become deputy sheriffs or special police or something of the sort and club and shoot the discontented ones back into submission? I ask you, can't you see that?"

"Aw, can the mock heroics," said Gus; "I certainly do not know anything of the kind, and you do not either. You've been listening to those dam'd foreign agitators until you've about lost your mind. Anyway, the cut won't affect you and me if we make the team, and if you're not a bigger fool than I take you for, you'll make a try for it. True enough, you were born in this country, and our parents were born in this country —in Minnesota—but the kind of talk you're handing out shows you're a damn poor American. If you don't like the way we do things over here, why in hell don't you go back to Scandiahoovia?"

Ole did not attend the picnic, and a few days later the superintendent called him into the office and paid him off, saying: "I'm sorry, Ole. But lumber is moving so slow we find it necessary to cut down the crew or we'll soon have the yard piled so full we can't turn around."

"If you can't find sale for your lumber, why is the mill running overtime?" asked Ole.

"You get to hell out of this office and off this company's property, and stay off, or I'll have you arrested." shouted the superintendent.

* * * *

Gus made both the rifle and the drill teams, and soon attained high standing in each. Following the Labor Day tournament, all teams were combined to form what was called The Milltown Guards, and, so great had become his popularity —and his standing with the mill owners—that he was unanimously chosen commander.

Carried on the books of the company as a foreman, at wages much higher than he had ever dreamed of getting, he devoted all his time to organizing and instructing his little army. Never one hour did he put in actually producing or helping to produce lumber, or any other values. He moved in the highest society, and became engaged to the superintendent's daughter. He abandoned his little room at home and took the finest suite in the best hotel in town.

He was not arrogant, however, but a jolly, good fellow with everyone. In a few weeks he became the idol of the town, to be emulated by every schoolboy and pointed to as an example by every parent. Above all, the solid business men never tired of singing the praise of Gus Oleson, and of calling attention to his active loyalty to American principles and high ideals.

* * * *

Ole could not get another job in Milltown and soon drifted away. Wherever he went, he found conditions pretty much the same. Everywhere, wages were being reduced. Everywhere, the longer workday was being re-established in the guise of overtime. But, he found that **not** everywhere were the workers submitting without protest. In many places, unions were being formed. In many places, he heard men speak of actually demanding more wages and shorter hours—even shorter than eight hours.

Ole joined the union, and being without a job much of the time, tried his hand at organization work. He could not make speeches, but he could sell papers and distribute literature. Also, he developed considerable organizing skill. Eventually, he was sent to Milltown to open a hall there and do what he could to educate and organize his old friends and workmates.

His one visit with his folks was not pleasant. Axel had been unable to stand the gaff and lost his job; and was now a prisoner at the county stockade where he was sent under the "Lazy Husband Act" which permitted his wife to draw a certain sum from the state for each day of his incarceration. His mother greeted him as lovingly as her nature would permit, but when she learned that he was connected with "those terrible unionists and agitators" she froze up and said she guessed he had better get a room downtown, "as the neighbors might talk if they see you hanging around here too much."

Thelma would not come in the room while he was there. And Carl and Ivor could talk of nothing but Gus and his soldiers; and state that they were being drilled in the Junior Auxiliary to the Milltown Guards.

He did not meet Gus—and they never did meet until that last day—for although they frequently passed on the streets, Gus always pretended not to see him.

His work among the mill hands prospered nicely. Large numbers were soon coming to the meetings, and a goodly number were taking out membership cards. He thought that by Thanksgiving they might be able to call a strike and force a resumption of the old wage scale and the abolition of compulsory overtime work. But, for Ole, Thanksgiving was never to arrive.

One night, early in November, his mother came to see him and said that on the morrow, when a certain society was to hold high carnival, the parade would march past the union hall; and that when the Milltown Guards, who would march in the rear, came opposite they would stop and wreck the hall and tar and feather its occupants, and run them out of town.

She told him this because, as she said: "You know how Gus is. If he gets started, there's no telling where he'll stop. The town is almost floating in hard cider, and everybody will be more or less drunk. And—I hope you'll go away tonight, and not come back 'til things quiet down."

Ole did not underestimate his danger, and he was not too calloused to respect his mother's feelings, but he felt that his first and greatest duty was to uphold the organization to which he had pledged his life and honor. So, as calmly as possible, he replied:

"Listen, mother. I do indeed know how Gus is, and that there is probably no limit to what he will do if he can. For seven hours, Gus and I lay, side by side, in a shell hole over there and beat off wave after wave of the enemy, until when we were relieved it was not possible to walk in any direction without stepping over or around their dead bodies. Yes, I know Gus, and Gus knows me. Just tell him, if you please, that this union hall is my shell hole. He'll know, then, what to expect."

It is but fair to say that she did kiss him goodbye when they parted.

Morning dawned, quiet and serene. As the day advanced, members dropped in and spoke of a threatened raid. Some of them discussed the advisability of trying to defend the hall. Ole said nothing, but smiled enigmatically and went ahead with his office work.

When the parade came in sight, the hall contained about a dozen persons. Some of them slipped away. A few stayed. None of them were armed. None of them except Ole really believed there would be a raid. He continued to smile and work at his books.

When the parade had passed and was turning to come back, he gave a large envelope to a fellow unionist with the request that it be taken at once to lawyer Simms. The envelope contained Ole's last report to headquarters, filled out in due form to the last detail—and to the last minute.

The head of the parade was now re-passing the hall. Ole closed and locked the door. Turning to the few who were present, he said, "Boys, if any of you want to leave, better go out the back way. It's going to be pretty hot here in a few minutes." Then, moving to a center table, he spread out upon it an automatic pistol and twenty or thirty extra cartridges, and sat down facing the street.

The Milltown Guards came opposite. Gus rode at their head on a prancing horse. He blew a whistle and his company right-faced and marked time. A second blast caused them to crouch like runners on the starting line. With the third, piercing note, they sprang forward and, in a moment, crashed against the door.

The splintered door flew from its hinges and fell inward, a half dozen raiders falling on top of it. Ole commenced firing.

The storm of bullets was too much for them and they broke, several staggering, stumbling, falling and dying on the streets, blocks away.

Gus saw the break and sprang from his horse to rally his men and lead them in person. As his foot touched the sidewalk, a bullet sped through the doorway and caught him square in the mouth. His head went back, his arms went up, and he sank to the ground, to rise no more.

Ole, his pistol jammed and useless, seized a chair and laid about him so effectively that more than a dozen went down under his blows before he was overpowered.

* * * *

Well, they hung him to the bridge that night. Hung him and shot him full of holes. And everybody said his fate was none too severe for one who had killed his own brother. "And Gus was such a clean, wholesome, upstanding young American, too."

## MOVING MOUNTAINS FOR MOLEHILL WAGES

(Continued from page 5)

dends paid by mining companies in Utah in 1923 will amount to more than $10,000,000 exclusive of $1,702,224 paid by the United States Smelting, Refining and Mining Company, which controls mines at Eureka and Bingham as well as mines in other states."

There is an indication as to where the wealth produced by this "battering in perpetual night at the treasure vaults of the centuries"—most largely goes to—to further enrich already rich stockholders.

A few facts and figures from one of the big metal mining centers will make more evident the truth of these assertions.

Reference has already been made to Utah. This is a notorious low-wages and non-union state.

Take Bingham Canyon, for example. This camp has been producing ore on a big scale for the past fifty years. There had never been a change-room at any of these mines here until the IWW came in last year and called a strike which lasted only six days, and won practically all demands. There is a modern change room now, at each of the mines.

But wages are still low, when one stops to consider the high cost of living. Wages run from $3.10 up, mostly not up. Room and board costs at least $40 per month, so you can see what there is left, even if a man works steadily.

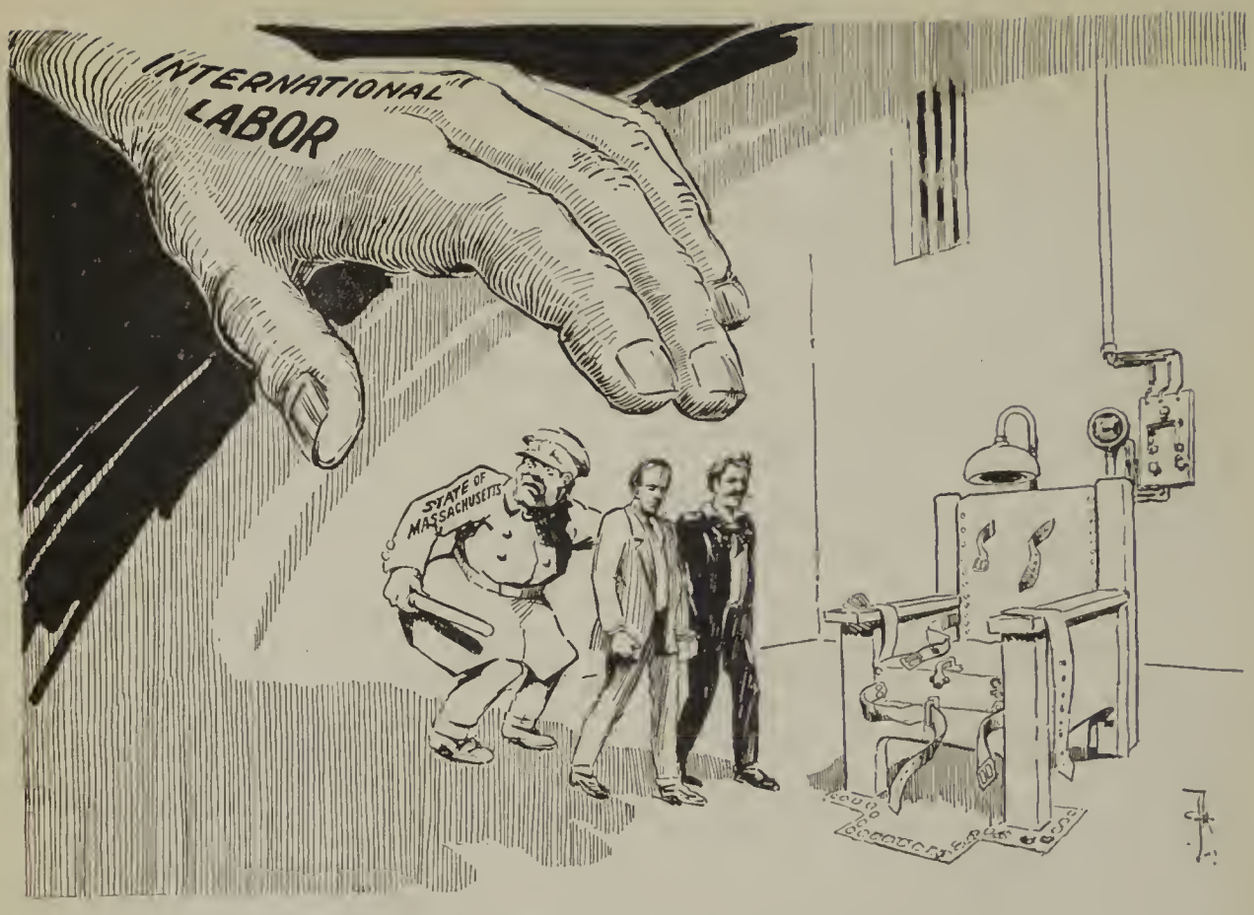
# Coney Island

By MIRIAM TEICHNER

I have seen the people at play, and my heart cries out in sorrow.
It is meet that a child should have toys, and there must be play for the people.
But the toys of a child—are they good when they leave it a-fevered with playing?
Are they good when their paint is a poison that crimsons his lips and his fingers?

I have seen the people at play, and their playing is not as it should be.
It is play that is fevered and wild. Their laughter is pitched nigh to madness.
And the look in the eyes of the men and the lure in the eyes of the maidens
Is tainted and painted, and not as it should be, with joy in the playing.

I have seen the people at play. The hot yellow lights scarred the heavens,
And turned them a strange sickly hue. The sky and the sea were so peaceful,
So purely and splendidly blue. And there came a shy small moon-maiden
And tiptoed her path through the zenith, but none spared a moment to greet her.




**Sacco and Vanzetti Have Not Been Executed—Yet**

# Events and Victims

(Continued from page 4)

the warring nations suddenly espouse the causes of those fatherlands whence they have gladly fled in search of bread and of a new life. Those from the neutral countries are extolling to the stars their birthland's governments which know how to spare their peoples the scourge and the horror of this insane war.

Each of the two fighting groups is dead sure of being in the right, of having been attacked first, of being entitled to victory which will bring great advantages; while the neutrals laugh at both sides and look down from a superior height with benign compassion upon them, posing as supermen who know all things.

These disinherited of the many fatherlands in whom the forced exodus from their native place has frozen the very tears in their hearts, to whom everything was denied from bread to education, whence are they drawing their antagonistic opinions, their false information, their thousand errors, their equivocal reasonings, their unjustified indignation and foolish hopes, their passions, hatreds and grotesque vainglory?

Alas, it is just because I believe myself to have a little knowledge of some of the sources of this evil, that I am classed as a rebel and an innovator, and have the time to tell you, my reader, these reminiscences of mine. Instead of an interrogation to myself, the above question was rather a statement of facts brought to my mind by the logical train of thought on war matters. But just at this point, as I glanced through the train, I saw the glaring headlines on the newspapers which everyone was devouring.

There was my answer, in part at least—the Press! Yes, from the press which calls itself Italian, New Liberian, German, Spanish, English, French. The inciting scribblers, prostituting their intelligence for the gold of those who desire war, keep their pens busy concealing and perverting the truth, safely hiding their infamy behind the excited ignorance of the masses, which makes every lie possible.

The helots of the earth are going mad. The newspapers are rapidly increasing their circulation. The shrewd pile up fortunes. How wonderful is war! All are posing as generals, strategists, economists, statesmen, and, oh, the gorgeously colored, great ideas they are thundering forth!

But the comedy gives place to tragedy; ties of

friendship and affection are severed; daggers are sharpened and revolvers fondled. Thus the beautiful, the holy war becomes another cause of dissension, hatred and competition into which, by pressure or social conditions and their own ignorance, the workers are driven.

But in the New Liberians the war excites only contempt and execration. To them the peoples across the ocean, cutting each other's throats, destroying towns, fields, forests, roads and bridges, are but stupid people of inferior minds, without ideals, hordes of barbarians, blind and docile tools in the hands of greedy kings, who use them ruthlessly to further their designs of conquest and domination by violence, fraud and robbery.

"No," they cry, "we will never join in such a barbarous game. We, free citizens of this republic, we elected as our president a man who has promised to keep us out of the war.

It is true! Now the nation is galvanized by pride. From his seat the President of New Liberia has proclaimed: "The New Liberians are too civilized to fight and to entrust to arms the defense of their rights. New Liberia will never take part in the war."

Marat was right when he said: "It is necessary to praise the people; it is necessary to intoxicate it by a vain exaltation of itself in order to more easily and better deceive it."

* * *

During this period New Liberia is rapidly overcoming the economic crisis which has afflicted her for several years. As if by magic old industries acquire new vigor, new ones are established and thrive, unemployment is disappearing, the labor demand is becoming urgent, wages are rising . . . . but still more are prices and profits.

Who is performing this miracle? Whence this unexpected blessing?

The war has performed the miracle. The blessing comes straight from terror-stricken cities, from the smoking ruins of villages, from devastated fields, from cold deserted hearths, from the oaths of the slayers and the curses and groans of the dying young soldiers, from rivers of blood and heaps of rotting corpses.

**And here, in New Liberia, without remorse or sorrow, they are gladly taking advantage of the opportunity and feeding and equipping the war. By making the war possible they are reaping undreamed-of profits and colossal fortunes.**

* * *

A vigorous jolt of the train coming to a standstill tore me from my meditation.

"We are in Greenland," sighed Johnny, starting for the door. On my way to the factory I looked about me. It was a wonderful morning, the air bracing and clear as crystal. Under the bright rays of the morning sun each object stood out clean-cut and vivid, and the wild Nordic panorama of the place appeared in a glory of light.

The railroad station, all red save the black roof steaming with the damp of the past night, looked like the summit of a mountain; the rails glittered like a busy plough-share curving and disappearing into the forest; forest to the right, forest to the left. Further on the windows of some houses were aflame with the reflection of the morning sun glancing through the naked tree-trunks and branches; and high above all, amid a strangely alive black and grey multitude of trees, loomed upon a distant hill a wooden belfry topped by a cross gleaming in the sunlight and dominating over all.

This village is one of the very many industrial, feudal, tenures, scattered amid the forests along the river banks and coasts of New Liberia. It bears the name of the overlord who owns by law the two churches, the two factories and almost all the houses and the soil itself. I leave it to your imagination, my reader, what may belong to such an overlord by arbitrament or even by desire—if, from your knowledge of the ancient feudalism of the old nobility in the name of God, you can deduce the possibility of this actual feudalism of the present-day bourgeoisie in the name of the law.

When we reached the main entry John pushed the door open, and quickly closed it behind us as I crossed the threshold. What a difference from outside! I felt an instinctive impulse to flee—to return to the sunshine and life-giving air, blessed and pure. But I resisted, and followed John who, after a few steps, stopped in front of the superintendent's office and said: "I am going to work; you wait here, and when Mr. D— comes in, ask him for a job."

I waited, and while waiting I examined my surroundings. Inside the entry there was a hall about thirty-six feet long, and about half as high as the building. A door and a window opened on the left wall—both looking into the superintendent's office. The right wall was blind. The long hall led into a great room with small windows, and in it was a crane on wheels running from one end to the other.

This was the factory.

Barrels and demijohns reinforced by wooden frames were piled here and there. At the rear, the floor was coated with cement. Here stood two huge wooden tanks about fifteen feet high with platforms and iron railings round them. Wooden steps led to the platforms. The enormous covers of the tanks were kept suspended over them by fixed cranes. Metal pipes of various dimensions were to be seen all around. A very long rubber hose lay along the floor.

Human figures covered with dirt and wearing high wet boots and rubber gloves were moving round the tanks.

While I was observing intently, Mr. D— entered his office. Presently he came out and looked at me inquiringly.

"Have you any work for a laborer?" I asked.

"'I need men for the tanks. I pay them ten cents an hour more than the other laborers."

"I don't want to work at the tanks."

He started to go, then stopped, made a half turn, glanced at his watch, and said: 'Go to work with the laborers."

* * *

The old wooden floor had to be replaced by a new one of concrete; raw materials and new machinery had to be unloaded, manufactured goods and empty vessels had to be shipped. All of which was entrusted to the laborers. The timber from the old floor, which was still usable, had to be removed and piled up beyond the factory, while that which was useless had to be taken to a little creek in the woods nearby where the drainage water flowed in a lazy stream which every few steps made a little pool and then resumed its feeble journey.

I soon realized that if the other factory was, in John's words, "a veritable hell," this was the extreme limit of purgatory.

There was not a mouse in the factory, not an insect in the woods and waters nearby. Even the birds kept far away from it and circled it in their flight as a ship steers round a danger spot, or soared high above it. The vegetation all around was dead or withering.

It is civilization, it is prosperity—which Johnny says "makes the paupers live"—that projects poisons into the air and water, driving out everything that is not artificial. But can man—man who is the most sensitive and delicate of creatures —thrive and rise where the very birds, mice, insects and plants are unable to exist?

* * *

The foreman was a New Liberian of gigantic stature. He had the simple mentality, the habits, the manners of a man born and raised in a village. Unfit as he evidently was for the surroundings of a modern industrial plant which grinds and subordinates everything to profit—he must have got his position through "pull." He was slow, inexperienced, incapable of harassing the workers, and good at heart. We treated him well and tried to make up for his inexperience by our industry. He was amused and laughed at the many ingenious devices with which the experienced worker multiplies his physical strength and motions, and, watching our calculations of time and motion, he wondered how we laborers had learned in the practical school of life those elementary principles of physics and mechanics which we had not had time and opportunity to learn in schools of learning.

Working and Stifling

And yet sometimes the luminous eyes of this simple giant became cold when observing us. He had heard so many wild tales, so many horrible stories, about these "foreigners," who smiled at him and with whom he had come in contact for the first time. He hardly understood himself his vague feeling of distrust; something beyond his own power to analyze, something intangible, instilled into him a sort of fear, a repugnance, a hatred which strangely intermingled with his lack of mental strength to understand. At moments it seemed that they might be good men, then again, because he had not always known them, he thought it must be impossible that they should be good; and yet he could not point out even to himself in what way they were bad. They were "foreigners," that was enough; that was the answer.

At about two o'clock in the afternoon a thick greenish fume began to rise from the tanks, rising to the ceiling and then floating down again in a cloud-like mass. From this and from the tanks themselves emanated an irritating odor of sulphuric acid gas, stifling and choking the workers and burning their eyes. Soon tears were streaming from my smarting eyes, and I asked the man next to me if they were manufacturing dyes or asphyxiating gases.

Coughing violently, and with his eyes closed, he answered: "Wait, and you will find out."

I did not have to wait long. A layer of fumes rose and covered the whole of the ceiling of the factory, then gradually descended to meet a new cloud rising from the tank. The cloud grew thicker and thicker. The thicker it got and the nearer it came, the greater was our suffering. There were convulsive coughs on every side, the tears poured from our eyes, and finally we were all coughing and crying. The men at the tanks quit their work and hurried away, followed by the carpenters working near them. Handing over our shovels, we stopped work also, as it was impossible to keep our eyes open. The windows were flung open, but without result—we got no relief; our suffering became unbearable, the fumes choked us and burned our eyes until we were frantic. Coughing, weeping, blinded, gasping, groping, we went back to the door. Here we stopped, hesitating, until a puff of the pestiferous exhalation almost overcame us. At last we threw open the door and rushed into the open.

* * * *

Now that the "men of the tanks" were near to me, I had a chance to observe them. I scrutinized each one, I tried to understand them. It was not

so difficult to understand their thoughts and emotions at that moment. They were New Liberian farmers who had quit the soil for the factory, yielding to the spell exercised by the fascination of the town upon their native mentality, urged by the occult social factors which they unconsciously obeyed. Under the sincere sunlight they looked more haggard than they appeared in the factory. Pale, emaciated, dirty—a pitiful lot! And yet, upon their countenances were deep lines of strong determination and great hopes. These sentiments were written all over them, even in their gestures. That in their minds were whirlingly dancing fascinating dreams of glories and great fortunes was as evident as the poisoning of their cells that caused their ghastly appearance.

They were repeating to themselves: "Thus, even as we, and maybe still lower, many men have begun whose fame and wealth the world is now bowing down to. Ah, yes, it takes hard work, strength of will, perseverance, self-denial, the spirit of sacrifice, to become rich and powerful."

Knowing that we had refused to work at the tanks, and were satisfied with our lower wages, and, worse, satisfied to wield the shovel which they already cordially despised, it was plain that they held us in contempt as "cowards." They did not say so, they kept silent, but let it be understood by that very silence, the very air seemed to echo: "Cowards, you will always be miserable."

"Yes, it is true," my thoughts answered their looks, "we shall always be miserable, indeed, always more miserable, as long as we do not know how to free ourselves and find the impetus, the courage and the strength to conquer and master our own destiny. But in a premature grave you, poor cheated fools, will witness the wreckage of your absurd hopes and false faith, while physical weakness, multiplied vices, false sentiments and oppression will be the only heritage that fate, shaped by your own folly and that of others, reserves to your children."

What perversion! How far they have strayed in so short a time!

Who ignores what happened in the latter part of the 18th century when the great industries at their inception called for service which no one was willing to give? Who ignores the violences which, after vain promises and allurements proved fruitless, were used to drive the peasantry from the country to the city, to compel them to leave the loved furrows and give the strength of their arms to the new machinery? To become twice slaves—slaves of the masters and slaves of the new machines! Who ignores the intervention of the law which first deprived them of their fields by the abolition of the communal lands, then condemned to the gallows the rebellious peasants it had forced into vagabondage; and the bloody rebellions of these same peasants, bloody with their own blood alone?

And yet these ancient peasants showed a heroic

**Slaves of the Master and of the Machine**

resistance. Because they loved their fields, their independence, the northeast wind as well as the dog-days, and under the blazing sun and the lash of the elements had grown sane and normal, exuberant with life, they instinctively felt and clearly thought that in the cities and factories people lost health both of body and soul.

Finally having been deprived of their lands, compelled to a vagrancy punishable by the gallows, they submitted and went to the cities, to the factories—to physical and moral aberrations.

But ever since those days a great dream of redemption, token of a radiant future, has flourished in the spirits of the vanquished. And only by the realization of that dream which will abrogate every unjust mortgage upon the rights and the value of life, do the vanquished expect to attain that place assigned by nature to every man born of woman at the banquet of life.

But now, and here, these arch-conceited villeins, docile descendants of brave and rebellious grandparents, are abandoning their own fields, liberty and health, to run to the factory, in a mad attempt to attain wealth. Why?

* * * *

A man appeared at the gate to tell us that we might return to our work. We silently obeyed. Each one resumed his task.

* * * *

It is customary for every experienced laborer, when new on a job, to imitate the methods, habits, and conduct of the older workers. This is the only way to avoid being abused by the foreman, to preserve the rights acquired in the conflicts between masters and slaves, and also to escape the bitter rebukes of the other workers.

The next morning, following the rule, I observed and did whatever the other workers did. Thus imitating them I was given a pair of new gloves, and was much surprised to see the men seizing their shovels and cleaning them with great care. They scrubbed and scraped the handles as hard as they could, using a scraper that they afterwards threw away. Wondering at this, I asked the reason for such unusual cleanliness.

"Do you see this greenish layer of dust on the shovel? It is poison. This is a dangerous busi-

ness; watch out, take care. Get new gloves every morning; clean your shovel thoroughly; clean your hands carefully before touching anything you eat. At the slightest scratch run to the drugstore. You see, we are working among the most dangerous poisons all the time. Remember, and do as I tell you as long as you work here."

I thanked him.

* * * *

Several weeks passed without accident except the daily exhalation of sulphuric acid and a few comic episodes arising from the obstinacy of the laborers concerning the work about the tanks. One morning we noticed several pipes turned and others broken to pieces around the tanks, and the traces of an abundant use of water. A strange silence reigned in the factory. What had happened during the night work? A calamity? Had that water been used to cleanse the floor of human blood? I shall never know.

A few days afterward something happened, which, though apparently insignificant, was soon to cut off an exuberant young life, to whom the future was smiling with the fascination of a thousand illusions.

To explain this happening, I must go back a little. From the first day of my arrival, my attention had been attracted by the queer ways of one of the men. He was a handsome youth of about twenty-seven years, of rather short stature, but broad shouldered, strong and agile. His dress was something between that of a clerk and a laborer. He spoke to no one. He moved quickly, often passing his hands through his thick hair when it hung down his face, and if his hands were occupied, he would toss it back from his forehead with a beautiful, energetic movement of his head.

For several days I tried to find out what his regular trade was, but without success. I saw him move about, stopping here and there to wield furiously the pick, shovel or hammer—strike a great blow to the right, another to the left, then drop the tool as if it were burning his hands.

He handled all kinds of tools in succession, changing places and working with surprising restlessness. An old laborer easily recognized the symptoms. Alfred—this was his name—was a job hunter, morally faithless. As with all adventurers, he was trusting to dishonesty, legal or otherwise, to get the leisure, the comforts and the satisfactions which the honest worker cannot afford. Not sufficiently ignorant to share with the simple-minded folk the childish hope of an equitable reward for labor; not sufficiently educated to be familiar with the natural law of compensation; unwilling to work and without an independent income, he could only depend on evil, which he did. He thought he saw a chance to "rise," to "get ahead." The time and the place were propitious.

He was sure that Germany would be utterly defeated and that New Liberia would inherit leadership in the production of chemicals. If anyone had told him that within a few years the New Liberian barons of the new industry would have to engage lobbyists and politicians to obtain protective tariffs and laws in order to withstand the competition of German products, Alfred would have thought him crazy.

"Here it is possible to get a good position," he was thinking. It was sufficient for him to show that he had no scruples, nor weak or human respect for the less fit than he, in order to prove that he knew how to use authority and command. At last he was wearing his first laurels!

The first laurels . . . ! He had succeeded in supplanting the old foreman, who thus became a plain laborer!

But this man, so harshly treated, knew how to conceal his internal suffering. Only a slight paleness, an unnatural brightness of his blue eyes that gradually grew colder, and a repressed tremor that shook his huge body—the most cruel form of weeping—whispered of the battle within.

The sorrow and shame of a man who had in himself the sincerity and virtue of an era which is disappearing awaken our pity. That evening, in his home, the giant wept like a child, and with him wept his old aunt, a spinster who had been a mother to him.

That same evening Alfred was kissed by his young wife as the brave and victorious are rewarded—he was fighting and winning his way upward.

And we realized that we had lost out in the change.

* * * *

The next morning Alfred arrived at the factory confident and happy, this time in command. Also the blue-eyed giant had arrived, but to be commanded, to take orders, to obey. And to be commanded for the first time, at his age! To be commanded, he, with white hair, whose ancestors had fought for the glory and independence of the fatherland, commanded by a despised intruder from across the border. This was too much for a man who sincerely believed himself to belong to the elect, the people pre-elected by God and nature; to a race for whose benefit and service the semi-human rabble, the nameless, graceless hordes driven by hunger, misfortune and ignorance to the sacred shore of his native land, had been created.

Sleepless and sorrowful he had passed the night, recalling, understanding and realizing all the perfidy and trickery by which Alfred had supplanted him, feeling ridiculed, humiliated, offended. A mortal hatred seized him. He tried in vain to hide his anguish under the cloak of an external calm. We saw him turn pale as he picked up his shovel to start with us to heavy labor.

Alfred was determined to show his superiority over his predecessor by trying from the first hour to make us work harder than before. He had laid his plan of procedure.

That day cement was being prepared for the new

floor. The new boss seized a tub of water and began to pour it into the material as fast as he could, knowing that the material must be mixed as fast as the water is poured. By setting a fast pace he intended to force us to do likewise.

Laughing at the way he not only soaked the men around him, but also himself, we exchanged knowing looks.

The days had passed when a tremendous labor crisis rendered the "meat work," the most despised, turned the workers from their huts, deprived them of their daily bread, forced them to prostitution, espionage, crime and suicide. The beautiful, the holy war, had relegated all that to the memories of the accursed past. We exchanged knowing—planning looks. We were not afraid of losing our poor jobs. Were we not sought after, respected, appreciaated, petted and flattered? Did we not seem to live among different people in a different world? The rabble had not forgotten the insults, the ineradicable sufferings, and everywhere it took advantage of the favorable opportunity and revenged itself by returning worse for evil to the slave-driving foremen, and by doing slow, careless work in place of the former bestial toil.

"It is very undignified—in fact, dishonorable," someone, strong in morals, may observe.

Undignified—true, but not dishonorable. Can the slaves be blamed if they have been defrauded of common sense and dignity? Of the "natural sense" as Marat used to say? And if they had not been thus defrauded, would they be slaves at all?

To one who warned them that a historical tragedy had been started and not a carnival; that by working they were making themselves the accomplices of the masters and tyrants; that no one would be spared; that darker and more ferocious would be unemployment, hunger, shame and desperation—the slaves replied that the war will disclose to the lucky survivors (among whom, of course, each was sure he would be) an earthly paradise. And to one who insisted upon teaching them, they replied: "Is it possible that you, a ragamuffin like ourselves, presume to think that you know more and better than the storekeeper, the barber, the journalists, the preachers, the kings and their ministers, and the President himself?"

But to return to facts—slaves are so accustomed to toil that they worked even harder than the interest of the owners and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals would have allowed horses to work. Never before in history was the sweat of slaves more vain for themselves, more productive to the slave-drivers.

Well, reader, I have gone a little off the beaten path, but the conditions and reasons exposed in this digression, are just the conditions and reasons which brought about our agreement to play a practical joke on our new foreman, and to escape punishment.

Instead of keeping up with Alfred's speed, we did just the opposite and began to mix the material very slowly, so that Alfred soon saw that he had poured in too much water. Then he ordered us to add more cement and sand, and we purposely added too much, and more water was required, and the joke would have continued if Alfred, understanding the ill feeling, had not gone away followed by our jeers of derision.

He had certainly made a bad start, but scorn was not sufficient to cure him. Alfred was not bad at heart, it was simply that he had to "get ahead" and make his career by tormenting, or seeming to torment, his underlings. He thought that the way to succeed was the show of authority. It made him feel big and powerful, and he thought it would make him look as he felt. He proudly looked upon his recent promotion as the first step toward success. Young, sufficiently educated, he anticipated a far better position than his present one, if, of course, he knew how to play his present role. His duty, he believed, was to behave as he had done that morning. He had a lovely young wife who made him very happy, and their baby, beautiful as love, was just blessing them with its first smiles.

For this woman's sake, for the sake of their child, Alfred was unjust to his fellow men. Worse than wicked, he was unconscious of the urge which compelled him to seek the happiness of his beloved ones at the expense of other men's happiness.

Whose the fault, if not that of present-day society based on competition and antagonism which compelled him to play the role of either wolf or lamb, as all others must be either wolves or lambs?

* * * *

During the weeks following the day of his promotion some of the men contracted the dreadful infection of which I had been so carefully warned by my fellow worker.

It began with small white blisters between the fingers and the toes, and the skin began to break out in an eruption which spread gradually to the forearms, the armpits, the breast, and finally invaded the whole body, causing swelling and an almost intolerable constant itching. Some were so seriously affected that they had to undergo medical treatment for several months. However, in spite of this fact the number of laborers increased because the winter season was driving them, as it had driven me, from their regular work. They were glad to get any kind of work rather than remain idle through the winter.

Production was being increased, and more raw materials and new machinery were necessary, so that, in order to accomplish many different operations at the same time, the men were sometimes divided into gangs. In such emergencies one of the gangs was entrusted to the ex-foreman, whom,

to tell the truth, the superior offieer never eompelled to work with us; on the eontrary under one pretext and another they tried to keep him away from us. But he was so outraged and offended that he disdained their efforts and kept with us for sheer hostility.

Sometimes we were detailed to work outside the faetory, away from the direct surveillance of the head offieer. Then Alfred would reveal himself. He would ehange his manners and seem to say: "I am not as bad as you believe me; this is the world we live in and that is the role I must play; that is all there is to it." And he would pass a paekage of eigarettes around.

* * * *

More than a month after his promotion, Alfred one fine morning in January left the superintendent's offiee, and with a determined expression and rapid step came to us who were mixing cement. He picked out some of us and ordered us to follow him. We went out and walked toward a freight ear near whieh a Slav driver was waiting, holding the reins of two horses hitched to a wagon.

The eompany's private track reached almost to the gate of the factory, but many years of disuse had made it almost unfit for use, therefore the freight ears had to be stopped at some distance from the faetory. This freight ear was loaded with maehinery parts which were to be taken to the faetory. Alfred's face, voiee, words, gestures, everything about him showed plainly that he was over excited, dominated by a fixed idea to the point of obsession.

Why? It was very simple to understand. When ordering him to do that work the superintendent had taken out his watch to look at the time. Most likely he did it automatieally, through foree of habit, but Alfred gave to the possibly uneonscious gesture a wholly different interpretation, and was terribly agitated.

In little things as in big the slaves are as a rule, and rightly so, hostile to their master and his eommands. But there are eases in whieh, owing to either colleetive aberrations or personal unexpressed interests—or things held to be so—they surpass in their zeal the most optimistie expeetations of those in command.

Sueh was our ease.

Alfred took hold of a hand truek with such wholehearted earnestness that we believed he had determined to get one wagon load to the factory before noon, and we helped him willingly. Before twelve o'eloek one wagon load was not only in the factory, but unloaded. At one the whistle found us at the freight ear ready to begin work again.

There were just about two more loads left in the car, as the most stupid of laborers would have easily seen, and we had four hours ahead of us in which to finish the job. It eould have easily been done in three hours, and, after all, the objeet was to empty it that day to save the demurrage. Obsessed by the desire to show off, to prove his ability to turn out work, Alfred seemed to be possessed by a devil. Instead of attending to their work, the men were compelled to watch out for the safety of their feet and legs, whieh were eonstantly endangered by Alfred's frantie efforts.

John and I went to the opposite end of the ear to take down a heavy steel beam. Suddenly Alfred ordered us to stop work, though the wagon was little more than half full, leaving more material in the ear than eould be taken in one load and not nearly enough for two. But Alfred did not reason, he ordered us to start for the faetory. Thirty minutes later we were baek in the car.

"All hands here," he commanded as he plaeed a hand truek beside a very heavy bloek. With an "all together" effort of muscle and will the bloek was hoisted upon the wagon. Another still heavier bloek was plaeed beside the first. On top of these a steel axle was placed, and in the spaces between some lighter pieces. Evidently Alfred had determined to empty the ear with this single trip of the wagon, but seeing at last the absurdity of the idea he ehanged his plan, and in order to make us for-

**The Ancient Struggle: To Be Free**

get his harshness and stupidity, took out a package of cigarettes and passed it around.

The New Liberian giant turned his back, refusing the offer with a disdainful growl. The rest of us smoked and laughed at Alfred's foolishness. There were only a few pieces of metal left in the car and the wagon was overloaded.

Alfred threw away the stub of his cigarette, got on the wagon and ordered us to follow him. Seeing that I remained in the freight car he asked me if I was afraid to get on the wagon.

"Certainly I am," I answered; "the wagon is overloaded."

He smiled and gave orders to start. John and I feared for those who were on the wagon, and we followed on foot a short distance behind. The wagon wheels creaked and groaned ominously on over the road which had been made rough and uneven by the sudden frost which had followed several warm days of rain.

When the wagon reached the level of the northeast corner of the factory and was turning toward the gate, the laborers, judging it safer, jumped off. At the gate the driver made the horses turn so that he could back them into the factory. This for good reasons, the first being to avoid the risk of the horses being frightened or hurt by the pieces of machinery picked up by the cranes passing over their heads, and secondly on account of the narrowness of the place.

The Slav driver maneuvered with such admirable skill that the wagon was soon in the desired position. The ex-foreman had jumped off with the others. Only Alfred remained on the wagon so that he would be ready the moment the crane got in position to start to unload.

The driver backed his horses and the wagon into the gateway, but in so doing he bumped against one of the walls. The space was very narrow, and it was extremely difficult to handle the horses. Three times he urged the horses forward, and as many times backed them, without succeeding in crossing the hall.

Both driver and horses grew more and more nervous. Alfred was on the wagon, his eyes fixed on the crane. No one was paying any attention to him. As nothing had happened coming along on the rough road, there seemed no reason to fear an accident on a smooth, concrete pavement.

The driver again got his horses in the right position and in a voice of thunder shouted to them to start, but the team had been badly trained and made a jump forward, which shook the wagon dangerously.

At a still more imperative shout from the driver, the team bounded forward, causing the wagon wheels to strike violently against the threshold, which was slightly raised above the pavement, that the bolts securing the body broke and the loaded frame started to slide off.

Alfred turned pale, but with admirable presence of mind and agility got on his feet and slid backward onto the floor unhurt. He tried to get out of the way of the falling load, but in stepping back he hit his shoulder against the big chain of the crane. The poor fellow, in his fear and excitement, did not realize the nature of the obstacle, for instead of pushing it aside and going ahead, he stopped, stared in terror at the falling load, and then jumped against the wall, shoving his shoulder against it as though he would push it out of the way. But evidently he did not feel safe, for he made another convulsive movement, hit his foot against a shovel standing against the wall, stumbled, and fell on his back near the truck.

Then he tried to master his terror. A fatal victory. If he had continued to be terror-stricken, he might have intuitively rolled over and escaped danger. But the effort he made to control his mental faculties had paralyzed his body, and for an instant, while the enormous load of steel was about to fall, he remained motionless, conscious of his imminent and horrible doom. Without a movement of his white face his eyes grew serene and turned upward.

Speechless, nailed to the ground by horror and impotence, following his every move, I longed to cry out to him to roll over, but my throat would not emit a sound.

A dull, heavy noise made the ground tremble. The noise was followed by a tremendous metallic vibration as from an impact of iron against iron, then a moment of deathlike silence, broken by an indescribable scream of pain and despair. Alfred was supine on the floor, the three heavy steel beams across his legs, crushing his thighs and groin.

His legs were broken, but it must have been the excruciating pain in his groin and thigh that made Alfred scream and scream again.

The New Liberian carpenters working near to whom I called with all my might and who must have heard Alfred's screams, thinking the victim was only a "foreign laborer" kept on hammering and made no move.

My fellow laborers who had witnessed the accident seemed as powerless as I. At last I was able to rush to the poor lad and, seizing hold of the beam across his groin, I strained with all my strength, but in vain. Screaming entreaties to my fellow laborers until they awakened to action, we tugged and lifted and at last the heavy beams were removed from Alfred's tortured limbs, and then, gently, tenderly, we carried him from the tangle of machinery.

While he was imprisoned beneath the beams scream after scream, incoherent, obscene oaths and blasphemies had leaped from his pain-wracked lips. But now they ceased. A great change came over his face. The lines of almost unendurable pain were erased as if by magic. His eyes cleared and it seemed as though he could in his dying moments understand those things which all his life had been

sealed mysteries to him. In pain he was at peace.

Certainly I had no hatred for this man now, though a few minutes before the aecident I could have hated him as mueh as I despised him. If he brought us a great deal of trouble, he brought more to himself.

Superior to the torture of his flesh, the torture of his soul rendered him silent. The approaeh of death seemed to reveal all that Alfred might have been. A dignity worthy of man, a serenity of face, a poise of soul, all seemed to be expressed in those last moments, before the virility of those eyes should be gone forever.

* * * *

The next day, commenting on the aeeident, every laborer was of the opinion that it was much better that Alfred should thus have eaused his own death before he had eaused some real worker or workers to be killed, as would inevitably have been the ease, for "this is the world, and that is Alfred's role."

And I, by a vast association of ideas and eomparisons, saw in Alfred not only the victim but the symbol of mankind. Mankind striving, like Alfred, to overload the wagon of life with faults and absurdities, and reducing itself in the end to the same eondition as Alfred, bruised and broken, perishing with an obseene phrase upon lips made livid by approaching death.

Because there is no other way out: Either renew or perish.

THE END

# The Illusion of War

By RICHARD LE GALLIENNE

WAR I abhor, and yet how sweet
The sound along the marehing street
Of drum and fife, and I forget
Wet eyes of widows, and forget
Broken old mothers, and the whole
Dark butehery without a soul.

Without a soul, save this bright drink
Of heady musie, sweet as hell;
And even my peace abiding feet
Go marching with the marehing street.
For yonder, yonder goes the fife
And what care I for human life?

The tears fill my astonished eyes
And full my heart is like to break
And yet 'tis all embannered lies,
A dream those little drummers make.

O it is wickedness to elothe
Yon hideous, grinning thing that stalks,
Hidden in music, like a queen,
That in a garden of glory walks,
Till good men love the thing they loathe.

Art, thou hast many infamies,
But not an infamy like this—
Oh, snap the fife and still the drum,
And show the monster as she is.

FOR PEACE OR WAR?

# The Industrial Pioneer Gains Favor Everywhere

A flood of testimonials from readers shows that the Industrial Pioneer is more than winning its way—it has won the interest and regard of the working class of America, and its influence is spreading beyond the seas.

### AND WHY SHOULDN'T IT?

Where else in America, or in the world, for that matter, will you find any monthly magazine as bright, up-to-date, and attractively illustrated, dealing fundamentally with industry from a worker's point of view?

### IT IS PROLETARIAN ART

The best efforts of the real rank and file of the revolutionary wide-awake IWW, are saved for the Industrial Pioneer. Poetry, science, painting, photography: the skill of the novelist and of the short story writer, as well as the technical observer and special feature writer, are all found among the common people. They bring to their literary work a freshness and soundness of thought that is lacking in the more sophisticated, more artificial pensters of the bourgeoisie. People read the Industrial Pioneer for its beauty, its information, and most of all for its sanity.

### YOU CAN HELP

You, as a proletarian yourself, should help in this great work. Write for the Pioneer yourself—you don't know what you can do until you try. And see that it gets circulated. You don't know what you can accomplish, until you take a bundle order on the street. If you haven't any address, use the subscription blank below to send the Pioneer to some homeguard.

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# BEWARE!

California is the land of rattlesnakes and plague, earthquakes and volcanoes, poverty and grasping greed. Out of it come like a miasma, hoof and mouth disease, botulism, poisoned celery, typhoid fever, and occasionally the Asiatic scourge, the dread bubonic.

Socially, California is also a viper state, dripping the poison of criminal syndicalism laws, sub-normal and perverted police forces, the gagging Busick injunction, the practice of burning alive its own insane children in fire-trap "homes," and of scalding with burning grease the children of the I. W. W.s and hounding their mothers to the grave.

All these things have one cause—the venomous nature of California Capitalism.

Boycott California until it cleans up!

Boycott California until it releases all class war prisoners!

# BOYCOTT CALIFORNIA!

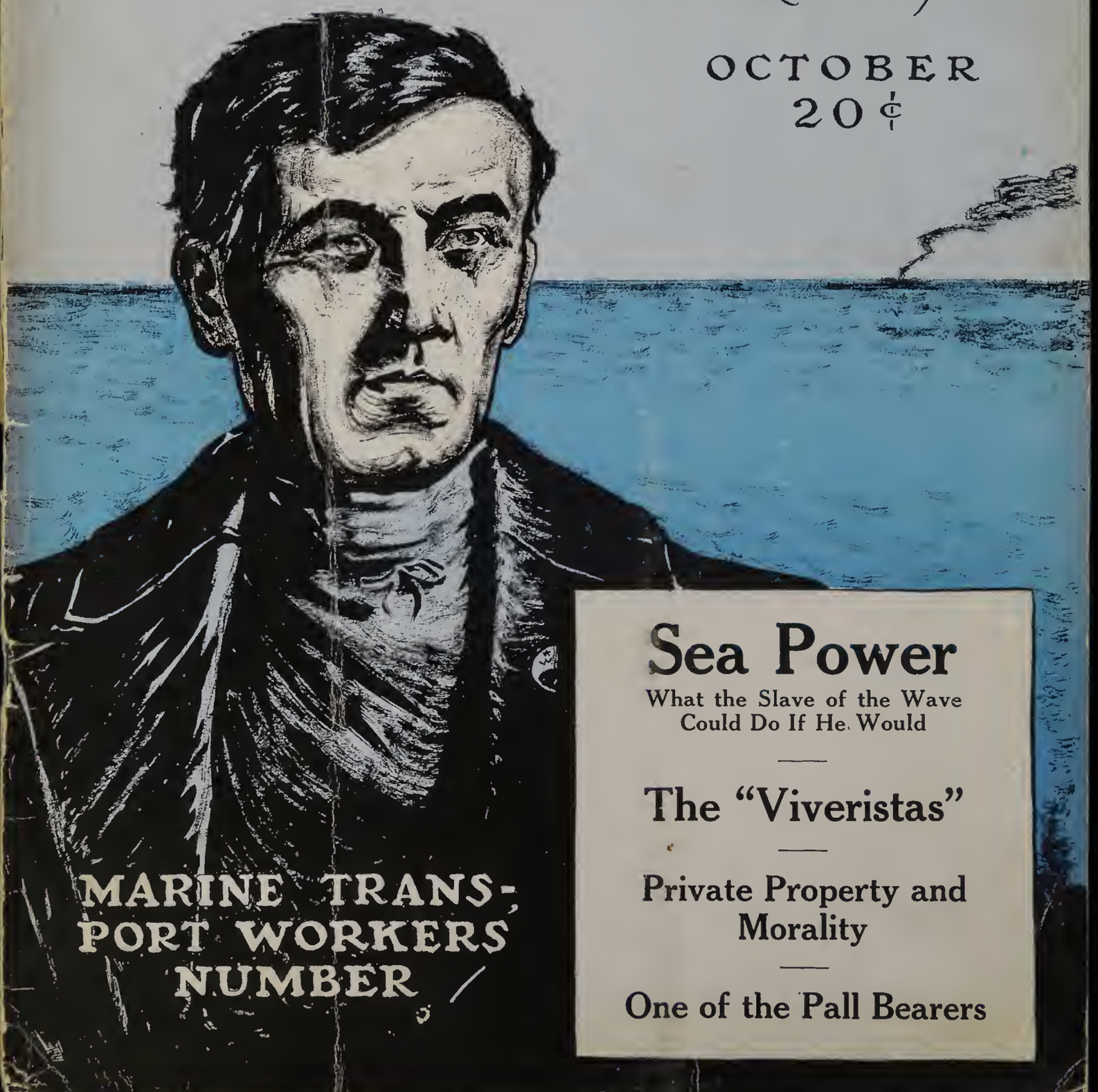
# TAKE FIVE---AND THINK
## ABOUT
# JOINING THE IWW

Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W. has fought the good fight from Texas to North Dakota. There may still be harvest workers who failed to join it. To them we say: "Be quick—take your place in the great work of freeing humanity—join now—there is still time."

# The Industrial Pioneer

*An Illustrated Labor Magazine*

OCTOBER
20¢



MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS NUMBER

## Sea Power
What the Slave of the Wave Could Do If He Would

## The "Viveristas"

## Private Property and Morality

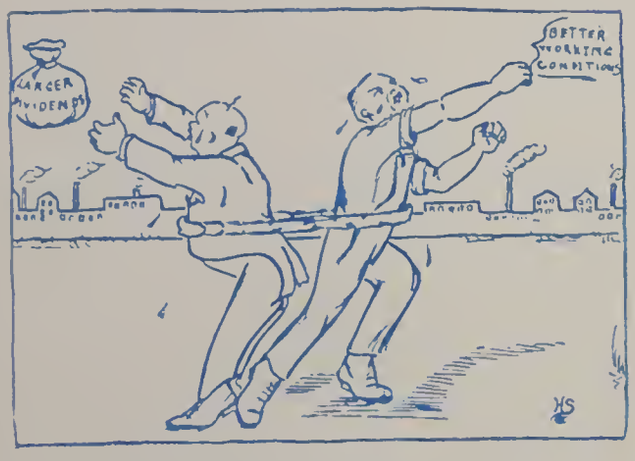
## One of the Pall Bearers

# Rhymes on the Preamble

By VERA MÖLLER

## NOTHING IN COMMON.

Have the gorged beast with fresh blood on its claws
And its torn victim any common aim?
What fellow-feeling does the hunter have
For the wild creature that shall be his game?
What thinks the master as he views his slave,
Whose aching muscles strain beneath the load,
Except how far that slave shall serve his ends,
How far it shall avail to use the goad?
He that must starve and toil and he that lives
On other's toil in luxury and ease—
He that would rise, he that would crush him down—
What common object can there be twixt these?
And there can be no peace while millions want
And there is hunger amid those who do
Earth's useful toil, while the good things of life
Are in the clutches of the idle few.




## THE STRUGGLE MUST GO ON

Between these two the struggle must go on
Until the workers of the world arise
And claim the world; until within their grasp
All the machinery of production lies.

## TRADE UNIONS.

When the management of industries is centered in few hands
And passes into fewer still, we find
Trade unions can no more cope with the master's growing power
And change has left old methods far behind:
For groups of workers are transformed into opposing forces
In labor's ranks until, in the wage war,
Unions in one industry but help defeat each other;
They grapple hands that made the roof and floor.
Trade unions aid the masters in spreading the delusion,
They preach to all the victims they despoil,
That there are common interests between the men who labor
And parasites who live upon their toil.

## THESE CONDITIONS CAN BE CHANGED.

Through but one course can these conditions change,
There is one way alone that's safe and sure;
Let all the unions group themselves in one,
The worker's interests shall be secure;
So when one union fights the master's greed,
All men must cease to toil, not only in
That one industry, but if needs must be,
In EV'RY union, so each strike MUST WIN.

## THE ABOLITION OF THE WAGE SYSTEM.

Instead of the craven motto on our banner:
"A fair day's labor for a fair day's pay,"
Inscribe the revolutionary watchword,
"Abolish the wage system." Clear the way.

## THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

'Tis the historic mission of the workers
To do away with capitalism's sway,
To organize, not only for the struggle
That must be waged with greed from day to day,
But to prepare to carry on production
When capitalism's bloody reign is o'er;
When all industry is controlled by workers,
Then slaves and tyrants shall exist no more.

## BY ORGANIZING INDUSTRIALLY WE ARE FORMING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD

Work hard, work fast, erect the new
Till higher, hour by hour,
Above old walls that sag and sway,
The fair new walls shall tower.
The worms that breed in rot eat through
The old walls sham and gilding,
They sway and totter to their fall;
Keep building, building, building.

Till ringing o'er the master's boasts,
His threats, the mob's wild clamors,
Shall come the sound of stone on stone,
The steady beat of hammers.
The death's head grins o'er crumbling walls
Where blood stains glare through gilding,
They echo to men's shrieks and groans;
Keep building, building, building.

What tho' they tear you from your task:
Go into prison singing
While other workers take your place
And keep the hammers ringing;
From the vibrations of the blows
That ring beneath your hand,
The tyrant's structure shall collapse
And your's alone shall stand.
In vain men prop up crumbling walls
And hide their rot with gilding;
The world's salvation lies where YOU

# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

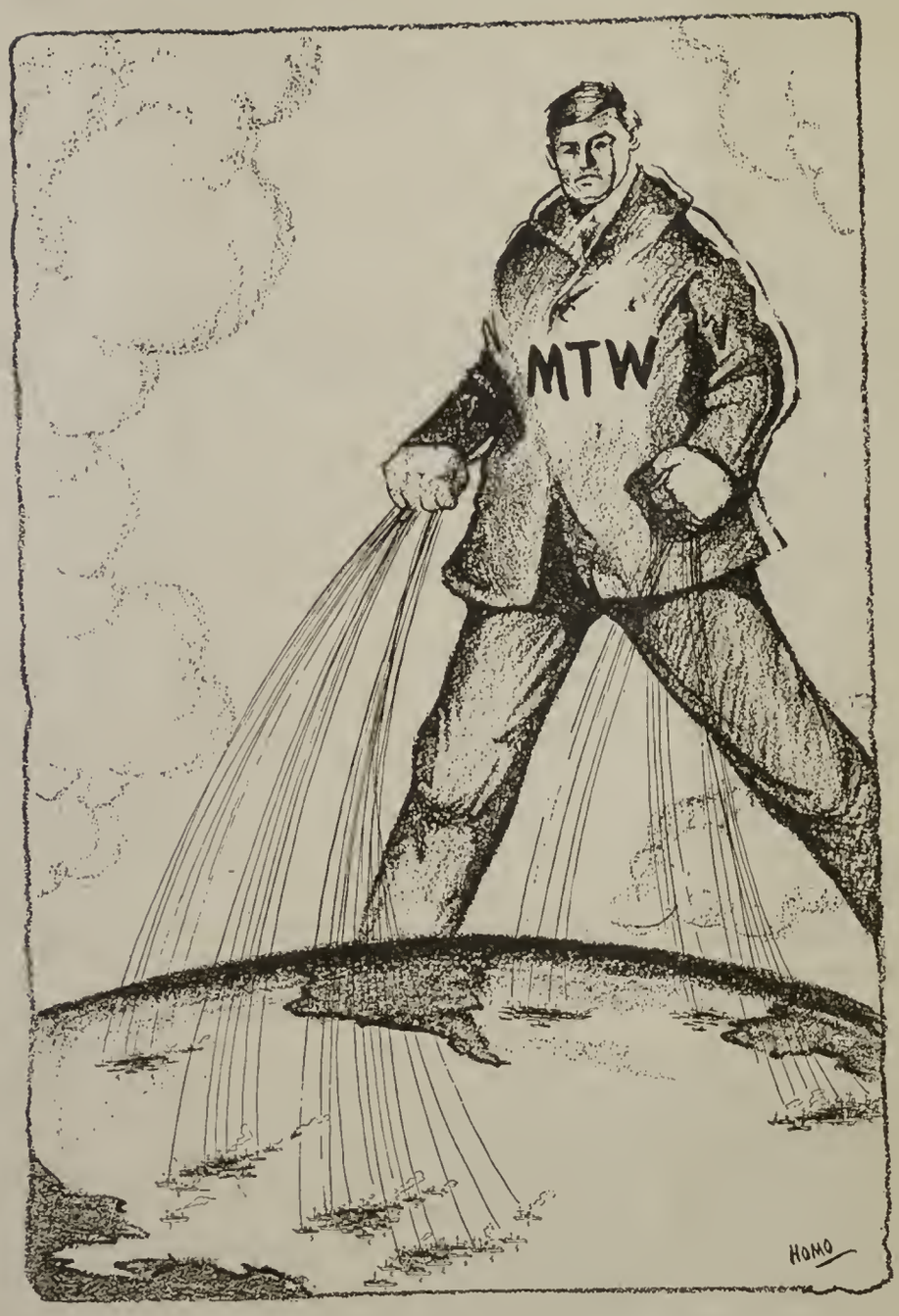
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.




All the Power He Needs
If He Would Only Use It

# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Edited by VERN SMITH

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# Sea Power

By VERN SMITH

## SECTION I—CAPITALISM COMES IN SHIPS

**THE ship is the first peculiarly capitalistic tool. Those germs of capitalism referred to by Marx and Engels and other historical materialists as having existed long before the real reign of capital are almost all of them incubated in the holds of ships.**

**The ship, even the earliest ship, fulfills completely the requirements that Engels lays down as necessary in the machinery which is well enough developed to be the basis of a machine made capitalist structure of society.**

**In the sense in which a ship is a producer of capitalism, and in the sense in which I have used the word here, a larger structure than a one-man-power boat or canoe is meant. The ship, as early as** 3,000 B. C., was a social machine, with a crew, and a certain amount of division of labor between navigators, sailors, oarsmen, pilots, military officers, and soldiers. In this respect of requiring a crew to manage it, the men who work upon it producing none of them a personal product, but all co-operating to a common end, producing a common product, namely an ocean voyage by the whole ship, even an Egyptian galley simulated the most modern of machines for large scale manufacture. There was "social production coupled with private distribution of profit and product"—co-operation in production, with the owner of the tool, not the workers who operated it, getting the product.

### Could It Have Been Better?

There is no way to tell whether, if ships had been invented during periods of primitive communism, they might not have been managed communistically, "for use and not for profit," nor whether there might not have been ship meetings of all the workers on board, and ship committees directing all but the technical aspects of the common work, and directing the ends, even to the technical navigation, steering, etc. Something of this sort exists among the joint stock junks on Chinese rivers, where the boat is divided into compartments and various merchants (some of them deckhands on the junk) store their own product in their own compartments, having each of them an even say as to the course of the voyage, the ultimate destination, etc. I do not know whether this situation improves working conditions for the merchant sailors or not, but it seems as though it should. Of course, they are still merchants, and not primarily workers, and their scheme is not much like what the class-conscious workers of today are trying to achieve. But it seems to have, like so many of the customs and social arrangements of the Chinese, an echo in it of earlier, tribal, communal life, in which classes did not count for much if they existed at all.

As a matter of fact, shipping appeared in Eu-

FIRST TYPE OF SEA GOING VESSEL

**Egyptian Galley of 2500 B. C. Photograph of An Inscription. Writing at Top of Picture Indicates All on Board Are Saluting The King. The Double Mast Is Unstepped And Leans On A Rest.**

rope, Africa and Western Asia only after the class system was developed, after the military and the priesthood were very much in evidence as the defenders of landed aristocracy, and after division of labor and handicrafts had gone to the point where the merchant was able to function, and to make money.

The ship developed essentially as a trading instrument, a thing in which to carry goods from city to city up and down the great river of Egypt. A raft would float products of southern Egypt down to the mouth of the Nile, but something more was required to go the other way, against the current, and this meant keels, hulls, rudders, oars and sails.

### The Sword Writes Its History

The importance of the ship for military purposes was soon discovered, and the military aspects of the ancient galley have been so overdescribed, and so much emphasized, at the expense of the peaceful commerce of the time, that one conducting research into ancient navigation would get the impression that the navies of Egypt, Phoenicia, Greece, Rome and Carthage were entirely war vessels, loaded down with nothing but oarsmen and soldiers, sitting packed like sardines, and with mighty little room for cargo.

This is an error, due to the fact that history for so long a time has been military history, and nothing more. There was plenty of merchant shipping in the ancient times, depending much more on the sail than on oars, though using man-power also, as an auxiliary force. The Greek friezes, and some of the vases (reproductions of which can be seen in the art museums) show long, narrow, many-oared war vessels in pursuit of relatively shorter, wider waisted, fewer-oared merchant ships.

Indeed, the war galley is merely a modification of the merchant ship of the period, as a study of the cargo boats of the Egyptians and Phoenicians will prove. It is interesting in this connection to observe that it was those countries which had long rivers, or short strips of sea, as their easiest means of communication which carried on and evolved shipping. It was not the most warlike nations, even those which bordered on the sea. Assyria and Persia, the most military nations of ancient times, reached the ocean, but since they were great continental powers, depending on agriculture for their sustenance, and on beasts of burden for their internal communications, they added nothing to the improvement of the ship, made no inventions along this line, and depended on the Phoenicians and the Greeks for their military navies.

### Where Merchants Rule

All the authorities of the U. S. Naval War College, headed by Mahan himself, have insisted on the essential weaknesses of such "artificial" navies, as compared with the "real" navies of seafaring (commercial trading) peoples. Probably this difference is not so important now, when ships have become something like floating machine shops, but

ROMAN MERCHANT SHIP

**Does Not Differ In Type From Greek and Phoenician Merchant Ships. At Times, Oars Were Used For Motive Power. The Men Are Out Of Proportion.**

it was important in its day, and shows that the ship is the merchant's invention; he started it, used it, and developed a capitalist society around it. It is quite impossible to imagine the landed aristocrat taking to the water, and abandoning his fortresses and his slave agriculturists for the uncertain life of a tramp captain—and if he did such a thing, he would become a merchant of the seas, anyway.

The great naval powers of antiquity were those nations in which handicrafts were fairly well developed, and which had natural harbors, or were for some reason forced to rely on water for communication between parts of their empire. Egypt and its river has been mentioned. There was China and its two big rivers. There was Phoenicia (Tyre and Sidon) with their good harbors and their position impregnable except by sea. There was Greece, a mass of islands, little peninsulas, and bad mountainous roads, except for the water ways.

Then comes Carthage, a good harbor, with a narrow strip of fertile ground around it, and nothing but desert back of that. Of course the Carthaginians were a commercial people from the first, being a colony of the Phoenicians. The practice of founding colonies on the islands and distant mainlands, followed by Tyre and the Grecian states, increased the necessity of shipping, for communication and for trade, and reacted to develop the ship itself, as it went on longer and longer voyages.

Finally there are the shipping towns of the northern part of Italy, Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, which made themselves independent through their wealth, gained in shipping, and introduced banking, bills of exchange, government by the bourgeois (or citizens), class war between the rich and the poor, and other capitalistic customs, at a time

(1300-1500 A. D.) when the rest of Europe was still pretty much in the feudal period.

### Forms and Facts

As proof of the fact that the ship and societies founded on sea-borne commerce are capitalistic, even in a world still largely aristocratic or feudal, it is only necessary to consider their form of government.

It is obvious that the republican (or parliamentary—no real difference between them—) form of government is peculiarly adapted to a commercial, capitalistic people. Where votes are to be the basis of political power, money counts most, and certain arts of the politicians, remarkably like those of a salesman, count secondly. This gives the men with money, especially if they be at the same time business men used to clinching bargains, the real rule of the country; whereas, if birth counted most, and military prowess counted secondly, as in a monarchy or despotism, the possession of money would not necessarily be of immediate advantage in the securing of political power.

Aristocracy and despotism in general are therefore the typical forms of government of landlord states, and republics and parliamentary governments are the typical forms of capitalistic states, even as democracies, the assemblies of the whole people, are the typical forms of government of primitive communities, or tribes.

Now which are the great republics of history? Modern western Europe and American states, of course, are either republican or parliamentary in form, since all are capitalistic. The only exceptions are the military despotisms of the Fascisti, etc., and that is something else, the breakdown of the state apparatus of capitalism, its decay.

Of the feudal states none were republican or parliamentary except just those Italian cities we have mentioned as sea-powers. There were also some German city states, sea-powers themselves in a small way or given over to manufacturing commodities for sea-trading.

Of the older states, Rome, the Macedonian Empire, Assyria, Persia, the Eastern Asiatic states, all these were aristocratic, agricultural empires—none was republican, except that Rome preserved some of the forms of republicanism from primitive communism through her traders' wars with Carthage, and gave them up when she turned to an agricultural empire.

On the other hand, Carthage, the Greek colonies (independent), the Greek cities, and Phoenicia were all part of the time or all of the time republics, which shows that the capitalist class, the merchants especially, were a strong influence.

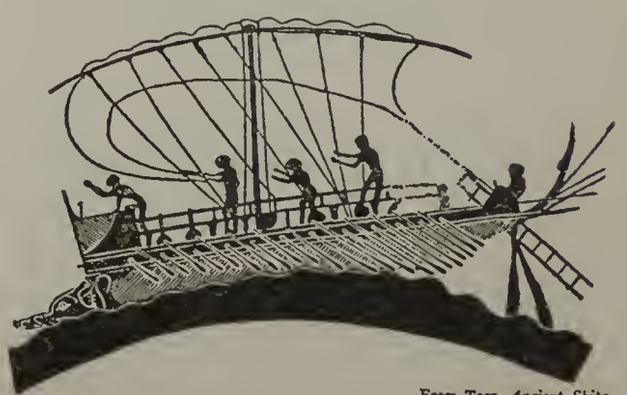
### Two Phases of Renaissance

Let us now return to the later middle ages, the period of the renaissance. It is well to be explicit about this renaissance, for there were two phases, the first not much recognized, not as much as it deserves to be. Everybody knows about the second period, the magnificent outburst of art and letters, of scientific discovery and exploration. That second period was about 1400 to 1500 A. D. But there was an earlier renaissance, which caused the second. It was the revival of invention, as a social force. In fact, it was certain inventions, useful to shipping, and especially useful to navigation, that made the turn from the feudalism of the Teutonic peoples to modern capitalism.

The record of written history from earliest times down to the present, is a story of peoples who start as tribes, with economic classes of little importance, settle down and begin to farm, develop classes, weaken themselves militarily thereby, and succumb to some freer, fresher tribesmen, who then go through the same process. From the time of the pyramids (say 3500 B. C.) to the first glimmer of renaissance (roughly 1100 A. D.), there were no essential, primal invention. There were no new principles discovered. There was a certain amount of development, to be sure, but no single invention of a useful instrument was made to compare in its effects with the invention of the bow and arrow, fire, steam locomotion, or the electric motor. The life of the French or German or English serf in the twelfth century was so similar to the life of the Egyptian peasant of pyramid times, if we think of the tools used, and the methods employed for production of necessities, and the mental processes involved, and was so similar to the life of the intervening peasants of Babylonia, Persia, Greece and Rome, that a description of the social economy of one is almost a perfect description of the social economy of any other. One had no tool and knew nothing that the others did not have and know. Agriculture was non-progressive. The land was far more conservative than the sea, though little real progress was made there, during this period.

### Our Forefathers Were Failing

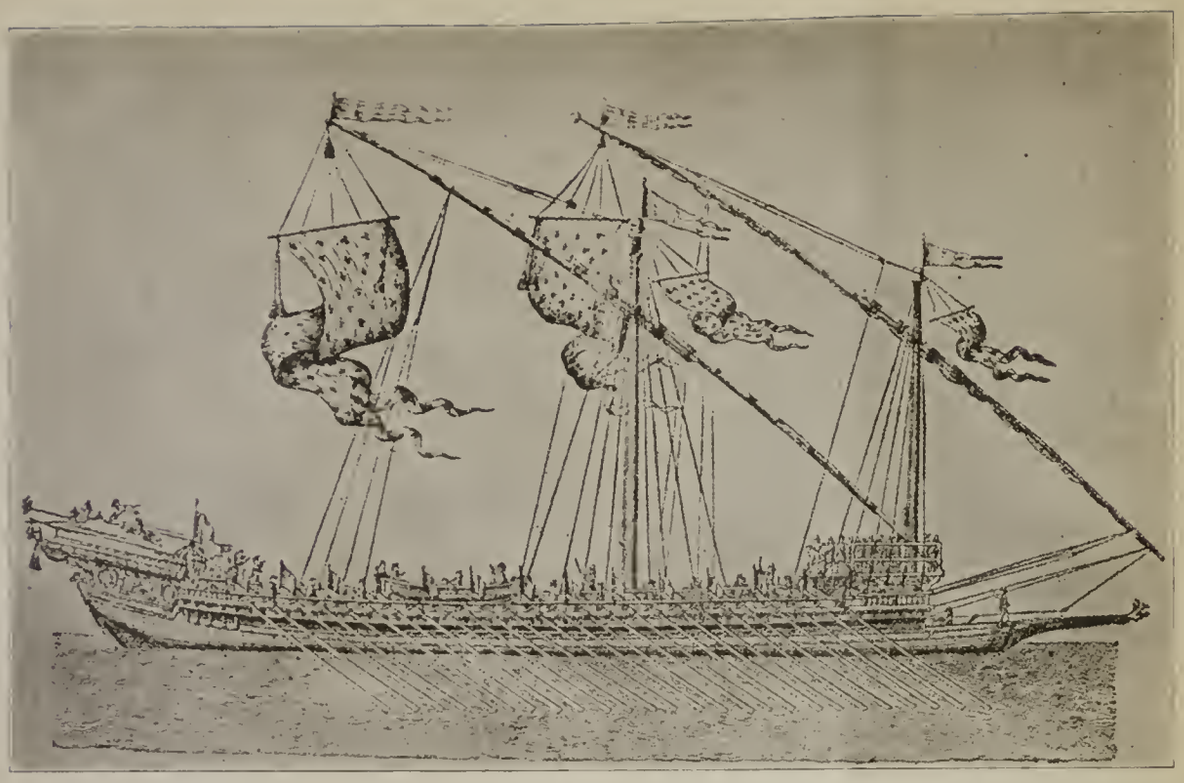
In the twelfth century the Teutonic class society of Europe, which had reared itself on the downtrodden remnants of the Latin class society of Rome, Gaul and Britain, was tottering into its period of decadence. It might have lasted on, slowly degen-



From Torr, *Ancient Ships.*

GREEK WAR GALLEY

**This Picture Was Taken From A Vase, and Is More Artistic Than Accurately Proportioned, but The Details Are There. Notice Two Banks of Oars, Two Rudders, and the Ram.**



MEDIEVAL WAR GALLEY

**This Is A Mediterranean Ship. Until After the Invention of the Compass the Mediterranean Sea Was the Scene of the Evolution of Shipping.**

erating as the Roman Empire lasted and degenerated, for five hundred or a thousand years, but would have sooner or later collapsed before some fresh blooded swarm of, perhaps Slavs or Mongols. The Huns, a Mongolian people, seemed to be hitting it hardest about the time of the first crusades, which is about the time of that revival of invention which preceded what is usually called "The Renaissance."

Now this first renaissance, which changed the course of history, and threw social evolution out of its rut, bringing in capitalism, as a transition stage from primitive communism to the industrial commonwealth of the future, was chiefly due to the ship. In order to explain just how and why, it is necessary to take a brief glance at the evolution of the ship itself.

## SECTION II—EVOLUTION OF THE SHIP

It is supposed that the keels of ships evolved from the center plank or log in a raft (which was sometimes bigger than the others), that the side planks of ships came from the fence around the raft platform, or from planks or shields used as bulwarks on a big dugout canoe, and that the ship's ribs have evolved from bars used to strengthen the sides of "sewed ships," such as the Madras surf boat. This is all pure speculation, and sounds a little fanciful.

But we know the Egyptian ship fairly well from the pictures in the tombs, from the descriptions of Herodotus and other Greek writers. It carried a square sail with yards, and tackle for raising them. The mast was in two pieces, stepped apart at the bottom, lashed together in the middle, and separated a little at the top, again, to hold the yard between them. There was an upper, spar deck. The boat carried 20 to 26 oars on a side, in one bank, and had a raised bow and stern, and a ram (above water) for attack on other boats. There were four or five paddles joined together for steering, and they were worked by a tiller. We have pictures of boats carrying cattle.

These ships made trips out of the river Nile into the Mediterranean. They sailed as far as Crete, on which Egypt had a colony.

The Phoenicians made the ship larger, primarily for Mediterranean rather than river usage. As early as 900 B. C. they had decked ships, and especially they invented the bireme and trireme, the galleys with the rowers seated 'tween decks, and with one row of oars above another. This was the type of vessel, especially used for war, for at least two thousand years. The scheme by which the rowers managed to sit one above another and still have leverage for their oars, was a very ingenious one, not discovered again until 1834 when the records and plans of an Athenian shipyard were unearthed. The arranging of oars in "banks was done by seating each

(Continued on page 43)

# From a Man in Prison to a Good Christian

**When Eugene Barnett took his stand with the I. W. W. in their great struggle with the Lumber Barons in Washington state, he knew he was subject to persecution. Probably it did not surprise him much to find himself framed up along with seven other fellow workers, and placed in Walla Walla Penitentiary for his alleged conspiracy to defend the I. W. W. hall in Centralia against a murderous mob of Legionnaires.**

**But he did not, probably, expect to be gassed at long range by bible sharks. We are giving you his answer to one of them—you can tell what the letter was like that he received by the answers he makes to it.—Editor.**

Walla Walla, Washington, July 29, 1924.

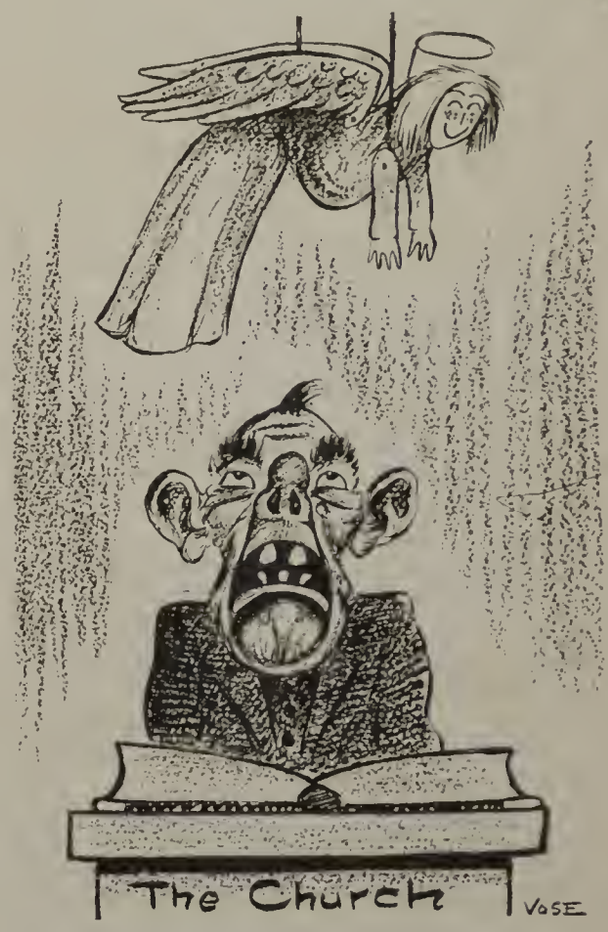
DEAR SIR:—Your letter of July 20th eame to me this week and has been read by me until I have almost memorized it. It is the most remarkable letter I have ever reeeived, for while you yourself bring one indietment after another against eapitalism you do not seem to realize that you are doing so, and you go right ahead in the same letter and eondemn us for organizing to abolish the system that breeds the wrongs you eomplain of. I ean toueh upon the various points in your letter only briefly for it is quite lengthy and I am limited for spaee.

When your first letter eame to me I was inelined to believe that you were "hoosiering up" on me; feigning ignoranee to get a "rise" out of me and find out just how little I know. But sinee this last letter eame to me I am thoroughly eonvineed that you are entirely ignorant of the fundamental prineiples of the I. W. W. and that you haven't the least eoneeption of the elass struggle and the eorrupt, insane system under whieh we live.

You tell me of a man whom you "virtually took from the gutter some years ago" and of how you fixed up a room for him in your basement and even gave him an oeeasional meal and all you asked of him in return was that he serve you faithfully as housekeeper and handy-man around the place. Then when he drank until you eould not depend on him you turned him out.

Were you helping him beeause he was a fellow man, or beeause you needed a eheap hired man? You have probably never admitted the real reason to yourself. You see I put two and two together, so when a little farther along in your letter you say, "I hope that I may find another needy man to whom I ean give a helping hand and one that may be trusted. I must have help from somewhere for I eannot teaeh and be housekeeper and handy-man all in one," I ean readily see your motive for helping the poor vagabond. You show the real modern "Christian" spirit in hoping you will find another needy man.

You quoted quite a lot of Bible passages in your letter so I will hand some of it right baek to you. But you must understand that I don't believe it. As




an organization the I. W. W. is not eoneerned with religion and if any of its members ean believe that stuff they are at liberty to do so until edueation takes the superstition out of them. But sinee you mentioned your hired man drinking I will give you a little Bible on the subject. Prov. 31:6, 7, says, "Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine to those that be of heavy hearts. Let him drink and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more."

I am strietly temperate, do not drink anything intoxieating and have never even used tobaeeo in any form. The I. W. W. as an organization is trying

to edueate the workers against the evils of booze and never overlooks an opportunity to tell them they cannot raise a erop of brains by irrigating their bellies with booze. But we do not stop there. By organizing the workers into the I. W. W. we are giving them the power to elean up the camps so they can stand it in them without being drunk. Instead of making them drunk so they will forget their poverty, the I. W. W. is edueating them and organizing them to abolish poverty.

Next, you say, "To me one of the most discouraging things about the I. W. W. is its apparent unwilling attitude toward work." Where did you get that opinion? Certainly not out of an I. W. W. publication, for we advocate shortening the hours of the working day to such an extent that everyone will have a chance to work, including the parasites who now do nothing but "own" for a living and who never produce anything in their whole worthless lives except misery for the workers who produce all the good things of life.

In speaking of the Industrial Pioneer which I had sent to you, you say, "Your magazine is the bitterest it has ever been my lot to read." Yes, it is the bitter truth, without any sugar-coating. The truth about wrong is always bitter to those who would perpetuate that wrong.

You make much of someone having said that "murder could be more readily excused than seabbing." I assure you that the I. W. W. does not excuse either, but it recognizes the fact that the scab is the worst murderer there is, for he not only murders his own family by aceepting wages insufficient to nourish them, but also reduces the standard of living for the whole working class and dooms their babies yet unborn to lives of drudgery and poverty. Even now the papers are telling us of thousands of workers dying in the South, of pellagra, which is a faney name for starvation. Think of that, thousands starving to death as they work, in the riehest nation in the world! Think of the two million unemployed in the U. S. right now, in harvest time—the busiest season of the year!

You say we teach hate. That is untrue. There is not another organization in the world that would stand half of the persecution the I. W. W. has stood without resorting to violenee to defend itself. Have you read what the nice "Christian" mob did in San Pedro? It is the first artiele in the Industrial Pioneer. If you can read it without crying you are harder hearted than I am.

You say, "In your fight for the betterment of the workers you are very far from the teachings of Jesus as I know them." The best answer I can give you for that is, you have got your idea about his teachings from the same source that you got your opinion of the I. W. W. from, that is, from the master class. I have a better opinion of Christ than I could possibly have if I accepted the murderer Constantine's perverted version of his teachings. I know there never was a time since the world began when a man would be crucified for preaching "Servants, obey your master." You aeeuse the I. W. W. of teaching hate and you deplore it. Yet the book that is the source of your opinion about Christ, preaches hate and tells us so in what purport to be Christ's own words. Only those vietims of eapitalism who are ignorant hate the eapitalists as individuals. "We hate the rotten system more than other mortals do." But we do not hate its victims and the capitalists are victims as well as their slaves—the wage workers. The I. W. W. does not teach hate but your book does. I refer to St. Luke, 14:26, which reads, "If any man comes to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my diseiple." In the tenth chapter of St. Matthew, verses 34, 35 and 36 read as follows, "Think not that I am eome to send peaee on earth. For I am come to set man at varianee against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man's foes shall be of his own household."

You ask what I have done for the working elass. I have tried to help them climb out of the mire of wage slavery onto the broad plains of Industrial Unionism. I have helped to show them that they have a higher mission in life than to be work animals, living in poverty all the days of their lives while piling up profits mountain high for idle parasites to expend on eozy clubs, wild women and "love nests." I hope you will read every issue of the Industrial Pioneer as long as the subseription I had sent to you lasts. If you will honestly do so, I know you will want to continue your subscription for by that time you will begin to see how wrong your present opinions are.

You tell of teaching school nineteen years "in a damp, eold, unventilated and unlighted basement." We haven't an agitator in the organization who could draw up a more damning indietment of capitalism in so few words. When the richest country in the world sends it babies to sit in cold, damp, unventilated and unlighted basements while the propaganda of the ruling elass is being instilled into their little minds to make them efficient slaves, or willing eannon-fodder, ready to die on some foreign battlefield for the "Glory of God" and the profit of their masters—the ruling class—the profiteers, then it is time for the fathers and mothers of those babes to wake up and organize into One Big Industrial Union, and take possession of the earth and the maehinery of production, and run them for the benefit of all mankind instead of for the profit of a few idlers.

Have you read the "Brass Cheek", "The Goose Step" and "The Goslings?" Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, California, is the author and you can get the books from him. I highly recommend them to you. The last two should appeal to you particularly as they are an exposé of the school system.

You speak of what I owe God, my wife and my baby. I don't owe God anything. If there is a god he owes me more than he ean ever pay me. I owe

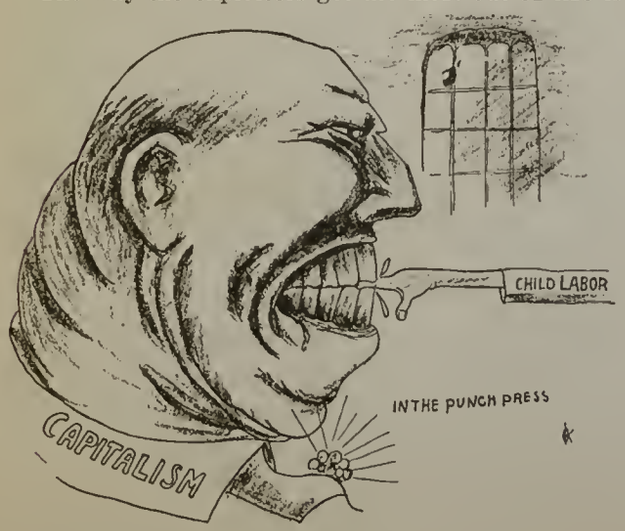
my wife and baby all the love that a good, kind and loving heart can lavish on them and I am trying to pay them with interest.

At the close of your letter you wail again about us agitators not working and say, "If anyone of your agitators had worked as hard as I have and could show working people the secret of getting the most out of life I would feel that his opinion was worth far more than all the agitation he could muster." A little common sense reasoning on your part would show you that if we were not workers the master would not fear us. For the workers are the only ones who can stop the profits of the master class.

But since you seem unable to reason I will give you just the answer you ask. I began to work in a West Virginia coal mine when I was only eight years old. I was a little child, scabbing on union men who had organized and gone on strike for enough of what they produced to enable them to support their families without being forced to put their babies to work two miles under the ground to earn something to keep life in their little bodies. I was helping the Coal Barons of W. Va. crush the union and fasten their gunman rule on five counties. Thousands of workers, men, women and children, have been murdered there since then, and thousands are starving there today as a result of what I and others did in 1899. I used to go to church then, in a little schoolhouse owned by the coal company, and listen to the preacher, who was also owned by the coal company, thank God that the scabs were real Americans who would not allow any set of men to deprive them of their God-given right to work for such low wages that it was necessary for every miner's son, who was big enough to hold up his head with the weight of a miner's lamp on it, to go to work in the mines, while his mother and sisters took in washing or sewing from the "higher-ups" or kept boarders to help fill the family larder.

I will never forget one little boy **five years old** whom I saw with all the flesh torn from the bones of his little thighs after he had fallen beneath a trip of mine cars on which he was trying to set the brakes.

The way the exploiters get the most out of life is



THIS IS THE LIFE THAT BARNETT KNEW

no secret. I can easily illustrate their method for you by telling you the story of a man who was so lazy that his neighbors decided to do his wife a favor by lynching him. Just as they were ready to string him up he promised to do better and begged for another chance. They let him go and he went straight home and raided the sugar-bowl where the good wife kept the money she got for taking in washings, and with it as capital he hired a carpenter to build a shed, placed twenty wash-tubs and boards in it and hired twenty women for three dollars each, per week, to do two washings a day. He then hung out his shingle, "Jones' Hand Laundry, Family Washings Done for One Dollar Each." He cleared one dollar and fifty cents per day on the labor of each woman and now that he was exploiting twenty women instead of one the neighbors all called him Mr. Jones, with heavy accent on the "mister" and held him up to the youths of the village as a real American and shining example for them to pattern after.

You may think this story exaggerated but it is not. I have worked in the mines for $3.00 per week. I have worked in a tailor shop in Egg Harbor City, N. J., pressing coats ten hours per day for $2.00 per week. I worked in the Liberty Cut Glass works cutting nappies and bowls for three dollars per week. I counted scales in Winterbottom, Carter & Co.'s knife handle factory for $3.50 per week. I have seen my sisters equally exploited in the sweat-shops of New Jersey and Illinois. So you see you are wrong when you say I have been misled by leaders. I know by bitter experience. And there are thousonds of other fellow workers (agitators) who can truthfully say the same.

You say, "I cannot hope to change you; in fact, so far as my limited experience goes it would be quite useless to do so." That is true, for:

**"We have a glowing dream of how fair the world will seem**
**When each man can live his life, secure and free;**
**When the earth is owned by labor and there's joy and peace for all**
**In the commonwealth of toil that is to be."**

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

**Eugene Barnett.**

## "Woe To The Vanquished!" Who Are The Vanquished? They Are the German Wage Slaves—Twice Beaten, Once by the Allies With Shot and Shell, and Again by the German Capitalists, with Lying Promises. Woe To The Vanquished, Until They Rise And Fight The Class War.

By MARY HOPE

THIS is the street of the poor, Haas Strasse . . . Witness the famine-blue bodies of children (who remembers the flaxen-haired Hans with the rose-pink belly and laughing eyes?): the sight of mothers searching the gutters with pitiful intensity for swill; the beggars, proud as those to whom they make their appeal, beggars standing in little groups on every corner, no more an unfit or alien remnant of the community than the rest of the proletariat; old women huddled on doorsteps for days, numb with hunger, in a stupor, later removed by the police . . . whither? . . . Haas Strasse shrugs a shoulder . . . old women? We are all old, old with misery and hunger. Yes, even the poets have forgotten to sing; those who sing are mad. The intelligentsia haven't official quarters and persons of influence, utilizing their wit in attempts to get free passports, anywhere, England, Russia, America . . . Prostitutes continue their fleshly occupation even during precarious physical weather and on a Sunday become a part of Pastor Max's meetings, no longer shunned female rabble. Indeed, far less corrupt are they than Pastor Max himself who does not forget those whose cupboards have a crust or two... Hunt high and low for Gretchen with the "pure sweet eyes of love and lips, only the northern sun has kissed"——fortunately for that aesthetician, he died before his Gretchen . . . his lovely maidens taken from the warm roofs and scented gardens of the past and given to master Hunger who fattens and thrives more each day on the puny bones and their blood of Haas Strasse.

Past the Courthouse Yards, the gardens are still green. Red-topped and blue flowers grow virile above the grass and pigeons dip their white breasts in the springs. Further over, the tables and chairs of the Beer Gardens are thrice full and joyous; only occasionally does one observe the ease and nonchalance of the belly-full topple a bit . . . The Beer Gardens, only ten minutes walk from Haas Strasse.

The evening somes soft and grey and a little wistful where the noise is indistinct. No one comes to the Garden's silent parts, not even the shelterless, and it remains since the coming of misery, the habitation of those who can withstand the thrust of beauty. The stars drip golden dew into the trees and quiet springs.

The Beer Gardens still feel the weight of bellies in which the yellow malt stream flows in apathetic volume. No need for starlight here. The bright lanterns are lit and the glaring postlamps are rigid through the circles of tables and the public platform in the midst . . . Last week Ebert spoke . . . He speaks distinctly but his words cling together in a curious vagueness, as though waiting for a propeller to set them going in a wind of effect. He lowers his eyes and his voice sounds as if he is ashamed . . . Perhaps he is thinking of his virile and idealistic youth spent in pregnant actions and potent dreamings . . . Now he is old, a stupid apologist for the puny sense of revolutionary spirit left in him . . . a socialist, floundering, bewildered by the muddy intricacies and perpetual evasions of parliamentarianism . . . The people drink their beer and remember a word here and there. Women glance at their tender, naked breasts topping satin bodices, a surreptitious flash of pleasure in their eyes. Sensual messages flit from the men who find no need for words. . . . Ebert speaks on . . . Well-to-do prostitutes are glad to be relieved from the perpetual discipline of the forced vivacity . . . and all the time, the speaker's words trip through their ears like gay squirrels hunting and cracking nuts . . . Later on, every one rises to a patriotic song. The Garden floods with the cornet's militaristic growl, the blatant voices of the men and the soft shading of female voices . . .

Slowly in twos and threes the lights snap out. We have drunk, sung and made love. Now we go home satisfied, but a little uncomfortable around the lower portions . . . Voluminous liquid . . . Now one look at a quiet Strasse, houses set on it as primly and luxuriously as the hats on the heads of virtuous grande dames. Then to bed, a soft one. A luscious nest for clean birds who will dream of feathers flashing on the long green run of grass in tomorrow's sun, and the dipping of the breast in the sparkling springs of love . . . **We live on Strasse Bourgeois.**

But the street of the poor, Haas Strasse. Long ago these people slept snugly and also dreamed. I remember the red-smeared mouths of healthy jam-eating children playing in the gardens; there were peaceful worker's hands setting flowers in the sunny windows; the Frauleins had a song to give one on the summer evenings; the smell of fresh cheese and cabbage was no less a common smell than the sound of a universal rhyme urged by the first star in the paling evening sky . . .

But now . . . Haas Strasse mocks itself, has slashed the pink breast of its mistress, the Past. Haas Strasse puts a mad laughing month at its own pool of blood . . .

You will witness Haas Strasse tasting other blood, the blood of the foreigner . . . the bourgeoisie.

**Winter comes . . .**

# Private Property and Morality

By ROBERT GRAYSON

EXPONENTS of the present scheme of human relations never tire of reiterating that society is wholesomely rooted in a subsoil that is ethically desirable, and as a consequence its social fruits are conducive to the best interests of the greatest number of the human race. Pursuing such reasoning in an address recently it was my experience to hear the renegade, George R. Lunn, who used to be Schenectady's socialist mayor, but who is now a political climber, being Lieutenant Governor of the Empire State, say that man's first right was to the possessions he was able to acquire, and that private property is the right of all men.

This is a claim that can no more stand the pressure of logic than can a house of cards the first blow that comes along. To realize that something is very much wrong with the world requires no exceptional acumen. Few, indeed, exist in it very long without finding this out to their sorrow. Our eyes alone tell us from every glance that the arrangement of social affairs is inequitable and manifestly unfair. The world is divided between those WITH and those WITHOUT. The latter are in an overwhelming majority. To be without means hard labor, or unemployment, industrial illness, accident and premature death after the poorest manner of existence. The word cheap is written all over us; it punctuates every act of our lives. These are patent facts, indisputable among those who have learned the truth of them by bitter experiences.

Probing the ulcerous condition reveals that all this poverty, drudgery, insecurity and degradation proceeds from a central fact, a diseased root incapable of maturing aught that is good for man. And this underlying culture center of social bacteria is nothing more nor less than the mainspring of bourgeois affairs, private property. That which our well-fed opponents and masters proclaim to be inherently moral and of primary benefit to mankind is exactly the reverse, being innately subversive of the welfare of the masses and inimical to the healthful growth of all that is a boon to humanity.

### Facts—Not Words

It is not, however, sufficient to make this broad statement. Neither is it our purpose to rest the case on a mere statement. That is the tactic of the opposition, who resort to words alone, not being able to bear the searchlight of analysis. Thus it falls to us to state the case against private property briefly, and after having done so we must proceed to show whether its existence is consonant with a high standard of social development and an impulse to the noblest ethical progress of men and women.

The present scheme of wealth production is called capitalism. Under its sway the workers operate complex social tools side by side. But while their labors

are social; while the workers are herded together in factory, mill and mine and wherever work is performed, the ownership and control of the gigantic means of wealth production are held by an exceedingly small group of rich capitalists, who do no useful work themselves but to whom the vast proceeds of working class toil accrue. Private property in this age means the right of a man or group of men to own millions and billions in wealth; to employ workers by the hundred thousands and millions; to say when these workers shall slave and eat, and when they shall walk the streets jobless and hungry. It means giving to a small clique of financiers and manufacturers the right of life and conduct over the major part of the race. Our masters decree not only what we shall eat, how we shall be clad, where we shall dwell, but whether these primitive requirements shall be guaranteed at all. Their power is strengthened constantly by the accumulation of unpaid labor, or surplus value, that part of the business of industry commonly called profits. Profits are what the workers are robbed of by virtue of the efficacy and goodness of private property. Under the workings of private property a monstrous trinity enslaves the vast majority of the people. They are bowed under the weight of that triune keystone their weary backs are forced to support, Profit, Rent and Interest. In short, private property of the tools by which wealth is created means in effect the small minority saying to the large majority: "You toil while I eat."

### The Fountain of Blood

An article of this nature cannot take details into account. But it can state that from the evil of private property spring the war, want and waste that curse humanity. Private property means unpaid labor, surplus value, an accumulation to be reinvested by its takers. By the modern quest for markets and virgin fields in which to invest the wealth robbed from millions of workers, commercial rivalries are bred and wars are fomented. If there is anything ethical or socially desirable about war we fail to see it. But the evils of private property are always at work even when not blazing high in the spectacular way of war.

The insecurity suffered by the masses is a mental torture of great violence, and of itself a damning indictment of capitalism. The rich live longer lives than the poor. Infantile mortality among the well-to-do is less than among the slaves. Insufficient wages to female workers has ever been a direct impulse to harlotry. Employers pay inadequate wages not through any particular, personal animosity or greed, but because competition demands that low wages be paid, and where monopoly holds the field the race for power insists on an ever-growing rate of profits. Where so many counts present themselves to the indictment against private property little enough can be covered here.

The world is sick—almost to death. There are millions of men and women tramping the streets of America—this paradise of opportunity—in a vain search for jobs. Over every household of the worker possessing the precious job hovers the specter of Insecurity, while miseries attendant upon low wages and long hours on the one hand, and part-time employment on the other, stalk through his quarters. A smiling land is darkened by industrial depression, the natural result of laws in keeping with the operation of private property. So long as there is not work for all who desire it violence is riding rough shod over us. So long as there is a hungry child in a hovel and bread withheld by the mandate of private property violence rules supreme.

### Social Production

That simple tool by which a man once could make a complete article for the satisfaction of a human want entitled its possessor to undisputed ownership. But when countless workers join their brain and brawn and mingle their sweat and blood in the creation of commodities by the help of tremendously large and intricate machines the product of this common effort of right should be commonly owned, together with the instruments of its making.

To say nothing more of the baneful social effects of private property which are observable at all angles, one further remark is permissible and pertinent. To extract surplus value is itself immoral, even should the victim be fortunate enough to suffer no ill effects, which is never the case. Private property means individual ownership of social instruments, and the protection of the individual's right to rob the workers. As such it is highly injurious to the race, and especially obnoxious to the slaves.

The situation will not right itself. No one is going to set the slave free but himself. Divided we are easy prey for the united master class. United industrially we can throw a phalanx into the battle for freedom destined to win the final victory. Exemplifying solidarity we can win a world for our kind. We do not ask for less. But we do ask for our own. Our labors and those of our class have made this world; we prepare to come into our own. United we cannot be defeated.

### Social Morality

From the cornerstone of common effort and common welfare shall be developed a new morality unknown to a world that puts a premium upon wholesale robbery, wholesale murder and wholesale hoggishness. It is hardly necessary to say in concluding that we do not believe that a factory or a railroad should be the private property of any one man or small group of exploiters, and we do believe that a toothbrush or a pair of shoes should be the private property of each one. The distinction seems warranted as there are asses in the world whose sense of degree is very dull.

Social operation of productive tools privately owned is a contradiction that cannot continue indefinitely. Industrially organized workers shall rearrange matters to their own moral satisfaction.

# An Incident in a Sailor's Life

ANONYMOUS

**It may be that not all who follow the sea for a living have exactly this sort of experience, but many of them certainly do. It is probable that not all of these who find themselves picked out for punishment by bad tempered mates and masters find such loyalty and solidarity on the part of their shipmates, but some do and more will, when the seamen are organized.**

**FROM the slave market at Antwerp I got a Belgian ship early this year—the Australier belonging to the Lloyd Royal Belge Company and bound for Buenos Aires. I had to buy bedding, blankets and eating utensils.**

**The second day on board the ship we started to get bad eats. We had stew for breakfast, stew for dinner, hot water for soup, black water for coffee, one pound of bread each for 24 hours and no lunch for night time. There was no messman and we had to carry all our own grub from the galley, and wash our own dishes.**

The firemen were kicking about the grub all the time; one was sick, another wouldn't work, and we always had a kick coming. I just waited at first to see what they were going to do. One of the firemen said he was going to take the food up to show it to the captain. We all went up with him to the bridge. The captain told us that if we didn't like it we could throw it overboard, as that was all we would get on Belgian ships.

I had in my suit-case all kinds of I. W. W. literature—Marine Workers and Solidarity—so I gave them to the crew to read, and then got busy on the job. I started calling for job action, but nobody would pay any attention to me.

The grub kept getting worse and worse every day, and every day and night I kept talking with the firemen and sailors urging them to use job action. When they asked me what kind of action to use I told them "I. W. W. action," and that if we would all stick together we could get all we wanted. I got them to go to the messroom to hold a meeting and decide what we would do.

We usually carried 180 pounds of steam, so we decided to cut the steam down to 140 pounds, and bring her down to half speed. The A. B.s decided that when they went up on the bridge they would keep the ship a couple of degrees off her course all the time.

### "Half Fed—Half Speed"

I was on the 4 to 8 watch, and saw to it that the steam came down to 140 pounds. When the engineer came hollering about the steam, we told him that we couldn't do any better because we were sick and hungry. The same thing happened on the 8 to 12 watch, and again on the 12 to 4 watch. The engineers were very glad to see the action that was being taken because they, too, were getting bad grub. When the captain hollered to the engineers about the steam, they told him that they couldn't do any better as the firemen were sick and hungry.

The captain, hard-boiled as he was, had to get up at 6 o'clock in the morning to go into the galley and show the cook how to prepare the food. We got better grub for a couple of days. When the grub went down again, down came the steam, until we got better grub again. The more kicking we did the better grub we got. The firemen and sailors saw the benefit of this action and we kept on kicking.

The captain sent the steward to the fo'c'sle with a piece of writing paper, and told us to write down on it what food we wanted every day. This is what we put down on the paper:

BREAKFAST: Oatmeal, milk, beefsteak, fried eggs; or fried pork chops or boiled eggs; fruit every morning. Sugar and butter to be on the table all the time.

DINNER: Two kinds of meat; roast beef, roast pork, pudding; a glass of milk for each man; good potatoes and bread and butter.

SUPPER: Beefsteak and cold meat; fried potatoes, tea and bread and butter; fruit.

Thursday and Sunday dinner: Roast chicken.

We sent this to the captain. He did not want to give it to us, so we went down and held the steam at 140 pounds for two days.

But the captain was wily as well as hard boiled, and he tried another trick to break our solidarity. He called us all up on the bridge, asked us if we wanted port wine or Scotch whiskey, and told us that he would give us 100 francs more if we would keep working and that any time we wanted a drink we could have one.

### Booze Fails

We went back to the messroom to think the matter over, because we knew that he was trying to fool us, and meanwhile the steam stayed at 140 pounds, half speed. Two of the firemen broke ranks—an old Norwegian of about 60 and a Turk. They liked to have a drink and were willing to do what the captain said. As they would not stick with the bunch, we put them out of the fo'c'sle.

When the captain hollered for more steam, we told the engineer "plenty to eat, plenty of work—rotten

eats, rotten work." The engineer reported to the captain, and the next day all the firemen and deckhands were called up on the bridge. We were given all that we asked for on the paper—except the chicken, and there was none of that on board the ship. The captain told us that when we got to a South American port we would get the chicken too.

When we hit Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, some stool-pigeon told the captain who it was that had told the workers what to do. So one day he called me up on the bridge and asked me if I wanted to pay off. I told him that I would if he would give me my transportation back to Belgium. He started to raise hell with me and then said, "Go ahead and do your work; keep up the steam and don't raise any more trouble like this."

### Solidarity Beats Consul

At Rio a man was hired who was a member of the Marine Transport Workers and an American citizen. When we reached Santos, Brazil, this man went to the American consul and got a job on an American ship, but our captain refused to pay him off. He went to the consul, but the consul wouldn't help him as he was on board a foreign ship. He then went to the captain of the port; and together with him and the Belgian consul our captain came to an agreement, by which this man who had worked seven days wasn't to get a damned nickel for it.

We felt it was up to the firemen and sailors to help this man out, and held another meeting. We decided to go slow on the job, and if the captain or engineer said anything to tell him that we wanted the man to get the money that was coming to him. We went slow on the job for three days. The chief mate and engineer reported to the captain that the men were not working because they wanted the man to get his money. On the fourth day the captain ordered the cook not to give us any food. Nobody went to work that day. At last the captain got sick and tired, sent for the man and paid him all that was coming to him.

We left Santos for Santa Fe, Rosario and Buenos Aires. There we loaded 416 head of cattle and took 20 cattlemen aboard. Each one of these had to pay the company 51 pesos and work his way over to Antwerp.

After ten days out at sea from Buenos Aires—no more fresh meat, no more pork chops or beef steak. Down came the steam and the ship was brought to half speed. When the engineers hollered at us we answered, "Rotten eats, rotten work. We want fresh meat." After the ship had gone slow for three days, the captain had to kill three cattle to give us fresh meat. Then the ship went to full speed again.

The cattlemen, though they had paid 51 pesos, were getting worse food than we got before. We told them not to feed the cattle next day, and that we would help them out and see to it that they got the same food as we had. The next day they were kicking to the cattlemen's boss and finally they got the same grub as ourselves.

A couple of days later we were striking again, holding the steam at 140 pounds. This time we were kicking about the small wages—we were getting only five pounds a month. The engineers told the captain that we were going slow because we were getting such small wages.

Then one morning the captain called me up to the bridge at 7 o'clock. He told the chief mate to put the chains on me and tie me up in the bunkers. When the firemen saw that he was tying me up they called everybody on deck—firemen, A. B.s and all. Everyone got a board or a bar and they stood in line like soldiers. After ten minutes the ship stopped. Then the captain told the chief mate to let me go.

Ships sailing from Buenos Aires to Antwerp take 31 days on an average, but we took 42 days, and we had good weather too. We were working slow and getting good grub—so the more days the more dollars. When we reached Antwerp not one of the firemen got logged and we all had good discharges from the engineers. I was the only member of the Marine Transport Workers on board, but all the men had good Wobbly ideas. They stuck together when it came to the time for action.

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# "Red Rockets"

By MAC

It is deemed advisable to draw up the following list of questions to be propounded to the applicant for membership. The questions are not so numerous as Mr. Edison's, but they are more in touch with every-day life as seen through red spectacles.

I. Where does a one hundred per cent American carry his brains when he has any?

II. What is the average weight of same? Give answer in milligrams.

III. What would become of the American Labor movement if Sam Gompers dislocated a monkey gland?

IV. Why did Nature provide Sam Gompers with an allotment of skin so absurdly out of proportion to the amount of mutton it contains?

V. Where do you think Sam Gompers will go when the American workers come out of the ether?

VI. What is the general effect on the Ku Klux Klan when its Grand Imperial Wizard wizzes?

VII. If the American Legion had any intelligence what particular form of suicide would it commit in shuffling off this mortal coil?

VIII. What does Henry Ford know, if anything?

IX. Do you believe a one hundred per cent American can lick ten foreigners without getting blisters on his tongue?

X. What do you think would be a good mental tonic to the worker who is always worrying lest the Capitalists might get sore and gather up their belongings and leave the country?

# One of the Pall Bearers

By JANE STREET

HE was hungry, he was cold, he was out of work. And he knew why. He realized the economic causes of suffering. He was able to grasp the situation in which the human race found itself in the age in which he lived. He could see the whole capitalistic system at a glance—knew it from A to Z—at the top the bargainers, the gamblers in the product of human toil, struggling and warring with one another for markets where they might dispose of their booty; at the bottom the workers paid too little to buy back what they had created and thrown out of work in great hordes until the "surplus" was disposed of. He knew the cause of war, of unemployment, of crime. He knew he lived in a dying system.

But this afforded him small relief. He understood, of course, that through organization the workers might cut their hours of labor and thus make room for many of the unemployed. But the great herds had not done so; and he was included in those herds.

He knew also that his wife and baby suffered; and that capitalism was no respecter of maternity or childhood. The woman whined and the baby squalled, and their misery was of that familiar sort that no longer suggested great cataclysmic changes in society in general. He knew that they were hungry and cold, as he was hungry and cold, and he roamed about in hope of solving in some way his own personal problems.

There were five possibilities: He might find some money—this, in his pre-revolutionary days, he would have considered Providential; but not believing any longer in Providence, it sank into the realms of the unreal, if not the impossible. If favorable opportunity presented itself, he might be able to "bum" some money on the street; but here he applied the law of the survival of the fittest, and realized that he must compete with those geniuses who seemed especially qualified to make a success in that line, while he was more apt to be "pinched" than to be paid for his personality. There, of course, was the detestable prospect of borrowing—if he could but forget it—it destroyed his morale long before it exhausted his credit. Or he might find a master willing to buy his labor; but workers were being turned out of jobs instead of being taken on. And for months and months he had counted on this hope and each day it had failed him. Honesty, he thought, had been machined into him; and he couldn't give up the thought of making money by working for it. But there was the fifth alternative—to steal it—a plan very difficult of execution.

It was only at nightfall that he gave it definite consideration. All doors to jobs were then closed. Night dropped down her curtain to shut out hope from the foolish minds of the workless workers until another day should whistle into existence, and their weary search should start anew.

He wandered out into the rich residential district, where the bourgeoisie vied with one another in the display of wealth. He knew that they were parasites upon the working class, that they were the robbers of the weak and destitute and useful of mankind. He felt no qualms of conscience in taking from them whatever he was able to take.

Through lighted windows he could catch glimpses of the inside of their mansions. Liveried servants ocasionally opened and shut doors. "What slaves they are," he murmured. "They would help send me to the penitentiary if they caught me peeping in those windows! What an array of comforts and luxuries I would find there—all made by the slaves who are dispossessed! Yet I would not know where to look for such articles as I might carry away. I am not familiar with that ground. It is only in the factory where I help create wealth that I have access to it at all. And there the slaves bring it in, and I help work on it, and other slaves take it away again. Ah! But after the Revolution the factory will belong to all of us and we will have the wherewithal to be supplied with the handiwork of all other workers." A night watchman glowered at him. He turned his steps back toward town.

"And the watchdogs of capitalism are too well trained and too well paid," he added. "The little crook hasn't one chance in a million."

But along the street curbs he saw many luxurious limousines, from which came to his ears the voices of beautiful women—women in whom he saw no beauty, and for whom he felt no chivalry and no mercy. Occasionally a man in rich fur overcoat would alight in front of him and pass into a house. If he only had a gun he would hold one of them up and get enough money to feed his wife and child. He was willing to take a chance, he decided. But he had no weapon on him but a pocket knife. He must get a gun. He knew no one who owned one. So he must borrow the money with which to buy one.

With this in mind he quickened his pace and bent his steps toward the lower end of town, where a petit bourgeois friend of his kept a cigar store. He had heard that this small business had recently failed, throwing its proprietor back into the ranks of the proletarians, where he belonged. "I saw him duck across the street when he saw me today. That's because I owe him so much already. He's really a good fellow. I'll pay him back when I get a job.—Maybe he will loan me enough to buy a gun anyway."

He passed by a noisy cafe, from which issued, to torment him, the savory odor of broiling steak. He was conscious of being tired and glanced at a clock, hoping that his friend's place of business, which was now not far distant, might not be closed. It was but 10:30. He quickened his steps. At least, perhaps, he might sit down without fear of arrest and

find solace in the camaraderie of the revolutionary-minded.

Ahead of him he saw a woman stop several men, and he saw that his turn would come next. He knew her and having no money wished to avoid her. So he darted into a narrow dark street and stood close up in the shadows of a doorway. From his place of concealment he had a good view of her face where she had stopped on the sidewalk.

He had known her when she was quite young. She never had any sense, he told himself, never could get into her head anything about the revolution; but she had been very beautiful and many a man had dreamt he was in heaven when he basked beneath her smile. Anyway, he had argued, in this age when marriage for the workers was a crime, she had had sense enough not to marry, and not to bring children into the world of misery; and long ago he had accepted her prostitution as a matter of course.

But now as he scrutinized her face he saw that the charms of youth had departed; her delicate chin quivered and he saw despair and hunger written on her face. Pity seized hold of him and he wanted to go up to her and speak to her in creature sympathy. "But, no," he said, "capitalism has commercialized her. It's only money she wants." And he held close to the dark wall.

"Well, hello Al, old dear," her voice rang out in genuine pleasure of recognition, as she accosted a man on the sidewalk whose clothes bore all the marks of opulence. Her voice still retained something of her old magnetism,—there was nothing metallic or mercenary in it, but it suggested something so human, little trickling tears of joy. It seemed to put something straight in the mind of the man in the doorway, to make him recover from his shock at the sight of her.

"Get off the public street, you hussy, or I'll have you locked up," came the big brute's voice, and he struck her in the face. With a stifled shriek of pain she shrank into the alleyway, and here backing away she turned upon him a half-whispered, half-hissed volley of curses and vile names that chilled the blood of the silent listener in the doorway. Her once beautiful features were hideous with rage and the suppressed murder that was in her heart. She hurried on and in an instant disappeared on a street around the corner.

Her assailant stood still on the sidewalk—possibly held there by the fury of her curses. He now removed one of his expensive driving gauntlets and was lighting a cigar.

Suddenly creeping upon him from behind there appeared a veritable monster in human form. He was hatless and his long hair streamed in the wind; his deadly palor, his dilated nostrils, his set teeth and his wild eyes bespoke the madness of the cocaine fiend. He held his hands like claws, ready to dig into his victim. He seemed to be unarmed. "Stick 'em up and be quick about it and don't move," he commanded.

"What the—" started the bourgeois, turning around with well-fed physical courage. But he got no farther. The claws grabbed at his throat and he was down in the dirty alley without a whimper and without a motion. Perhaps a flash of steel might have been seen in the light of the street lamp, or was it merely the finger nails of the dope fiend that tore the flesh open? The man in the doorway was not sure. He felt sick at the sight of the blood that continued to flow there on the pavement and the job ended. The bandit could be seen across the street coming out of a drugstore sniffing something from the back of his hand as he walked hurriedly away.

"I have seen that little fellow before," soliloquized the unwilling spectator. His stomach began to get back to normal as by an effort of his memory he removed his mind from the horrors of the present. He now recalled vividly the details of the meeting.

He was standing on a street corner talking with an IWW—one of those foolish fellows, he soliloquized, who believe in beating their heads against an iron wall!—when this same fellow came along.

"Hello, there, Bill," came his hearty greeting to the wob.

"Hello, Jo," was the response.

"Are you workin'?" inquired the workingman. "When did you get out?" simultaneously asked the crook. They both laughed at their characteristic interrogations.

"Oh, a couple of months," said the wob; "I'm out on bail—may get ten years for believing in the right of the workers."

"Yes, I worked a little," answered Jo.

"I wondered if that was a workingman's happy smile you were carrying around with you," bantered the IWW.

"No, I guess my working smile is a different thing altogether," said the bandit.

"He was my cell-mate," explained the IWW after Jo was gone. "Highwayman. He is not old, but he has spent fifteen years of his life in penitentiaries."

He wore his working smile tonight all right, thought the man in the doorway, whose mind simply lacked the power to connect up the monstrosity he had just laid eyes on with the human being he had met on the street that time. This was outside of his pale of realities.

He was anxious to go, but afraid to move. His eyes were riveted upon the bloody face a few paces from his feet. Suddenly he spied hanging half out of the overcoat pocket a bill fold, literally bursting with money!—an oversight on the part of the bandit.

How his heart thumped against his chest at the unexpected prospect! His first impulse was to grab the money and run. But his mind had been so long dressed up in what he termed "revolutionary psychology" that he must use it at this time. The whole marvellous police system of capitalist society was created to guard the rights of the prop-

(Continued on Page 31)

HAVANA HARBOR ON STRIKE

The upper picture shows Havana harbor with struck boats tied up. The sailing boats in the right center are similar to those use by "Viveristas."

To the left is a Cuban marine, on strike-breaking duty.

Directly above are Cuban cavalry—guarding scabs.

# The "Viveristas"

By MARINO

THERE are all sorts of ways of working for a living, and the class-struggle permeates them all. One of the most unusual is that of being a "viverista," a catcher of live fish. There is only one place where "viveristas" are to be found, and that is Havana, Cuba, and west coast of Florida. Out of Havana and formerly, but not now, out of the neighboring port of Matanzas, run fishing schooners, boats of 60 to 150 tons burden. They carry crews of eight to fourteen men, and are provisioned for voyages of from twenty to forty-five days. In the winter they go to the coast of Yucatan, and in the summer they come up to the coast of Florida, in both cases looking for the fish called "Cherna".

The "Cherna" are caught by hand lines, and hooks, with sardines for bait. When the fish are pulled on board, the first thing to do is to see whether the little creatures are bloated. If they are, they have to be poked with a special instrument to get the "wind" out of their gills, and then they are thrown into the hold of the fishing schooner, to stay alive, for the hold is full of water. All day, as long as it is light, the crews keep patiently at work, hauling in the unwilling "Cherna". The reason of course is that the fishermen must live.

Often enough they do not live so very well. When the fishing boat comes into Havana, their romantic life ends and commercialism starts. The fish have to be sold. There is no free market for the "Viveristas." The ships they sail on are owned by one or other of three companies. These companies place orders for the fish, as they have sales. Meanwhile the fish are kept in barges, with tanks through which the water of the bay sweeps. The fish are the property of the fishermen until they are taken by the

companies, and must be cared for by the fishermen. Meanwhile they die, one by one, and that is the fishermen's loss. Sometimes they die altogether, from the water in the bay turning "rotten." That is a considerable loss to the fishermen, whose only pay is two-thirds the value of the catch, and who must provide their own food and all other expenses except those of the boat themselves.

Their work is almost as dangerous as coal mining in the United States of America. The fishing grounds are cursed with cyclonic storms, very risky things for such small schooners as the Cherna fishers use. It is the custom to tie up the ships for a couple of months in the Fall of the year, to avoid the most severe of these winds.

However, so great is the greed of the capitalistic owners of the ships, and so great, too, is the need of many "Viveristas," that some of them put out to the fishing grounds even in the cyclone season. The result, of course, is wrecks. There are lives lost every year, even in the "safe" season. At the time of the big strike, several boats which were at sea, and had not heard of the strike yet, were capsized on the way home.

### The Viverista, Microcosm

The history of the class-struggles of the "Viveristas" is the history of Capital and Labor, in miniature: the same deadly feuds between capitalists, the tendency towards trustification, and the immediate coalescing of even the bitterest enemies among capitalists, when it is a question of fighting Labor.

There are three big employers: first, the company owned at one time by Raul Mediavilla, now deceased; secondly, the company owned by Victoriano Bengochea, now serving life for murder; and lastly the company called, "Compania Cubana de Pesca".

The story of Mediavilla is instructive. At one time, a few years ago, he owned the largest company, and was building up a trust by J. D. methods, but he was met with a little unfair competition himself. His main rival, Bengochea, hired a man to kill him, and the murder was duly consummated. The result was a terrible feud between the two companies, both of which continued to compete in the live fish industry, and after a while, Bengochea came within reach of the law, and was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to life imprisonment, at the request, and because of the urgent pressure of the company of the murdered man.

But before the arrest, and while the hatred between the two cliques of capitalists was at its height, there was a strike. Between seven and eight hundred "Viveristas" walked off the ships, in Havana, to show their dislike for a plan the bosses had to reduce the pay for fish from nine cents a pound to about seven cents a pound, all fish weighing less than one pound to be rejected.

No sooner was the strike declared, than all these larger capitalists, those with blood on their hands, and those who were trying to avenge the blood of Mediavilla, united, presenting a solid front to the striking workers.

### Good Strategy

There were a few independent bosses, and the strikers forced these to give in all along the line, and place their ships, twelve in all, at the disposal of the strikers. There were a few men placed in each of these ships, and fish were brought in for sale. There were about 150 men working, in this manner, and they were pledged to turn over half their earnings to the strike committee, which took the money and maintained a common kitchen, to feed all men on strike.

The workers, well organized, and acting through their strike committee of which Adolfo Garcia, now editor of the Spanish language I. W. W. paper, Solidaridad, was a leader demanded some things themselves. They wanted the company to guarantee to take at once on arrival in port, the catch of three ships a week—more if they wanted, but anyway three ships full. The strike ended with a compromise, in which the company agreed to take two ships of fish, to amount to at least 45,000 pounds, which would have been some help, if the strikers had kept up their organization.

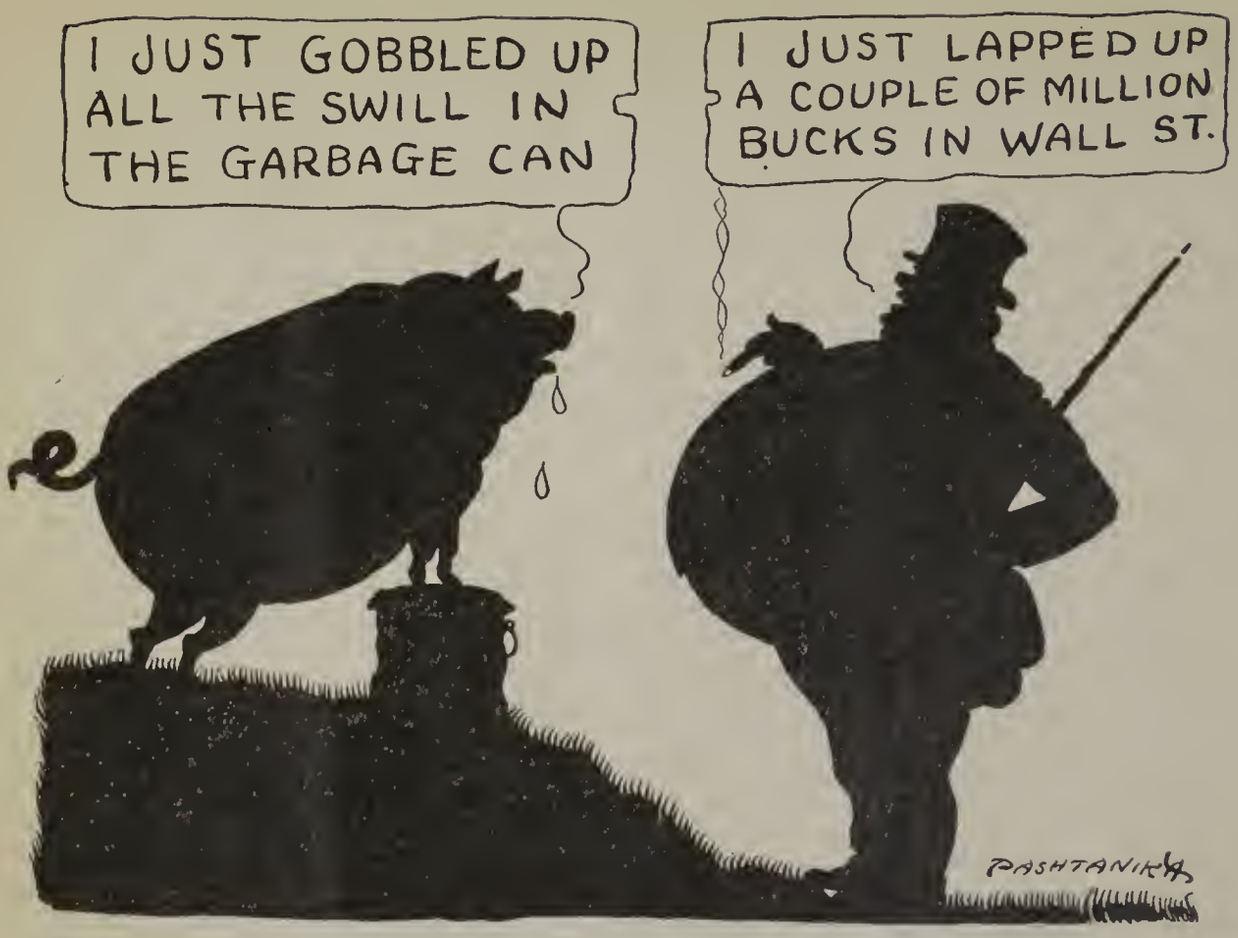
### "Eternal Vigilance—"

As a matter of fact, they allowed it to sink in effectiveness, and the bosses, by a great show of force, and through the use of American capital to break a waterfront strike, succeeded in smashing both the waterfront union and the union of "Viveristas".

Even in their moment of defeat, however, the fishers turned and reorganized, and succeeded by a boycott on the "Compania Cubana de Pesca" in tying up twenty ships out of the thirty-five owned by the company, and in winning both moral and material advantages.

So that is the story of the "Viveristas," so far. They discovered what the I. W. W. has always been telling the workers, that only by organization and by vigilance can anything be gained for workingmen.

**Read "The Story of the Sea" by Tom Barker, Published By The I. W. W. This Book Is the Only Accurate and Comprehensive Account of the Situation Existing in the Field of Marine Transportation. The Growth of Unionism Among Seamen, the Failure of "Coffin Unionism," the Industrializing Effects of Steam Engines, Oil, Diesel Engines, and the Inadequacy of All But the Latest Model Unionism to Combat the Employers' Trust.—Order from 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill., or the Nearest M. T. W. Branch. Price, 25c.**




# The Social Forces

By JOHN CANNAVAN

## CHAPTER I

### No Neutrality in Class War

CLASS interests divide society into two warring camps between which there is no neutral territory and among whom there are no neutrals. The proletariat is compelled to recognize that in the battle which it must rage on its own behalf of it will encounter hostility from every other social element. It seems in "the public" only an awkward attempt to segregate that portion of itself which is waging battle in some sector of its world-encircling battle line. Moreover it is an attempt to segregate that portion solely for the purpose of more easily dividing its forces and rendering its efforts futile. To the militant proletariat there is no such thing as "the public," in the general application and acceptance of that term.

To the workers, "the public" is a confusing term. Without appearing to, it is meant to cover all that portion of a community which is not directly involved in an industrial controversy, and in which, by the way, the quality of neutrality is supposed to abide. But the fact is that the same elements for strife are present in "the public" as are actively in opposition in any industrial controversy that is being fought out. The class division runs as cleanly through "the public," though there be temporarily the appearance of peace, as in a strike situation where it cannot be mistaken; and it only waits upon some provocative happening to present manifestations similar to those of which "the public" are supposed to disapprove.

When "the public" is analyzed, it is found to consist of wage earners and employers—the same factors which are present in and parties to every industrial dispute—and it is impossible to find in it that quality of neutrality with which it is supposed to be endowed. "The public" is never concerned about justice. It is always dominated by the idea of expediency. It is under the influence of the dominant class and is incapable of unbiased social judgment. It concurs in the capitalist conception of what society ought to be, and is disposed to attribute any inconvenience to capitalist society as a crime committed by the workers. It is not neutral. It cannot be. One proof of this lies in the acquiescence of "the public" in the conception that every striker is potentially a criminal; and with general

approval, the executive and police powers, "in the public interest," act upon that assumption; for we find that, whenever the workers in an important industry break off relations with the employers, every one of the repressive and miscalled corrective state powers are set in motion and directed against them. The proletarian movement expects them to act in no other way, because it recognizes in these institutions safeguards which the capitalists have erected for the preservation of a social system of which they are the beneficiaries. "The public" is a convenient camouflage by which they seek to identify the momentarily non-combatant proletariat with themselves, and to array them against those proletarians who are actively fighting some issue in the class war.

### The Convenient "Public"

For instance, when the coal mine workers struck last April, the cry of "the public interest" was raised against them. An organized effort was made to prejudice the workers in other industries by harping upon a shortened coal supply, with a consequent increase in prices. The propagandists held the mine workers, and only the mine workers, responsible for the interruption to coal production and the social inconvenience resulting therefrom.

The workers were incited to believe that the strike action of the mine workers was inimical to them. But what really happened was that the unsocial and unjust treatment to which the mine workers had been subjected compelled them to demand redress from those who stood between them and the society to which they had been rendering an indispensable service. The battle waged by the mine workers was actually in furtherance of the common labor interest. The owners' part in the suspension was cancelled to the greatest possible extent. And, after all, society does not depend upon the coal mine owners for its fuel supply, but on the workers. This is why society is always ready to identify itself, as "the public," with the capitalist interest.

So, also, when railroad men or other workers in basic industries strike, "the public" is invoked as a reason why such industrial interruptions should not be permitted.

The capitalist ownership, the anti-social cause of these interruptions, is hidden by those interests which use "the public" for that purpose.

The idea that "the public" is a section of the people who have no special partisan interest in the outcome of an industrial conflict is untenable, for outside of other considerations, the success of the workers in a strike very often acts as a stimulant to other wage workers who are temporarily included in "the public." Likewise, if the outcome is favorable to the employers actively concerned, other employers, who are temporarily of "the public," will be heartened to join issue with those other workers who were also temporarily and simultaneously of "the public." These workers will in turn become the objective against which a newly aligned "public" will be directed, under the banner of neutrality.

This subterfuge, which has been used so often and so successfully to divide the workers and to array one part of them against another which was pressing some point to their common advantage, is soon due for the discard. The line of cleavage between the dominant capitalist interests and the wage workers will dispel the illusion that the wage workers can ever serve their own best interests by actively opposing the efforts of their fellow workers, or by in any way assisting to defeat them when they are striving to improve their conditions. On the contrary, they will realize that their own interests can best be served by aiding their fellows at such times.

### The Smoke Screen Lifts

The bogey of a third party to a strike—the public—will be laid when the workers realize that it is put forth as a disguise for what the capitalist interests want society to be. When the social significance of strikers is understood, even to a moderate degree, it will be impossible to work this ancient gag. When it is realized, as it will be, that the strike is the workers' weapon for fighting the battle of progress, not only on their own behalf but on behalf of society, so great will be its potential effectiveness that labor will need only to carry it in sheath. While the strike is the weapon of last resort by the workers under present day arrangements, because of labor's failure to appreciate its position in the capitalist scheme of things, the time is at hand when the threat to strike will be labor's first weapon.

Labor is coming to realize that capitalist society is concerned only about its own convenience. Until the supply of society's needs and wants are interfered with, it gives no heed to how, by whom or under what circumstances these wants are supplied; and then it only seeks to remove the obstruction with as little inconvenience as possible and without at all striving to discover and remedy the causes which brought it about.

The proletariat, from its contact with and control over the tools of production, can and does use the strike as a weapon by which it endeavors, by shutting off the source of the employer's profit —the use of its labor power—to force concessions from him. As a weapon used intentionally to impress society the strike has never been employed. The reason that it has not, is because the workers do not understand its potency as a social weapon. They do not understand the social character of their own service.

### Traitor To Itself

That they do not understand is the crime of the labor movement. In America the economics of labor are a sealed book to the workers. In the so-called organized labor movement of the United States few workers are acquainted with the laws that govern capitalist production, or even with the

history of the labor movement, and still fewer of them recognize the greatest outstanding labor fact of our time—the class struggle.

The organized labor movement of America has served the interests of capitalist society by fostering economic ignorance among the workers. Insofar as it has any philosophy, its teachings deny the class struggle. It has always catered to the idea of "the public" as a distinct social division. When, as a result, the workers are confronted with an emergency, they are at a loss how to proceed, because they know nothing whatever of their true positions; everything they believe they know only serves to render them worse than helpless, and they blunderingly contribute to their own defeats and undoing.

Acceptance of the idea of "public neutrality" has cost them many dear experiences; as, for instance, the Landis award in the Chicago Building Trades disputes; and the decision of an arbitrator in the New York Printing Trades controversy. The Railroad Labor Board is a standing refutation of this absurd fiction. The consciousness that the neutrality of the public is fictitious is growing among the workers. Nourished by the demonstrated inability of "public" representatives to decide impartially this feeling will develop into class consciousness with ever increasing rapidity.

That there are no neutrals in the class war, the facts of industrial life are impressing upon the proletariat which is forced to bear the brunt of the battle, because it is in the vanguard of the social army. Upon this element the capitalists launch every attack through which they aim at further conquests. Here it is a cut in wages; there an increase in hours and at other times they are speeding up the machinery and forcing intensity of personal effort by the workers. The capitalist's ambition can only be served by forcing the relinquishment of working class ambition; the security of the capitalist class is predicated upon the insecurity of the working class. This dangerous philosophy of the capitalists—with its restricted vision—makes no allowance for a breaking point. There is a failure to appreciate that, while the empty cupboard may serve the capitalist momentarily, hunger, like fire, may be a bad master as well as a good servant.

### The Human Commodity

To sit in an office and estimate building materials is one thing; but men, packages of labor power, if you will—human commodities—while they are still commodities, are other than and entirely different from all other commodities, in that they are the embodiment of aspirations, ambitions, hopes, desires, wants and wills. In the mass they are held in check only by a lack of consciousness. Once they are driven to recognize the class nature of the struggle that victimizes them, their accomplishments will only be limited by the limit of their perspective.

To abuse the power they wield is the tendency of all tyrannies, and they have all ended by creating the means by which they were to be overthrown. Capitalist autocracy is no exception. Perhaps never before in history have the lines been drawn so tautly, that separated exploiter and exploited, as today. The industrial autocrats are visiting oppression and denial upon the most potent force that humankind has ever produced. The fancied power of the capitalists is only a reflex of the lack of consciousness of the working class. They are continually and continuously disturbing labor without recognizing that labor is power. When they have annoyed the toil-worn sleeper of the ages into wakefulness, with the impression of his centuries old dream holding and dominating his consciousness, they will stand shivering before the giant they have aroused.

The problem of labor is the "problem of life" for the working class—of survival for the race. Every influence, regardless of the source from which it emanates, which oppresses labor in any way or to any degree, is not only anti-labor but it is anti-social as well. The workers constitute the only element necessary to human existence; that is, to the survival of the race. They are the indispensable social element. Every movement of the workers, when followed to its logical conclusion, will be found to have a social objective. Labor cannot win advantages for itself alone. Every right it secures for itself reinforces the social guarantee and signalizes that humankind has overcome an obstacle in its onward march. Every move, in promotion of capitalist ambition, is anti-social, for the capitalist ambition can only be gratified at the expense of the other great social division—the working class.

### Deterioration of Human Commodity

Whenever it becomes necessary to throw millions into unemployment; to employ and to ruthlessly exploit the women, the mothers and potential mothers of the race; to condemn childhood to malnutrition and a treadmill existence; to overstrain the workers with long hours and intensified effort upon depreciating living standards, the physical qualities of the race are being constantly lowered and society imperilled.

To deprive the child of his playtime and opportunity for education is anti-social in the extreme. And of this capitalism is guilty. Everything that capitalist property dictates to its holders militates against the welfare of the race. The highest types of manhood are selected for destruction in wars, and the race suffers deterioration as a consequence.

All these factors the proletarian militants have taken cognizance of, and are working to the end that their significance be made known to the workers. They fight against almost discouraging odds. But the experiences of the workers are adding to their forces. Every day brings new recruits to inspire and reinforce them.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

# The Right to Live

By A. BUCKER

**The Struggle For Existence, and the Economic Urge That Is Back of It—Not a Poetical Figure, But An Actual Fact—Worked Out in Factory, Field and Farm, It Gives Rise to Labor Organization and a New Idealism.**

IN the July issue of The Industrial Pioneer is an article by James Lance under the caption "Smoke Wreaths and Visions" which splendidly sets forth the aims and aspirations of those migratory workers known as "harvest hands" which are the driving force in their great effort towards organization. In this article the author somewhat beclouds the issue at the very start with the following, more poetical than realistic, declarations;

"Certain urges and instincts which motivate the inhabitants of this old world, to an interested observer, are an endless source of wonder and speculation. Through them birds, beasts and their prouder biological descendants act in a manner which seems to have been determined by forces above and beyond their control or power of resistance. Our northern songbirds leave us to doleful contemplation of those days rendered more melancholy by the absence of their soul-stirring voices when the first breath of old King Winter paints the leaves bronze and purple and threatens dire things to come. The king salmon feels the urge thousands of miles down the latitudes and returns from his wanderings through the spaces of the southern ocean to spawn in the river in which he was a fingerling."

According to Fellow Worker Lance, the migrations of the above mentioned species of the animal kingdom seem to be an entirely unsolved mystery to the human mind although he himself later on in the article in question indicates quite clearly where to look for an answer to the seemingly unsolvable puzzles. As a matter of fact, there is nothing in these migrations that is any more mysterious than there is in the migrations of the harvest hands, the lumberjacks or construction workers.

### Why Bird Migration?

Is it not quite reasonable to assume that the simple reason why the northern songbird migrates to a southern climate during winter time is because the struggle for existence compels him to do so? That in no way is he prompted by a desire for adventures or for traveling, neither does he intend to deprive some lonesome dreamer in the northern climate of the pleasure of his song, but he must make the journey or sacrifice his life.

We may also be justified in presuming that said northern songbirds belong to a species that has originated in the more temperate climate of the north and therefore cannot withstand the scorching sun of the tropics, hence his march towards the north every summer. As a matter of fact, his journey towards the south in winter time does not extend any farther south than what is necessary in order to encounter a suitable climate. Those songbirds who have originated in the tropics, like the canary bird, do not migrate but content themselves with a stationary home.

Similarly with the king salmon. Is it not logical to presume that the reason for him leaving the stream in which he was hatched is because the supply of food available was not sufficient for the multitude of hungry salmon, hence he started on his journey in search for something with which to sustain life? That he goes back to the identical stream in which he first saw life is rather doubtful. Most likely he accepts any stream that facilitates the necessary swift current required for his fulfillment of his second strongest natural urge, the preservation of the species, and there performs his duty towards the future generation. We may only point to the fact that millions of salmon eggs are every year transferred from one place to another and deposited in the hatcheries and the process seems to meet no obstacles in the form of some kind of an inherited natural disposition in the species to be propagated just in that particular stream in which it was hatched.

### Inherent Desires

Now to come to the next sentence in the article in question, we find that Fellow Worker Lance is inclined to believe that it is some kind of an inherent desire, peculiar to the migratory workers who follow the harvest field, that drives them out to the fields, a desire that cannot be resisted. It says: "And every spring when the breezes in the cities begin to give promise of hot stuffy nights and sweltering days between walls of stone and pavements of yielding asphalt the migratory worker thinks of the open spaces lying beyond the confines in which he has been passing his days in irksome monotony and—starts for the harvest."

This sounds poetical and no doubt is, and it is certainly very novel especially to one who was born and raised in a farming country and had to start aforementioned journey to the agricultural fields every spring, and start out at an early age at that, barely seven years old. As a matter of fact it is something new when one recalls how many tears were shed by children who were compelled to journey out in the field at six o'clock in the morning and work in the sugar beet fields ten or twelve long

hours per day. These kids certainly had a peculiar manner of expressing their joy over the splendid opportunity offered in exercising their natural desires and demands. To me and to all who ever labored on the agricultural field it stands as a fact that what drives us to do it is not the cravings for the open fields but economic necessity that urges us on.

### Why Not Widespread Desires?

If we are to accept some particular adventurous desire on the part of the agricultural workers as being the main driving force that compels them out into the field, why not then look for some similar traits in the physical and mental make-up of the workers in other industries? Why not then dwell upon that peculiar characteristic in the lumberjack that compels him to leave his shelter in town and proceed out into the snow and cold or in the pouring rain in the woods and take down the trees and transport them to the sawmills, or the construction worker who is also unable to resist such undefinable urges and ventures out in the mudholes contracting an abundance of rheumatism and other sicknesses in seasons when all other human beings prefer the more comfortable fireside in the home?

There seems to be no other explanation for the migration of the workers than their struggle for existence. It is not the hot sun on the pavements in town, neither the beauty or the greatness of the open fields or the majestic forests that put us on the hike, but our empty stomach and ditto pocket book.

### Heroic Struggles

Looking at the question from this point of view, and this only, it is with a great joy we behold the heroic struggle of the migratory workers towards building up a force strong enough to secure for them a place in the human family. It is the first real and conscious attempt made by the workers in their own behalf and conducted by themselves. All struggles in the past on the part of the workers have been class struggles, have been an endless effort on the part of the toilers to reassert their human rights to existence, but they have always been more or less unconscious attempts so far as the masses themselves are concerned. First with the inception of the IWW have such attempts on a large scale been undertaken directly by the workers themselves, and by workers conscious of the part they are playing in the evolutionary process known as life. Up to the present time the suppressed classes of mankind have been nothing but tools in the hands of their masters for them to use in their struggle for existence, similarly to the cultivated flora and the domesticated animals which today serve as an instrument in the hands of the owning class for their perpetuation in power.

### Cultivated Flora

Our cultivated flora has undergone many changes as a result of artificially stimulated growth and grafting, cross breeding, etc. Thanks to such methods its fruition has either been enormously stimulated, as is in the case of appples, pears, and numerous vegetables, or entirely ceased as witness seedless oranges, grapes and other seedless fruit. Although in either case it might be considered an advance so far as the owner of the plants is concerned, as to the plants themselves it means complete suicide should they be left to themselves. There is not one tree in a modern apple orchard of today that could survive in the struggle for existence should it be left to itself. In a very short time the whole orchard would be overgrown with some wild flora which has not been devitalized through any artificial cultivation.

### Domesticated Animals

Similarly in regards to the domesticated animals. In a modern chicken ranch the hens lay at least fifteen times as many eggs as in their natural and free environment. The cattle are either developed with a view to obtaining as much milk from them as possible, or else such characteristics developed that make them especially desirable for beef animals.

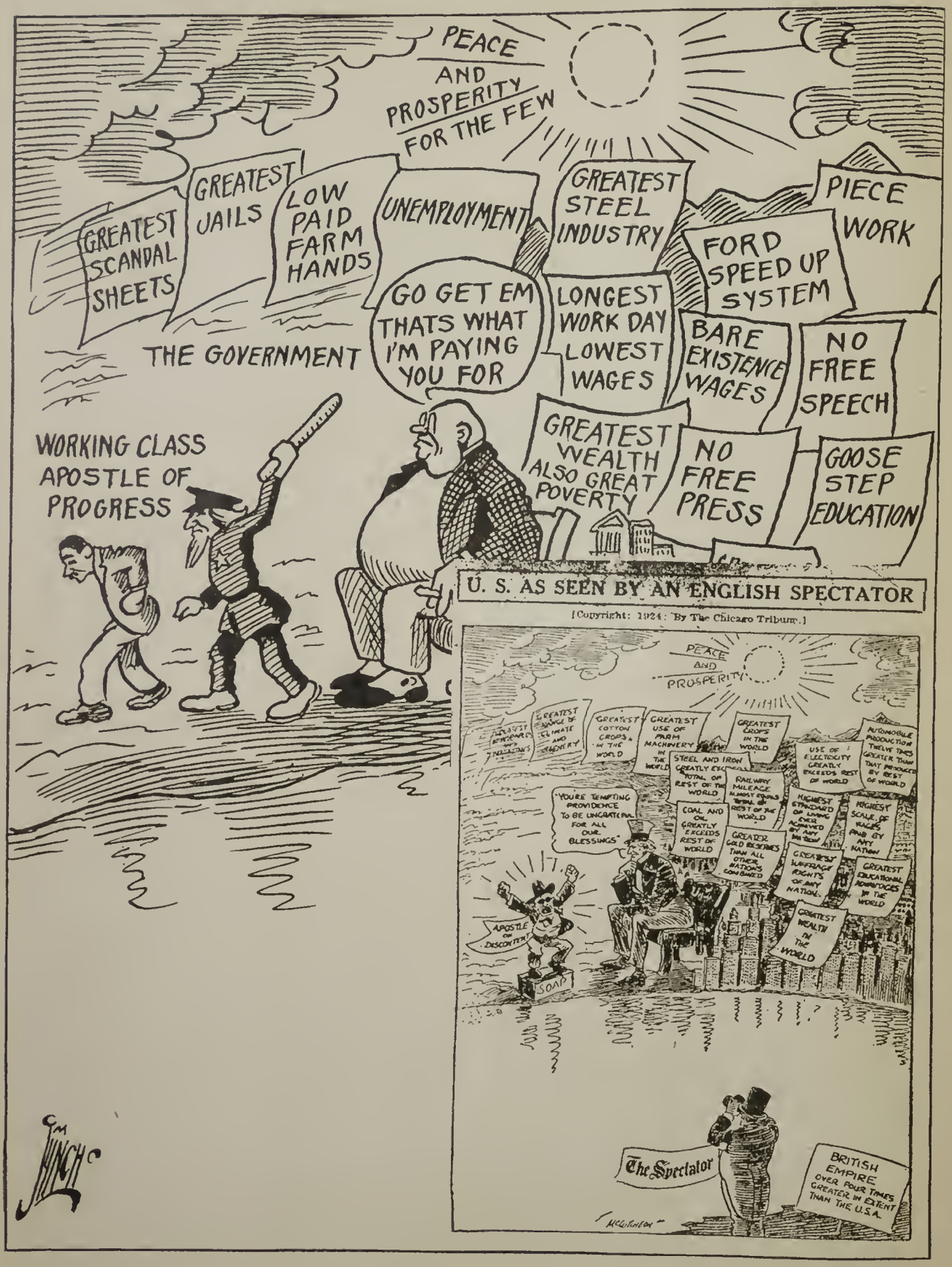
These husky and strong looking animals, if left without human protection and forced to fight their own battle for existence, would certainly be unable to survive. They would go down in defeat either against the elements or against some sturdier species of the animal kingdom. Yet they are the acme of usefulness to mankind.

Shall the millions of the toiling masses sink down into a similar dependency upon a small group of men who own them like they own the trees and the crop on the field, or the domesticated animals? Shall we, the workers, develop ourselves similarly to the domesticated animals so that our only value will be our usefulness to our owners? Shall we be nothing but a means in the hands of a master class by which that class can so much more successfully struggle for its existence?

If we are to become independent human beings, participating in the struggle for existence in our own behalf, it is necessary that we develop ourselves independently also. We must refuse to be domesticated in behalf of some particular class in society to whose interest it is to develop certain qualities within us and suppress others. And if plants and animals through artificial means have degenerated so that they are unable to reproduce themselves in an offspring sufficiently strong to survive, there is nothing to indicate that the same could not take place among suppressed classes of the human race.

The migratory workers are laying the foundation for an independent race through their relentless prosecution of their organization. **At the rate they receive assistance from other groups of workers, the workers as a class will gain a correspondingly larger amount of security in life.** The battle carried on by the harvest hands and other groups of militant workers, by the IWW as a whole, is far more vital than we are prone to think at a first glance at it. It is much more than a battle for a little more of the good things of life in the present form of society. It is a battle for the preservation of the whole human race with a biological significance far greater than we can really comprehend today. It is a battle for the right to live.

# U. S. As Seen By a Worker


PEACE AND PROSPERITY FOR THE FEW
GREATEST SCANDAL SHEETS
GREATEST JAILS
LOW PAID FARM HANDS
UNEMPLOYMENT
GREATEST STEEL INDUSTRY
PIECE WORK
FORD SPEED UP SYSTEM
GO GET EM THATS WHAT I'M PAYING YOU FOR
LONGEST WORK DAY LOWEST WAGES
BARE EXISTENCE WAGES
NO FREE SPEECH
THE GOVERNMENT
WORKING CLASS APOSTLE OF PROGRESS
GREATEST WEALTH ALSO GREAT POVERTY
NO FREE PRESS
GOOSE STEP EDUCATION
U. S. AS SEEN BY AN ENGLISH SPECTATOR
[Copyright: 1924: By The Chicago Tribune.]
PEACE AND PROSPERITY
GREATEST COTTON CROPS IN THE WORLD
GREATEST USE OF FARM MACHINERY IN THE WORLD
GREATEST CROPS IN THE WORLD
STEEL AND IRON GREATLY EXCEEDS TOTAL OF REST OF THE WORLD
USE OF ELECTRICITY GREATLY EXCEEDS REST OF WORLD
AUTOMOBILE PRODUCTION TWELVE TIMES GREATER THAN PRODUCED BY REST OF WORLD
RAILWAY MILEAGE ALMOST EQUALS THAT OF REST OF THE WORLD
"YOU'RE TEMPTING PROVIDENCE TO BE UNGRATEFUL FOR ALL OUR BLESSINGS"
COAL AND OIL GREATLY EXCEEDS REST OF WORLD
GREATER GOLD RESERVES THAN ALL OTHER NATIONS COMBINED
HIGHEST STANDARD OF LIVING EVER ACHIEVED BY ANY NATION
HIGHEST SCALE OF WAGES PAID BY ANY NATION
GREATEST SUFFRAGE RIGHTS OF ANY NATION
GREATEST EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES IN THE WORLD
GREATEST WEALTH IN THE WORLD
APOSTLE OF DISCONTENT
SOAP
The Spectator
BRITISH EMPIRE OVER FOUR TIMES GREATER IN EXTENT THAN THE U.S.A.
McCUTCHEON
CM FINCH

# U. S. As Seen By a Proletarian Poet

## Verses by Laura Tane

### GARY RIDES SWIFTLY

The wind blows and blows
Where the green arm of the forest
Waves a sun-yellow handkerchief
To the wind that blows and blows . . .
A smothering vomit of smoke and slake
Over the honest misery
Of Braddock, Youngstown, Homestead
. . . . steel towns
Through which Gary rides swiftly
In a closed automobile . . . steel towns
Which have no sun-yellow handkerchief
For the wind to blow into.

### VAGABONDS

Many times I saw them
Standing on the roof of a red freight train
Running swiftly into the south wind.
Strong-faced men
Looking as if they had held themselves
In the sun a long time.
A rough laugh they gave me
Sitting on the quiet hill . . .
But no longer do I wait
For the growl of the swift-running animal
As I sit on the quiet hill.
I too have become an Incorrigible . . .
A vagabond-thief of yellow mornings
Running on swift feet out of the darkness.

### PROMISE

A silver promise the dawn did keep
As I bent over my love asleep:
Her hair lay rippling in a blackened sea
And a lost red flower where her mouth
should be.

But now the day's demands are made
I bend beneath a monster's shade
Of sweating grease and a steel forge roar
And the silver promise is no more . . .
And the lost red flower is no more.

### WE KEEP THE BOATS WARM

The lady slips into her silken bed
The light is golden above her head
Her cabin is warm as a chimney-nest
No cry of the east wind disturbs her rest.

But we below hear the snarl of the sea
As we shiver our limbs, men who are free;
The days spill hot coals upon our skin
The night weaves a blanket from a bliz-
zard wind . . .

The lady climbs out of her nest-warm bed
The sun is golden above her head;
When we face the sting of a furnace heat
Or the eyes of the coals look thru our feet.

### PITTSBURGH ANNIE

Her curtains were white when she was
young,
When the Gary chimneys were just begun;
When the slake was hid in the mists of sun
Her curtains were pure as a virgin nun.

But now the windows are bare and black,
The roses are dead behind her shack;
Her old man died on the mill's wheelrack,
Today she rides on her son's deathhack.

TRANSPORTATION OF MAN POWER IN THE HARVEST

# Crossing the Line

**LIKE a flood, creeping down the valleys and lowlands, sweeping higher and higher up the hillsides, leaving an island here and there, only to submerge them later, the harvest rushes northward. Or, like a forest fire, or a grass fire, it goes, because it strikes the standing grain, and passes along, leaving nothing behind.**

**Yet, it is not quite like either of these, for the flood goes up the Mississippi Valley, and the flame that burns off the grain is not red fire, but red card men, who save it, and do not destroy it.**

The yearly harvest of wheat starts in the early days of June, in the northern part of Texas, and the state of Oklahoma. By the middle of June it has followed the wide line of ripening grain into Kansas, which is the second largest field of harvesting activity. By the middle of July it has pretty well cleared up the Kansas fields, the River Brothers, and the funny Kansas anti-cigarette laws, and the good Dutch custom of five meals a day are left behind in Eastern Kansas, and the hot, dry-land header-barges are left behind in Western Kansas. Then comes the more sparsely settled, poorer yielding Nebraska, and we are ready for the northern harvest belt, South Dakota, and especially North Dakota, and across the line into Alberta and Saskatchewan, Canada.

As this is written in the latter part of September, the line is being crossed, harvesting is under way in the Moose Jaw country, Canada.

More lines than one were crossed by the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W. this year. More crises than one were met and overcome.

### The Land of Martyrs

The first was the hostility of the farmers of the South, which in previous years has resulted in anywhere from half a dozen to half a hundred victims. Men were arrested for criminal syndicalism, state vagrancy, or nothing at all, and kept in jail for years, months, or weeks, at the whim of the banker-controlled authorities.

This year there were few arrests, and fewer convictions in Oklahoma and Kansas. The strenuous battle put up by the General Defense has

BIG THINGS WILL COME OF IT

The Agricultural Workers' Office in Moose Jaw, Canada. It is small yet, but only a beginning.

made criminal syndicalism frame-ups expensive and uncertain; the law has been abandoned. Preliminary educational propaganda in the I. W. W. press and by leaflet has proved to the farmer of the South that the banker is his real enemy, and that the I. W. W. does not hold him guilty of all that the banker does. The I. W. W. has convinced at least a part of the farmers that they might as well pay decent wages as not, for what they do not pay to their harvest labor, the grain elevator monopoly and the country town banks will take from them, anyway.

In North Dakota this season opened most unpropitiously. As if to demonstrate that the I. W. W. was right when it accused the state of being under the control of the industrial rulership of the country, the farm bureaus, which are joint bodies composed of farmers and county agents, who represent the United States Department of Agriculture, the State Board of Agriculture, and the state universities, working hand in glove with the governor of the state, were ready for the Wobblies with a pretty clever, well organized scheme for the lowering of wages and the worsening of conditions.

First of all, they had advertised far and wide that North Dakota had a bumper crop. That was true. Moreover, the crop was late, and there was wide-spread unemployment throughout the East. So before the harvesting started, they had North Dakota flooded with the unemployed.

Then they proposed to create gangs of strikebreakers in the country towns, recruited from among the drugstore cowboys, and the bunch that usually join the American Legion, the Ku Klux Klan, and the state militia. The farmers were notified of the wage to pay, usually from $2.50 to $3.50, and told to extort a pledge from each man they hired, that he would never ask for more, this whole season.

Then Governor Nogles' famous "Forty-eight Hour" proclamation was issued, calling on all officers of the law to permit no one to remain in their jurisdiction over forty-eight hours without a job. This was intended to compel the harvesters to go to work at whatever wage was offered.

The whole thing failed. The I. W. W. no longer approached the North Dakota harvest fields in the old-time, haphazard, reckless way. They no longer kept their delegates in the jungles. They used the sensible plan of stationing district organizers throughout the harvest "front," and these men, stationary delegates, learned their districts thoroughly, knew every job and every man, and cooperated with all other delegates and stationary delegates.

There were enough workers in Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W. to compel the farmer to hire some of them, or he couldn't get in his harvest. They insisted on having organized crews. They gave the unorganized man plenty of time to learn the organization, but then, if he wouldn't join, John Farmer had to fire him, or shock his grain and thresh it himself. Not only that, but his neighbor had to do it too.

As a matter of fact, there were few strikes, and practically speaking, no strikebreaking. John was whipped. He never had any interest in the fight anyway. The county agent system forced him into it, and the agents were badly whipped.

And Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the I. W. W. sweeps on, harvesting the grain of the Middle West, demanding and getting fair treatment and about twice the wage the harvest worker would have obtained without it. It is crossing the line—the line between mere card selling and the permanent, organized control of an industry. The march of events, and the necessities of the situation are forcing it forward.

"THE JUNGLES"

Waste Places Where Unemployed Harvesters Congregate. The I. W. W. Motto Is "Out of the Jungles and Organize the Job!"

# One Man Against the System

A BOOK REVIEW By GEORGE MORESBY

IN the north end of Lincoln Park in Chicago there is a bronze memorial group by Gutzon Borglum. It portrays John Peter Altgeld, once governor of Illinois, standing with one arm outstretched over the heads of three kneeling figures—a poor man, his woman and his child—and the other arm held out in appeal to the world to be square with all the disinherited ones.

He stood as one man against the system which exploited the multitude, and he fought with shining courage. He pardoned the three so-called anarchists who had been sent to prison for life for the bomb-throwing in the Haymarket, not as a mere act of mercy, but because he knew from an analysis of the case that there had never been the slightest proof that they had anything to do with the killing of the policemen on May 4, 1886. And thus he brought upon his head the wrath of all who tried to block the movement for the eight-hour day.

Then, in the Pullman strike, he battled by telegraph with President Cleveland in protest against Cleveland's act of sending federal troops to help move trains at a time when the state authorities were maintaining good order. And because of this, plus the anarchist pardons, he became the target of one of the most bitter onslaughts of vilification in history. For nearly a decade his name was anathema to newspapers, magazines and men upon the public platform—until, in 1902, a broken man, he died.

Curiously enough, in the years that have followed, his name has gone into the discard. No man in public life has been more completely forgotten; one has ground for suspecting the newspapers of an undiscussed, automatic conspiracy of silence against Altgeld's memory. But now one man who has not forgotten has broken the silence. Waldo R. Browne has written a biography in which the full stature of this tragic figure is revealed. It is entitled "Altgeld of Illinois." Browne has evidently made a careful and exhaustive research of documentary sources for the data he uses. He has done a sterling service in stripping away the ugly myths attached to the name of this man who fought the system. The book is rich in illumination.

Altgeld was born in Germany in 1847, and was brought to this country by his parents when three months old. His father was illiterate and narrow, hard-headed, close-fisted. At an early age John Peter was pressed into service on the father's farm near Mansfield, Ohio. He wanted an education, wanted to become somebody out in the world, but the father was opposed,

and at times used a horsewhip to enforce parental rules. When the Civil War began, the boy was thirteen. Three years later, in response to a call by Lincoln for fresh troops, he joined the army, and for several months carried a gun in the swamps below Richmond. Years later he explained that in entering the army he merely did what other boys were doing. "It was the enthusiasm of those days, the drums and the flags and the rest of it, that led me to enlist," he said. "Not all that I went through in the war required half the courage that it took to sign the anarchist pardons."

He returned home after the war, and took up the routine on the farm again. In the winter of 1866, however, he became a schoolteacher as a partial escape from the atmosphere of home. He wanted to study law, but there was too much bitter objection to that from his parents, and so he kept on teaching until he was twenty-one. Then with ten dollars of borrowed money in his pocket, he set out to wander. For a year he was a migratory worker, suffering hardship, but pushing on. He moved southward and westward to Cincinnati and across Indiana and Illinois to East St. Louis, covering about 500 miles on foot, stopping occasionally to work for a meal or a night's lodging. In St. Louis he worked for a few weeks and studied law at night. Next he was laborer in a railroad grading crew near Fort Scott, Kansas. He became sick there with army fever and nearly died. Later while working for a farmer near Savannah, Missouri, he got acquainted with Judge David Rea, a lawyer there, who gave him a chance to study, and in 1871 Altgeld was admitted to the bar. He was then twenty-four.

**We desire to expose the futility of reformism. Altgeld was as good a man as Jesus Christ, and wise, too, in his generation, but he failed as miserably as Christ. He did not leave the world a better place to live in. Revolution alone can do that.**

Presently he was elected prosecuting attorney of Andrew County, Missouri. But, says Browne: "He was not long in discovering that the system of which he had now become a part had little to do with securing the ends of abstract justice—that indeed, as often as not, it must necessarily defeat those ends. As later characterized in his own words, it was a system 'based on a

mistaken principle; . . . a great mill which, in one way or another, supplies its own grist; a maelstrom which draws from the outside and then keeps its victims moving in a circle until swallowed in the vortex.' . . . After serving but half of his two-year term, Altgeld resigned."

Then, in 1875, he invaded Chicago, rented an office in the Reaper block, and partitioned part of it off for a sleeping room. Several strokes of good fortune brought him into contact with successful attorneys, and enabled him to better his position. In 1886, at the solicitation of friends he accepted the Democratic nomination for a judgeship in the Cook County Superior Court. He received the indorsement of a labor party which had lately sprung up in Chicago, and won the election.

He is credited with "making a change in the method of instructing juries in his court, which tended strongly to aid justice and secure intelligent consideration of the facts by juries." In 1890 his associates on the bench made him chief justice of their court. But a year afterward he resigned; the office had become irksome. Subsequently he wrote a little book in which he said:

"As a rule, men elected to the bench have established a reputation of being men of strong character and growing intelligence, and if they had remained off the bench they would have continued developing. But as soon as a man is elected to the office of judge, all growth seems to cease; and after years of experience on the bench, he not only has not grown, but he has deteriorated.

"Instead of the independence which comes from fighting life's battles, which develops greatness, the judge too often, unintentionally and unconsciously, becomes merely the expression of what is for the time the dominant influence of the land. This dominant pressure is like the pressure of the atmosphere. It envelops him, and is almost irresistible. It requires tremendous strength of character to rise above it and be guided solely by the pole-star of justice."

When he left the bench Altgeld declared in an interview that he was out of politics, that he felt he could do more for his fellow-men if he let politics alone, and he spoke of office-holders as a class notable for cowardice and futility. But in the following year, when he was urged from many sides to run for the governorship of Illinois on the Democratic ticket, he acquiesced. And for the first time in nearly forty years Illinois elected a Democratic administration.

In Chicago there was an actively organized demand for the eight-hour day. In every strike for several years it had been the practice of the police to "crack all heads in sight until no man was left to stand upon his feet, and then announce that quiet was restored and the strike broken." Every strike, regardless of origin or nature, says Browne, was considered as evidence in itself that its participants were out to oppose law and order.

All this reached a climax in 1886. In February the McCormick harvester plant declared a general lockout of its 1,400 employes. Mounted police there and elsewhere dispersed gatherings of workers, striking down men, women, children and onlooking shopkeepers with billies. On May 3 there was a bloody encounter between police and locked-out workers at the McCormick factory, several workers being killed and wounded.

Next day there was a protest meeting. Chicago's mayor, the elder Carter Harrison, attended. There was no disorder. As the gathering began to break up the mayor left. Immediately afterward Police Captain John Bonfield, notorious for having workers clubbed, appeared with reserves. Somebody threw a bomb. Seven policemen were killed and fifty-three were wounded.

Terror seized the city, engendered largely by the police and the newspapers. Eight men were picked for trial. They were convicted amid unprecedented hysteria, and seven were sentenced to be hanged. although there was not a scrap of evidence to connect any of them with the throwing of the bomb. One was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Later Governor Oglesby commuted the sentences of three to life imprisonment; one then committed suicide in jail; and five were hanged.

In pardoning Fielden, Schwab and Neebe, the three who had served seven years in prison, Altgeld pointed out that the case had been tried by jurors admittedly prejudiced, and especially picked because of their prejudices; that the State had never shown any connection between the men convicted and the thrower of the bomb; that the Haymarket riot was not the result of a conspiracy at all; that the fact that only one bomb was thrown indicated that the act was one of personal revenge in retaliation for police brutality; and that Judge Joseph E. Gary conducted the trial with malicious ferocity.

Then the storm broke. Altgeld had indicted the judge and the community for judicial murder. Against the governor now a fire of personal vituperation was turned which endured for years. And in the end they broke him, politically, financially, physically.

Throughout all the storm he kept his courage. Once when he was close to ruin (he had dealt in real estate and built the finest office building of its time, the Unity Building in Chicago), a bribe of $500,000 was offered to him by an agent of Charles Yerkes, traction magnate, who wanted certain monopoly bills passed; the money was actually put into the hands of one of his associates for him. But Altgeld refused the money and vetoed the bills.

He died in 1902. Thousands came in the rain to pay tribute where his body lay in the Chicago Public Library. And at the funeral services there were speeches by Jane Addams and by Altgeld's law partner, Clarence Darrow. Then the long silence began.

**Altgeld of Illinois, By Waldo R. Browne. New York: B. W. Huebsch. 342 pages. $3.**

# A Kosher Revolution

(A Review by Card No. 794514)

A FRIEND of mine who knows something about these sort of things rang me up on the telephone and told me I had to go and see "The Beggar on Horseback," which is a sort of play that has come into Chicago. My friend couldn't say too much in its favor. "It's a fine piece of work," says he. "It's the story of the revolt of the middle class, a Kosher revolution. The capitailst press catches hell. It's a most sarcastic thing. You'll have to go and see it, and review it for the Pioneer."

So I did go to see it, and it was all that he said it was. It is the tale of one Neil McRae, a poverty stricken musical genius—there must be a hundred thousand like him. For his daily bread he has to do orchestration in jazz, which he loathes, and meanwhile the immortal symphony he was writing rather languishes. Nothing very original so far.

Enter the family Cady, Mr. Cady, big business (Lord knows there are too many like him), Mrs. Cady who loves hymns, Homer Cady the loungelizard, and Gladys Cady the jazzhound. The Cadys knew the McRaes before Mr. Cady got his first million, and for old times' sake they decide to buy up McRae. They've bought everything else worth having, and they are beginning to take up things second best—they'll take a chance on Neil.

Neil and his friend, a young doctor, and his sweetheart, about whom there is dispute as to whether she can play the piano or not, have all advised said Neil that if he doesn't find someone to subsidize him while he works on the symphony, he will go bugs. He's already so nervous that the doctor starts feeding him hop as soon as he sees him.

So—the obvious thing—the Cadys will subsidize him. Of course, there are impediments. First he has to marry Gladys, and then the old man says he has to quit music for a while and learn the ins and outs of the business, and then they elect themselves a board of critics to pass on his music.

Well, Neil proposes, and is accepted, and then sinks into a drugged sleep and sees things.

Neil imagines himself married to the tune of "Slippery Sue," or "Sweet Mamma," or something, me, I'm not well enough acquainted with music to tell which or what. It is a grand wedding, with kids selling the wedding guests chocolate bars and soda pop while the minister jazzes off the ceremony.

Then business, the "widget factory" of Mr. Cady, where you fill out thirty papers to requisition a pencil, and bribe the board of directors barefacedly, before the audience.

Then the aggravated Neil, finding the jazzhound tearing up his completed part of the symphony, kills out the Cady family with a paper knife.

This is the best part of the play. The reporters interview Neil, and within ten seconds the "Daily Morning-Evening," a burlesque newspaper, appears. It contains a whole front page spread about the Cady killing. The delicate irony of Messrs. Kaufmann and Connelly, authors of the play, and presumably of the "Daily Morning-Evening," is shown in this, that with a few unimportant exceptions, the murder is reported exactly as it happened on the stage. No capitalist paper would ever do that! The rest of the paper is pretty good too—consider the following item, which I clip at random:

### HAS MONEY ENOUGH; GIVES BIG BUSINESS TO EMPLOYES

Warren W. Warren, internationally celebrated as the Oilskin King, and head of Warren, Inc., a million-dollar corporation, threw a bombshell into business circles yesterday when he announced that his vast organization would hereafter be run exclusively by his employees. Beginning Jan. 1, Mr. Warren will make over his entire business to the men who have been working for him, and they will receive practically all profits.

"I have money enough," said Mr. Warren last night, at his home in Park Avenue, "so I am going to give my loyal employees a chance. After all, it is they who have made the business, so why should they not have an opportunity to share in the profits? For many years Warren, Inc., has been earning two million dollars a year. Under the management of my employees, who will work harder because they will be working for themselves, the profits should be at least five million.

"To be conservative, however, and to give my old workers a chance, I am fixing on four million as a fair figure, and every cent of profit over this amount will be divided among the employees. Hereafter the business will be theirs to do with as they wish. A board elected by the men will govern the business, and I will not interfere in any way except to decide things. If the men agree with me on important points they will have their way about everything."

Under the new management, Mr. Warren said, he would be able to reduce the number of his employees by ten per cent, and make many more widgets.

* * * *

There's the burlesque trial, not so good, and in the course of it, as part of the expert testimony, the Neil McRae composition, a pantomime entitled "A Kiss In Xanadu" which is dainty.

The verdict is against the kiss in Xanadu, and McRae is sentenced to serve life with other poets, artists, novelists, and assorted intellectuals, in the culture factory of capitalism. You see him grinding out music for "Goo-goo-googly" songs, while in the neighboring cell the greatest American novelist makes a new novel out of scraps from his last one. The last novel was called "Eternal Love." so this one's gotta be called "Love Eternal."

The capitalist class conducts a chant of victory in back of the cells, where Mr. Cady irrationally comes to life (does this imply that you can't kill the miserable skunk?) and cracks the whip over the artists. The chant goes something like this:

> We pay you—we pay you!
> You take our money and you'll live our way;
> We pay the piper, and we tell him what to play;
> We pay you—we pay you!

The rest of the play doesn't matter. There is no adequate solution of the problem of the intellectual, well skilled, highly sensitive proletarian, in this play.

I wonder whether there is a solution of his problems, in this generation? Each master class throughout history has built up a science and an

THE SUPPRESSION OF GENIUS

art, and there have been scientists and artists. Frequently, being exceptionally intelligent, and nervously overstrung individuals, they have accomplished some wonderful criticism. They have no solution of the problem, and usually are so thoroughly corrupted by their life, whether they revolt or not, that they resist revolution when it comes, and perish. The intelligentsia of the French kingdom did it—probably the Russian intellectuals do it, certainly most of the American artists and intellectuals will do it.

I have a friend who is one of the great mathematicians of America. He has his solution of the question, a solution for the scientists, rather than for the artists. Says he, "Let foreign wars continue, but we will organize the scientists, and keep them out. Let capital and labor fight to the death, we will organize the scientists in their own interests and keep them out of it. And then when our organization is ready, and the other classes are weakened by strife, we will exterminate them with poison, germs, electricity, and atomic explosions—the end shall strictly justify the means. We will save just enough of those with strong backs and weak minds to minister to our comforts, and after that it will be a good world to live in."

Well I don't know. But I think that the world will be saved by laborers, and not by the artists and scientists. I don't think these latter can overcome their present class affiliations and their individuality enough to strike for the dictatorship. Most of them will probably be so obstreperous when the revolution does come that they will have to be restrained in some way, and they will surely sabotage. But others will grow up, more in harmony with the new order, and at home in it, and their lives will be fine and free in a way that no artist can be free at present. If any of the cultured can see this, and at the risk of immediate discomfort, work towards it, they will have demonstrated themselves more useful to their class than my mathematical friend. And meanwhile we can shorten the agony of the rest by organizing labor.

# One of the Pall Bearers

(Continued from Page 16)

ertied class! How could he hope to combat it single-handed! To anyone but a fool such was impossible! Would he be tried and sentenced for murder—he, an innocent bystander? No. He was not an adept at the art of murder, he was not experienced in the science of robbery. He knew nothing about the use of arms and was frightened at the sight of blood. He was nothing but a working slave. All the training of a lifetime had rendered him incapable of doing such things! Such acts are committed by the scorpions—always deadly and poisonous—which breed under the dark, dank stone walls of capitalism's prisons, and who grow rank and strong on oppression and on the filth of poverty on the outside! But not he—not he—he does not want the money there beside him.

The bloody figure on the pavement moved, and startled him out of the terror of his immobility. He fled.

Finally in the early hours of the morning he arrived at his own dirty tenement. He crept upstairs and slid noiselessly into their housekeeping room.

"Is that you, dear?" asked his wife.

"Ssh! Yes. But don't light a light. You must say, if anyone asks you, that I have been here all night." And he sank down on the bed and related his experience.

"And when such crimes as that happen on our public streets at ten o'clock at night," he concluded, "it is a sign that capitalism is dying. Yes, Mary, capitalism is dying fast. The Revolution will soon be here."

"You didn't make any money, I suppose, did you?" she asked with a shade of hope in her voice. "No?, Well, I bet you are hungry, ain't you? You know, I made some stuff that's awful good. I found a dry loaf of bread in the box in the hall where we put old papers—guess Smiths put it there—he is working now—and it wasn't dirty at all—nothing there only papers and sweepings, you know. Well, I soaked it and chopped up that onion I had and fried it in some drippings I had in an old can. It tastes just like dressing! We saved you some. Don't you want it now? Oh, come on, it won't hurt to light the gas.—The meter is run out, but you can hold the skillet over the gas jet and it will warm all right. Oh, I forgot, we only have one match. Maybe we had better save it. We might need it. You don't think we will have a revolution before we can get another box, do you?"

He kissed her affectionately. "Maybe I can get a little of something to do tomorrow. God knows I am willing enough." And he struck the match and ate the food.

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**NEXT MONTH: "NEMESIS," BY ADAM NOIR. A SEQUEL TO "ANNIE."**

# The Great Lakes Are Open Shop

(By LEN de CAUX)

**THE Great Lakes are Open Shop. The tentacles of the monster Steel Trust have stretched out over the waters that separate its mills from its mines, to crush the independence of the seaman, to reduce them to the same level of helplessness as its slaves on land. Operating through its subsidiary, the Pittsburgh Steamship Co., the trust controls the policy of the Lake Carriers' Association, which in its turn controls the bulk of the shipping on the Great Lakes. Let us see what the "Open Shop principle," under which the Lake Carriers' Association operates, means to the men who sail the Lakes.**

To hire out on the Lakes we must go to one of the Lake Carriers' Assembly Rooms. Nearly all the shipping is controlled by the L. C. A., and the officers have orders to hire only through the association's halls. We enter the hall, and the first thing we learn is that we shall have to buy our jobs. No one is hired who has not paid a dollar down for a membership book in the "Welfare Plan." We look in the book and find that the holder is entitled "to the use and all the privileges of any Seamen's Assembly Rooms of the L. C. A." He is assured "impartial justice . . . . under the Open Shop principle."

We join the forty or fifty men who are sitting on the benches or standing around in the bare, dirty hall. Unless shipping is unusually brisk there is no saying how long we may have to wait. By day we sit and wait hour after hour, afraid that if we leave the hall for a minute the telephone bell will ring and we'll miss a chance of shipping out. At night the floor will be covered with newspapers, and most of us, unable to afford a room, for it is dire necessity that drives us to seek a master, will stretch out our limbs on the hard floor and sleep as best we can, to wake up stiff and tired in the cold, grey morning.

"The birds of the air have nests and the beasts of the field have lairs, but the son of man hath not where to lay his head."—That is to say, if the son of man in question happens to be a worker in modern capitalist society and to be unemployed, the chances are that he will be driven out of the park at night by the cops, or else by the rain or drenching dew. He may have to take his choice between a boxcar and a jail. If he has a little money, the bedbugs in a filthy flophouse are worse company than the groaning, cursing, sweating or shivering sons of man who are crowded together on the floor of the Lake Carriers' hall.

As we wait and wait again for the master's voice to call, we become acquainted with our fellow slaves in the hall. Some of them have been here two or three weeks. They tell us how they have been passed up time and again, because the fink in charge of the hall had it in for them for one reason or another. But let us first wait and see for ourselves how the hiring is done, so that we can check up their stories from our own experience.

* * * *

Suddenly the bell rings. A rustle of expectation runs through the hall. The Fink enters an order in the book. He comes out of the office and walks slowly around the hall, looking us over. There is silence, as we wait for the great man's decision. He stops short in front of a fireman—"Let's see your book." He looks at the man's record (one of the privileges for which you pay a dollar is that of having the boss keep a record of your behavior on every job, so that if you show any independence you may know what to expect). The record of discharges seems to satisfy the Fink, and the man is shipped. Other firemen in the hall grumble awhile that they have been waiting far longer than he, and then they relapse into apathy.

Another long wait and the bell rings again. This time the Fink stands by the door and calls out, "I want a good, husky coal-passer." A dozen men jump to their feet, and a dozen hands reach for their books. The Fink picks out the huskiest man he can see, paying no attention to the complaints of the men who figure it's their "turn to be shipped." Time passes. We are wondering where the next meal is coming from, when the bell is heard again. "Is William White in the hall?" There is no response. The Fink waits at the window, until one of the waiting deckhands thinks he may have a chance and goes up to him. He gets the job, as the Fink cannot wait any longer for "William White".

So it goes on. When the next order comes, the Fink calls the names of two men who are waiting, and they are shipped immediately. He seems to have plenty of favorites. How much it costs to be his favorite is not known to those of us who are broke.

We look more closely now at some of the men who have been waiting longest. We begin to sympathize. There's Charley. He's a Limey and an old salt. He has seen a lot of the world. He has got used to rebuffs and hardships. But he's weatherbeaten now and growing old. His back is bent from hard work, and nearly all his energy seems to have been used up. The boss wants youth and muscle more than experience. Every time there is a call Charley gets to the front with his book, but every time the Fink brushes him contemptuously aside and picks a younger man.

Then there is "Big Slim." He is young enough, husky enough! He has an A B's ticket and the record in his discharge book of having worked the whole season through last year as wheelsman on the same boat. But he has been waiting three weeks to ship. He is broke now and willing to ship as

deckhand, on the first job of any kind that eomes along. But the Fink will not ship him. He tells him that there are only one or two good wheelsmen in the hall, and that he must have him on hand for the job, in ease a wheelsman is suddenly called for.

What is the big Swede fireman in the eorner saying? He has been waiting two weeks for a job, and has seen man after man ship out ahead of him. A long time ago, he says, he had a row with the Fink at this hall and tore up his book in front of him. Now he has a new book, but the Fink has not forgotten his face or his name, and passes him up each time.

* * * *

An argument has been raging for some time on the other side of the hall. It seems to center around Shorty, wheelsman and old-timer. Shorty is something of a sea-lawyer; he likes to lay down the law, and that's what he is doing now. "I tell you, the shipping commissioner isn't going to help you any. Why . . . . " Here he launches out into reminiseences about an old shipmate. This is the story of Tom's luck.

"Tom wasn't a Wobbly." Every time that Shorty has to mention the word "Wobbly" he lowers his voice, fearing that the Fink may hear him. "But I guess the skipper thought he was, on account of his kicking so much. Tom was always telling us what we ought to have. Anyway, the skipper had it in for him for some reason, and was always figuring how he could get back at him.

"We were anchored off South Chicago one afternoon. They wouldn't let us in to dock right away, so we had to drop the hook out in the lake. Tom wanted to go ashore, so he went up and asked the old man. 'Sure, go ahead' is what he said, according to Tom. So Tom went ashore in a launch.

"But while he was away, the skipper figured that now was the time to pay back old scores. He told the commissioner that a man had deserted before the boat was tied up in dock, and asked him what he ought to do. The commissioner told him that since the boat was not at 'safe anchorage' he had the right to hold all the 'deserter's' belongings and make him forfeit all the money that was coming to him.

"So when Tom hit the dock, the skipper would not let him go aboard. Tom never got back his clothes, and he lost nearly a month's wages that were coming to him."

* * * *

Such, then, is "impartial justice to the employes . . . . under the Open Shop principle." Such are the "privileges" which cost us a dollar a year! The worker's part in the "Hellfare Plan" is dearly bought. The dollar out of his pocket is the least he loses. He forfeits his organization, he forfeits all the benefits of unionism, he forfeits what little independence is possible to the wage worker under capitalism.

The Steel Trust octopus has the seamen of the Great Lakes in its strangling grip. The Hellfare Plan means blacklisting, it means discrimination, it means complete submission to the will of the employers. As for "open" shop, just let the Fink know that you are a good union man and see how open it is for you. At the mercy of the Fink when hiring out, at the mercy of the officers when hired, at the mercy of the boss at all times, the seamen know from bitter experience what it means to be unorganized. Only organization, only unionism can remedy this situation and abolish the Fink hall.

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# Toilers Prepare

By HAROLD ALLINGER

HUNGER is stalking abroad in the land.
Why submit to starvation and not lift a hand?
Food there is plenty; the granaries are full,
Warehouses bursting with wheat and with wool,
We who created, 'tis ours to demand
When the toilers prepare.

Must men ever trail their pride in the dust,
Must maids ever yield love's dream to the lust
Of brutal oppressors? Must we crouch in fear?
They are robbing us now of all we hold dear.
Must we render them thanks for a rag and a crust?
Tyrants Beware!

Up through the Ages of Darkness we strained.
Of all we've created what have we gained?
Thrown on the scrap heap when aged or maimed.
Their dogs they will feed, though our babies must die
Wanting the care that our wages won't buy.
Will we thus submit to be tortured and shamed?
Oh! Toilers Prepare!

We toil through the dark, yet we long for the light.
Is there no sign in this terrible night
To point to the path that will lead us aright?
Oh! Follow the Three Stars, we cannot go wrong.
Alone we are helpless, together we're strong
And morning will dawn when the toilers unite.
Then tyrants beware!

Tyrants may torture and traitors betray,
Mobs ever waiting the toilers to slay,
While in dark dungeons our brothers decay.
Ye unorganized! Lend a hand in the strife.
Cowards! Will ye not even battle for life?
For shoulder to shoulder we'll soon win the day.
When the toilers prepare,
Then tyrants beware!

# Super Power

By "AUSSIE"

IN the New York Times of June 28 there appears an article dealing with the growth of super-power in the Northeastern states. It says: "Recommendations for the construction and development of great interconnected steam and hydro-electric power projects throughout the Northeastern section of the United States, estimated to make possible a saving of 50,000,000 tons of coal annually, lower the cost of producing electric power and extend the use of electricity generally to farm areas, are contained in a report made public today by the engineer subcommittee of the Northeastern Superpower Committee, headed by Herbert Hoover."

It is estimated that this scheme will be in operation in 1930 and that it will cover all the New England States and go as far south as Maryland and the District of Columbia and as far west as Pennsylvania.

This is only one of the many projects of a similar character being organized in the United States. Some are merely in the process of investigation, others are in the construction stage, and a comparatively few are operating. Already in the West they are tying-in an area which reaches from Oregon down to Arizona. Semi-feudal Dixie, the home of cheap labor and child labor, is developing another vast chain of hydro-electric energy, which is gradually shifting from a coal basis to that of water power.

### A Terrific Power

Super-power may be said to be the most important industrial factor in the United States. It will be many years before its full weight is felt, for it will revolutionize the whole country, in a more drastic manner than any social upheaval or war. Already it reflects itself in the slump in the soft coal industry, the two shifts a week in Southern Illinois, the miserable and intolerable outlook in the Pennsylvania soft coal districts, described vividly recently by James Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. This is no seasonal slackness, no passing phase of the coal industry. It marks the end of an epoch in which Coal was king, in which factories, railroads, homes and hearths were its particular domain. Of course Coal will still remain as a giver of heat and a source of power, but it will merely be as an auxiliary to Super-power.

### Eliminating Waste—And Men

At present something like 17 per cent of the coal of the U. S. is burnt to haul the other 83 per cent to the place where it is burnt. That is going by the board. It is regarded nowadays in engineering circles as unmitigated waste. In fact, it is but a short step to the time when the burning of coal as coal for heat will be prohibited by legal enactment. Coal can be distilled. Under distillation processes coal becomes a wonderful source of hundreds of complex chemicals, dyes and phenols. Henry Ford, with his characteristic inquiring organization, is now taking a ton of coal which costs $2 at the pit mouth and which costs an additional $2 for haulage, and he is distilling it at his plant and turning it into $27 worth of coke and chemicals. Nothing goes to waste and the surroundings of the plant are as free from smoke and steam as the breast of the ocean. After he has extracted the chemicals and byproducts the residue he has left has still greater heating power and power producing quality than the original coal from the mines. And research chemistry is still only on the fringe of what coal contains, the future is still ripe with promise, with possibilities of gigantic forces to be utilized and harnessed. The chemist and engineer are striding into the foreground once occupied by the rainmakers, and the politicians.

Some of the changes that will be made will involve the following:

1. The establishment of powerhouses at the mines where the coal will be distilled, and the residue used for the production of power. This will eliminate the haulage and consumption of millions of tons of coal annually.

2. This power will not cost perceptibly more than that derived from large hydro stations such as Niagara and Hetch-Hetchy, on account of the by-products from the coal.

3. Huge transmission trunk lines to carry as high as 220,000 volts which will make transmission a very cheap process.

4. The establishment of what we might term "power reservoirs" to which all local generating stations flow and from which all producers are supplied. In Pennsylvania Governor Pinchot—one of the few politicians who are yet awake—foresees the electrification of overy farm, the electrification of trunk line railroads and a radical reduction in charges which will follow upon the integration of their system.

### Machine Made Revolution

All over the country a network is being established. It will triumph over old forms of industrialism and cause modifications in the laws, and change social relationships. We are on the verge of great events, as revolutionary in character as the invention of the spinning wheel, the first steamboat and the wireless telephone. The drudge of daily life, the menial tasks, the farm chores and a thousand and one drawbacks of our present civilization are to pass before the harnessed steeds of Niagara and the distilled black diamonds of Wyoming and Connellsville.

And where are we, the working class, bound? In 1930 the Northeastern project will eliminate 50,000,000 tons of coal annually. That means that 50,000 miners will lay down their picks and never go

(Continued on page 39)

# Breadline Fables

No. 1.—HE WORKED HIMSELF OUT OF WORK.

"'D'jeat?"

"No!"

"Well, eumon, I got foah bits. We'll both eat."

The preceding few words were exehanged between two migratory workers about nine a. m. of a July day in a Southern Oregon terminal. This was one of those years when the warehouses were filled to overflowing and vicious dogs were kept near baek yard gates to frighten away the more timid of the great army of the unemployed.

Perhaps three years of time were all that marked the difference in the ages of these two ex-producers. The interrogator had several more years of industrial experienee to his eredit and was given over to holding a more eheerful outlook on eircumstanees.

"Why so much crepe-hanging, Bo?"

"Well, I ean't find a job and I've been broke for two days."

"Say, didn't you know you can't work when there's no work to do?"

"No!"

"I've given up hope of finding work. What concerns me now is how ean I get something to eat. I worked for seven years and at the end of that time I was worse off than when I started beeause I was only given enough in wages to keep me in shape to get back on the job again the next day. So, howinhel cud I save anything? The plant shut down and I became a rambler. I have found many more ex-producers in the same boat. I was laying on my baek under the shade of a large oak tree one summer day and an idea came to me that the reason so many workers were on the bum was because they worked too long hours and too fast. Actually working themselves out of a job! I belonged to a union, but that union did not take any heed of how much we produced, but seemed to boast of how mueh they could do for the boss in a few hours and that they thought the boss was a fine fellow to give them a job. I also found out that nearly all the men on the bum were union men or at least they had held membership in a eraft union; often ealled graft union. When our union in St. Louis went out on strike the same brotherhood in New York worked overtime to fill the orders for the firm in St. Louis. This really defeated our efforts to improve our conditions and those of us who were more aetive beeame blacklisted after the strike was over and wherever we went some word had been sent ahead of us that we should not be employed beeause of our agitation.

"In appealing to the different unions of my eraft for help, I was met with a dumb reply. Then I learned that the international officials of my union were being bought by the manufaeturers, and that we did not have the power to unseat them. The result was that I dropped my membership in the union altogether. One night I was attraeted to a large erowd in the street intently listening to a man talking from a box.

"I joined the erowd and to my surprise this man was telling them just the ideas I had about eutting down the hours and slowing up on the job. I became rivetted to the spot in rapt attention as the speaker continued to pass out logieal ideas as a solution to this soeial problem of unemployment and poverty. He did advoeate unionism, but of a better brand than any I had ever before heard. He laid partieular emphasis on the need of solidarity among the workers and their recognizing that an injury to one worker is an injury to all workers. All of the workers in one industry would belong to one union and when a strike was ealled in one industry all of the workers in that industry would stop work and if need be all of the workers in all of the industries would lay down their tools to show their solidarity and make the strike so effective the boss would be foreed to give in.

"When the meeting was over I made inquiries among the erowd about the qualifications required of an applicant. They quiekly informed me that all wage workers were eligible to membership regardless of raee, sex, creed or color, that the form of organization was ruled from the membership and not from the offieials. As soon as I had the small amount required for initiation I became a member of this union and found myself among a group of workers fitting themselves through study and observation to handle the machinery of production and distribution and do away with an idle class who do no useful work."

"Say, that sounds good to me, Bill! Where is their headquarters? I want to line up the first chance I have. You sure have made things look brighter to me, and I hope some time I can help some other fellow!"

"'So long!"

# EDITORIALS

*By The Editor*

## RICHES ON THE SEAS

NO capitalists are any better organized or any closer hooked up with the big financial rulers of the world than are the shipping interests. Morgan is almost as much a ship owner as he is a banker. Big business knows what is coming next, barring revolution, of course, and takes care to put its money where it can expect results will follow.

It is next to impossible to calculate the earnings of the ship owners of the world. The international character of their traffic, the possibilities for cheating, the connection with the government, through the necessity of governments to maintain a "naval marine" for time of war, the prevalence of subsidies in one form or another, all this makes it even more possible for the sea grafter to hide his gains than for the land grafter.

But we hold it for certain that the big lords of business would not sink their money in the sea. If they put it into ships, they are getting it back with increase. Consider these figures then, supplied by Lloyd's of London to the Statesmen's Yearbook. In 1923 the merchant steam tonnage of the world was 57,939,000, a gain, in spite of all destruction during the world war, of 15,425,000 or more than one-third over that of 1914.

There's money in boats. Here's the reason. The same authority states that in 1923 the foreign commerce of the United States amounted to $6,877,-847,674; that of Great Britain amounted to $880,-000,000,000; that of France was $3,152,305,000; and of Germany $2,543,775,000. Excluding the land traffic of Mexico and Canada with the U. S. A., and of France with Germany, the bulk of this enormous marketing is done by means of shipping. All of England's foreign commerce is carried on by ships. Don't you think that the owners of the ships get a rich profit from all this?

Does the ship owner do any of the work? He does not. It is the longshoremen, seamen, firemen, engineers and other workers on and around ships who carry this immense treasure back and forth across the seas. Theirs is the labor; to them belongs the profit—let them organize and take it.

## THE SLOW MAGELLANS

THE 'round-the-world fliers are in Chicago, and in all honor to them, they accomplished a noble feat. We know they were sent to advertise the navy at home and scare Morgan's debtors abroad, but the men who built the planes and those who flew them were skillful and bold. It is rightly that the world hails them as "The Swift Magellans."

Just the same, it is not well to exaggerate their importance. Aeroplane carriage will work for mail, though at that it is extremely expensive, the U. S. Postmaster General in his last report claiming that the airplane rate of eight cents per ounce does not pay expenses. Aeroplanes are speedy and efficient carriers of light weight, precious or perishable merchandise, where cost of operations do not count. Also, we do not know how soon they will be so improved that they can carry heavy freight, or better stated because more probable, we do not know how soon it will be before some other type of airship is invented, which will carry heavy freight.

But we workers cannot indulge in such speculations when it comes to organization. We must keep our heads out of the clouds, and see the situation as it is. The danger to the railroad workers and to the marine transport workers is not that they will be thrown out of their jobs by aeroplane carriage—at least not yet. That is not the immediate danger. For every ton of freight that is carrried by aeroplanes, a million is drawn by electric locomotives, or carried in ships equipped with Diesel engines. In either case, the amount of freight carried per man is enormously greater than the amount per man under the old system of steam locomotives on the railroads, and reciprocating engines on the ships. There is still the vast and overwhelming need of industrial unions, in the transport industry, both by land and by water. Railroad workers and seamen may not be as spectacular as the "Swift Magellans" of the air. But the goods of the world are carried by them, if not as fast as the 'round-the-world fliers can go, still in vastly greater quantity, and at that, much faster than the ships of the real historical Magellan could go. Railroad workers and seamen have economic control, even if they do not fill the front pages of the newspapers. Let us hope they will organize to use their control.

## THE CRIME COMMISSION

THE notorious Chicago Tribune has been agitating for a long time for an Illinois State Constabulary, modeled after the Pennsylvania system for state police, under which troops of Cossacks are stationed in all industrial and especially mining centers.

Now they are organizing to secure such a corps of gunmen. The new organization is to be known as a "Crime Commission" and is holding regular meetings, "making plans to combat murder in the city of Chicago."

The fact that the most important, and best known murder, that ever took place in the city of Chicago, was the slaying of the son of a retired pawnbroker by two degenerate sons of trust officials, does not cause the Tribune to change its tactics. This mouthpiece of big business is out for gunmen to use against workers.

# EDITORIALS

*By Pioneer Readers*

## WHAT SHALL WE DO NOW?

By P. J. WELINDER

WHILE the aftermath of the war has brought about varying periods of prosperity and depression among the employing class, to us, the workers, it has meant one continous chain of increased suppression, unemployment and starvation.

The "centering of the management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands," as pointed out in our Preamble, as well as the concentration of capital into fewer hands and thereby a concentration of the economic power into the hands of a very small and very powerful plutocracy, is taking place very rapidly. The failure of our organization to gain ground at an equal rate with the concentration of capital leaves us comparatively weaker today than we were prior to the war.

It is true that a far greater number of the workers recognize the I. W. W. today as their most powerful weapon in the class struggle than a few years ago. We have gained a lot of confidence among the toiling masses, and we are on the verge of being respected,—perhaps also "respectable." But let us not forget that this is not entirely due to our own work.

In this time of such intensified struggle for existence, millions of toilers, who heretofore have enjoyed a rather steady employment, find themselves thrown on the slave-market and in search of a master. This causes them to speculate somewhat over the forces which caused the change and also to look somewhere for a remedy. It is only logical that the I. W. W., with its splendid record, should attract their attention. But numerous radical bodies have likewise attracted those new victims of the masters' growing hunger for profit. Thus we have several new political parties, leagues, "borers-from-within," independent unions, etc., most of whom are gaining their recruits more on account of the increased exploitation and unemployment than through their own propaganda. It is well for us to carefully consider whether our gain is solely the result of our educational work or whether a great part of those new members have joined us without having a clear conception of what the organization stands for or how it operates.

### A Serious Question

The question is certainly justified and well worth considering. The terrible pressure brought about by the rapid development of all mechanical devices on the industrial field, as well as the added strength gained by the employers through the perfection of their organizations, trusts and monopolies, has caused many to doubt the soundness of our program of direct action at the point of production. All too many are inclined to doubt their own ability—through their union operating directly on the job—to bring about the desired relief as well as to create a new social order that will give to the worker the full product of his toil. And just so long as great numbers of our membership fail to give their whole and undivided attention to their union on the job, just so long will we be unable to make any progress. The greatest task before us is to reawaken the interest in our union activity among our disinterested members and make them all active. How can we best accomplish this?

The employers concentrated action against us, their persecutions, blacklists and wage reductions, are something which the I. W. W. has predicted ever since its very inception. They should therefore prove no surprise to us, nor cause us to change tactics. Our whole existence has been one continuous preparation for just such a wholesale onslaught on the part of the master class. Nevertheless, we have changed tactics,—or perhaps ceased to use any tactics at all as we have ceased to be active. Instead of action on the job we make by-laws and resolutions, hold conferences and make speeches. Yet none of these devices will bring us a minute's shorter workday or even a coffee-and under our belt.

### But How To Educate?

We all agree that education is our main weapon in our fight, but we differ as to how to conduct our educational work. Yet it seems as though there ought to be unity on that point without much difficulty. The I. W. W. is an organization **on the job,** hence it follows that our educational program must concentrate on the job also. Our college is the job.

Our program is a program of **direct action.** Our education must also be "direct," or an education of practical experiences. In other words, only through our activity on the job do we gain and disseminate knowledge. The moment we cease to be active at the point of production, cease to dig in on the boss' profit, that moment we also cease our educational work, no matter how much ink and paper we might use in explaining our theories and no matter how many colleges or speakers we can maintain. Only in so far as our press, literature, speakers or college can stimulate to action are they of any value. They are all means to an end and not in themselves the final object of our efforts.

It is only waste of time and material to plead for unity of opinions, to censure each other's views, or to resolve all quarrels out of existence. Until such time as we get active again in the field, there will be no unity. But once we catch hold for the wrestling match with our master again we will all be so busily engaged that there will be no time for petty personal squabbles or for some individual pet scheme that otherwise pops up. When we, instead of searching high and low for some subject that

may interest all of us, have a merry fight on hand with our boss, the lumber baron, or the construction contractor, or some other employer, then there will soon be only one issue, one will and one desire, even though our opinions as to how to prosecute the strike may differ.

### No Watchful Waiting

In latter years an idea seems to have developed that we should wait to act until, we gathered more strength or else wait to act until we get some voting machinery in order and find out how many more will follow us. All told, we have adopted a program of "watchful waiting". This is the most harmful program we possibly could formulate. In the first case: our organization does not gain strength through waiting but through acting; in the second case: elaborate referendum schemes, when it comes to action, certainly are a poison among the migratory workers who constitute the majority in the I. W. W.

Really what reason is there for a group of workers on a job to wait for others to act with them if that particular job is lined up for action? Is it not a fact that on such a job, waiting will not strengthen us? Every day of waiting shows a number of the most rebellious elements leaving in disgust, or being discharged, until finally we find ourselves too weak to do anything. As a matter of fact, no labor organization has ever died on account of being too active; all have succumbed to the disease, **"inactivity"**.

The labor-turnover in those industries where we have any real strength is so great that even should we be on strike every two weeks we would hardly lose any time. As an illustration, that big job, the Natron Cutoff (Ore.), may well serve. In the camp where these lines are written the total turn-over of the whole working force (about 200 men) is hardly more than 30 days. According to very reliable information about conditions in the other 40 or 50 camps along the line, the turn-over is equally great. Whether we strike or not, we will be kept on the bum anyhow.

Let's get active again, fellow workers, that's our only solution! We certainly have a lot to fight for. Our eight-hour day is on the verge of being drawn out to nine hours, counting time walking out and in; our beds are getting dirty and insanitary; our board is growing rotten, and our pay is smaller. There are millions of unemployed who demand the **six-hour day,** and—first and last—there are hundreds of our most sincere and most devoted fellow workers in the penitentiaries.

### Go Forward Or Go Back

Surely we **must** get active or we will lose all we have gained in the past. We must bring loads of papers and literature to the camps and show the parasites that we are still alive and will no longer stand for their censorship. We **must** restore our papers to real live industral union propaganda and prepare for the still greater task that await sheets, and that can only be done by supplying them with news from the job;—yes, **Job News**—and demanding that it be published; get active on the job and let our press reflect our activity in its columns, that will induce others to act also.

There is only one way to get rid of politicians and philosophers and to prevent them from occupying us and laying claim to our time and our thoughts, and that is **action.** Let all the vote-hunters, schemers, philosophers and windjammers talk to the empty air and let us instead have a few rounds this Fall with our master. That alone will bring about unity in our ranks and restore our confidence in ourselves. Remember that now more than at any time in the past is the program of the I. W. W. correct. Direct action at the point of production is our only solution more so today than before, more so tomorrow than it is today. Therefore let us be active and prepared for the still greater tasks that await us, in the immediate future.

## THIS FREE COUNTRY

(By RUFUS P. HEATH)

THE United States is said to be a free country. Let us see whether or not this is true. First, we find that there are thousands of unemployed workers here, who no doubt would like to have a chance to work in order to earn a livelihood for themselves and their families. Due to the present unemployment situation, they are not permitted to do so.

Who is to blame? No one but those who work, the working class. You and I can't blame the boss if he wants us to work an hour or two extra each day, with the regular straight time rate of pay. That's business, and the boss is a business man. It is to his advantage to have us do extra work for no extra pay. It is our hard luck, so long as we are foolish enough to do it.

That is the trouble now, we were all working too long. The only way for us to regulate the unemployment situation, is to reduce the hours of labor from the present rate of eight, nine and ten, down to six. That would give some of the unemployed a chance to go to work.

The working class through its own ignorance is its own worst enemy. So let us try and educate ourselves, in the working class.

We work long hours for a mere pittance, and we can't buy back the necessities of life with our present day's wage. The result is that we fall victims of the vagrancy law, breadlines or some other misfortune.

As for the vagrancy law, it's great. It helps us to educate and organize the unorganized. If it wasn't for the vagrancy law, it would be much harder for us to educate and organize them than it is with the vagrancy law in force.

Under the present so-called **Free American Capitalist Society,** we are at liberty to work where work is obtainable, under such conditions as the boss is willing to grant us, which is very little, as we all know.

If you can obtain sufficient work to support yourself, that's all right, and if you can't, that's all right too, so far as the boss is concerned. For all he cares, you and your family can starve; he can't be bothered.

You and I worked too hard, too fast, and too many hours per day. We kept up with the modern machine, stacking up surplus commodities so fast that the boss soon got his warehouses full, and there was no market for the surplus products. I don't mean to insinuate that no one needs the products. No! No! What I mean is that the people throughout the country are not able to consume the products, financilly speaking; there are thousands of us who need them.

The warehouses being full of these surplus products, with no demand for them, is what causes the boss to lay off his employes, and shut down the industries, thus increasing the ever-growing Army of Unemployed.

The ones who work are the ones that are the support of the world. Labor creates all wealth; without labor nothing can exist. Yet labor, the support of the world, is the one who bears the brunt of the panic. We laborers are the ones who produce all of the good things of life. Yet, it is we that go hungry, ragged and homeless. Many of the workers have families to support. Many of their children are hungry, homeless and ragged. Yet they are the useful members of society.

On the other hand, the capitalist class exploits the working class, and when we try to improve our condition and secure a higher standard of living, the bosses put over criminal syndicalism laws, vagrancy laws and injunctions, and bluff us into submission with the capitalist courts.

At the same time, the church, theatre, capitalist press and radio are all used by the boss to keep our minds attracted and perhaps entertained while the bosses take the bread out of our mouths.

# Help! Help! Help!

WHERE are we at? The friends of the present system point to the "billions of savings bank deposits made by wage-earners." At the same time they denounce the extravagance of the working class!

Query: If we save so much as to win admiration, how can we be so extravagant as to justify condemnation? And if we are so extravagant as to call for condemnation, how can we save so much as to arouse admiration?

You answer him, Schmalz. He's schicker (drunk)!

* * *

Henry Ford says "two opposing systems" are at war in the Muscle Shoals struggle: his own and that of the water power trust. But Henry says that his is for service, while the other is for profit.

For a man who has only $271,618,688—a small part of his enormous profits—in his cash drawer, this is extremely disingenuous.

You tell him what I think of him, Schmalz. I can't; words fail me.

* * *

The Dearborn Independent says that "the damage done by the movies is not the **demoralizing** but the **dementalizing** of its patrons."

Nevertheless, people will insist on visiting the movies, without exception. Especially when they know that the movie state, California, is also sending workers to prison for organizing.

Cuss for me again, Schmalz. There's so much to indignate against that I am growing asthmatic and can only swear by proxy.

# Super Power

(Continued from page 34)

underground again. It means unemployment for mine managers, superintendents, clerks, firebosses, electricians—not a temporary layoff, but a definite final "goodbye" to the coal regions. It means the closing of special coal lines, miles of idle cars, coal burning locomotives on the scrap pile. It means bankrupted stockholders in coal companies, small business men without customers, parsons with penniless congregations. It means at this distance a very hopeless outlook for the proletariat, despite all the triumphs of technique and chemistry, the harnessing of water and the distillation of coal. New problems will arise for us that must be imperatively met by speedy action. The production of the economic needs of society, the food, clothes, shelter, and culture of the human race, becomes simplified, easier.

**We Must Hurry!**

We are in the heyday of industrialism. It strides forward leaving the race in its wake trying to figure out new ways, trying to solve the deluge of problems which are sure to come upon us.

If ever there was need for Industrial Unionism, it is today. This IS the time for intelligent workers to try and visualize what is coming upon our class, to plan against it and to meet it half way. It IS a revolution at our doors, not a revolution of the coup d'etat type, but a culmination of the triumph of the engineer and chemist over the resources of the earth. Such a world as we expect to see surely cannot mean a continuation of a dispossessed class and these mighty engines as the property of a few financially powerful men and their satellites.

# WOBBLES

## IN MORAL LOS ANGELES

Some bootleggers in Los Angeles pulled up in front of a dirty house and carried in forty cases of liquor. Upon emerging after completing the unloading, they found a stern looking police lieutenant inspecting their truck. There was not a chance to run, so they faced him.

"Now, look here," thundered the police official, "you are violating the law and you know it. You didn't park within four inches of the curb."

## WHAT IS LIFE?

(Translated from Swedish by A. Anderson)

What is our life? Yes, if only that I knew,
I would not the answer miss, and would enlighten you.
I have asked the learned to tell me what it be,
And in that matter equally as wise were they.
What is our life? It is that, one wants to know,
If I had thought dare to express, it is I trow
A certain way to live, that one applies
Which ceases in a certain way so soon one dies.

## IS THE BULLSCHOOL

He had mastered the art of public-speaking, as taught at a modern university, and was giving his first public address after his graduation.

"'The schoolwark is the housebull," he began, and stopped abashed at the tittering that followed his remarkable assertion.

"The schoolbull is the housewark—" he was groping blindly. He seized upon the water pitcher and drank deeply.

"The schoolhouse, my friends," triumphantly, "is the woolbark—" He fainted and they carried him out.

## A MANY SIDED VESSEL

"Son, what sort of a ship is this?"
"A Cruiser."
"Yeah? Where are you going?"
"For a cruise, sir."
"Who's going?"
"The crew, sir."
"'What does it run by?"
"It's crew, sir."
"? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?"

## WHAT'S HEARD

The rails are bad
The ties are worse.
All you can hear
Is "SAFETY FIRST."

## THE OWL

By MORTON KOMINERS

THE wise old owl sits in the branches
Watching human beings fight,
The cataclysmic avalanches,
Which destroy them by their might.

The owl does not for progress thunder,
Life he merely does behold;
Does he laugh when humans plunder,
Killing, maiming, searching gold?

Mortal, why this ceaseless hurry,
As you live your weary life,
Why the wishing and the worry,
Find you happiness in strife?

Consider now this wise old rooster,
Sitting in his forest tree,
He's not a Roaster or a Booster,
But he sees eternity.

## AN ASSET TO THE COUNTRY

"Why, you're only a foreigner," said the 100 percenter; "while I was born in this country."

"Vell," said the foreign-born Swede logger, "my Americanism might be yust as much to be proud of as yours, I tank! You came to dis country 'cause you couldn't help it. Aye came har 'cause aye vanted to. You come har naked. Aye come har with one pair pants, by Yimminy!"

And Our European Friends Are Wobbling On Along.

# As a Doctor Sees It

**On this page and the next are printed some short stories taken from an amazing book, "As A Doctor Sees It," written by Dr. Benzoin Liber, published by Thé Critic And Guide Company, New York. Price, $2.00.**

**The stories are reprinted by consent of the author and publishers. The doctor does not, nor indeed is it his function to, point out the permanent cure for this multitude of human ills which he finds in his daily practise. All that he is supposed to do is to administer such temporary alleviation to suffering as falls within the province of the medical profession. Dr. Liber has gone far enough and has diagnosed the real disease, the grand cause of most of the sickness and despondency, and false optimism, which is poverty. It is our function, as revolutionists, to cure the world of this disease.**

## MEAT AND FLESH

He is a cook in a very large restaurant. I had not seen him for a year. One of the fingers of the right hand is missing.—What is the matter? What happened to you?—Oh, this? It has been amputated. You see, it was caught in the grinder and was all crushed, mixed with the meat, you know.

## BILLS

A young woman.

—When my sickness began? I don't know. . . . But I can trace its beginnings after . . . coal bills and grocery bills. . . . Let me see. . . . It's this way. I did not have a quarter for the gas meter and had no gas, so I could not warm water for baby's bath. That was on March the third. I had no coal and it was very cold and I worried over my debt to the grocer. . . . My rent was also overdue. . . . But, doctor, excuse me for bothering you with these details. . . .

## NOT A SCAB

He has just arrived from South America and is ill and starved.—I could have had a job today, but . . . You see, I find an address in the paper; but when I go there, a few boys walk up and down in front of the shop. They call me and tell me there is a strike. Then I say, All right, you don't need to be afraid, I'll not scab. I never did and never will. I say, Goodbye, but they say, You are hungry, and take me to a lunchroom and pay for me and give me a few cents, too.

## HE MUST WORK

A man of forty.

—I am out of work for more than five months. My trade is slow. So I went to the Street Cleaning Department and told them I'd do anything. They had me examined and found I had varicose veins of the legs and they won't employ me. Isn't that awful? It's true I have pains; bad pains—that's why I come to you. But that isn't their business. I want to work—pains or no pains. What shall I do? And how about my kids?

Yes, what will he do?

## SHE MUST WORK

Husband and wife. He is the patient. Among other things I ask him what he eats. **She answers:**

—You know what poor people eat, the common stuff.

I insist and she blushes while she is telling me what he eats. The poor are often ashamed of their food as they are ashamed of their clothes.

After the examination my verdict is that he must stop working for awhile, if possible. She is jubilant:

—Didn't I tell you? Of course, you got to rest. I'll go to work now.

But, he is not easily beaten. He says:

—Come on, I'll work. Maybe I can work that pain right out of me.

## FEET AND BOXES

I examine the patient's legs, which are covered with ulcerations.—This is nothing, doctor. You know, I am a driver, and it often happens that the clerks, when they are in a hurry, throw boxes and packages on my feet, especially if there is no more room on the wagon. Of course, my shin-bones get hurt every day and are always sore. They never heal. But this is nothing and I would not have come to you for such a trifle. I meant to tell you that I have a cold.

## DANGEROUS THOUGHTS

I am called to a man with a nervous breakdown. In the course of our conversation he tells me, among other things:

—Years ago I used to read very much. I was a Socialist. I knew the Communist Manifesto by heart. I was a workingman and an idealist, and I was always happy. But the devil inspired me to change my opinions, and now . . . now . . . I have a shop with fifty workers. Unfortunately, I am doing good business. I think of nothing but my shop. If I can make something cheaper than my competitor I am glad. I am sinking deeper and deeper into the swamp. For five years I have not read a book. The people I meet are rough

and unlearned; they can sign big checks, but they know nothing except business.

He stopped, cried like a baby, and then continued:

—The other day I met a comrade of the good old days. When he pronounced the word Ibsen, I was moved to tears as at the sight of a dead friend who had become a love again. He left a book in my house by mistake. I read it, and—this is the result.

—Yes, doctor, says his wife, he is weeping and trembling ever since he read that terrible book. He cannot go to the shop.

—What book was it?

HE:—"Oh, it does not matter. It contained ideas, and, if I am to go on with my money-making business, I must not think."

## EMBARRASSMENT

I am not easily impressed. I have seen enough empty sleeves, empty trouser-legs and empty eye-sockets. But this patient embarrassed me. A one-armed, half-blind man who was earning a miserable living for his wife and child as a night watch and doing a few odd jobs in a factory. His lungs were tuberculous and he did not know it. It was a hard task to forbid him to stay indoors. Tell him to go to the country? How ridiculous and helpless I was! I felt ashamed.

—Where do you live?

—I live downtown among the workin' stiffs, that's where I hang out.

—What did you do until now?

—Nothin'. I went in to a doctor and he kind o' X-rayed me. But he said . . .

A fit of coughing.

—I don't cough because I cough as a cough. . .

And he could not explain.

I told him the truth, but he did not seem much concerned about himself.

—What'll I do with the kids? They're too small. And the wife is weak. What'll I do?

## GASSED

Why I don't get married, doctor? I cannot. I must support my brother who has been gassed at the front. He is unable to work yet, and he does not get enough from the government. And then, my old mother.

## ANOTHER WAR SUFFERER

He, too, has been in the trenches. Has not been injured physically. "Not a scratch," as he says. But his mind is abnormal. He has been gassed mentally, so to speak. He feels himself guilty of some imaginary gruesome crime, and calls himself "assassin." He has strange visions which do not let him sleep. When he hears a detonation from an auto he runs for cover, being convinced that it is a cannon hurling shells at him. All basements are trenches.

—I am an assassin, he whines, I am here to kill people. But I don't want to kill them, I don't want to!

## SABOTAGE

Many times I have had to deal with authorities. I have often been a witness before courts in accident cases and, although I was usually instrumental in winning my patients' trials, my memories of the days spent among the representatives of justice are very unpleasant. I have never been bored as much as there.

Nor do the police belong to my agreeable acquaintances. I love them when they regulate the street traffic and I adore them each time they save somebody from fire, in spite of the fact that they sometimes wake me up from a sweet and much needed sleep and bring me some wounded person to treat. I could have kissed the big, childish "cop" who was my only assistant when a girl in my neighborhood was attacked in the middle of the night, gagged and beaten senseless by some brutal ruffian who had jumped in through the window.

But I hate policemen when they take a hand in strikes. Then I usually get my share of work in dressing the victims of their hard, heavy, stout clubs. I was in a hostile mood when a broad-shouldered, tall young man stepped into my office.

He was a candidate for the job of policeman. He had to be examined physically and the hearing of one of his ears was defective. He wanted me to do something to improve his hearing for one day. He said that he had a good "pull" and that one of the bigger "bugs" among the examiners was in his sleeve too . . . . "You know . . . ." Which meant that he had bribed him.

I had a moment of revolt. I felt offended and was going to show him the door, as my record in this respect was as clean as life would permit it. But I remembered what the police had done to some poor wretches the day before and I chuckled with delight. I had an opportunity to take a little revenge on the system and I could not let it slip by.

An artificial drum did the trick.

And now I see him often in uniform lazying on his beat.

## NO END

—I have seen you about five years ago.

—Yes.

—What is your occupation?

—Still pressing vests. I guess I'll have to do that my whole life. My job is never done. Sometimes I think I'm getting crazy. It's so monotonous, so uninteresting, so . . .

## THE END

I have been called too late. I find her dead. Her face looks like old bronze covered with greenish "patina." Her knees are drawn up to her chin. She may be mistaken for a mummy.

Her shop colleague tells me her story, which is very plain and common: She has worked her whole life in shops and factories.—And now it is the end.

# Sea Power

(Continued from page 6)

higher man about two feet astern of the man below, and two feet higher, on nine inch seats. Each man could put his feet on a foot rest on the seat in front of him. One hand had to be held at a peculiar angle, awkward at first, in order to avoid bumping the neighbor with the oar. Rowers were literally "packed like sardines in a box," and the maximum power was given to the ship—or so they thought at that time.

### Standardized Product

The Athenians (the greatest of the Greek naval powers, reaching their height in the fifth century B. C.) put out from their ship yards a standardized galley. (See how capitalistic practices such as standardization naturally apply to shipping.) The length of this ship (trireme) was 128 feet exclusive of a ten foot ram. The breadth at the water line was fourteen feet, the extreme breadth was eighteen feet, exclusive of a two foot gangplank which ran lengthwise of the ship, all around, over the oars, and was used for fighting. This trireme carried a regular crew of 174 rowers, ten marines, and twenty seamen. She couldn't carry much cargo.

The ships of the Romans and of the Carthaginians who succeeded the Athenian Greeks as naval powers were about the same as the Greek vessels, except for a tendency (afterwards abandoned) to use ships of four and five banks of oars.

After the destruction of Carthage by Rome, the latter's need for ocean commerce decreased, and the state became a great landlord and serf empire, drifting slowly toward feudalism. Shipping declined, and boats were made smaller instead of larger.

In fact, they started all over again, after the downfall of Rome, and the Mediterranean people made a discovery. They found that if they used one bank of oars instead of several, and put four or five men to each oar, they economized space even more than the trireme did, and got more power per oar. All medieval galleys are distinguished from the ancient galleys by this, that the ancients went on the theory of "one man, one oar," and the later shipmen introduced social or co-operative labor, even into the rowing of a single oar.

### The Civilizing Compass

Then the great discovery was made—or rather, there was a discovery combined with an evolution and development of two old discoveries. The compass was introduced into general use. We call this a discovery, because, though it is undoubtedly true that the Chinese had a compass long before it appeared in the West, there is no evidence that the western compass came from the East, and in any event, its widespread use, very suddenly, seems to be characteristic of a real discovery.

It is hard to overestimate the importance to the history of mankind of this single event, and its immediate quickening effect on all other inventions was almost miraculous. The compass appeared about 1100, and in 1115 the first three-masted sailing ship was launched, at Venice, the first of a type which soon developed into the historic galleass and into the "great round ship," and the galleon—all sail ship, not galleys, though the galleass has sweeps for occasional use.

**THE GALLEON**

**The First Ship Really Designed For Ocean Traffic. No Oars At All.**

The connection between this improvement of ships and the compass is easy to see. With the compass, a course can be laid out and steered out of sight of land. Navigators in the Mediterranean could steer by stars, before this, though they usually did not, for fear of clouds and storms. But in the northern waters of the Atlantic, to which Venetian and Genoan ships after this regularly sailed, and in which native shipping increased the storms and fogs were a constant risk, and little commerce was possible before the compass. Such Viking traffic in galleys as had been there was not merchant traffic; at the best it was colonization; at the usual worst it was murder and robbery. Ocean trade was made possible by the compass, direct voyaging was made possible by it, with a great shortening of the trade routes. The art of navigation immediately developed, the

sextant came into use, and the building of larger ships, using sails as their prime source of power, big enough to be relatively safe from pirate galleys, was the step that followed immediately. The galley was still used for war until the general employment of cannon about 1450 gave the big sailing ship with its heavy broadside of 24 and 42 pounders an advantage over the necessarily smaller row boat.

### Some Factory System

The big sailing vessel stimulated ocean exploration; the discovery of the route around Africa, and of the Americas, hurried along a change in human aaffirs that had already got well under way. Money was to be made by merchant adventuring; there was for the first time a world market; all the arts and crafts were stimulated; manufacture developed rapidly in the towns; new materials were brought back from the near East by crusaders (ferried over there on Venetian ships); and this manufactured stuff, as well as the spices of the Orient, was carried by sea. A capitalist class developed, and their source of wealth was the sea, first of all. They invested their hordes of capital in factories, even before machinery was invented. The assembling of large numbers of workers in the same shop developed division of labor, and the machine came to do the now mechanical processes of weaving, spinning, etc. The world turned capitalist, and one invention followed another. The old deadly routine through which all the civilizations from Egypt to Rome had gone, was broken.

The countries which turned capitalist first were those which were best adapted for shipping. The Italian cities were too far out of the ocean lanes to compete with the Portuguese.

The Portuguese were not able to defend themselves on the land side from Spain. Spain itself, being a big agricultural country, and nearly continental at that, failed to carry on her sea power very long. One reason was that her colonies were primarily sources of precious metals, and not of useful products. The wealth that comes from gold and silver mines is a very unstable foundation for national greatness. The mines work out.

The German cities came almost to winning the great prize The group of several hundred cities called the "Hanseatic League" was developing capitalism in Germany over night. But the Hanseatic League had as its chief source of revenue the trade in herring, which they caught in the North and Baltic seas. For some reason, the herring, about 1400, all left the waters easily reached by the ships of the Hansa and went to English and Dutch waters. Amsterdam was "founded on the herring."

### Some "Primitive Accumulation"

Holland turned bourgeois pretty fast. The "Beggars of the Sea," Dutch ship owners, smuggling, engaging in piracy, landing and plundering at times

**FIGHTING FOR THE CARRYING TRADE**
**Dutch Ships At the Time Holland's Merchant and Military Sea Power Was Highest. Better And Faster Than the Galleon.**

on hostile coasts, trading East Indian spices, silks, perfumes, to Spain at the very time their country was fighting a war of life and death with the Spanish government, taking revenge for the hanging of Dutch protestants by cheating Spanish Catholics, laid the foundation of the sea power of Holland. The country was a natural harbor, with water communication with the interior.

But England, even better situated, based her commercial ascendency on the textile trade (for which the British isles could supply both flax and wool) and in which the use of machinery for manufacture was introduced before it came to any other industry. Capitalism by 1680 had so firm a hold in Western Europe that national ascendency depended rather on manufacturing advantages than on commercial. In the end, England won supreme control of the sea, commercially, and militarily. Her control was riveted tighter by the change to steam power (invented in America in the early 19th century—the Cleremont sailed in 1807) and by the use of steel ships (common by 1870). England's one disadvantage had been the necessity of importing "naval stores." Now she made whatever was needed in her iron foundries.

It may be noted here that as the first lunge of capitalism for power, in the later middle ages was accompanied by, and probably caused by, the change from the oar and sail to the sail alone as the chief motive power of ships, so the change from small scale bourgeois production to large scale, monopolistic production was accompanied by, and to some considerable extent caused by, the change in ocean going ships from the sail to steam as the chief motive power.

BRIGANTINES

A Favorite Type of Sailing Vessel During the Nineteenth Century When English Merchants Controlled the Seas.

## SECTION III—SEA POWER FOR WORKERS

Enough has now been said to give an inkling of what sea power is, and of its importance to the capitalist class. It was the chief factor in the formation of capitalism, such as it was, in ancient times. It was the chief factor, if not the only factor, that brought on the renaissance of crafts, and introduced the latest period of invention, leading to the industrial revolution, and modern capitalism. Capitalism implies trade, and for long centuries, trade was principally ocean trade. The more progressive countries of the world were those which depended most largely on ocean trade. Any power which could cut off the right or the ability of these countries to trade, could destroy them.

Naturally, when in group struggles between capitalists, one national group finds itself in command of the seas, it not only can ruthlessly cut off all trade of its opponent, but it also is able to sever communications in a miitary sense; it can isolate those positions of its enemies' forces as are on separate islands, or continents, and overwhelm them one at a time with superior numbers. Unless there is land communication between the rival groups of capitalists, the one with greatest sea power can choose the time and place of battle, or can avoid battle altogether if it wishes.

A few examples may be instructive. The Phoenician empire of trade was brought under control of the Persians when they were able to organize Greek city navies enough to conquer the hitherto nearly impregnable city of Tyre. Tyre was safe, except from the sea, and had a short time before this (577-590 B. C.) resisted a thirteen-year siege by the Great Nebuchadnezzar, head of the most powerful armed force of his time, but a land force.

The most famous conflict of the Romans, their three wars with Carthage (264-146 B. C.) was a victory for the strongest sea power, though that power was "artificial." In the second Punic war, Hannibal, operating from Spain as a base, would have certainly conquered the Italian peninsula if he could have used the sea ways for his transportation. He lost half his army by the long, perilous trip around by land through the Alps, and nearly won then. The reason he did not was because the Romans, using water transportation, since they were in control of the Mediterranean and had beaten the Carthaginian fleet, landed armies in Spain, and cut Hannibal's communications.

### Navy Wins for England

Similarly, in the Napoleonic wars, the most important national struggles before the last great war, France was beaten largely by the English control of the sea. The routes of communication between France itself and the French colonies were cut by the British navy, and the colonies became so useless to Napoleon that he sold the most important of them to neutral countries.

Napoleon was beaten largely because the English could not be reached by his armies as long as the English channel was ocupied by English fleets. Napoleon's hopes of building up a great fleet that

would beat Nelson and open up a way for invasion of England, were dashed to pieces at Trafalgar (1805).

In the Napoleonic wars, Napoleon must be considered as representing the business men of France, for whom his government was peculiarly suitable. (The Code Napoleon has been called the best set of commercial laws ever written.) The business interests of France stood squarely behind him, until British blockades began to hurt, and the possibility of destroying their chief commercial rivals, the British, became more and more remote. Then they abandoned him, and he fell. But Britain and her capitalists retained the mastery of the seas, and the French capitalists have had to be in second place, or lower, ever since.

There is no longer any doubt, we take it, as to "who won the world war."

### The Blockade Kills

The strangling effect of the allied navy was irresistible. The commercial blockade was thus made prominent as the most terrible weapon of modern warfare. It had been used before, with good results (for the victors) by the North against the South in the American civil war, and also, of course, by the British against Napoleon. But its usefulness (to the victors) has increased immensely since 1864, and still more since 1914. Modern civilization has resulted, in every commercial country, in a population too large for simple agriculture to support. There is a complicated, intricate, delicately adjusted extractive, manufacturing, and commercial apparatus, depending on foreign trade for disposal of the surplus value, and also for certain very important raw materials. For instance, in the world war, German industry was wrecked because it was unable to get oil and rubber, two necessities for their factories. The machinery of production wore out, the people starved, the armies were beaten, for lack of "morale," and lack of fats. The one hope German capitalism had of winning was superior naval power, based on a new weapon, the submarine, and that failed.

As for the future, even the submarine uses oil, and half the battle for oil fields is a fight for control of the sea, through control of the fuel that gives control of the sea. No one knows what will happen, but there will probably be at least one great war, between capitalist nations, for control of the Pacific. Probably there will be another war for control of the Atlantic. Now, as in the time of Greece and Tyre, control of the sea ways is control of the rich to colonize, and trade. There is also the terrible new weapon, the blockade, and there is the necessity of disposing of surplus value; if any capitalist country finds its foreign markets cut off, from now on, it shall perish.

### Invincible Sea Power

Now we begin to see some of the possibilities of sea power. And since sea power is, principally in these days, the power to declare and enforce blockades, it follows that any force that can stop the ships from moving can exert sea power. It does not matter whether the ships lie in harbor because their owners fear hostile gunfire, or because the firemen will not make steam, the longshoremen will not move cargo, or the seamen perform their functions. In fact, the latter blockade is likely to prove even more damaging than the first, because the mere inaction of large numbers of workers cannot be relied upon—they will talk, they will agitate, and other sections of the proletariat can be influenced.

The sea power of the workers on and around the ships consists, not only then in their ability to tie up the ships, as terrible a disaster as this must be to capitalism, if it is thoroughly and properly carried out, but in their ability to propagate dangerous ideas—dangerous to capitalism. The seaman goes everywhere—his outlook is world wide,—his acquaintance with many countries and many languages gives him an international, cosmopolitan character and point of view hard to equal in any other industry.

When it comes to international labor movements, and they all have their international aspect these days, with Judge Gary and the Fascisti, and Morgan buying up German industry, the seaman's point of view is extremely valuable. Travel has broadened him, he has fewer fetishes, fewer romantic notions; he knows the hard facts, in all their relation to each other.

OCEAN LINER

**Built of Steel, Turbine Driven, Electrically Steered, Equipped With Wireless. The End of the Story—So Far.**

DON'T BE A DEAD ONE!

# A Talk With the Reader

Let's have a quiet understanding. The Editorial staff of Industrial Pioneer feels that this magazine has been doing fairly well, but we are not satisfied. We are running on a basis of ten thousand copies an issue. At that rate, selling each copy for 15 cents with return privileges or 12½ cents without, we can put out this sort of a magazine—48 pages, two color cover, illustrated by about 20 new cuts.

Now we want to improve. We want to get closer to the industries. At present we think we are getting a lot of good stuff, volunteered, but it is obviously the work of a very few men, and however well they know their industry, they can not avoid the limitations that are inherent in the fact that they see only a small corner of it, that part where they are.

What we must do, if we are to give the working class of America the new, accurate, and exhaustive industrial articles they need, is to have some one on the ground, whenever and wherever industrial struggles loom up. At present we are using volunteer correspondents, and we have more real industrial information than any other magazine in the world. But with more funds, to send correspondents, traveling to the centers of industrial strife, where they can get a look at the situation with their own trained eyes, and write it up with their practised pens, we could make this Industrial Pioneer ever so much more interesting.

We ought to have 64 pages, instead of a cramped 48, and we ought to have hundreds of photographs of industry, wage slavery, class-war, photographed on the spot by our own men. We ought to have at least half a dozen more departments. We should have, especially, a regular monthly review of the more important events of the month—and it should be illustrated. We need experts in charge of departments on wage rates, and unemployment, we need charts on the movemnt of migratory workers, the rise and fall of production, the effect of strikes on wages and production, and the introduction of inventions, and their effects on the workers.

We need expert observers, workers, but trained to see and trained to write, residing abroad in the more industrialized foreign countries, and in steady correspondence with us.

All these things are for the future. We can't do more than we are doing, with the circulation we have. Make our circulation twenty thousand and we can have some of these improvements. Make it 50,000 and we can carry out the whole program outlined above. Does 50,000 seem too extravagant a thing to ask for? There are thirty million wage slaves in the United States alone.

We're not complaining—we're merely pointing out to you, Fellow Workers, what can be done, with a little more support. Have you got your subscription to Industrial Pioneer yet? Your bundle order? Your book of sub blanks?

DENVER IWW HALL

Don't Be A Dead One! Be Alive, Like These Guys!

# THE CITY

By MELVILLE KRAMER.

Sphinx like the city stands amidst the great
Deserts of plenty, like a harlot stands,
Singing a tune of love that cloaks her hate,
And beckoning mankind with outstretched hands;
Fair maidens flock into each cabaret,
In dress and in demeanor gross and bold,
They drink and dance by night and sleep by day,
And write their lives in characters of gold.

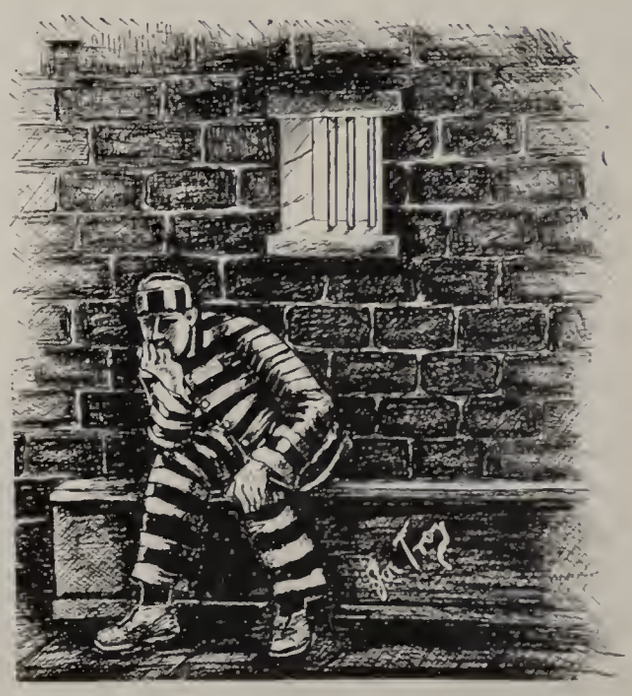
Within the city's bounds some millions slave,
Some millions that would otherwise be free,
So that her parasites may court the grave,
And waste their lives in rank debauchery,
And thus before the ravages of lust,
The gilded Sphinx becomes a mass of rust.

# THE ACID TEST

WORKERS OF THE WORLD! Don't you know that the owning and employing class of the whole wide world is living on your labor, the surplus value you create and do not get? Don't you know that in order to protect its right to this robbery, the capitalist class is engaged night and day, winter, spring, summer and autumn in crushing the first plain signs of rebellion on the part of the laboring masses? Don't you realize that the hope of the exploited many lies in organization so that the strength of one shall be multiplied by the strength of millions, and all shall be invincible?

If you know all this, why do you not rush in innumerable masses to the support of labor unions wherever the master class is trying to stamp them out?

Don't you know that in California the mere existence of one labor union, the Industrial Workers of the World, is illegal? Don't you realize that if the shipowners combine, and the Sugar Pine Association can crush this organization through form of law, they will crush all unions?



It is true that the I. W. W. is an industrial union—it is true that because of the efficiency of its organization the I. W. W. is dangerous to capitalism—but do you think a tamer union would be safer?

The boss hates labor organization. We claim that the California Criminal Syndicalism Law and the Busick Injunction are the Acid Tests of Labor's right to organize into labor unions.

One hundred members of the I. W. W. have stood the Acid Test—they are in California prisons for violation of the Criminal Syndicalism Law. Hundreds of workers are arrested and threatened with prison for violating the Busick Injunction. They have stood the Acid Test.

We need help. We need thousands of workers to go to Southern California this winter, and violate the Busick Injunction — we need a mass repudiation of the Injunction and the Criminal Syndicalism persecution by the hosts of Labor. It is the Acid Test of Labor's right to organize. It is the Acid Test of your sincerity as a class-conscious workingman.

## San Pedro is the Acid Test—
## Can You Stand It?

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 450, I. W. W.

# LABOR--THE CREATOR

Nature presented man with free air and sunshine, water, earth, some herbs, flowers, trees, minerals, etc., and nothing else but his fellow animals. The only reason man is not a half ape, catching bugs for dinner in the day-time, and shivering nakedly through the night, is because he has labored—created things. He has created houses, clothes, fire, implements, and machinery. The great cities, the work shops, and the apartment houses, the schools, the laboratories, the factories, the bridges, ships, railroad tracks, and flying machines—all the innumerable useful structures, are man-made—created by Labor. All should belong to Labor. Our heritage is everything we have made, and everything our fathers have made. He who labors not, deserves nothing.

"All the world that's owned by idle drones, is ours and ours alone.
"We have laid the wide foundations; built it skywards, stone by stone.
"It is ours, not to slave in, but to master and to own,
"While the Union makes us strong."

# The Industrial Pioneer

*An Illustrated Labor Magazine*

**OIL** *The Magician*

**SILK** *A Class Fabric*

**NEMESIS** *Sequel to Annie*

**MARTHA** *Devoted to Justice*

**NOVEMBER**

*Price 20¢*

**OIL WORKERS' SPECIAL NUMBER**

# PREAMBLE

## OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

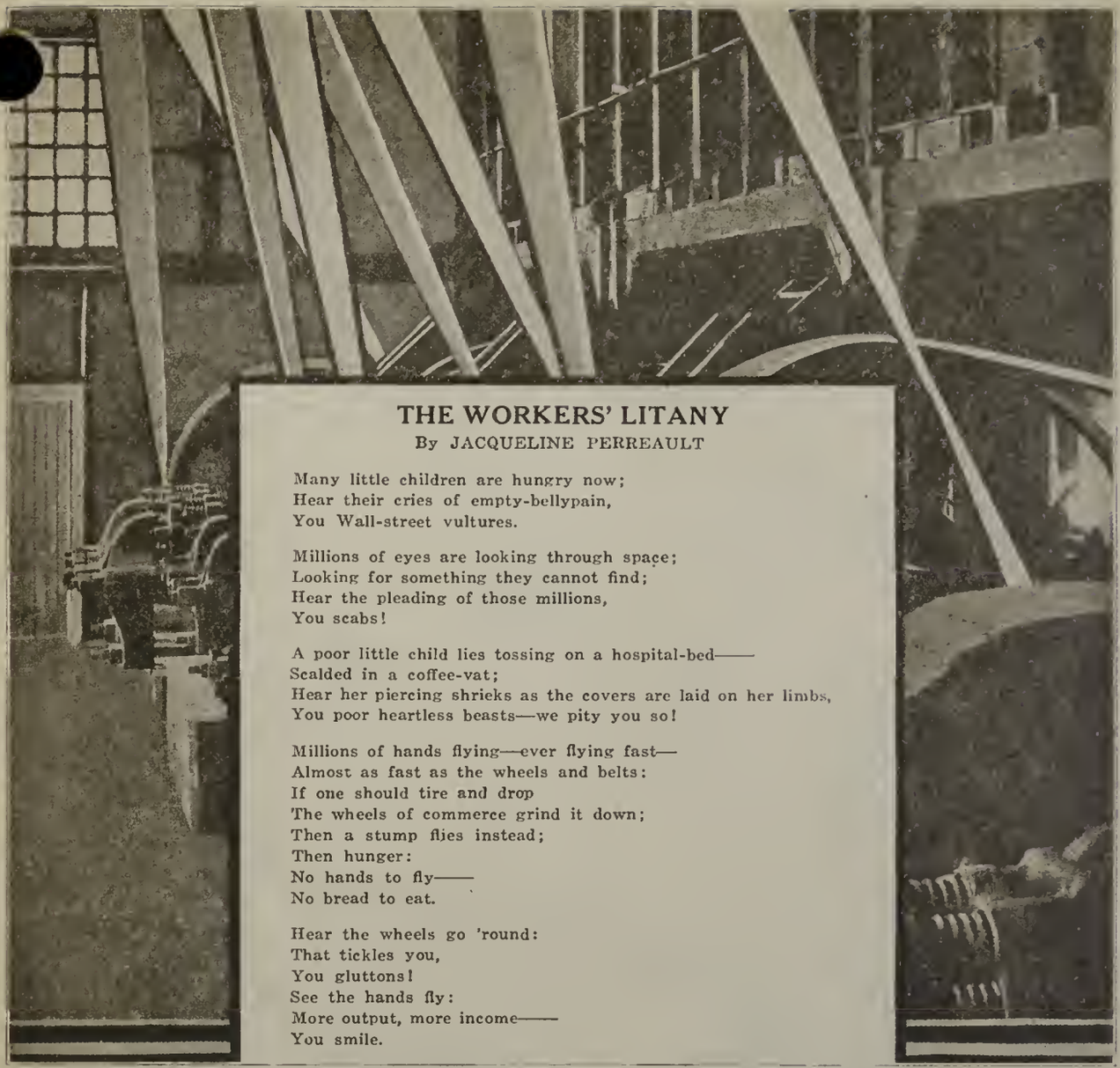
The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system." It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



# THE WORKERS' LITANY

By JACQUELINE PERREAULT

Many little children are hungry now;
Hear their cries of empty-bellypain,
You Wall-street vultures.

Millions of eyes are looking through space;
Looking for something they cannot find;
Hear the pleading of those millions,
You scabs!

A poor little child lies tossing on a hospital-bed——
Scalded in a coffee-vat;
Hear her piercing shrieks as the covers are laid on her limbs,
You poor heartless beasts—we pity you so!

Millions of hands flying—ever flying fast—
Almost as fast as the wheels and belts:
If one should tire and drop
The wheels of commerce grind it down;
Then a stump flies instead;
Then hunger:
No hands to fly——
No bread to eat.

Hear the wheels go 'round:
That tickles you,
You gluttons!
See the hands fly:
More output, more income——
You smile.

Hear the small bones in the little foreigners' fingers
Being crushed——
"No, they cannot be heard——"
You cannot hear them——
The roar of the wheels is louder . . .
But I. who have a heart, can hear them.

* * *

May the feverish breath of the dying child be wafted to you
at your dinner today——
Till it nauseates,
And your bulging paunches heave in and out in convulsions
of agony.

May the cries of babes who suck at dry breasts reach your
ears——
So that you cannot enjoy the voice of your beloved ticker.

May the eyes of the host of understanding ones pierce
through to your souls—
If you have souls.

May the millions of flying hands tear at your brain——
So that you cannot sleep——
Or dream of the figures forever mounting
On the left side of your bankbook.

Your machine has crushed these milions——
You are setting it yourself——
It has no heart or soul——
No sense of justice;
It is stronger than you——
It will get you too.

While the armored hand of labor hammers incessautly
at your heart——
The clear voice of labor continuously cries——
Through your fault——
Through your fault——
Through your most selfish fault——

It is stronger than you——
It will get you too.
And then . . .
Ha ha!

"Tramp, tramp, tramp, keep on a' tramping
That's the best thing you can do"

# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Edited by VERN SMITH

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# Oil, the Magician!

By GEORGE WILLIAMS

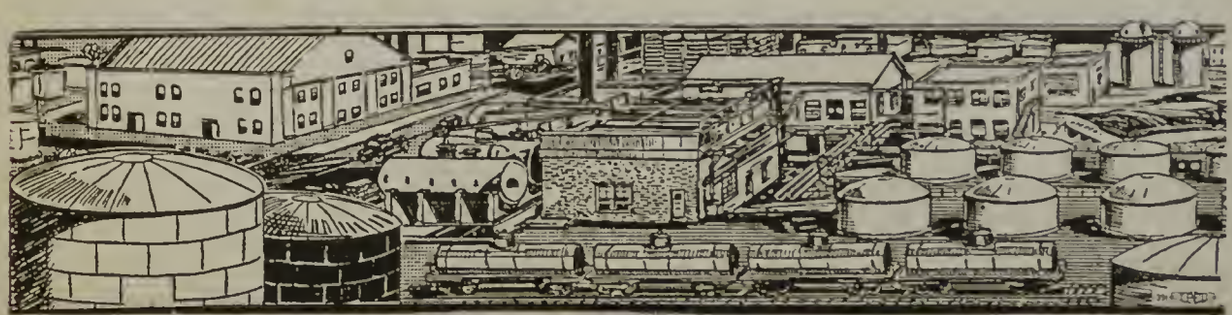
**OIL, the Magician! Oil, the transposer of political power; the elixir of progress. Oil, the liquid gold that has transformed paupers into plutocrats and plutocrats into financial wrecks. Without oil the combustion engine would have never been discovered, and without the gas engine or motor we would still be using horses, and air travel would still be confined to the birds. The development of oil and its by-products has revolutionized and accelerated industrial progress. Oil has diverted political affairs into new and strange courses. Nations that were weak in the days when Coal was king, show a surprising reinvigoration of new life with the discovery of oil within their national boundaries, and those nations once dominant because of coal deposits are evincing signs of decay. Politically, the future of any nation from now on will depend on its supply of oil.**

One of the lessons of the world war was the importance of oil. The Germans were crushed by a preponderance of oil supply—nothing else. Battleships motivated by oil fuel are so much superior to those that burn coal that there is no comparison. Coal-burning naval units are as useless as Chinese junks. Oil is king, politically speaking. King Coal is dead.

It is an axiom that political power is but a reflex of economic power, and oil being the basis of all political power today, it naturally follows that oil is of equally vital importance in the economic field.

The history of the world is marked off into eras of Stone, Bronze, Iron, Steel, Coal—and, finally' Oil, all marking the economic progress of man. The first tribe that utilized stone for protection and aggression became dominant over other tribes less equipped. Iron, malleable into articles of commerce and war, created other dominant nations. Steel, superior to iron, again threw the advantage, temporarily, in other directions. Coal, making steam possible, shifted the balance of power again, and now Oil as a superior fuel and article of commerce is arranging a still different balance of power.

The great conquerors of political history were only symbols of better equipped armies. Rome conquered the world because of an economic advantage—metal and ships against stones and clubs. Rome is ancient history and only her memory remains. Her once tribute nations are now dominant. All through history the rise and fall of nations can always be traced to the development of new discoveries in methods and materials. Just as surely as malleable metals were superior to stones and



clubs as means of protection and aggression, just so surely did the nation using the metals become dominant over the nation using stones and clubs. The nation that first developed steam-propelled warships and engines of production became dominant by sheer force of economic advantage.

To contemplate oil in its relation to the industrial life of modern civilization is to realize that the magic of the fabled magicians was empty chatter. Oil has the greatest utility value of anything known to chemistry. It furnishes power and heats the homes. Its medicinal properties are of the highest value. It harmonizes with every need of man, even to destroying parasitic insects. It is man's greatest asset. Used for political purposes, oil destroys humanity like flies—as in wars. Used in the sciences of industry, oil smooths the troublous pursuits of life. The paradox is the creation of capitalism.

### Social Power

Oil represents power—and it IS power of vast potentialities to whoever controls it. The Standard Oil companies are the most powerful aggregations of capital in the world, proving thereby the economic supremacy of oil. Strangely enough labor unions have made little progress in the oil industry. And yet, were the oil workers organized, the very economic importance of oil would make such an organization the most powerful in the world; as powerful as oil itself, since labor produces that wonderful commodity.

Few people realize the vital necessity of oil. Every large city in these United States would be paralyzed almost immediately if the supply of oil were stopped. Transportation over the entire country would be seriously hindered if not altogether stopped. The old visions of social general strikes pale in insignificance when compared with the effects that could easily materialize from an oil famine.

What would be the power of the oil workers organized into an industrial union can only be imagined. The 150,000 wage workers engaged in the production of oil outside of the refineries, banded together and having clear conceptions of their position in the scheme of social relations, would be the most powerful aggregation of labor in the world. It would be powerful not because of numbers nor from any particular skill that is embodied in oil production, but from the fact that oil in its particular use in the industrial life of the country is vitally important.

### Not Merely Numbers

The strength of labor unions does not always lie in numbers, but in the commodity around which they are organized. Indeed, numbers might be a handicap under certain circumstances. The United Mine Workers, for instance, suffer from a handicap of numbers both while on strike and on the job. The coal miners average about three-fifths yearly employment or less. In other words, there are two-fifths more miners than are necessary to supply

PIONEERING—(A Prospect Hole)

the normal demand for coal. In only a few districts do the coal miners work full time. This means that the preponderance of miners are perpetually on the ragged edge of poverty, and on the calling of a strike they become immediately dependent on strike relief for sustenance. The misery and intense suffering of striking coal miners is proverbial; it is horrible and yet inevitable for various reasons, viz: too many mines, and most important of all, coal has a substitute, or rather, substitutes, which are actually displacing coal. These substitutes are oil and electricity. Thus it is that in every national coal miners' strike it is big odds that they will lose. Perhaps they little realize what they are up against, but the fact of the matter is that treacherous leaders have not everything to do with their misfortunes.

### Organizing For Control

The philosophy of Industrial Unionism is more than the mere organization of workers as such. It involves more truly and perhaps to a higher degree the control of those commodities which are vital—the key commodities or raw material. It is the importance of a commodity that adds to the power of a labor organization. Labor organized industrially, plus the importance and necessity of oil, would therefore constitute a labor combination that would be impregnable.

What coal miners are facing is the superior economic utility of oil and the declining importance of coal as a source of power and heat.

Let us see if this is true. In the census of 1920 the statisticians reported that coal mining was the most important mining industry (which included petroleum) in the United States. Four years later in 1923-24 the oil industry had exceeded the coal industry in importance by 20 per cent in total value of products, and surprising to relate only one-half as many wage earners are employed in the production of oil as in the production of coal.

Geologists are now convinced that the discovery of oil deposits has only commenced. No one can tell just

A WOBBLY PILOT APPEALS FOR WRANGEL AND CLINE, FORD AND SUHR

The airplane is the product of the gasoline motor. No other fuel or type of engine could have concentrated the necessary power into the limits of bulk and weight which the airplane provides. Without petroleum, the air fleets of the world would be useless. It is an encouraging sight to see the pilots and mechanics who fly the planes turning to the IWW.

how much oil is below the surface. However, judging from frequent discoveries of oil deposits there is no doubt that vast resources of oil are yet to be discovered. An increase in the supply of oil will mean an increase in its use. Oil can now be transported swiftly and efficiently through pipe lines to any part of the country at a small part of the cost that it takes to transport coal. Six thousand miles of pipe lines now intersect the country and oil is flowing through these arteries at the rate of 30,000 gallons in each 24 hours. The distribution of oil is easy and invisible. It requires no more effort than turning on a water faucet. The manual labor of shoveling coal is eliminated. It is clean and there is no waste.

### Transport Workers Hit

Super-power engineers are now busy on plans to eliminate the transportation of coal and develop super-power by burning coal at the mines to generate electricity and send heat and power over the wires. Projects of this kind are actually being being constructed in various parts of the country.

The coal miners' union is fighting this scheme but it is a useless effort. The development of super-power portends the most gigantic displacement of labor that has yet taken place. Right at this very day in the bituminous fields of Illinois and Kentucky 80 per cent of the miners are idle five days per week. Oil and super-power are responsible for much of this idleness Thousands of coal miners are leaving the coal areas because of a persistent loss of time. In 10 years from now it is probable that only half as much coal will be transported on railroads as is now the case. This means a decrease in either the working time of the miners now employed, or a decrease in numbers.

### Substitutes

Oil is a substitute for coal, but coal is not a substitute for oil. The uses of coal are limited, the utility of oil is unlimited. The products and by-products of oil range from fuel to face powder, including gases, all kinds of light and heavy oils, solvents, medicinal salves, creams and ointments, candy oils, asphalts, carbons, fertilizers, rubber making, compositions, soaps, drugs and hosts of others. The uses to which oil is being applied are increasing daily. Even the advantage that oil has over coal in being transported would be great enough to disqualify coal. But oil has a labor-saving quality that measures its real value. It generates steam better than coal and the output of oil is increasing to such an extent throughout the world that it only awaits the time when the manufacturing units of industry can change over from coal to oil use. With the increase of oil consumption in the industries will come a decrease in the general need for coal. Coal will largely disappear as a transportable commodity and be consumed at the mines as fuel for superpower. And this means that the once powerful coal miners' union will find itself supplanted by a more powerful oil workers' union.

Now what is obvious regarding coal is obviously the reverse in oil. Perhaps some time in the future oil will be supplanted by some other discovery. Today, however, oil is supreme, and those who have an eye for power are wisely congregating around oil—all those but labor; and labor, as usual, stumbles in its various directions, blind as the proverbial bat, and as aimless as a herd of cattle, seeking the road, always crossing but never following it.

### The Scramble

If each individual oil worker could realize the terrific struggle that is going on among the large capitalist groups of the world for the control of oil production and, in realizing the extent of that struggle, also understand the vital necessity of oil, every oil worker would immediately scramble to become organized. But, alas, but a few of them see beyond that circle of hours that marks starting and quitting time. And precious time passes for the oil workers with each day. Precious time in that the oil kings are not losing one minute in solidifying, consolidating and trustifying their positions. They know oil for what it is—WEALTH and POWER. All that the average oil worker sees in oil is a greenish black and disagreeably greasy fluid in the production of which he makes wages.

It is the general habit, especially among some

workers, to regard the possession of wealth and power as equivalent to super-intelligence. The Rockefellers, for example, symbolize the height of wealth and power in the oil industry, and some even go so far in their idolatry of their wealth as to assert that but for the Rockefellers there would have been no oil industry as we know it today. In other words, the production of oil or any of the other important commodities, is created by a metaphysical process known only to an enlightened few. The capitalist philosophy says in effect—without the Rockefellers and Sinclairs there would be no oil, or without Gary there would be no steel, or with no Guggenheims we would be without copper. Other capitalists of lesser fame build towns all by themselves, or dig mines. Every commodity has a capitalist as its patron saint. The great mass of common folk are but humans for whom these capitalist saints plan and create.

### Where the Richest Man Got His

Of course, the intelligent workers can see that oil made the Rockefellers and the rest of the oil kings, and that the extent of their wealth was determined by the social need for oil. Oil, like the deposits of metal and coal, has been in the earth for countless ages. Primitive man perhaps knew of the existence of oil, but could not at his stage of economic development utilize it. Man went through ages of development, from stone to bronze, to copper, to iron, to steel, learned about steam, about electricity. All the sciences, chemistry, metallurgy, mechanics, engineering, etc., had to be mastered before oil could be properly appraised and used. Thus the development of oil is more than merely sinking wells and bringing it to the surface. Its development belongs as much to the past as to today. Oil went through natural processes extending through countless ages. The development of social knowledge was also a requisite. All the myriad toilers and thinkers of the past had their share in the development of oil. Thus oil is a heritage of the past. It belongs, speaking in a proprietary sense, to no one person or persons; it belongs to society because only collective society can utilize it, only collective society could develop it.

### Labor Did It

The wealth of the oil kings is possible only because of the economic necessity of oil. The oil kings did not make the oil. Rather it was oil that made the oil kings. It takes labor to bring oil to the surface, and oil being of no use underground, it can properly be said that the labor that brings the oil to the surface is the real source of the wealth that flows into the coffers of the oil kings.

Comparison of the values of petroleum products with the wages received by the workers shows that the workers in the oil industry are exploited to the extent of 90 percent. In other words, for every 10 dollars of oil wealth produced, the worker receives $1. The census of 1920 gives the production in 1919 of petroleum, for the whole country as 350,112,253 barrels. The yearly production in 1923 was nearly 700 million barrels. In 1924 the production will probably figure close to 800 million barrels.

These figures of crude oil production tell only a small part of the story of oil production. Refining oil is an intricate and wonderful process. Perhaps more than a million people are involved in the transformation of crude oil into useful by-products and their distribution. The gasoline taken from oil is of itself an enormous undertaking and is a source of incalculable wealth. But another, and perhaps larger, industry is growing on the foundation of oil. The Diesel engine has been improved to such an extent that it is rapidly displacing steam-driven engines. Water works and power stations are finding in the new type of Diesel engines a more efficient means of developing power. This new type of engine will revolutionize the development of power to a vast extent and incidentally displace a large percentage of the labor now necessary.

(CONCLUDED NEXT MONTH)

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ANATOLE FRANCE, *by Steinlen*

**Yes, Anatole France is dead, and the world has lost a great man. Jacques Anatole Thibault (his real name) was born on April 16, 1844. His father was a poor Paris bookseller, a former soldier who had been nicknamed "Pere France," from which the famous author derived his pseudonym.**

**It was the peculiar province of Anatole France to see through capitalist society, and with the most pointed and whimsical satire, reduce all its hypocrisies to absurdities. It was Anatole France who smashed in one keen sentence the pompous declaration that "all men are equal before the law," by stating it concretely, thus: "All are equal before the law; rich and poor alike are equally forbidden to beg their bread in the public streets, and alike forbidden to sleep under the bridges." And that is a fair sample of the type of his humor, gentle, but critical. In addition to his ability for complicated satire as in "Penguin Island" and "The Revolt of the Angels," Anatole France was able to rise to magnificent heights of passion as in "The Red Lily," and descend to broad and genial even if somewhat philosophical sympathy, as in his autobiographical stories of childhood. A marvelous, many-sided man, and a radical.**

The Little Bourgeois Are Doing All They Can.

# Business Successes from Small Beginnings

BY W. H. SYKES

**Syndicate Article Writer Answered By Merchant Who Has Succeeded—Points Out That Opportunities Are Scarcer Now Than 40 years Ago—Favors Co-operative Industry By One Big Union of Workers Instead of Concentrated Industry For The Benefit of A Few—Would Join Same But Is Ineligible.**

THERE is appearing in the capitalist press, "a series of short syndicate articles on business successes from small beginnings," written by one Edward Mott Woolley. These articles are intended to prove that the U. S. A. is still the land of opportunity, despite the large industrial enterprises, with their comparatively few stockholders and armies of paid employees.

Recently, Woolley wrote a letter to W. H. Sykes, proprietor of Sykes' Store Co., Leonardville, Kansas, as one who had made a mercantile success, requesting material for another article in this deceptive series. Sykes' answer is a truthful, straightforward one. In it he points out the present lack of opportunity as compared with opportunities 40 years ago. He also comes out boldly for co-operative industry by the workers organized in one big union.

**His letter follows in full:—**

Edward Mott Woolley,
Passaic, New Jersey.
Dear Sir:—

On May 10th we received a request from you for information on our business career that would enable you to write a 500 word narrative on business successes from small beginnings. You state these stories are being used in such newspapers as the Boston Post, Chicago News, and others. The purpose you also state is to show young men that opportunity exists everywhere today in the United States as it always has. We have neglected replying as we hardly knew just how and what to say.

While it is very fine to be played up in public print as a success we do not believe that opportun-

ity does exist now as it did in 1880 when I commenced business. All lines of business are being concentrated into fewer hands under our modern industrial system by labor and capital. We find there is a monopoly of the means of production by a few so that individual operation is very difficult. We find the few have controlled the means of production by high financing, watered stocks, control of politics and other means.

Under the present profit system the middle class has declined a hundred per cent in the United States since I commenced business. While I have been able to go from the lower well up into the middle class and am known as one of the oldest and most successful merchants in northern Kansas, I cannot assist you in producing what would be to me a false article that you might be able to sell to the capitalist press. We wish that you could have this letter printed but doubt very much if you could get a ten cent piece for the same.

As we look back over our business career we do not feel altogether proud that we have been able to crush a number of small competitors in order to build our success. We believe that the small store keeper in common with other individually operated industries is fast giving way to the large corporations such as mail order houses and chain stores.

We have during the 40 years at several different times been in competition with co-operative stores which so far have largely been failures. However, we believe they have a place in society and that ultimately they will succeed and be the greatest good for the greatest number.

Co-operative stores should have trained managers who are competent to manage and handle a business.

**Co-operative industry by and for the workers is the message we would like to spread, and elimination of us capitalists and the system by which we receive half and give labor half.**

The present overproduction or underconsumption is brought about by that system, as the half we capitalists receive has accumulated until we are forced to close the factories to dispose of our surplus; while the workers who have been using their half from day to day and week to week have no surplus accumulated so that they can afford to remain idle.

**In fact, it appears that we have entered upon the greatest industrial depression in the history of our country and that the coming winter will be very disastrous for the workers as well as many small capitalists.**

We are surrounded by very prosperous farming country. We have also seen the land advanced from ten to one hundred dollars an acre and in a measure our store has developed with the country. We believe our community consists of nearly 90 per cent middle class people, and were this percentage general over the entire country we should not complain of our present order of society. However, we find the average p[illegible]centage of those in the middle class in the Uni[illegible]ed States stands at less than 35 per cent while the lower class has increased from 20 to 60 per cent during our business life.

Should you desire to write up the history of our business we should wish to have you state our opinion of the game as outlined above.

We might state that we take no credit in renouncing the present order of society and industry as we have done nothing to bring about the change we believe should be made. We have spoken to some of the high school students in our town and have told them that on the general average of the country and as we saw conditions their chances of success in securing an American standard of living and home were not as good as were ours 40 years ago. Hence you see we could not be true to our honest belief in assisting you to prepare an article for the Boston Post, Chicago Daily News and others for the purpose of showing young men that opportunity exists everywhere today in the United States as it always has.

**As a remedy we believe in the slogan of Workers of the World Unite, or in the forming of a One Big Union in which any honest worker by hand or brain, of any race, of any breed, of any color is eligible to membership. Such an organization is in existence but the undersigned is denied admittance so long as we conduct the present business as it has been in the past and is today being carried on.**

In case you are able to bring this message as outlined into publicity we shall feel that it would be of a thousand times more value to the public than the one for which you have asked.

Another objection we might state we have to our business is the fact that it develops nothing of human brotherhood. It is a game of doing the other fellow or he will do you. Do you realize the jealousy and hatred that a successful merchant must encounter from his neighbors? Do you realize how far from pleasant living in such a competitive world becomes? We find our press, our schools and all our educational means are being used to perpetuate the present, to me, unsatisfactory and unjust system.

The sort of syndicate articles on business successes from small beginnings you are writing, for which you find a ready sale, are proof of the above. I would much prefer as a legacy to my children and children's children a co-operative business world than the competitive one through which I have passed, even though I have been able to beat the game. If you cannot sell this letter I shall attempt to donate it to the Industrial Pioneer or some other working class paper. Trusting we may have a line in reply at least, I remain.

Yours truly,

**W. H. Sykes.**

The First Step Towards A Strike In Paterson, N. J. The cycle of life begins for the silk-worm. This picture shows moths, laying eggs on pieces of paper, in Japan. The girls are working to keep the eggs from being placed too many in one place, and they roll up and store away the papers that have been covered with eggs.

# Silk—a Class Issue

By 向警予

THEY SAY, though no one knows for sure, as it happened a very long time ago, that once an Empress of China, and all the court ladies of the whole Court of Heaven spent long days and longer nights feeding and cleaning silk worms, picking over cocoons, and realing, winding, throwing and weaving silk. The legend is, in fact, that the Empress Si Ling, wife of the Yellow Emperor (Hoang Ti—the semi-mythical being who invented most of what the Chinese use), herself invented silk culture. Moreover, she is said to have invented the loom for weaving silk.

Now it is doubtful whether the empresses either invented silk culture or actually practiced it much, but plenty of women of lesser rank and probably more worth, have tended silk worms, and handled their silk. In fact, silk culture is still, all over the world, almost entirely a women's trade, and therefore a low paid trade. Probably the invention of the loom and the art of cultivating silk worms was ascribed to Si Ling, a woman, because of this fact, whereas crafts and industries which men practice were supposed to have been invented by Hoang Ti, her husband.

One thing is certain, the very oldest Chinese books speak of women engaged in this particular textile industry, and prescribe minute and

specific directions for the treatment of the silk at all stages of its growth and manufacture. Already, in the earliest recorded time, a great deal of religious theory had clustered about the various processes, showing their great age. The processes described in the Chinese classics have changed very little during the centuries. Silk, especially the production of raw silk, is still an industry in which skill and patience count for very much, and the machinery in use is quite simple.

And another thing is equally certain, that now, as formerly, silk is **the** class fabric. Ever since the empresses ceased to labor at it (if they ever did), the lowest paid and hardest working women toilers have made the silk worm comfortable, and have cared for the silk, and done all the work connected with its manufacture to the point where it is ready to adorn the human frame. And of this silk, not one of the workers has ever received for her personal adornment one yard of it even; it goes, all of it, every bit, to the use and pleasure of the ruling, master class.

### The History of Sericulture

Silk having originated in China, the Chinese tried to keep it there. They preserved the methods of feeding and changing the worms as secret as possible, and actually circulated false stories throughout the rest of the world to confuse the barbarians and keep down competition. Aristotle and Pliny, Virgil and Dionysius, issued statements about its origin which show that they knew of the fabric, but had very wrong ideas as to how it was produced. Even in the neighboring countries in the Orient, silk culture spread slowly and with difficulty. It reached Japan through Korea, and there was a temple erected in Setsu province, in Japan, to four Chinese girls who came over to instruct the Japanese court ladies in plain and figured weaving (women again, and noble ladies). The use of native silks started in Japan about 350 A. D., long after its use among the upper classes of China was common.

There is another pretty story about the smuggling of silk worm eggs and mulberry seeds into India, concealed in the hair of a princess, who had married an Indian prince. How they kept the eggs fresh while the mulberry tree was growing, is not explained by the old romancers, but it is probably true that silk culture did come overland to India from China about 300 A. D., maybe three thousand years after it was common in China. From India it spread through Persia. References in Sanskrit texts to silk much earlier than this date do not seem to prove the existence of an Indian silk culture, though they indicate that silk was not used in India before it was produced there.

### For the Wealthy Only

The Roman emperors tried at first to stop the use of silk. Their stoic philosophy, and later their Christianity, taught them that too soft a garment was effeminate, and they were, some of them, determined that their slaves should never grow soft and lazy.

However, the richer people were all that were able to buy silk, which was usually sold at, literally, weight in gold. So finally the Emperor Justin (and this story seems to have some basis in fact) seeing that there was good money to be made in the trade, and finding that the merchants were closing down their establishments rather than pay the heavy taxes he had placed upon them, as well as the maximum price at which he ordered them to sell their product ($23 per pound), took over the silk trade. Having embarked on the nefarious business, he was determined to get what profit he could, and sent two Persian monks to China to steal eggs. The monks had already told him that they knew how to raise the worms and reel the silk.

The monks got away with the silk worm eggs by concealing them in hollow canes, which the Chinese guards forbore to break, because of the apparently holy demeanor and reverend aspect of the monks. This was not to be the last time that the Chinese have suffered from their own too gentle treatment of missionaries who come among them.

Anyway, about 550 the Byzantians were raising silk worms and reeling and weaving silk, and from Constantinople the industry spread into all southern Europe. In 1146 the king of Sicily, Roger by name, fought with the Greeks and being partially victorious carried off as prisoners certain silk raisers and weavers to his own land, where he colonized them and worked them. The Venetians, by the same means, captured Greeks skilled in the art, and set up a silk manufacturing business in their town, about 1203. By 1300 there were several thousand persons engaged in sericulture in Florence, and then it spread gradually through France. It was never successful in England or Germany on account of climatic difficulties. But there is still a great deal of silk worm growing in northern Italy and France. Italian silk is of a very fine quality.

### The Process Itself

Silk reeling machinery is of European invention, and is a comparatively simple adaptation and application of power to the original hand turned reel, invented by the Chinese.

**Ancient China—Gathering Mulberry Leaves**

FEEDING THE SILK WORMS—JAPAN

Before the silk can be reeled, the worm must be cared for. The silk eggs, called **graine** in Europe, are very small, and are laid on papers by the silk worm moths. One ounce of eggs will hatch into worms that will make about fifteen pounds of silk. Before they make any silk, they eat 1362 pounds of mulberry leaf. The leaf of the white mulberry is the best. The papers with the eggs on them are hatched in an incubator, or by being covered with manure, or by being kept warm with cloths which are wrapped around the human body. The worms are forced to crawl through small holes in papers to scratch off the egg shells. Then they are fed. They eat tremendously. Frequently they have to be transferred to fresh trays, where they are placed farther apart. All of this is hand work, and very delicate work, as the worms are tender. The leaves have to be dried, as moisture is fatal to the worms, and chopped. Four times the silk worm loses its appetite, changes its skin and then starts eating again. About the end of its first month of life, it stops eating, raises its head, and signifies a wish to climb. The silk worm tender then has to place a little trellis for it to ascend. At this time it is about three or three and a half inches long. It attaches itself to a straw on the trellis, and for three days engages in spinning silk. The silk is a gummy substance, secreted in large glands, and exuded through two holes in the head. The worm weaves its cocoon around itself by revolving its head continuously until it is covered with silk.

A few days after the cocoon is formed, the silk grower picks out those intended to serve for brood purposes, and kills the worms in the rest by heating them.

**Present Silk Culture of China**

A great deal of China's silk is woven and used at home, usually on primitive cottage machinery, hand looms, etc., but this ancient home of the silk industry still provides most of the world outside of the United States with its supply of raw silk. China has been exporting for manufacture in other countries only since 1850. Before that time, silk cloth was exported. Twenty-seven per cent of the world's supply of raw silk is from China. Raw silk is the most important export from China, more important than the next four highest exports put together.

Steam filatures (mills for reeling silk from the cocoons) are centered around Canton, especially at Shun Tak, about thirty miles from Canton, where there are 180 filatures, each employing from 300 to 500 girls; and around Shanghai, particularly in the towns on the shores of Lake Tai Ho, where the big battles are being fought now; and away in the interior at Hankow; and at Hangchow, Soochow, Chefoo, Sanshui, and Chinkiang (you can look them up on the map if you are interested).

All this, again, is hand work.

The cocoons are then usually sold to a filature, or winding factory. Here there are long rows of reels, made usually of wood, turning by some sort of power, and set in rows of, usually, 36 reels. Opposite each reel is a steam heated basin of water in which the cocoons are immersed. Girls pick the outside shreds of silk away with brushes, or they are removed by mechanical brushes, and then they pick up from each cocoon the infinitesimally small thread of silk by its outer end, and stick it on the threads of other cocoons. The combined thread runs through fine holes in glass beads or the glass rims of the

water basins, and onto the reel. The work is very trying on the eyes and the patience, and it requires skill. The silk strand made up from two to twenty of the fine threads from as many cocoons is the raw silk of commerce.

The very best silk in the world, the finest, whitest, and softest, comes from the Kiang Su province, in the very center of the region where the civil war now rages.

### Japan Supplies America

Japan has a monopoly of the American market. The mills of Paterson, now closed by a strike, throw the silk capitalists of Japan into a cold fit when they cut off their orders, for not only do the Japanese monopolize the American market for raw silk, but America is their only customer. Some day they will want to make American capitalists buy silk in greater quantities, and will want to own the American mills, which are their market. Similarly, some day, the American capitalists who own the mills are going to insist on having control of the Japanese filatures, so as to insure themselves the kind of silk they want, when they want it, and with the profit going to themselves. Not a little of the present hatred between America and Japan arises over this economic clash. American and Japanese workers will yet die on the battlefield to decide which group of capitalists shall take over the whole industry.

The Yokohama silk exchange is another sore point at issue between the two national groups of capitalists. This is the only silk exchange in the world, and is conducted exactly as the New York Stock Exchange is run, or the Chicago wheat pit, except that the aristocratic traditions of politeness affect even the newly rich of Japan and the American buyers, and reduce somewhat the outward exhibitions of greed that would otherwise be shown. There is the same "legitimate" transacting, the Japanese silk filature capitalist selling, at the highest price he can get, his raw silk to the American weaving mills at the lowest price **they** can get. But though capitalism is young in Japan, it is acquiring all the vices of even the senile American bourgeoisie, and the most reckless gambling goes on in the Yokahama exchange, coupled with attempts to corner the market, with a resulting disarrangement of silk prices, and interference with the profits of American capitalists—which does not add to the comity of nations.

You must not think for a moment that the silk industry in Japan is a small one. About one-third of the industrial workers in that country are the women and girls who reel silk, and there are millions caring for the worms in little peasants' cottages. More than one-third of the entire agricultural population, some 2,000,000 households, do nothing but raise mulberry trees, and pick leaves for the silk worm to eat. Over 1,000,000 acres (and Japan is a small country) are devoted to mulberry raising. The exportation of silk from Japan in 1922 was 792,488,446 yen, much the largest export of the country, more than twice as much as cotton, the next largest export. Oh, yes, the silk industry of Japan is a rich prize—and therefore a cause for war.

Of course, industrial workers need only to stop for a moment and think, that the workers in the filatures are women and girls, to see that they are probably pretty badly exploited. Woman and child labor is always cheap labor.

### Women Slaves in New Nippon

Worse than anything else is the recruiting and contract system utilized by the masters of industry in Japan. The country is just out of the feudal system, and the working classes, entering upon factory life somewhat under the recent feudal teachings of loyalty to master, worship of the government (in fact, the Emperor is a god) and disabilities of women and children, who, under the family system had no rights at all, are not equipped to fight capitalism even as much as Europeans and Americans are. The young girls of peasants are practically sold to the padrones by their fathers, and are carried off in gangs, and again practically sold to the factories. Like the slaves of old, they live in barracks around the working places, and they are not allowed, in many cases, to quit their jobs until the contracts have expired.

There are government regulations designed to preserve the health of the working classes, and in general, these regulations are obeyed. Two classes sometimes struggle, and sometimes co-operate for governmental power in Japan, the ancient military caste, supposed to be abolished, but in reality transferred into a class of office holders, particularly holders of army and navy and police offices, and the newly rich, powerful but despised, capitalists. Their interests clash in the matter of ruthless exploitation of the girls. The capitalists would like to work them to death, as the rising English capitalist class worked poor children to death in their cotton mills, and as the American capitalist class still works children into decrepitude and idiocy. But the bureaucratic land-owning, militaristic clique has other uses for them. They want them to be brood mothers of a sturdy assortment of cannon fodder, to be expended on the battlefields that will have to be fought over before the dream of Japanese Asiatic hegemony and territorial expansion can be materialized.

### Some Americans Worse Off

As a result of this clash of interests, the new government factory regulations forbid the working of children under the age of fourteen, prohibit longer hours than eleven for women and for children under the age of sixteen, provide for two rest days per month for women and children under the age of sixteen and four rest days a month for women and children doing night work. Children and women must also have an hour's rest in the middle of any shift longer than ten hours, and women and children under the age of sixteen must not be made to work between the hours of 10 p. m. and 5 a. m.

The standards of living are not so bad as commonly supposed. The wage is about half that received

When The Worms Are Ready To Spin Silk They Are Placed On Straw Trellises

in American low grade factory work, but on the other hand cost of living is about half also. Food is much cheaper, rents are much cheaper, and the expenditure for clothing is relatively higher. This fact is admitted in foreign countries, both explicitly and tacitly. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science Series (V. 36) states explicitly:

"The common belief that the standard of living in Japan is very much lower than in the United States is not scientifically proved. Probably it is a misconception."

And of course, the mere fact that silk after being reeled is sent to America for weaving is pretty nearly complete proof that weaving is cheaper in America than in Japan, and that the exploitation of American silk weavers in New Jersey, and eastern Pennsylvania, is greater than the exploitation of labor in Japan, wherever machinery can be used, as in weaving. Semi-hand labor, requiring particular skill, such as reeling, is still cheaper in Japan. There is undoubtedly a drift towards harder times in Japan—even as in America and Europe.

### The Factory System in China

The workers' problems, and the situation in which they find themselves are somewhat different in China from what they are anywhere else in the world. In the first place, China never went through the feudal period in modern times. China's feudal period, unlike Japan's, was a long time ago. It broke down, and under the drive of craft guilds, Imperial armics, local village economy, and the class of literati, there was a reversion to primitive communism ideally and socially, and firm establishment of the handicrafts system in industry. The Chinese family, which has most of the aspects of one of Morgan's male gens, and certainly developed out of the female gens, is still quite strong in China. Families, in the larger sense of those having a common family name, maintain their organization, their ancestral temples, and are like little governments. Not so small, either, because there are only one hundrd family names, and something between 350,000,000 and 400,000,000 Chinese to be divided among them.

The localities, which are somewhat synonymous with the families, have their own life, and tend to their own affairs in quite a communal way. There is care for the sick by the family, and a kind of family public spirit.

The whole community runs on very little money, prices are very low except where the factory system has broken in; hours were not so bad, nor the standards of living so very low, until the factory system and other deranging influences were brought into China. Of course, there was no progress, all social and industrial life had reached a sort of balance of forces, nothing new happened.

Now into this communal, guild, handicraft life comes suddenly the machine, steam power for turning silk reels, coal and iron mining machinery, railroads, etc., a system designed to run, and forced by foreign commerce to run, on a much larger supply of money, a closely integrated society, with a capitalist employing class in addition to the original merchant and handicraft classes, and with masses of homeless, wandering laborers, cut loose from family ties.

Since the work of women and children under the family system had been largely domestic, the modern sik filature and cotton mill raises havoc with everything in the old system. The meek women, one time slaves of husbands but mistresses of homes, go to the mills and get wages on which they nearly starve to death, but also get a good deal of freedom along with the wages, and become quite flapperish, sit in restaurants smoking cigarettes, and in the opinion of the older Chinese, generally disgrace their families.

Conditions in the mills are very bad. There is no bureaucratic class with interests at variance with those of the new capitalist class. The workers are left alone, without even the dangerous support of militarists. There are certain labor laws, adopted by the central government, which prescribe no work for boys under ten or girls under twelve, only eight hours work for boys under seventeen and girls under eighteen, no work for children after 8 p. m., or before 4 a. m., wages at least once a month, etc. But these don't mean much, for they cannot be and are not enforced. In China the capitalists run the government, except for the district around Canton, where the labor unions have much influence with the government of Sun Yat Sen and the capitalists are organizing a fascisti militia to oppose it.

In the silk filatures of Shanghai, the normal workday is fourteen and a half hours. The workers frequently never leave the mills, but sleep on the floor on bedding spread down after their shift is over, and rolled up and stacked in the corners when morning comes. There are 56 filatures in Shanghai

district with 60,000 women workers in them. Last year the daily wage ranged from forty to fifteen cents, Mexican, a day (depending on what sort of work), and it must be remembered that prices are going up in the coast regions of China. It is possible by staying at work the whole month to get a bonus of $1.50, but absence of even one hour would prevent the worker from receiving the bonus.

If the Chinese lack the paternal care of military rulers, however, they have had training in organization. They are great people for forming companies, clubs, guilds, associations, etc., and this is probably the result of their handicraft society. The same sort of tendencies were present in Europe during the handicraft period there.

So the women workers organized an industrial union of silk workers, and put in demands, in 1922, for the ten-hour day, five cents per day increase in wages, and an unconditional bonus. On August 6, with banners and placards, 20,000 women silk workers paraded through the streets of Shanghai and established picket lines. The foreign residents of Shanghai, including all the American and European capitalists, rushed to the defense of the Chinese capitalists. All Chinese strikers who strayed into the foreign settlement were promptly arrested and sentenced by mixed courts to long prison terms for "inciting workers to strike." The bosses, who are strongly organized into the "Silk and Cocoon Guild" (of master craftsmen), won the strike. But organization persisted among the workers, is growing now, and will undoubtedly lead to another attempt to raise wages and lower hours very soon.

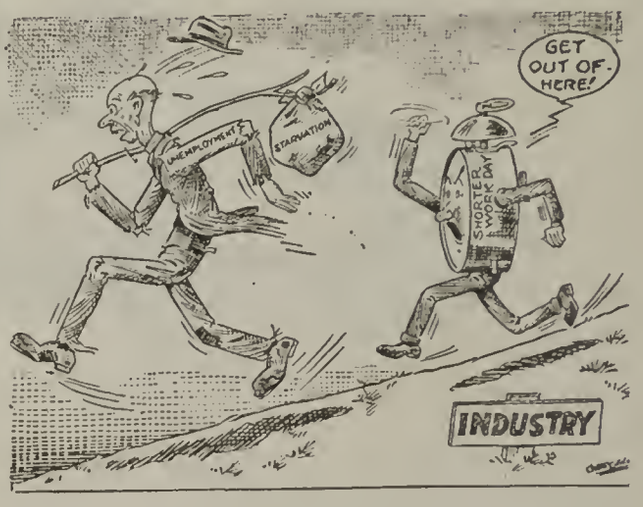
The present war now going on in China is a struggle between capitalist foreign countries, using mercenary troops, and still more mercenary Chinese generals to give them control of China's markets and China's raw materials, not the least of which is silk. General Wu Pei Fu, with his tributaries, various tu chuns (civil and military governors of provinces), most important of which is the tu chun of Kiang Su province, is trying to establish a dictatorship over all China. If he succeeds, by destroying the dictatorship of General Chang Tso Lin of Manchuria and the labor government of Kwang Tung province (capital at Canton), America will come in for the exploitation of China, and will take over the silk supplies along with other loot.

The striking silk workers of China and the striking silk workers of Paterson, N. J., are fighting the same master—international capitalism. The same methods will win in both cases. And the Japanese women workers will waken too. The human worms will turn, and the empresses of the world will have to go to work in earnest.

# Battlefields of Paterson

**Paterson, New Jersey, is where the silk mills are. A strike of the silk weavers has been in progress there for more than two months. It is a long drawn out battle, with the silk weavers standing firm, and scabs hard to get, because of the peculiar skill required in silk mills. The mills of Paterson weave what is known as "broad silk" on modified Jacquard looms, and their work is quite different from the weaving of wool or cotton goods, or even the weaving of silk ribbons.**

**The strike was brought about by the determination of the silk companies to cut down on their working force and save expenses by greater exploitation of the workers. They planned to make one weaver tend three or four looms instead of two looms, which is hard enough work in itself. The workers** are demanding a reduction of hours from twelve or fourteen, as is usual in the busy season, down to eight hours. They are demanding bigger pay, too. All this silk work is somewhat seasonal, and unemployment is prevalent during a large part of the year. Weavers average weekly, during the year, about $20.




### Not the First

This strike is nothing new. Paterson is a battleground of the class war. It is a strictly industrial town, built near waterfalls which furnish electric power to the mills, and is a considerable railroad center, as the New York, Susquehanna & Western, the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, and the Erie railroads all converge here. It has large machine shops, locomotive shops, and iron goods factories. But these activities are overshadowed by its textile factories; they make linens, carpets, velvets, woolen and cotton goods. But these fabrics are of small importance compared with the extremely important silk manufacturing of the town. It is absolutely the biggest producer of silk fabrics and sewing silks in the United States, and the United States is a great producer of such things.

One side issue, the silk dye works alone, employs 5,000 "hands." About ten thousand weavers and loom tenders of one sort or another are employed in the busy season in the silk mills of Paterson. The famous Cheney Silk Co. mills are here, but there are also plenty of smaller ones.

This strike is largely led by workers who got their training in the I. W. W. strike of 1913, an epoch making event, and one of the first really industrial strikes in the textile world.

### "Opium of the People"

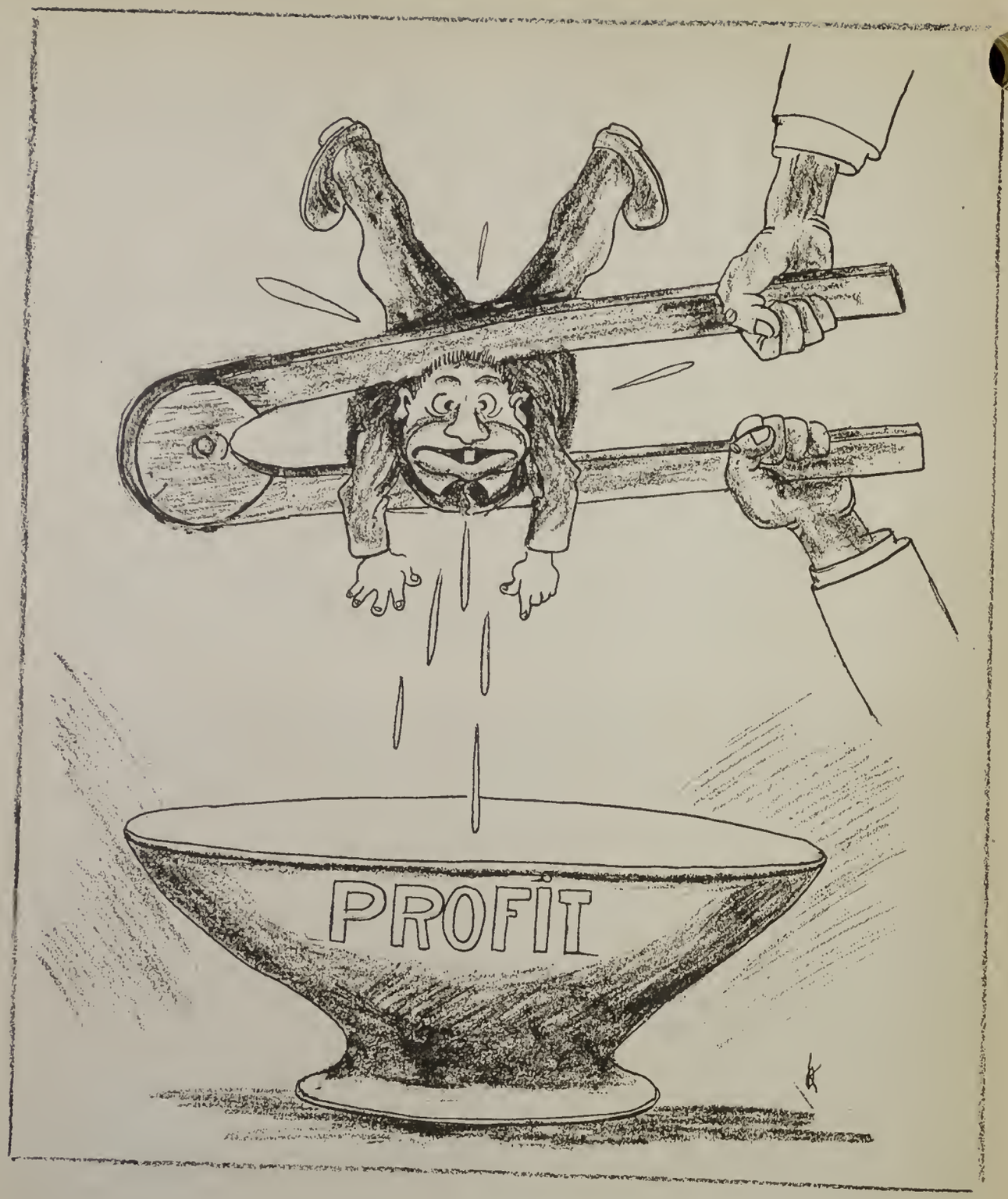
It was a battle in which about twenty thousand men and women faced the organized capitalist class, its flunkies on the "Call" and the "Press," and its preachers. This is no mere rhetoric. The preachers of every denomination in Paterson, simultaneously, preached sermons against the strike, urged the workers to scab, pleaded with the wives and daughters of the strikers, (women are sometimes more religious than men) to get their husbands back on the job, and simultaneously declared that not low wages, but drink, was the curse of the workingman.

The 1913 strike started in mid winter, in January. It spread from Paterson through all the towns around, and was conducted with mass picketing, large mass meetings, until these were broken up by the police. There were hundreds of arrests, and indeed, most of the time the jail was kept crowded with strikers who "battleshipped" enthusiastically.

### "Singing Jail Birds"

Incredible as it may seem, it is said that some of the strikers were able to continue singing I. W. W. songs without ceasing, in Paterson jail, for two days and nights. The I. W. W. stepped in after a spontaneous strike had been started, and with its message of solidarity and its organizing ability, kept up the spirit and the activity of the pickets until a partial victory was wrung from the most unwilling bosses.

Paterson has been, and is, and must continue to be a battlefield of the class war, as long as capitalism endures. With the factory system so well developed, and with the class lines so sharply drawn, it is impossible for class feeling not to develop. Class solidarity, in spite of many defeats, and difficulties, continues to exist in Paterson. The day will come, clearly foreshadowed even in 1913, and never quite lost sight of since, when all the textile workers of Paterson, not just the weavers, and all the textile workers of America, and of the world too, for that matter, will be united in one big union, and on that day, the long series of battles in Paterson, and many other textile towns, will be won—by the workers.



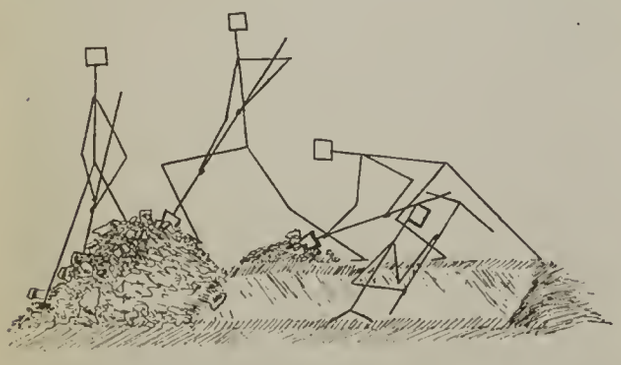

## Social Forces

This is how the unorganized workingman gets pinched. In his lonely dignity and helplessness, he is caught between the powerful lever of low wages below him, and crushed up against the equally strong lever of high prices for commodities he needs to live upon. As a result, he is caught, and is absolutely unable to help himself, as long as he remains a poor lonely individual, in the grip of social forces a thousand times stronger than himself. The only thing for him to do is to take advantage of the power of labor organization, a social force which he can use for himself.

# The Social Forces

By
JOHN CANNAVAN

**This Article Was Started In The October Number Of The Industrial Pioneer, Copies Of Which May Be Obtained By Writing To 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago.**



"We say involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, has been abolished, yet men are compelled to work by the threat of economic distress, in most cases quite as effectively as by means of the slave-driver's whip."

**—Ely's Outlines of Economics.**

## CHAPTER II.

### CLASS INTERESTS

THE class division in capitalist society is an economic fact with such obvious consequences that it were sheer folly to deny or to disregard it. To wilfully deny, or to recklessly ignore it will not affect it; will not alter it or cause it to disappear. It will still remain the great outstanding fact, disturbing and menacing capitalist society.

That some of the workers are unable to see, or unwilling to admit the reality of the class struggle, no more dispels it than does the ostrich cause the hunter to disappear by burying its head in the sand. The conception that the employing class and the working class have common interests is denied by the every-day experiences of the workers. Even when the workers accept the doctrine that there is identity of interest between the capitalists and the wage laborers, there is a feeling of doubt about its truthfulness even while acknowledgement is being made. The "freedom" of the wage-workers does not admit of free expression by them. To voice opinions that run counter to the employer's interest is deemed a valid reason for dismissal or refusal to employ. So we find the "free laborer" woefully lacking in independence. He subscribes to doctrines in which he does not believe, either by concurrence or pretense, in accepting them without protest.

**Hypocrisy**

No one, who works in industry as a wage laborer, really believes that such an identity of interest has any place in fact; nor do the capitalists believe it. It is to the interest of the capitalists that the workers believe it, so it is only a consistent and courteous deference that they themselves pretend a profound belief in this theory. But from the earliest days of the capitalist regime the capitalists have taken precautions to prepare against the day when the fallacy of this conception will be exposed and their dominance ended.

Madison, as long ago as 1787, warned against the danger from the propertyless, thereby admitting a conflict of interests, when he said: "In future times a great majority of the people will not only be with-

out land but without any other sort of property. These will combine under the influence of their common situation; in which case, the rights of property and the public liberty will not be secure in their hands, or, which is more probable, they will become the tools of opulence and ambition; in which case there will be equal danger on another side."

Fear of recognition by the workers that a class struggle rages in human society has ever been present with the capitalist class. Its members and apologists have made the most of the freedom which the workers are alleged to enjoy, but, like Madison, they have no misconception in this regard. The workers have been flattered into a feeling of freedom that is without substance or reality. The "freedom" of the workers in capitalist society disguises a more abject slavery than has ever enthralled the serving class in any former society. It is the enslavement of one class by another class—the working class by the employing class. The chattel slave had his individual master, who felt toward him, as property, a sense of responsibility. If his slavery was undisguised, his qualification as property secured for him consideration that is denied his descendant, the wage slave, in capitalist society.

### Slave of None, or of Many?

The serf had his baron or seigneur. He was permanently attached to the soil, and if the slave character of his position was unmistakeable and the process of his exploitation clear, nevertheless, his master felt some responsibility for him and had, at least, an interest in his physical well-being. The serf also had a definite and assured location and status.

But it is otherwise with the "free" wage worker. He is a slave to no one in particular. No one has any responsibility for him. His location is not fixed and his status is not assured. The "freedom" of the "free laborer" is a necessary and prerequisite condition for his successful enslavement. His labor power is his own and he is "free" to dispose of it unhindered by any outside restraining force. It is the one and only thing he has to sell. This is the limit of his freedom—he is free to sell his labor power. But he must sell it; it is the only way by which he can live. The existence of capitalism is predicated upon the existence of a class which is free to sell its labor power; moreover, it must be a class which is likewise free of every means by which it would be enabled to employ its labor power for its own purposes and in its own way. The wage workers—the proletariat—are the necessary element. The wage working element is "free" of all power to obtain a livelihood, except by selling its labor power to the capitalist class.

But, as the workers are at liberty to leave an employer, when so minded, and thus to indulge a sense of personal freedom, they are slow to perceive that the individual, as a member of a class occupying a slave position, is himself a slave. For, while the worker may quit an unsatisfactory employment, he is condemned, in capitalist society, under the pain of want and suffering, to seek another employ[illegible]. That is, unlike the chattel slave, he is not the sl[illegible] of any particular capitalist but is enslaved by th[illegible] capitalist class. For, in selling his labor power by the hour, he is, in fact, selling himself on the installment plan. His "right" to life is as empty as a beggar's purse, without the right to the means of life—the opportunity to use his productive power to sustain himself. These are owned by the capitalist class.

### Freedom for All or None

That the wage worker is a slave by virtue of being a member of a slave class means that he cannot attain his own freedom until the class to which he belongs is, as a class, emancipated. Only when the slave character of the working class is removed will there be freedom for its members.

The effort of the capitalist class is directed to perpetuating the present arrangement, of which its members are the beneficiaries. The working class, in an instinctive manner, is seeking to resist the encroachments of the capitalist class, which it finds irksome and oppressive. It is, however, unused to thinking and acting as a class. The class conscious among the workers are striving to make their fellows acquainted with their true position in society, and to inspire them with the spirit to break the bonds of their slavery and win economic freedom for themselves. This is the class struggle—the battle between **the masters to maintain and the workers to change the present arrangement.** This is what justifies the statement that "the employing class and the working class have nothing in common."

The everyday life in industry is shot through with proof that the employers and the workers have nothing in common. At every point of contact, evidence is forthcoming to prove that, so far from having a common interest, antagonism consistently inheres in their relationship. The employers favor long hours—the workers desire shorter hours. A demand for shorter hours by the workers invites a fight from the boss. An avowed intention by the employer to increase the length of the working day precipitates a clash with the working force. A demand for a wage raise by the workers, or the announcement of a wage cut by the employers, is the occasion of an industrial disturbance. An improvement in sanitation, or something else, when demanded by the workers, is denied by the boss, and is settled only after a scrap, as a general thing. The employer wants more work, and the worker wants less exhaustive effort in the working place. Improved means of production benefit the employer and throw many workers into idleness. Those at work produce more and receive less, really and relatively. **There is no point at which employer and wage worker meet that they do not act as opponents.** So far from everything in common, **they have nothing in common.** "The employing class and the working class have nothing in common," is truth, self-evident, undeniable truth.

**The exploitation of the working class by the em-**

ploying class is the particularly important feature of capitalist society for us to observe. That some of the workers are indueed, or misled, by the capitalist class, by being given a share of the booty—to which they themselves also eontribute—to stand in opposition to the big majority of the working class, does not gainsay the truth of this contention. Nor does the dualistic character, in which some elements among the workers figure, deny the class struggle. When, for instanee, the farmers protest against the dominant forms of capitalist ownership, they make their elaim to consideration as productive factors, but when hiring a farm hand they act as does a capitalist. They feel toward a capitalist as does a worker, and toward the workers as does a capitalist.

### The Proletariat First

With the development of capitalist property to higher and more powerful forms, the class line in society becomes increasingly distinct and unmistakeable. The propertyless wage workers, being the greatest sufferers from advancing capitalism, have neeessarily been the first to engage in conflict with the capitalist forces. And if, in the confusion of a disunited and unorganized force, they have inflicted damage upon some other working class element, it is because the injured element has mistakenly engaged the proletarian hostility by aligning itself with the capitalist forces.

As "liberal opinion" grows, in response to working class efforts, the fighting forces of capitalism thin out and their morale grows weaker. The clearer the lines upon which the workers fight, as a proletarian element, the surer they are to advance, and to consolidate their gains.

Recognition of the line drawn between economic mastery and economic independence is dimmed by influences which the capitalist class controls. The idea that every man is master of his own destiny, and that his position in industry and society is a reflex of his own will and talents, is still held in total disregard of the facts that contradict it and this offers something of a real stumbling block to recogntion of the class struggle by the workers. That idea is dying hard, but it is dying. It has received too many hard knocks to survive much longer.

The environment of the supervising staff, in its social, intellectual and cultural aspects, makes for a readiness on its part to identify itself with the capitalist class. Its life conditions are favorable, so favorable, that it is doubtful whether any change now desired, or contemplated by the militants among the wage workers, would immediately improve it. Indeed, this element is inclined to fear, when it contemplates movements of the rank and file in industry, that instead of being improved, its lot might become less comfortable. So long as the movements of the rank and file do not assume proportions that offer a prospect of success, this section of the workers will cleave to the capitalist fleshpots and fight the balance of the workers. While the class war is being waged guerilla fashion, as by the A. F. L and other unions in the craft system, the repressive forces of capitalism will be led by this element. The working class interest, at present represented by the militant proletariat, and only by them, must expect to encounter opposition from this and every other element outside of its own immediate economic sphere—the manual workers in the industries.

### The Enemy Within

The proletariat must, as well, contend against influences operating within its own ranks and directed and controlled by these worker-managers, etc., and the division-breeding "labor" organizations that weaken labor. As it succeeds in this, it develops unity until, finally, it will be able to engage and defeat the combined forces of capitalism, which are only formidable by the strength drawn from the working class. The defection and treason of these capitalist controlled workers, however, do not offer an insuperable barrier. They are even unconscious, and for the most part, unwilling abetters of proletarian revolution, by having so arranged industry, for the capitalists, that it is most conveniently disposed for the workers to take over and operate in the interest of society. All that is necessary is to remove the character of capital from the machinery of production, by removing the capitalists as owners. This elimination of capitalist control depends only upon the organized consciousness of the working class. All the other factors necessary are already present. When such organization is effected, the regime of capitalist domination ends without the necessity of a moment's delay in industrial operation, or the slightest inconvenience to society.

Until that day is reached there will be nothing in common between employer and wage worker but war.

The morrow of that day will dawn upon an industry in which the relationship of strife will have ceased to exist; when those who operate industry will own industry, and production will not be hampered or embarrassed by antagonisms due to anti-social factors invested with power to disturb it.

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**FOOT NOTE:** The illusion engendered by a qualified and restricted personal freedom in the capitalist enslavement of the working class serves to veil the most disastrous of all the consequences resulting from it—unemployment, those periods during which many, and ever increasing numbers, of the workers find it impossible to secure jobs and are, therefore, cut off from the means of life. While the worker is free to quit his employment whenever he is not saisfied with the pay, hours and conditions, he is not free to remain working whenever the state of employment becomes unsatisfactory to him. His exercise of the right to quit prepares him for a denial of his right to work, without which he has no right to life.

**"There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among the millions of the working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life."—I. W. W. Preamble.**

(TO BE CONTINUED)

# A Page of Proletarian Verse

By LAURA TANE

## ECONOMICS

She does not wait
At night
For some lover
To count the stars
With her or watch
The jagged teeth
Of the sea
Catch a golden
Beach-garment.
She never saw
A pink orchard
With blossoms melting
Into fruit
Or felt a nightwind
Tossing her
Into the arms
Of a hungry forest.

No
In the motley drippings
Of a hot grease-world
She waits and waits
Upon the hungry crowd
And serves them
Ham and eggs and chops
And when they go
Her smile is measured
By tiny stars
And silver moons
Lying beneath
The sky-white plate.

I saw a shower
Of blossoms fall
From her orchard
Of smiles
When a corpulent beast
Finished his dinner
And left a patch of green
Beneath the sky-white plate.

## BOSS

He is a decaying pumpkin in a rosy field.
Of redwood is the elegant office
And round and yellow his senile head.
Prim and straight I sit taking dictation.
My hair lies in dark peaceful folds,
My fingernails cut in pink foreignness to grime.
"Yes, sir." "No, sir." inhabit my speech.
But yet I am one of the masses
A black vicious beetle
Which will someday inject
The black cancer of class war
Into the rosy field of the office
To suck and destroy the essence of decrepit pumpkins.

## SOLDIERS

Here they come!
Faces born out of the gutter
Muscles stained with the veins of proletarian kin
Aye, well-clad are they
In cloth made by breastless women
Seared by fires burning out of the eyes of hunger.
Why do the soldiers' hands hide
Beneath the gun-hilt, the shadow-creases of the march?
Are they afraid that in the sun
They may suddenly gleam with blood?
Here, soldier,
We offer you salvation!
The pure white towel of the revolution
To wipe your hands.

# Solidarity in the Argentine

By MARINO

**THIS is the story of the organization of the marine transport industry in the Argentine Republic, and it is to be hoped that American labor can profit from their experiences and be inspired by the splendid fighting ability and the audacious militancy of the men in these Argentine unions. But the lesson of solidarity is even greater than these other two, and in solidarity, and realization of its absolute necessity, and its greater importance than mere organization or paper differences, the Argentine marine transport unions lead the way.**

**Up until 1915 there was little unionism, though the Federacion Obrera Maritima (Federation of Marine Workers) had been formed in 1910.**

The last part of the year 1914 was almost the worst the union ever had; jobs were extremely scarce, as the ships were tied up to avoid capture at sea, and the union strength dwindled to not more than a few hundred seamen and a few others. Crews took turns working, and there were hard times in general.

However, about 1916 business began to pick up. The allies bought whatever ships they could, and there was a huge demand for crews. The union saw its opportunity, and recruited extensively.

Nor was this all. This sale of ships, even river boats, to the allied powers brought about a union of the captains, mates, and engineers with ratings under the Argentine law. These men did not join the Federacion Obrera Maritima (called usually the "F. O. M.") but they realized that a union they must have, as the allies were taking their jobs, by buying the ships out from under them and putting their own officers on board. Therefore they organized the Federacion de Oficiales de la Marina Mercante (Federation of Officers of the Merchant Marine) to include all deep water captains, mates, river captains, naval engineers in general, pilots, wireless operators, and pursers. The F. O. M., it might be noted, is a real industrial union, but includes the workers only, none of the higher bosses; it takes in deck crews, firemen, steward's department employees, barge and tow captains and engineers, all arranged in four sections.

### Then They Grew

Between these two unions, and illustrating the commonsense attitude of the marine transport workers of Argentina, a pact, or treaty, was made. Everybody agreed not to work in or on ships that had not a union crew from the captain on down, and both unions agreed not to work in ports that did not have organized labor.

The two organizations grew immediately, and formed sections up and down the Argentine coast, and up and down the great river system of the Platte and its tributaries. The more important local headquarters were in San Pedro, Campana, Rosario, Santa Fe, Bella Vista, Corientes, Concordia, Barranquera, Las Palmas, Posadas, Conception del Uruguay, and Bahia Blanca (outside of Buenos Aires, of course, which is the biggest city and the main headquarters of both unions).

From the very first the union maintained a strict solidarity with any other workers who were in conflict with the boss. They were at war with the whole capitalist world. Any foreign ship that came into port with any sort of labor trouble on board was boycotted. Among the ships so treated at one time or another was the Martha Washington, of the U. S. A. One of the officers had shot a member of the unorganized crew. When the longshoremen saw that the officer was not being punished, they declared a boycott, and held the Martha Washington at the dock for two solid months. All the authorities and especially the American minister tried to help her master and owners, but could not.

### Real Power

The unions were so powerful that if delegates went on board any ship, foreign or domestic, and were put off by the captain or any other officer, they used to serve a formal notice upon the captain of the ship, notifying him that he had been declared unfair to organized labor and that before he could load or discharge or get tug boat service, he would have to obtain a clearance from the F. O. M. hall. Captains who tried to work cargo with their crews, or who got scabs, did not find themselves hindered by pickets—the grip of the unions on the tug boats was so unbreakable that they let the offending captain go ahead and load, and then before he could get a tug to pull him away from the wharf, he had to go down to the union hall and turn over a sum equal to the full wages of longshoremen during the time his crew was working cargo.

It might be mentoined here that the F. O. M. and the officers' union made little or no attempt, however, actually to organize the crews of ships of non-Argentine registry, and took little interest in them except in time of labor disputes on board, until the M. T. W. of the I. W. W. appealed to them for aid, which was cheerfully granted.

In 1920 the unions were on strike for fourteen months against the biggest company of all, the Mihanovich line, an English shipping trust. About two months after winning this strike, they had to go out on general strike against all the companies to better their conditions and wages, and this struggle they won in less than ten days.

### Still Ready to Fight

After this strike was over, one of the ships was sent to load at the River Platte Flour Mills, where a boycott was still on, established by the F. O. M. The crew of course refused to go, and all the ship owners declared a general lockout. They tried to bribe the officers' union, with promises of better treatment, to break solidarity between the officers and the crews. The Federacion de Oficiales de la Marina Mercante did not take the bribe and the struggle went on fast and furious until the government had assumed the management of all the shipping, recognized the union, and gave it the right to boycott any cargo or ship they thought unfair. After a few months the ship owners agreed to give in and took back their property. During all this time, the ships were run by union men under the management of the government.

In 1921 the capitalist class of Argentina was in grave danger of complete overthrow. There was something like a revolution as a result of violence in the big metal workers' strike, and about half the police and part of the regular army joined the strikers. Many were killed in open warfare. The capitalist class, after a week of desultory battle in Buenos Aires, induced General Luiz Dillapiana to disregard President Irigoyen entirely and declare himself dictator, order all military forces to concentrate in the city, and smash the strike. These tactics were successful in wrecking most of the Argentine unions, but not the F. O. M. which never surrendered, though in the succeeding period of Fascist reaction it lost a great deal of its membership, most of its halls and places of meeting.

The Argentine Fascisti call themselves the "Patriotic League" and they did their best to kill all active and militant members of the unions and wreck organization in general. The F. O. M. branch in Concepcion del Uruguay was raided, the building burned down, and some of the members killed and some thrown in jail; same thing happened to the branch in Las Palmas, Chaco, where six union men got shot.

The union at once struck back with a boycott. This was peculiarly effective because Concepcion del Uruguay lies in the river island province of Entrerios, with communciation to the mainland by boat and ferry alone. When the F. O. M. stopped cargo shipments to the province of Entrerios, the capitalists shifted to the railroad for service. Then the unions sent their delegates into the yards at the loading ends of the ferries, and refused to carry on the ferry any cars marked for the boycotted town. One day one of the most prominent Fascisti came along on a passenger train, and was recognized by the delegates. The train was not permitted on the ferry until this fellow got off.

### A Real Issue

This policy of boycotting even passengers was more than the government could stand, and they tried all sorts of schemes to smash the F. O. M. The ferries were taken over by the state, and naval officers put in charge of them, with naval crews under them. Then the railroad unions refused to move cars up to the ferry terminals. Finally the government had to compromise with both unions.

However, in spite of its gallant and effective resistance, the union was so badly weakened by Fas-

cisti tactics that it had to reduce its militancy, and l not engage in any serious struggle until the new d-age pension law was passed. This law provided for retirement of all workers after a certain period, and a payment to them of pensions to be taken out of a fund created partly by taxes on the employers and partly by a five per cent tax on wages.

**They Saw Through It**

The workers protested against this scheme to exploit them doubly in the name of a pension, and went on general strike. This strike lasted until the government announced that the law would be suspended for a few months until some corrections could be made in it.

That strike gave the ship owners a chance that they had been looking for during many years. The officers on the ships were in favor of the law. The crews were not. The ship owners played upon the difference of opinion between the federations and got them to fight one another so that both could be smashed.

The officers were in favor of the law because they had a good pension to retire under, and could easily spare the five per cent from their wages, which was demanded by the law. On the other hand, the seamen were not easily able to spare from their wages any sum, even five percent, and would have, on retirement, a very small pension.

The entire officers' federation, on the eve of the general strike against the law, met, and notified the ship owners that they would stand by the law, and would take out any ships for which crews were provided. Some of the captains and mates actually sailed with scab crews, but the rest realized their mistake, and held a second meeting, at which it was decided to maintain solidarity with the seamen, and the ship owners were again notified, this time that only ships on which full union crews were employed would be taken out. About this time the strike was ended by the government's decision to reconsider for a few months.

However, less than a month after the ending of this strike, the deep water captains and mates branch of this officers' union broke away from the rest, and notified the employers that they would take out any ships, if their rights to select their own crews were guaranteed.

This decision provoked a conflict which still rages, with, lately, the workers getting the best of it. A strike started immediately, with boycott of all the ships and lines to which they belonged, if they still employed captains who scabbed, or were working in violation of their pact of solidarity with the F. O. M.

**Lots of Reserve Strength**

For about a month the F. O. M. considered itself strong enough to boycott and paralyze any ship it wished and declared unfair only ships trading with the southern part of the country (Patagonia) and all the ships under the Argentine flag of the Hamburg American line, and all the German ships.

The strike was going along all right; the ship owners were trying to get beach combers to take out the ships, and were not getting any tugboats to bring in any of the ships in conflict. German ships with passengers on board were kept for days at anchor outside of the river because of no tugboats to go out and get them in. The government for a while used navy tugboats to help the companies.

Then the government got very hostile and started to call in the tugboat captains and engineers and threaten them with loss of tickets. Some were arrested. A military cordon was established all around the water front. The life and liberty of those employed on the ships was unsafe. This decided the F. O. M. to declare a general strike as a protest against the partiality of the government. From twelve to fifteen thousand men are on strike, a strike of all marine transport workers against all employers.

The ferries are paralyzed, and the railroads badly affected. Mail and cargo with river ports are held up, if there is no rail connection. The strike committee of both federations decided to disregard absolutely any call from the office of the captain of the port or the minister of marine as a punishment for their brutality. The president of the republic has called the strike committees to settle the strike and has given orders in the meantime to take over the main lines affected and manage them under the direct control of the government. The strike committee has asked for the resignations of the minister of marine, of the captain general of all the ports, and of the port captain of Buenos Aires. This must be done before they will call off the general strike, and maintain only a partial strike against the ships which are manned by scabs.

**The Government Beaten**

The very latest account, which arrives as this is written, is to the effect that the government has declared that hereafter it will preserve neutrality, and has begged the unions to go back to the partial strike. They have so far rfeused to do so, partially no doubt because the offending minister and other officials have not yet been cashiered, and partially because the strike is " getting the goods." The companies are being terribly damaged, the port is absolutely blockaded, from the inside, and the strikers stand as solid as one man.

If we consider that only twelve to fifteen thousand workers, organized industrially, are able thus to cripple all the industries of the country, and make the government compromise with them, how would it be if an industrial country like the United States had its industrial workers organized 100 per cent?

# NEMESIS

By ADAM [illegible]

THE newspaper story that Annie Blythe died by her own hand to escape arrest and punishment as a "Red" received slight credence in the ranks of the I. W. W. Known as the fiance of Jim Burton, a confessed spy and gunman, they regarded her as a creature of similar character.

If she really was dead, it was probably due to a love quarrel. Most likely the story was a bit of camouflage to conceal her departure for new fields in which to ply the trade of agent-provocateur and stoolpigeon.

George Radcliffe, of course, knew that Annie, disguised as Billy La Mar, had fought the good fight and made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of Labor and the I. W. W., but she had pledged him to silence and his almost fanatical respect for her slightest wish sealed his lips.

George's mind was badly clouded. He never had been able to distinguish between right and wrong, as taught and practiced by those around him. His adherence to the I. W. W., although sincere and whole-hearted, was purely instinctive. He knew nothing of revolutionary principles, and less than nothing of the ethics of modern industrial warfare. Just why working men should be beaten and maimed and killed and never retaliate in kind was beyond his comprehension. About all he did know, clearly, was that he had loved and honored Annie above all else in life, and that she was gone, and that a certain human fiend known as Jim Burton was to be held responsible.

George was a timid soul. Thoughts of courts and jails filled him with dismay. He had not engaged in physical combat since childhood. Nevertheles, there rapidly formed in his darkened brain a fixed determination to avenge Annie. He would hunt out Jim Burton and exact a life for a life—only, all the lives of all the gunmen in the world would not, in his opinion, balance the score.

Quite deliberately, he began training for his Nemesian role. To accustom himself to hard knocks and contact with brutes, he undertook the sale of Wobbly papers in a proscribed part of town and was beautifully clubbed by a policeman and thrown in jail. Next day he experienced what was to him the novelty of a police court trial.

After that, for quite a while, he "made the can" about every third night. He could seldom see out of more than one eye at a time, and strips of court plaster, criss-crossed on face and neck and scalp, became a regular habit. He screamed and howled at every fresh encounter, but he learned the game, and he learned to fight. The police got to calling him "The Weeping Wildcat."

What was more to his purpose, he bought a long-barreled, thirty-eight caliber revolver and several boxes of cartridges. On days when he could see pretty well, he would hop on an interurban car, get off at a quiet place in the woods and practice shooting. In time he became an expert.

* * * *

His whereabouts becoming known through the published account of Annie's death, Jim Burton was arrested, taken back to Lumberton and given the choice of standing trial for obtaining money by false pretense or resuming the duties of Commercial Club deputy. Naturally, he chose the latter course.

But it was not the happy, unrestrained orgy of former days. All good citizens seemed to be rallying to the support of the I. W. W., and the deputies had to proceed with caution. Great mass meetings were being held, in which preachers and other influential citizens boldly voiced their indignation, and they dared not break a single head. Jim found but little use for his famous club, and welcomed the opportunity, which soon arrived, to exchange it for a high-power rifle.

Handbills were widely circulated announcing that on the afternoon of a certain Sunday the I.W.W. would hold an open-air meeting on one of the principal corners in Lumberton. And stoolpigeons informed the Commercial Club that Wobblies in the Big Town had chartered a steamboat and would attend, three hundred strong. Not daring to openly oppose the popular will, but determined at any cost to prevent the landing of the Wobbly crusaders, the Commercial Club worked under cover of darkness.

At an early hour, while law-abiding citizens took their Sunday morning nap, five hundred deputies, armed with repeating rifles, shotguns and heavy revolvers, assembled in the Commercial Club building and breakfasted there behind drawn window-shades and locked doors. At one o'clock in the afternoon, when a telephone message warned them of the approach of the Wobbly boat, they broke cover and marched rapidly, by way of a deserted side street, to the dock where it would land.

Arrived at the dock, most of the deputies concealed themselves in the passenger waiting-room, office, and freight sheds. Sacks of potatoes, bales of hay, etc., were piled against the walls to serve as breastworks. Boards were pried off to make loop-holes or openings through which to fire. To repel assault from angry citizens, should such a contingency arise, a strong party was massed behind a baricade of trucks and automobiles thrown across the land end of the dock. Also, a goodly number of expert riflemen were posted on another dock about a hundred yards to the south, from which an effective cross-fire could be delivered.

The trap was set. The spider awaited the fly.

* * * *

At I. W. W. headquarters in The Big Town it was decided that no weapon of any kind would be permitted on the boat, and a squad of expert "friskers" was stationed at the gang-plank to search each passenger before he went aboard. George Radcliffe was the only person who succeeded in evading this guard, and it is doubtful if any other really wished to evade it. In any event, there were no other weapons on the boat, and none were discovered by the "frisking party."

Stacking together a number of Wobbly papers, George, with a sharp chisel, morticed a hole through the center of the stack large enough to contain his revolver and a box of cartridges. Placing several uncut papers on top and bottom, he formed a receptacle similar in principle to those perforated

**THE AUTHOR SAYS:**

**"The enclosed MSS, "Nemesis," is written as a sort of sequel or follow-up for "Annie." Any person familiar with the episode of the Verona at Everett, Washington, will at once understand what it is all about. In fact, much of the matter is "lifted" verbatim from Walker Smith's "The Everett Massacre." AND NONE OF IT IS EXAGGERATED BEYOND SWORN TESTIMONY GIVEN AT THE TRIAL, except the number killed.**

**As November 5th is the anniversary of that terrible scene, I venture to think that "Nemesis" will be quite appropriate for the November Pioneer.**

THE I. W. W. STEAMER RETURNS TO THE BIG TOWN
(An Actual Photograph Of The Verona)

WOUNDED MEMBERS OF THE I. W. W. —AFTER THE BATTLE
(An Actual Photograph On Board The Verona)

cards sometimes used to transport coin through the mails. Outwardly, it appeared to be an ordinary bundle of literature and aroused no suspicion.

It was a gay and festive crowd that swarmed aboard the Wobbly boat. Laughter and jest were on the lips of men, and songs of the One Big Union rang out across the sparkling waters and echoed from the green-clad hills.

Laughter and jest and song were all around him but George Radcliffe did not participate. Big with his grim purpose, sensing instinctively that this day was the end of the world for him, he sat on the upper deck, near the smokestack, solemn visaged and silent.

As the boat swung up to the dock, the men began to sing "Hold the fort, for we are coming." From a hillside overlooking the scene, thousands of Lumberton citizens welcomed them with cheer after cheer. Momentarilly aroused by this fraternal demonstration, George climbed the few steps to the top of the pilot-house and waved a greeting to those on shore.

After the bowline had been made fast and the wharfinger had retired, the sheriff stepped out onto the open dock, alone. Hitching his holster around in front and grasping his revolver butt, ready for instant action, he held up his left hand and called to the men on board: "Who is your leader?"

Immediately and in unison, from practically every passenger, came the reply: "We're all leaders."

"Well, you can't land here!" shricked the sheriff, as he drew his gun and waved it about.

"The hell we can't." shouted the men, as they surged toward the partly unshipped gang-plank.

From his elevated position, George espied, peering from the door behind the sheriff, the booze-soddened face of Jim Burton. Recognition was mutual and instantaneous, and each must have read his doom in the face of the other, for there was a sharp report and a spurt of flame from the doorway and George crumpled down and tumbled to the deck from whence he had climbed.

Quickly, as though the first shot had been a signal, and with a sound of countless fire-crackers exploding in a barrel, there leaped through the improvised loop-holes a sheet of flame, and a storm of bullets swept the decks and drummed and crashed against and through the sides of the boat.

Literally mowed down, men fell in great heaps. Wildly seeking cover, those not too badly hurt or tangled to move surged to the starboard side, causing the boat to list to such a degree that nothing but the taut bowline saved it from capsizing.

The press of men against the starboard rail was so great that it gave way and scores slipped from the up-tilted deck. There, struggling frantically in water churned to a foam by bullets from guns on the shore-end of the dock and on the dock to the south, they sank from sight, one by one, to be dragged by the undertow far out to an undiscoverable grave.

For ten long and awful minutes the rattling, deadly hail—augmented now and again by bursts from repeating shotguns in the hands of scab-herding volunteers—poured into that writhing, screaming mass of humanity.

When a bullet zipped past his head, and another tore a spoke from the steering wheel beneath his hand, the captain deserted his post to baricade himself behind the safe and remain there until the slaughter was ended.

One lad who had climbed part way up the flag-pole to greet his supposed friends on shore crashed lifeless to the deck, his bullet-torn body acting as a shield for other who lay prostrate there.

One fellow worker seized the rail preparatory to jumping overboard, but seeing the men being shot while in the water he drew back. While doing this, a bullet pierced his hip, another went through his spine, and a third tore away his kneecap.

One slipped over the starboard side in an effort to gain the lower deck, and a bullet fired from the south dock ranged through his back from left to right just as a friend, also wounded, pulled him in through a hole torn in the canvas windshield.

A rebel girl was shot through the heart, and as she fell to the deck another bullet shattered the woodwork and drove a sliver clear through the skull of the infant at her breast.

But few of the men were able to extricate themselves from the position into which they were thrown when the boat listed. Near the top of one heap lay a young Jewish college graduate, and as he struggled to regain his footing a bullet tore off the whole back part of his head, his blood and brains splashing down on those who lay beneath.

One boy in a brown mackinaw did struggle free, and with blood spurting from a dozen wounds and a scream of agony on his lips, leaped over the side and sank forever beneath the leaden deluge poured from the south dock, his watery grave briefly marked by a few scarlet ripples.

"Hold me up, fellow workers." called one lad as he was fatally stricken, "I want to finish the song." Then, above the din of gunfire, the curses of the deputies and the screams of the wounded, the final verse of "Hold the Fort" rang out in defiance of industrial tyranny; and with the termination of the words "Cheer, my comrades, cheer!" the bright red death-foam flecked the lips of the brave singer, from now on forever silent.

So great was the slaughter that, in addition to the untold number carried out by the undertow and the great mass of tangled bodies carried back to The Big Town on the blood-soaked decks and the fifty or more buried at sea from a launch at night, more than twenty bodies were found next morning washed up on the beach.

The bullet fired by Jim Burton shattered George's left thigh. The wound pained terribly and bled profusely but he did not at once lose

THE I. W. W. DEAD
(An Actual Photograph Of Those Killed In The Everett Massacre)

conseiousness. Dragging himself to his bundle of papers by the smokestaek, he tore it open and seized his preeious revolver and box of cartridges. Reaining the top of the pilot-house, after what seemed to him an hour of torturesome struggle, he sprawled upon its flat roof and began to demonstrate in grim earnest the wonderful skill aequired through long hours of pistol praetiee. He did not fire rapidly nor at random; at the end of the terrible ten minutes he had not yet fired a dozen shots; but it is mighty satisfying to be able to report that every shot scored a hit.

Bullet after bullet tore its way through his flesh, but he took no heed. The one thing that worried him was that he eould not again catch sight of Jim Burton. Several times he sat bolt upright in hopes that the increased field of vision might include a glimpse of his enemy.

At last there came a time when he could no longer pull the trigger. His whole hand and arm seemed paralysed. His fingers relaxed and the revolver fell at the feet of young Jack Craig.

Picking up the gun, Jaek made his way to the engine room and compelled the engineer, on pain of instant death, to back the boat away from the dock. With no pilot at the wheel, the propeller churned madly backward for a moment, the bowline snapped, and the boat drifted free.

It seemed to George that he was slipping backward into a dark pit. With his last flicker of nervous energy he spasmodically grasped the edge of the pilot-house and drew himself forward. At that moment the bowline parted and the sudden jerk threw him outboard. Striking a pile of bodies jammed between the pilot-house and the port rail of the upper deck, he slid to the edge and dropped over the side.

* * * *

Down—down—down. There was a roaring in his ears and lights flashed before his eyes. Pains as from a thousand red-hot knives stabbed his lungs:

—A girl was singing; a little girl, about ten years old, with two long braids of golden hair hanging down her back. He thought it was Jessie, his sister, but when she turned he saw it was Annie—Annie Blythe.

—They sat on a log by the side of the road and talked. She asked him about Jim Burton. "Why, yes," said George, "I aimed to fetch him along, but the bells commenced ringing and I had to hurry. I'll go get him this minute. I'll—"

* * * *

Strong hands grasped his collar and wrist and dragged him far up on the beaeh under the doek. They were not friendly hands, for they covered him with a pile of boards and rubbish and went away.

About seven p. m. a launeh stuttered up under the dock and they put him aboard. The boat was crammed with dead and wounded men, and the crew consisted of five Commereial Club deputies.

When a eouple of miles off shore, the launeh stopped and the deputies began to unload. One by one, the victims were dragged out. Heavy weights were wired to their ankles and they were thrown overboard.

George was eonseious, and could hear and understand what was taking plaee. Eventually it came to his turn. He lay in an awkward position and it was necessary for a deputy to lift him clear of the low rail. He opened his eyes and saw that the deputy who held him was Jim Burton.

Quiek as a flash, his arms went about Jim's neek and tightened there in a hug that could never relax. There was a tumble and a splash. Just before the waters elosed above them, those in the boat heard a voice exelaim: **"Annie girl, I've got him this time! Damn his soul!"**

# EDITORIALS

*By The Editor*

## FATEFUL NOVEMBER

NOVEMBER is a month that brings a thrill to every member of the I. W. W. It was on November 19, 1915, that the gunmen of the metal mining pirates of the state of Utah shot Joe Hill to death. They were prison guards that did the shooting, but the guards and the prison itself, and all the other agencies of capitalism in Utah are owned by the mining magnates, so on them the guilt lies closest and heaviest.

It was on November 5, 1916, that the Verona and the Calista set out on their voyage from Seattle to the bullet spouting wharf at Everett, the place of of death for many workers, and some vigilantes.

It was on November 11, 1919, that the American Legion mob attacked the I. W. W. hall in Centralia, and was met by the heroic resistance of Wesley Everest, and perhaps of others. They killed Wesley Everest, but they lost some men killed themselves, and illegal raids by private and unauthorized parties on I. W. W. halls became unpopular immediately, and continued so until they were revived in San Pedro

The I. W. W. remembers these bloody days of November, and considers them glorious. In this issue of the Industrial Pioneer, the I. W. W. honors Joe Hill, and his immortal farewell words, "Don't mourn, organize!" The I. W. W. honors the heroes of Everett—trapped and outnumbered, they gave a good account of themselves.

The I. W. W. will never forget brave Wesley Everest, fighting for moral and industrial and legal rights, refusing tamely to submit to the smashing of his union hall, and defending himself and others, when the sworn officers of the law admitted his right to defense, but refused to defend him.

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## NO REFINEMENT FOR ROBOTS

THE school system is supposed to be the bulwark of the republic, and, up to now, it has been certainly a bulwark to capitalism. The little children marched the goose step and swallowed the pills of prejudice and patriotism without any objection from them or their parents. And in general, capitalism considered money spent on "education" to be well spent, and in the interests of public order, their order.

Something is happening now, though just why is not so clear. The capitalist class is sabotaging education. We have before us a statement by the teachers' unions of Chicago, which is a protest against the proposal of the Czaristic superintendent of schools here to fire about a thousand teachers, cut down the hours slightly, use a two-shift-a-day system, use the "platoon" or factory system of instruction, and abolish a part of the medical inspection of children.

The excuse given for all of this curtailment in effective education is "poverty," "no money in the school fund." The teachers counter this by figures to prove that forty billion dollars' worth of property in Chicago escapes taxation altogether, while only four bilion dollars' worth of property is taxed.

Well, that is another problem. What we are interested in is: why is it that these capitalists do not raise the money? If they felt it necessary to maintain schools, they could raise the cash some other way than by taxation. Or they would submit to an infinitesimal tax on the forty billion dollars' worth now escaping taxation.

Does this phenomenon mean that the capitalist class, in its second or third generation, is so degenerate that it can no longer act in its own interest? Or does it mean that capitalism has decided that there is danger in even such slight education as it has been affording the children of the proletariat, and that it has decided to cut down on that?

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## NINE MILLION WOMEN

THERE are nine million women workers in American industries, if we consider as industry such things as the schools, and office work for mercantile establishments. But a comparatively small number of these millions work at relatively pleasant work of this sort. The problem of work for women is the problem of the girl clerk in the department store, the one who toils all day in the steam laden air of the laundry, of the widow who goes out at night, to feed her small children by scrubbing the marble floors of rich men's offices.

And most of all it is the problem of labelers, inspectors, and machine feeders, doing routine work for long hours a day in factories.

By the 1920 census, 1,060,858 boys and girls between ten and fifteen years of age are tabulated as "child laborers" employed in factories, mines, quarries, agricultural work, and trade, in the United States.

Rents in American homes have increased on an average 85 per cent in the last ten years, according to the National Industrial Conference Board, an employers' organization. The report shows that in spite of decreases in some items of the family budget the rent bill has continued to increase. In the 12 months ended March 15, 1924, rents showed an average advance of 9 per cent.

Invariably women's wages are lower than men's wages, and continually tend to drag down men's wages. Invariably the woman worker is unorganized. These two things are cause and effect. Organize the woman worker in industry, and her condition will be as good as any man's Organize both men and women, and take the industry.

# EDITORIALS

*By Pioneer Readers*

## RIGHTS WE HAVE NOT

By R. HEATH

IN **C-a-l-i-f-o-r-n-i-a,** the land of **earthquakes, fleas, hoof-and-mouth disease, jails and degeneracy,** it is a crime, punishable by a prison term of one to fourteen years, for workers to try to improve their conditions and enjoy the rights guaranteed by the **United States Constitution.** The California state criminal syndicalism law and the famous Busick injunction are in direct violation of the following clauses of the **United States Constitution:**

**Article Number One:**

Religious Establishment Prohibited; freedom of Speech, of the Press, and of Petition:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

**Article Number Four:**

Right of Search and Seizure Regulated:

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but on probable cause, supported by oath affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

**Article Number Seven:**

Right of Trial by Jury!

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall excede twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court in the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

**Article Number Eight:**

Excessive Bail or Fines and Cruel Punishments

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

* * *

You will notice that the Constitution guarantees the citizens of the United States the right of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblages.

We of the I.W.W. are deprived of these rights by the criminal syndicalism law. Membership in the I.W.W. is even in violation of this unconstitutional law. They arrest our news agents for selling our papers and other publications, which are all **second class mail matter,** and therefore have equal rights to be sold wherever any of the daily capitalist papers are sold, according to the Constitution. They raid our halls, where we are peaceably assembled, when we are holding peaceable entertainments, and take our members out and beat them up, tar and feather them, jail them, and scald little innocent children with redhot grease. They raid private homes and search and seize our members without warrants, thus making them insecure in their persons and houses.

Now they arrest our members and charge them with the violation of the Busick injunction, which subjects us to six months in jail, without trial. Last but not least, they arrest our members and impose excessive fines upon them, and set the bail at an unreasonable sum, and inflict cruel and unusual punishments upon them.

Now doesn't that prove, and show you just where and how the state of California breaks, and violates each of the four clauses of the United States Constitution heretofore mentioned? I think that it does. All who believe in freedom, liberty and justice, **boycott products** raised, produced or manufactured in the state of **California,** until such time as they are willing to grant us the privileges guaranteed by the **United States Constitution.**

Join the IWW and fight for the freedom of your class—The Working Class.

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## FEAR VERSUS ORGANIZATION

"FEAR," says an editorial writer in a recent issue of a San Francisco newspaper, "rules the world. Tyrants ruled by rear and religions represent 99 per cent fear and 1 per cent hope."

All of which is true. Indeed, so apparent is the control of mankind through fear that we need but to watch our every day actions and note how fear of something will decide our every move, except, —and herein lies the secret of the advance of the human race—where education has overcome the monster fear, for the two are indeed bitter enemies.

The advance of the working class from chattel slavery to the present day wage slavery has been a series of conquests over fear through education. In fact, the workers have a twofold struggle in combating fear, for they must not only conquer their own fear, which is based upon the ignorance of their own strength, but they must combat a master class whose rule depends upon the ignorance of the slave. The fear of the workers becoming educated will drive this master class to the most desperate acts of cruelty that they can conceive to prevent the workers becoming educated to their own power.

History abounds with illustrations of the above. The Romans crucified over 1100 slaves after the Spartacan revolution, and left these slaves nailed to the crosses alongside the road (the Appian Way) to put fear into the remaining slaves. This terrible deed was really caused by the fear of some future slave rebellion. All through history, tyrants

(Continued on Page 33)

# "To Broncho Buster Flynn"

## THE LAST THING JOE HILL EVER WROTE

TUNE: "YANKEE DOODLE"

With a kind greeting, From Joe Hill

I.

I got your picture, Buster dear,
A-riding on a pony,
Your pony is a real one too—
You wouldn't have a 'phoney'.

CHORUS:

Buster Flynn he sure is game,
His eyes are full of luster,
I think we'd better change his name,
And call him—"Bronco Buster."

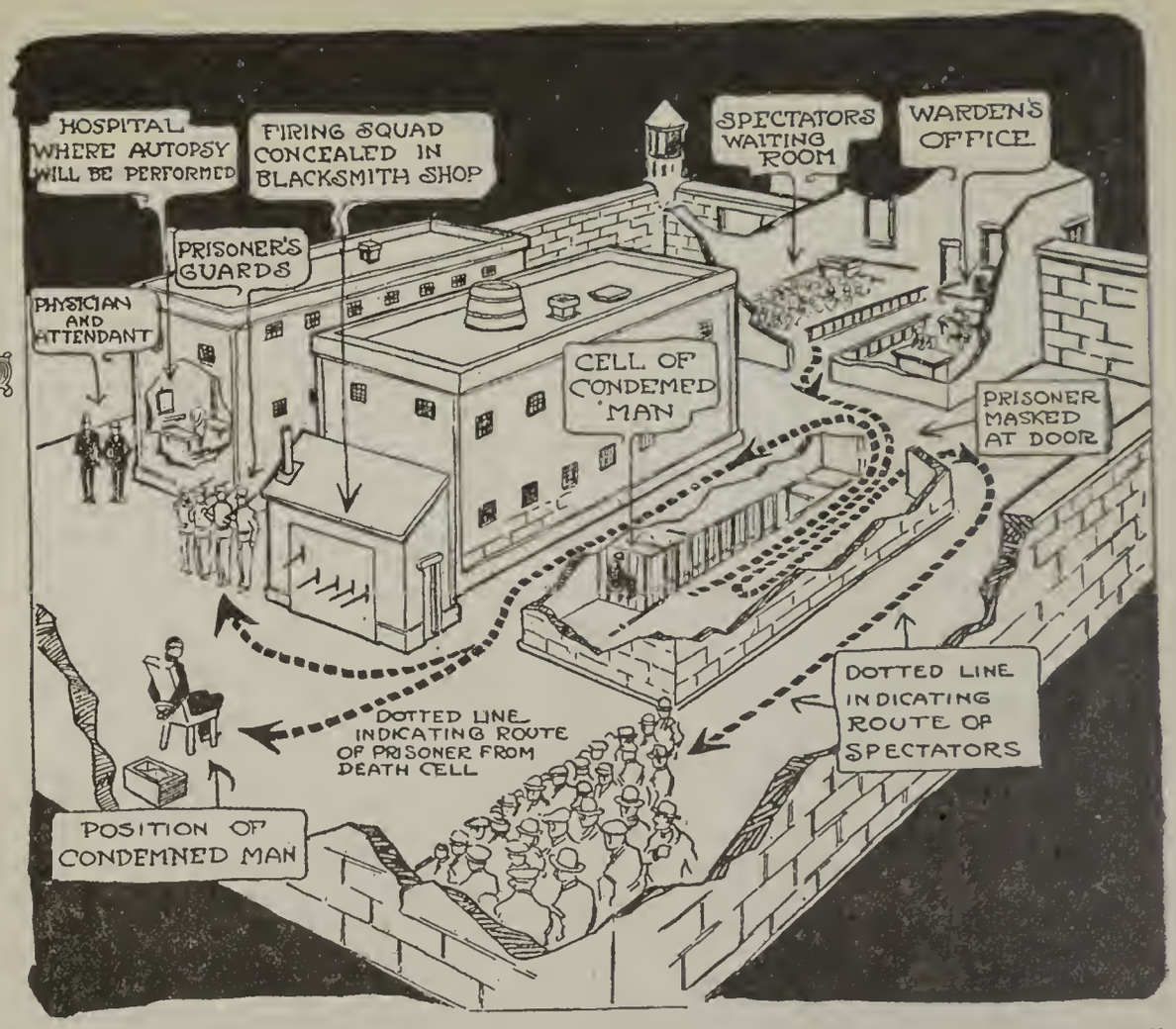
II.

When you grow up to be a man
Be always "rough and ready,"
But never brag about it, though,
Like windy "Bull-Moose Teddy."

III.

And by and by you'll ride out west,
Like cowboys that you've read of;
But don't fall off your pony, dear,
And break your little head off.

**"FELLOW WORKER:—In answer to your inquiry, "Buster" Flynn was about seven years old when Joe Hill died. One day, coming from the park in New York, there was a man with a pony, and he put Buster on the pony's back and took his picture. Buster sent the picture to Joe Hill, and it was one of the last of his treasures. Joe wrote the little song and sent it to Buster a few days before he was shot. With it was a sketch of a typical Western scene with a cowboy on a broncho.—T. FLYNN."**


HOSPITAL WHERE AUTOPSY WILL BE PERFORMED
FIRING SQUAD CONCEALED IN BLACKSMITH SHOP
SPECTATORS WAITING ROOM
WARDEN'S OFFICE
PRISONER'S GUARDS
PHYSICIAN AND ATTENDANT
CELL OF CONDEMED MAN
PRISONER MASKED AT DOOR
DOTTED LINE INDICATING ROUTE OF PRISONER FROM DEATH CELL
DOTTED LINE INDICATING ROUTE OF SPECTATORS
POSITION OF CONDEMNED MAN

THE SHOOTING OF JOE HILL
(From A Picture Published In The Capitalist Press The Day Before The Execution)

# Joe Hill

By
Ralph Chaplin

High head and back unbending—rebel "true blue",
Into the night unending; why was it you?
Heart that was quick with song, torn with their lead;
Life that was young and strong, shattered and dead.
Singer of manly songs, laughter and tears;
Singer of Labor's wrongs, joys, hopes and fears.
Though you were one of us, what could we do?
Joe, there were none of us needed like you.
We gave, however small, what life could give;
We would have given all that you might live.
Your death you held as naught, slander and shame;
We from the awful thought shrank as from flame.
Each of us held his breath, tense with despair;
You who were close to Death seemed not to care.
White-handed loathsome Power, knowing no pause,
Sinking in Labor's flower murderous claws.
Boastful, with leering eyes—blood-dripping jaws . . .
Accurst be the cowardice hidden in laws!
Utah has drained your blood; white hands are wet;
We of the "surging flood" NEVER FORGET!
Our songster! have your laws now had their fill?
Know ye, his songs and Cause ye cannot kill.
High head and back unbending—such men are few,
Into the night unending; why was it you?

# Sammy

By MARY HOPE

SAMMY was one of ten black brothers living on the other side of a wide green hill. On one side was Sammy's house, crouching like a frightened animal waiting for the lash, and on the other side were many houses, as white as their owners, with frail nasturtiums in the windows and curtains like frosted ice. These people were not rich but most of them had automobiles and a few had girl servants coming in for a day or two weekly, and there were always music and laughing people around the house. Sammy had one picture of all of them—golden-haired ladies with beautiful long hands to play the piano, whose voices when they spoke to their children were like kisses.

Sammy was sixteen and he had several younger brothers and two older. His mother was dead but his father was an industrious chief of his little tribe and kept his children lean and black in the sun of their labor. Sammy had always worked in the cranberry fields. During the strawberry and blueberry season he was engaged in filling boxes to deliver to the nice white houses over the hill.

In the summer of our story, Sammy was working mornings in the blueberry patch; in the afternoon he was delivering neat boxes of berries to the hill-people. This was not such a dull job as it might seem for Sammy had a voice that was a dark gem beautifully constructed to fit into the hollow spread of cranberry bog and blueberry patch. He sang as many songs as he filled boxes and his voice was quite as luscious as the berries, low-toned, a young quiver in it, leaving the air vibrant with rich echoes.

On this day the noon sun spelled the finish to Sammy's labor, and after eating his lunch he prepared boxes of berries for their journey over the hill. He sang on the road, kicking the dust before him, his toes black fishes in the ripple of the yellow sand. When he reached the other side of the hill, he surveyed the spread of fine houses with their flower gardens and flocks of blonde children playing in the sun, and it seemed to him as if the trees bristled their branches in anger as did the moustaches of their owners, when they saw this cheery, broad-shouldered colored boy coming down the hill to remind them that their nearest hill neighbor was a black one, possessive of land and inclined to arrogant pretensions, behaving slightly in the manner of human beings. It was not fresh knowledge to Sammy that his family was a sore spot for the hill-people. Part of it had been analyzed by his father, who had been approached by a real estate company and offered a price for his land. He refused. This was really the main substance of their prejudice, for Sammy's house was built on rich soil and the neighborhood was exclusive, rendering the land a value easily utilized . . . if only there were no black warts on their fine blonde visages. But there are instruments to remove such blemishes. . . .

At house after house Sammy left boxes of berries. He reached the end of a street and placed the berries on the cleanswept back piazza. He was leaving but a voice stopped him.

"I know your name: Sammy."

She was a tiny morsel of goldenness, golden skin, eyes like melted stars and hair made out of a cap of buttercups. She was tall to the reach of Sammy's hips, and her voice made Sammy think that inside the pink sea shells he had found on the beach were such lovely elves as this creature.

Sammy gave her one of his smiles, a flash of lightning in a dark sky, discovered her name was Louise and turned to go. It was part of a culture ingrained in Sammy for many years, not to look too much nor speak too much to these snowy creatures who inhabited the clean-shaven lawn of the white people. She ran to the edge of the lawn, kissed her hand to him and ran up the opposite road.

Sammy had read a beautiful story and seen a beautiful picture in the image of this charming little girl. He wondered how long it would take for her to understand her innate superiority to him and how quickly the flying kiss would become the silent curse, a contempt measured by a cold apathy—unless he passed beyond the barrier and ah! what ugly whips her pale clean hands could hold, those strong whips of father and brother, the prison, the gallows, the burning stake. Across the swamps had come stories rich with the blood of Sammy's people, but because he was young he believed the murdered niggers had been thieves and criminals and it was kinder to himself to believe so. But the time was coming when he would learn a lesson wrought out of his own dark skin and blood.

Back across the hill went Sammy in time for the perpetual supper of pork rind, bread, milk and berries. In the doorway, the cow droused, flies thick on her belly, and on the rough, splintered floor of the shack were stray nests of hens and geese. There were no curtains in the windows, a rough bed was slung across the kitchen floor, eggshells scattered in the dust, cobwebs formed a misty ladder to the ceiling. But the room was thick wth the ruddy evening light, and in the corners were silver and brown cat-in-nine tails gathered from the swamp. For all their crude hunger, the grime and sweat of their ten black faces, their volubility of coarse phrases, the brothers of Sammy looked happy and their eyes were heavy with peace. Sometimes in the evening, an ambition infested them and they washed dishes. But the backyard garden was a constant urge to plant, weed or harrow and this evening also commanded the boys to trail into the garden.

Later on, the pale red mists of the cranberry bogs darkened, a few stars came out. Most of the boys were smoking and Sammy was lying in the grass, face upturned to the stars. It was a quiet

night to sleep in the open with a comradely wind; soon the brothers would be lying by Sammy's side, a sparse blanket shared by couples.

The evening drowsed on in the absolute silence. But down the yellow sand road, a clatter of noise sounded, the buzz of an automobile. Tourist, perhaps; the sleepers did not stir. But a voice cut into their sleep like a knife.

"Git up, you niggers, and tell us something you know."

They stood in a little circle facing the moonlight and it was clear that there were five or six men with a couple of young boys by their side. One of them wore a black suit and his mouth was shaded by a dark moustache; to Sammy, he looked like the deacon. The others were clean-shaven with hats slouched over their eyes. They were not dressed like hill-people. And in back of one of them, dangled a rope.

"Where's Sam?"

Sammy threw off his blanket and wiped the sweat from his face. He strolled over to them with heat mounting in strong waves. But outwardly he was calm. A mistake somewhere. . . .

They came nearer and instinctivcly Sammy moved backward. One of them pointed with a finger, "Where's the Raynor baby? Where's Louise? What you done with that kid, you damn nigger."

Sammy could not bring words out of his throat but his whole body was a passionate protest. The cords on his neck wound like little black snakes and the moonlight shivered across his naked breast.

"I doan know. I doan know what you-all talking about . . . ," he muttered, the words twisting in incoherency. He gave a swift glance into the dark path to the woods and one of the men walked back of him. There was a flashing of grins at this move.

"These kids saw her going down the road with you this afternoon."

He was swift in his pleading now.

"No, no, sir. You-all doan mean me. I doan know that kid. I ain't been thar."

"Been where?" The shadow of the tallest of them moved toward him blackly. "Where you been, nigger?"

Sammy moved backward, a tendency to crouch and run seized him. But they were close to him now, twisting his wrist and a rope lashed the calves of his legs.

The edge of the woods formed innumerable black pine doors; above it the path of the horizon was shot red with arrows sailing into the darkening blue.

They moved towards the woods, the writhing body of young Sammy between them. The sight of the blueblackness of the forest, the sound of curses and the heavy breathing about him, the sob-rent voices of his brothers breaking into the echo-haven of the bogs, stunned Sammy; he fell over stumps of trees and he was wet with hot sweat, heavy with the burden of his throbbing heart. . . . Poor, innocent Sammy, the lesson of the white man was being wrought out of his bleeding bones, his accursed dark flesh and only the soft-blowing wind and the moans of his people mingled kindly with his mute horror.

But they did not go into the pine forest. In the open field leading to the woods, stood a tree ,widespread with branches, barren of leaves, twisted into a million gnarled growths. Over this a rope sailed. An old story in Negro communities occurred, a story so common that it is scarcely more to them than a white plague touching one of them or a bleak wind uprooting part of their stolid vegetation . . . .

Time has grown since the telling of this story and the people on the other side of the hill are no longer burdened with the shame of black neighbors. A real estate agent bought the land from Sammy's father, who submitted gladly to their price.

They built white houses on the drained patch of bog and the rooted blueberry bushes; on the vegetable patch grow bright flowers. Sammy's father moved away. There was no longer a livelihood for him in this lonely territory of whites; the people locked their doors at his appearance and children pointed their fingers at him and ran away.

Only one thing tells the newcomers the story of their hill as they sit on their porch on the summer evenings. Their white starched babies gurgle under a tree, one of whose branches is bent by the strength of a young Negro's neck.

And little Louise, golden elf, returned to her house the day after the hanging. She had been visiting her grandmother.

## FEAR VERSUS ORGANIZATION

(Continued from Page 29)

have become more tyrannical when they felt their power waning.

In California today the employers and business interests are banding themselves together through the fear that some day the workers will become educated and unseat them from their position of power. They know full well that their position rests upon the amount of fear that they can instil into the minds of the people, hence they use all the means at their command to circulate stories destined to make the citizens of this state fear the I. W. W. Stories of burning haystacks, poisoning food supplies, destroying the home, etc.

However, since the I. W. W. has been busily educating the workers as to the falsity of these claims, and since as a consequence the I. W. W. is no longer looked upon as an organization to be feared except by brutal exploiters of labor, this same master class resorts to the same methods as the tyrants of all ages when they have felt their power waning: namely, the use of physical force and violence to frighten the rebels themselves. What else can explain the tarring and feathering of working men or the beating and scalding of little children? What other reason can be given for putting workers in the penitentiary merely for the crime of organizing their fellow workers, unless it is the fear that the employers have of such an organization?

# WOBBLES

## A FARMER WOULD A-WOOING GO

**A rural announcement from northwest Canada is to the effect that Louis Kon, employment agent, is looking for "a nice refined lady, who can slop the pigs, play the organ, make hay and not waste in cooking. James Kling wants her for a wife."**

THE QUESTION

Curly Locks, Curly Locks, will you be mine?
You'll first do the cooking, then fodder the swine.
You'll sit in the parlor, the organ to play,
Then hike to the pasture to help with the hay.

THE ANSWER

Nervy Locks, Nervy Locks, nix I'll be thine.
Do your own cooking, and slop your own swine.
Play your own organ, and pitch your own hay—
Seek not a wife, but a harem. Good day!

—wIw—

## ALL PORE CRITTERS NOW

In the days of chattel slavery in the South a plantation owner had a slave by the name of Rastus. He was a good slave; his master had paid $500 for him. On the plantation was a building with a high steeple. The master was going to town one day and calling Rastus over said to him: "Rastus, I'm going to town and I want you to shingle that steeple. If that steeple isn't shingled when I come back I'm going to give you a good horsewhipping.

Rastus looked at the steeple but it was too high for him to climb. The master came back from town, looked at the steeple, got his black-snake whip and called Rastus over.

"Rastus, what have you got to say for yourself?"

"Massa, you done paid $500 for me didn't yo? There's a po' white trash carpenter living across the road you can hire for $2 a day; if he falls off o' dat steeple yo lose nothing. If I falls off you lose $500."

"You're right, Rastus," says the master, "go and get yourself another ham and tomorrow you can have a holiday in town."

....But now we're all "po' white trash."

—wIw—

**Farmer.**—Looking for work?

**Wobbly.**—What are you paying?

**Farmer.**—Going wages.

**Wobbly.**—What is the going wages?

**Farmer.**—Whatever my neighbor pays.

**Wobby.**—What is your neighbor paying?

**Farmer.**—Going wages.

—**Ragnar Anderson.**

## IS THIS C. S.?

**Scene:** Big town with a murder trial on. A witness is called, same being a big Swede.

Attorney for the defense: "You say that you were an eye-witness of the murder?"

"Yah."

"Now let's see, how far were you from the affair?"

" 'Bout mile."

"What! You say you saw the whole thing and still you were a whole mile away? Explain to the jury how you saw this affair when you were a mile away."

**Answer:** "Vell, ay don't care damn for dis trial no-how."

—wIw—

## HOME LIFE IN U. S. A.

A woman rushed excitedly to the house of a neighbor. She knocked once very nervously, but there was no reply. A second knock produced no answer. Presently the window above was thrown open and a woman's face appeared.

The woman below looked up, and explained hurriedly, "Mrs. Jones, your husband's been sentenced to jail for a month."

"Oh, dear me, Mrs. Smith," replied the other, "how you did frighten me! I thought it was the man after the rent again!"

—wIw—

## IN AND OUT

An inmate of Leavenworth penitentiary recently received a call from the warden who said:

"I understand you got in prison on account of a glowing mining prospectus."

"Yes," admitted the gentlemanly prisoner, "I was quite optimistic."

"Well," continued the warden, "the governor wants a report on conditions in this prison. I want you to write it."

# WARBLES

## "SHADOW LANE FARM"

**In which the writer—after an absence of many years—returns to his native heath.**

By CARD 758118

I'm back in old Ulster at work with my spade,
Now I think it's the last place that God ever made.
All I can do is to look up at the trees
And swamps where we sink in mud up to our knees.
I'm as lonesome as cats and my only pastime
Is to sit down and write some darn foolish rhyme.
I look out the door and see nothing but grass
In dear old Esopus where time cannot pass.

Some fool once wrote of the joy and the charm
Of the bright happy days he had spent on the farm,
How in boyhood he'd rambled in forest and dell
Chasing chipmunks and raising particular—well . .
How the songs of the bullfrogs he'd love to admire
But "Ed" was a composite of varlet and liar,
And he'd never wrote that if his childhood he'd passed
In dear old Esopus full of green apple-sass.

Well regards to the bunch and don't take this too sad
For it's many a laugh and a joke we have had,
But I'd give fifty dollars if I had the dough
Just to meet Edwin Markham and his "Man with the Hoe."

For since I've been a boy and I lived around here,
Gone are the days of old Beverwick beer.
The people 'round here are a queer lot of "mugs,"
I've got to get back with the rest of the "bugs."
For in those Catskill mountains we'd have you to know
When his wife chased him out and he'd no place to go,
Then for twenty long years in the rain and the snow,
Slept old Rip Van Winkle, our original Hobo.

## "WHO'S THE HOOSIER NOW!"

"'Who's the Hoosier now!'
Hollered John on a crimpy night
To the bunch that lay in the reefers
Trying to keep warm by candle light.

There's lots of useful suckers,
The jungles are full of guys
Who listen to honest John Farmer
As he lies—and lies—and lies.
They fall for the Tale of the Chuck and the Flop,
Take a ride with John in his flivver;
Then go out and sleep with that horse of John's,
And eat up his sow-belly and liver.

—Jay Bee Griffin.

## A SYMPLE-THETIC LAY

By JIM SEYMOUR

Her dad had glommed his millionth bean
And kept her stuffed for fair;
He ragged her like a redlight queen,
With sparkers in her hair;
He hired a well trained female ape
To mix his dolly's booze
And taxiderm her Paris shape
While John Sun piped her snooze.

Her days were long as Texas sheets
And bulging with ennui,
And so between her heavy eats
She plugged for charitee;
She threw her foot around the slums,
And on her blubbered knee
She tamped the brats that scoffed on crumbs
And fed them sympathee.

One day while gabbing at a kid
She puff-puffed, "Oh dear me!
The poor child fainted, yes he did;
He has my sympathee.
Oh me, oh my, oh such a shock!
'Tis so my good work fails."
Then officed up a public doc
To skid him on the rails.

The sawbones rambled to the dump
And slanted at the lad,
Then heard about the oozy lump
Of sugared symp he'd had.
"The young 'un's starved," he said to She;
"That slushy dope ain't jake.
You might have kept your sympathee,
The blame stuff didn't take."

## THE GREAT LIFE

Says Helen Keller: "I am inclined to think that life is great. Its trials and triumphs are all romance if we will have it so. The old order is passing away and a new order is coming in, and the change will be for the better, for the power of love will bring a new day out of the darkness." We hope the blind girl sees well in this case.

**Ah, Love, couldst Thou and I with Fate conspire**
**To grasp this sorry scheme of things, entire,**
**And shatter it to bits!**
**And then, remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire!**

**—Omar Khayyam.**

James Pierpont Morgan, he
Was as worried as he could be:
"Got the world by the tail and pullin' down hill,
"But the **Wobs**—
**"Pull back,"** says old J. P.

# Martha

By JAMES ROHN

**Dedicated to Justice, that often, like Providence, "works in ways mysterious its wonders to perform."**

## PART ONE

THREE hundred and more humans, typical of the riff-raff and odds and ends of our variegated society, pressed to the iron chain that stretched across the south end of the recreation tank, or in common parlance, the bull pen. The thirtieth minute after eleven o'clock in the morning and the thirtieth after three in the afternoon had for generations witnessed the same scene. The eagerness manifested by this mass of caged humanity to return to their black painted steel crypts has been to me ever unexplainable, unless it can be ascribed to a psychological revolt against the wearisome monotony of slouching up and down a dingy high-walled corridor. Certainly the noon-day meal soon to be served did not hasten their footsteps. The gong sounded (the gong was the jail guard's big brass key striking an iron stanchion). Somebody dropped one end of the chain and the mob, stumbling over it, climbed the one, two and three flights of stairs, disintegrating on the way as one by one the prisoners of the old Cook County jail slipped into their respective cells.

I was always one of the last to ascend the three flights to the fourth gallery, the jail guard informed me (and for the past few weeks his charge was true). I had undertaken the task, good or bad, of concerning myself with affairs other than my own, in particular, the affairs and welfare, if this latter word can be correctly used in a matter so ghastly and devoid of welfare, of my cell-mate.

He was a Rumanian Jew, and old, seventy-five years the newspapers said, good and old, to estimate by the corrugated, yellow parchment skin and snow-white locks that hung almost to his stooped shoulders. The doddering amble and the semi-vacant orbs, through which they say the soul gazes out upon the world, told their tale of a life lived and death soon to come. The first time I thought of that I shuddered—sombre fatality; death soon to come. He did not have a chance. The hangman's noose—or would a less harsh fate permit him to die in the straw bunk of a black-painted cell? Would the hangman, subject to the scriptural curse, earn his bread in the sweat of his brow, or would the last spark of a fast fading life flicker first? The gallows tree would win, I opined, as I aided the old fellow up the stairs; the forces of the law were hurrying this murder case to its prophesied end, lest death should cheat justice of its pound of flesh.

A crime wave was sweeping the city; the sensational press had its readers terrorized with tales, daily told, of crime horrors. Punishment, swift and merciless, was the sure cure it recommended to stop further depredations by the underworld upon society at large.

Here was the case ideal—the culprit caught, if not in the act, then just after the killing, still in the house, yes, even in the room, sitting on a chair beside the dead, and with the red stained knife at his feet. Children of the neighborhood, looking in the window, were the first to witness the sad tableau and had scurried away to tell their parents who in turn notified the police. When the latter arrived he was still sitting beside the dead wife, hands clasped and body swaying as though in agony. Repeated questioning since then about the crime had elicited no information, nothing had come from his lips save the soft repeated pleading, wailing cry of "Martha." Martha was the dead woman.

The blatant-mouthed assistant prosecutor in charge of the case had already found him guilty in

the newspapers and was jubilant over the prospects of promotion. The trial judge was stern and cold in his published statements on crime in general and thereby indicated what his attitude would be in the trial to come. The public, he soliloquized, would surely vote at the next election for a servant so upright and unafraid. The police congratulated one another and the newspapers did homage to themselves, while even the criminal element could read of the prospective trial and hanging with satisfaction, knowing that a satiated public would forget them for a time.

And so it was that all rejoiced—all but the old man who heeded not what was going on around him and whose days were spent in mourning for the dead. Even in the stillness of the night he called to the woman whom he loved, "Martha! Martha!"

We were locked up together twenty hours of every twenty-four and gradually, as his mind partially recovered from the shock caused by the tragic death of his wife, the old man told me of his youth, at times recalling scenes of years ago when he and she were young serfs in the foot-hills of far away Wallachia. Born in slavery they were freed from that bondage in 1864 when Rumania emancipated its serfs, though the newly acquired freedom proved to be a blessing not without some perils to those freed serfs of Jewish lineage. This, too, barred them from sharing in the free land allotments made to the other liberated serfs, so, unable to remain as tillers of the soil they migrated first to the nearby village of Cozia on the River Olt, where they were married, and then slowly westward through Austria and into the newly formed German Empire. Here in surroundings not unlike those in which Jesus was born, Martha gave birth to their first child. A manger sufficed for a cradle and, like a great lantern hung in the sky, a silvery moon lighted the way of another soul to this vale of tears.

On their journeying they heard of the wonderful fairyland America and decided to leave the home of their fathers that their children might not fall heirs to the persecutions and poverty that had marked their race in Europe. Time passed before enough money had been saved from their scant and vicarious earnings to enable them to take passage for the shores of the golden land to the west. Another child was born meanwhile, contributing to the family expense and the family joy. This expense delayed their departure until 1870 when they bought steerage passage to New York City.

While America failed to measure up to expectations it was an improvement over existence in the eastern countries of Europe where life and death were but the matter of political intrigue, religious bigotry and a king's whim.

In New York City they established their first real home though it was but two small rooms on a side street in a tenement district peopled chiefly by German and Austrian immigrants. Through the good offices of a Foreign Relief Association the old man had obtained work as a waiter in a beer garden restaurant. Piece work sewing done at home by Martha aided the family exchequer and increased a slowly accumulating little hoard that, hidden away at the bottom of the baby's crib, was to ward against rainy days.

The rainy days came (as rainy days always do). Both children died and another was born during the panic year of '73. The shop where sewing had been obtained closed its doors and the restaurant job was held only at the cost of a reduction in wages. The year rolled on and by, and with the passage of winter factories and shops re-opened and wages climbed to their former level.

The third child made up for the loss of the first two and upon it was bestowed the love and care that only grief laden men and women can give to their last born. But care and kindness cannot hold a life if fate decrees otherwise and hardly had they ceased to mourn for those that were dead when the third child passed away. Later they learned that the insanitary methods of the mid-wife who functioned when the last born was ushered into this world had made Martha barren.

Saddened by scenes that seemed always to recall their sorrows they again migrated to start life anew.

Westward they wandered, working wherever work was obtainable, until they reached Chicago. The packing plants, then just developing, gave him work for thirty years until he could no longer keep up with the younger men around him. Dismissal came and was followed by years of search for another and a lighter job. As the days fled, hope departed; his hair was too gray and his step too slow to lure a prospective employer away from the more youthful and stronger applicants for work.

Long years of unemployment had depleted their modest savings from the thirty years' work in the packing house. The little plot of ground and the frame cottage the old man had erected on it where they had lived these thirty years had been mortgaged until the banker refused to advance them any more money on it (and, in fact, and this is a timely digression, while the old man was in jail it was sold under the hammer and realized, over and above what the banker claimed, a sum that just covered funeral expenses for Martha).

And so, bit by bit, he told his past to me and through it all not an unkind word for the dead; just a great tenderness that graduated into what was almost worship. During the long comfortless weeks we celled together he expressed no remorse for a deed done—only regret that Martha was forever gone.

When our conversation turned from those early years he became hazy and incoherent even on matters that in his lifetime must have loomed large compared to the boyhood trivialities often remembered. Just a slight reference to the cause of his plight was sufficient to dissipate, for the time, recollections of the past and plunge him anew into profound misery. In moments such as these he was conscious only of the loss of his Martha and then his mind, impoverished by old age, would become almost blank, though still he whispered the one word "Martha."

## PART TWO

Day after day we paced around the oval ring formed in the bull pen by the outcasts of all lands. Acquaintances are soon made and sometimes an old friend is met in this grotesque promenade; every day new faces appear and old faces disappear—perhaps forever. One can choose one's company here. A burglar if you will, a bank cashier or a pick-pocket. A hardened sinner, one who hails from a half dozen penitentiaries, or a beginner with but a reform school record behind him to be ashamed of or to boast about. He who would associate with honest men may do that too—witnesses on serious cases and others falsely accused. Sometimes, as with myself, a street speaker without adequate finance for bail is held for a few weeks until justice, in some way too deep for ordinary comprehension and therefore understood only by the authorities, is appeased; then the unlucky orator is liberated, usually without a trial as it is impossible to get a jury to convict him.

Here it was I made an acquaintanceship the memory of which is writ large as a brilliant illustration of the ways of mice and men. And be it remembered, if he whom I write about sinned, that he too was sinned against, and who shall cast the first stone? I will, when I have cause to refer to him, do so by the nick-name bestowed upon him in the old Cook County jail, the "Kid."

He was nineteen or twenty years old and the charm of youth radiating with the boyish smile seemed to rival the few small sunbeams that managed to steal through the dirty windows and between the blackened bars in an appeal to those who were less calloused to the seamy side and more susceptible to the bright side of life.

The first time I saw him he was drying a handkerchief on an almost cold radiator near a wall where others had gathered for the same purpose. A light for a cigarette was the cause of my stopping and with the aid of a few casual remarks a conversation developed. He was being held on a minor charge (that ended in acquittal). He disliked the surroundings but the ideas and people he met here were new and in a small degree fascinated him. One person in particular seemed to have that power of attraction, a highway robber I guessed by his talk with a "record" as his credential to an elevated social standing in the jail community. Various cases on trial and pending were discussed with much knowingness by the group that used this radiator as a gathering place during recreation hours. Mistakes in crime execution and legal jockeying before trial were pointed out by the initiated. Here, too, one interested in the subject could gain ideas as to the most appropriate crime under given conditions and the methods and weapon best calculated to produce desired results.

The Kid was always an interested listener to these conversations and to me it was evident that his education was progressing at a nice rate despite my talks to him along other and contrary lines. One especialy disconcerting point on criminal ethics appeared. Twice a week on visiting days a girl of sixteen or seventeen years called to visit the Kid. She brought food and fruit and articles of wearing apparel for him.

I saw her once through the double steel screening that separates the prisoners from those who visit them. She stood almost opposite me, pretty and demure; her big blue eyes were dimmed with tears by the brutality of the situation.

In one of my first semi-confidential talks with the Kid I divined that he had marriage in mind. But day by day the ideas of work and home became hazy and distant until finally, as he listened to tales of sudden acquisition of great wealth through criminal ways, it had been suggested to him that the correct thing to do would be to break the girl in to working on the street for him—a source of steady income when other business was dull. At first this thought had been revolting and he had repelled it in anger, but in this school of crime good intentions fade and are soon forgotten and replaced by intentions not so good. The Kid, as I said, was learning fast.

I must acknowledge the digression of this chapter, and, to use legal terms, plead as extenuating circumstances, first—my liking for the Kid. His personality, unsophisticated, pleased and won all with whom he came in contact; the charm of youth in the sordid setting of the old Cook County jail was greater by its very contrast to the setting. Second, —my regret upon noting the changing psychology; day by day the smile of frankness faded and a look of worldly wiseness stealthily crept into its place; a barrier that I could neither break nor penetrate had grown between us, he was no longer one of the innocents caught in this grist mill of justice. Third, —the horror of the end.

## PART THREE

A trial date for the old man had been set, and the judge, having indulged in a splash of rhetoric anent the generosity of the state, appointed a lawyer to defend him as, so far as could be ascertained, he had no funds of his own. The setting of the trial date came as a shock to me though it was but a matter of routine. It marked a definite step toward what to me was an unholy end for I believed the old man to be innocent of the crime; his grief bore no trace of guile or repentance to destroy my faith in him.

No one else seemed to doubt his guilt or if in the heart of this great city any did, they kept it to themselves. At least no one called to make inquiries or suggestions or even pass the time of day except the Moody Bible Institute people, who twice on every Sunday came to tell us how bad we were and how good they were. Days followed one another in soul stunning monotony without incident or diversion to relieve the mental pressure and pain that silence and lonliness inflict. They say that men go mad here.

The old man paid but little attention to the legal phases of his case as one by one, like so many grave-

diggers, they were paraded past him. He concerned himself with Martha and the past. An occasional pipe of tobacco afforded him his only solace through the gloomy twenty hours a day we spent in our cell.

At last the day of trial came. He had been notified the day before to be ready to appear in court and with what little aid I could give was as tidy as it was possible to make him. He was confused; the unusual preparations had stirred his mind, and his wonderment increased when the lawyer came to the cell door in a last endeavor to obtain a rational statement that would explain his presence at the body of the dead and clear him of the charge of murder. The lawyer's morning call before the court convened was strange, and by his questioning I could see that he was in a quandary as to how to proceed.

His early visit gained him nothing, however, as his client was unable to concentrate his mind even for a few minutes. Then the jail guard marched him off, hurrying his shuffling footsteps across the iron bridge that leads from the cells to the court rooms. As he departed I believe the idea was dawning in the old man's shattered intellect that he was going to join his Martha.

The trial occupied but little time. By noon of the first day a jury had been selected and this was all the news I could get until the following morning, for I refrained from questioning the old man when he was brought back to our cell in the evening, as it was patent that he was physically weary and wanted only rest. Outwardly, at least, he was in no way moved or impressed by the day's proceedings.

The morning newspapers sold in the jail gave what appeared to be a fair account of the trial as far as it had gone. The opening statements by opposing counsel were brief. Then the neighborhood witnesses were called by the prosecution and testified that as far as they were aware the defendant had always been of sound mind and though they had never known the old couple to quarrel, still they knew but very little about their personal affairs and domestic life. All, including the children and police, told with what in some other instance might be considered laudable dramatic endeavor, of the room scene already narrated. Throughout the session the blood stained knife was featured to a shuddering jury and so ended the account of the first day.

Reports of the second day were no more encouraging. The old man was placed on the witness stand by his counsel with the frantic hope of an eleventh hour statement that would establish his innocence and stem the tide that was setting strong against them, but due, the prosecution pointed out to the jury, to surly stubbornness, the old man had failed to answer any of the questions asked, and the jurors nodded in understanding disapproval of that "stubbornness." An alienist was sworn for the defense. He testified that the defendant was a mental wreck, though under cross-examination he admitted that it was impossible to state his mental condition at the time the crime was committed; and that in the past he knew of a number of instances where imbecility and insanity had been skillfully feigned.

The summing up of evidence occupied the forenoon of the third day. Here our lawyer (I was so in sympathy with the old man that I regarded his attorney as ours) presented the best defense possible.

Seventy-five years is about that time in life when the average man enters his dotage. Dotage, the lawyer explained, is the slowing down of cerebration; imbecility the complete arrestation. Emotions of long tenure cease, as the brain slows down, to be emotions and become habits of mind, in other words mental furniture. Suppose, gentle reader, you should do something that I know you are incapable of doing, hate someone. Hate in your youth with good cause, and for the same reason or others, continue that hate until you live to the ripe old age that I hope wou will live to. Then, dotage intervening, memory will in degree fail, and though you may be no longer conscious of reasons for hating you will still be susceptible to the customary nervous reactions whenever the object of your past hate envisions itself upon you; enmity or friendship will exist though the reasons for enmity or friendship are no longer apparent to you.

Not a quarrel, our lawyer argued, did the evidence show, between the old man and Martha in their forty years of residence in the neighborhood, while on the contrary, many manifestations of affection between the old couple had been sworn to even by witnesses for the prosecution. Hence the old man's attitude of love and kindness was not a wind-tossed vagary, but a fixity of life-long duration and stability and not to be temporarily overcome by a gust of passion that the brain was not attuned to develop.

Finally, the defendant had reached that stage of life where the brain could no longer be stirred to the passionate pitch that such a crime would necessitate and therefore the crime was to the defendant a psychological impossibility. The defense had concluded its case.

The prosecution opened its summing up with fearful invective against the old man and closed with an impassioned plea for a verdict of guilty in the first degree and a sentence of capital punishment. "Hang, the old man must," thundered the prosecuting attorney, "if the people are to be safe in their beds at night; if crime is to be checked and justice vindicated."

The judge instructed the jury which then retired to deliberate. Its deliberations were short; a verdict was soon reached and as they marched back into the court room the news spread that the finding was what the prosecution had asked—guilty in the first degree, coupled with a recommendation for capital punishment.

The members of the jury, solemn faced and sour, as I imagine our good Puritan ancestors were whenever they condemned a witch to the stake, filed into the jury box, and the court room became hushed as the judge ordered the defendant to stand to hear the verdict read. The defendant did not move nor did he betray by word or sign that he had heard the

order of the court. Impatiently a court attache reached to the old man's shoulder and shook him, but receiving no response pushed his head back from the position it had sunk to with his chin resting on his chest. As the head moved back the lower jaw dropped, so that the jury and others around the judge's desk could see by the fast glazing eyes and convulsed features that not only was the old man dead but that he had died in agony.

Physicians, who afterwards examined the body, stated that he had died of a functional disturbance of the heart. Medical science has it that in a person laboring under great emotional stress, stress great enough to cause blood to flow to the heart faster than that organ can pump it out along its ordained course, and especially if the valvular action of the heart is weak or irregular as it usually is in old age, the blood will on rare occasions cause a rupture or break in the walls of an artery in the heart and instantaneous death results. Our scientific friends call it Arterirrhexis. To the rest of the world it is a broken heart.

It is my fancy to think that as the court attache moved the old man's head back, thus allowing the jaw to drop and the lips to part, the lips then, for the last time, murmured the one word "Martha."

I do not know what disposition was made of the body. Probably the old man is at rest in the potter's field. Mother Earth, they say, is kind to her children when at last we go to her for the long sleep that knows no dawn. Just sleep—sans dreams, sans sorrows, sans all but sleep.

## PART FOUR

Time has elapsed since the tragedy, the outstanding points of which I have herein sincerely tried to record.

My difficulty with the sovereign state of Illinois had been adjusted shortly after the old man's trial and upon release I decided to visit the scene of the tragedy, so I made my way to the little three-room cottage where they had lived. Built on a small lot that in the front and on one side showed traces of having been a flower garden but at the time of my visit was given over to weeds, it was about as dilapidated as the old man himself.

Unoccupied for months, the windows had been broken by children or removed by some of the more thrifty neighbors. The front door had but the lower hinge, now almost wrenched off, as its sole and rather dubious connection with the rest of the tumble down structure that for so many years it had protected from the wind and rain. It was leaning awry against the inner wall that was also bent and out of plumb. The furniture had been removed. No pictures were on the walls; no flowers from the garden of the other days were in vases to greet the glance of a friend. Not even a carpet, that had it existed must have been faded and worn, was there to hide the blood stain on the floor.

I hastened away though I regretted going; it seemed almost hallowed ground dedicated by years of love and labor to an end that all men strive for—a happy old age—an end that is not attained by all. Let us hope, gentle reader, that you and I will be more fortunate than the old man.

From the cottage I proceeded to the local grocery store, usually a center of gossip and information, intent on fathoming the mystery of the murder. The grocer's wife was in attendance and, perhaps, with some assistance from me, conceived the idea that I was a newspaper reporter. Visions of free publicity for the store and possibly her picture on the back page of a paper opened her heart and her mouth.

I will not further tire those who read my tale by repeating all the gossip the grocer's wife favored me with. Surely we are not here interested in the "goings on" of Mary Jane, nor do we care, aside from abstract morality, just who owes (and how much) the good grocer; and if the saintly Rev. Somebody is suspected of having sampled one of his flock's home brew, that suspicion need not interrupt the thread of this narrative.

We are concerned only with facts bearing on Martha's death so I will present our conversation at the store bare of any extraneous matter.

Shorn of interesting if not germane neighborhood notes it revealed the following: not more than an hour prior to the discovery of the crime Martha had been in the store and made a few small purchases. She tendered a twenty dollar bill (the last, it appears, that the banker would advance them) in payment, and received eighteen or nineteen dollars change. A man, a stranger, was in the store at the time and saw the change as it was counted out to Martha. He purchased tobacco and left the store directly after Martha.

That is all the pertinent information I could gather but it was enough. Recalling newspaper statements of the murder it will be remembered that no money was found either on the dead or in the house. The old man had been searched but the search revealed but a few pennies. Someone, then, must have taken the money and that someone must have entered the house after Martha and committed the murder to effect the robbery and then hurried away before the old man's entry; and he, the old man, being overcome with grief upon seeing the body of his wife, must have sunk down in the chair beside her, his mental powers destroyed by the sudden shock.

## CONCLUSION

As previously implied, the Kid had been restored to liberty after a trial and acquittal. Our paths in life had not crossed again since our release so I could but speculate as to whither his footsteps would stray and what his final attitude was to the girl who had placed her faith in him, until, one day, I read of him in the newspapers.

Bold black headlines told whoever read that another bandit had been killed while attempting a pay-roll robbery.

About twenty years old, brown hair, gray eyes; all identification points given in the papers so corresponded and the name was his.

A morbid curiosity to view the body moved me to go up to the morgue. An attendant there ushered me into the room where the corpse lay on a marble slab. A sheet used for covering the body had been pulled down to the waist line, permitting those present to see the bluish black spot over the heart where a bullet had crashed out his life.

A number of people were gathered there around the lifeless clay, the clay that society had mismoulded and then broken, all strangers to me but one, and that one I had last seen through the double steel screening in the old Cook County jail. It was the Kid's girl, but changed, changed as the street only can change a woman. Now the paint on her cheeks was garishly conspicuous as, no doubt, she intended it to be, and it told her story—evident it was that the old Cook County jail could, like the ogres of our childhood fairy tales, reach out and destroy others than those that rotted in its belly. And she, as I watched her, glanced in an appraising way at the several men who were in the room—even over the naked body of her dead lover she had an eye for business. In this way the justice of our capitalist society is achieved.

And this is the end of my story. The trial judge was re-elected by an admiring constituency; the assistant prosecuting attorney gained his desired promotion, and the newspapers are still enthusiastic about themselves, though the fact of the persistency of crime might embarrass a less noble brigade; while the readers of the newspapers, when browsing through the able editorials and still abler advertisements, congratulate themselves upon having them for champions.

**THE END.**

# Breadline Fables

### No. 2—HIS LAST DIME AND BROTHERLY LOVE

By MARINER

THERE is a thing very much like a balloon which rises gently into the air until it is out of the reach of the person when the person digs into his pocket and draws out an empty hand. That is the price of the almighty doughnut. Perhaps this is only the stretching of one's imagination! Yes, what does a person do when the doughnut is out of reach, and the lowering of it beyond possibility?

You would say: "If a person was occupied at useful labor, perhaps, he would have no fear of existing on doughnuts." A truer statement can hardly be made. Nevertheless, it works both ways!

A few years ago, after the aforementioned doughnut rose out of reach, I took on some useful labor. I secured a job on the S. S. "Admiral Watson." She came into the Queen City from Alaskan waters the day before. As I have stated, you will suppose I was without visible means of support. Which is true.

The ships engaged in the Alaska service do not feed their crews while in their home port. An extra allowance of fifty cents per meal is granted them.

But to go on, it was Friday afternoon when I secured the job, and I went to work the same night. All that day no food of any kind touched my lips. I worked Saturday and Sunday, too; no food. A job, and no way of obtaining food!

In consequence, I ventured toward the skid road. Many others were engaged in the same game, "putting the bum on every neatly dressed person who passed by!" Thus competition existed. As an habitual "bum" I have never met with success. It seemed to me, that Sunday night, as though I was being forced into a continued fast whether I liked it or not. One well-known writer claims the starvation cure to be good for those who care to indulge in it. But when a person is simply hungry, what good will the "cures" do him? The organ of my body known as "stomach" not only reacted upon my mind but the "darn" thing was also in the way of my backbone.

I strolled back and forth; up and down the skid road. Finally, I encountered old Boomer. Like myself he was an expert scribbler. But our scribblings never brought forth more than a "coffee and". Boomer had a broad smile on his face, the first I had seen in a long while.

"Well, Mariner," he spoke up, "I hear you've landed a master".

"Quite true, Boomer, quite true," I replied. "But the master isn't worrying me just now!"

So I sprung the sad news on him. "Boomer, when do we eat?"

He dug into his pockets and drew out a thin dime. Tears came into his eyes as he spoke. "I rustled this dime this morning. Let's get a 'coffee and', and divide it between us."

We went into a Jap restaurant and ordered our beloved, lifesaving "coffee and". Boomer drank the coffee and I ate the doughnuts.

The following day the "Admiral Watson" sailed. No further fear existed in my mind of not eating. At the first port of call north I remembered Boomer via the postal route, for brotherly love existed between us when we parted with his last dime.

# Education As a Social and Class Problem

By T. KEKKONEN

**IN every society, where social relations are developed, the question of education arises. In primitive societies practically all advice to the younger generation is given by the leaders or old men and women of the tribe. In more advanced societies education is more or less a specialized social institution.**

**In the present industrial age education forms a very important part of social life. So important is our school system for present society that we cannot conceive of this society without it. Many are those who believe that our educational institution is more important than all other existing institutions.**

### Education and Revolutionary Workers

With revolutionary workers an education is now, and will be in the future, a paramount issue. It is so now because in many cases our present-day labor is without even a preliminary, but sorely needed, education from the schools that are conducted by society. This is largely true as far as those are concerned who emigrated to the United States from other countries. In the future, working class education is more important in view of the necessary revolutionary change that is expected to take place in the control of the means of production and distribution. In this case particularly the working class should have an educational system of its own kind. And when such a situation is nearing us, it will not do to ask, "Are you ready?" When a revolutionary situation arises, then the working class must be ready to cope with it, or to pay the penalty, which is failure.

### I. W. W. and Its Educational Program

The I. W. W. as an organization has adopted many times an educational program. Realizing the necessity of education in the labor movement, it planned systematic campaigns to educate its membership as well as to extend the influence of the organization through education outside of the organization. Eight years ago the I. W. W. passed a first resolution in its general convention to obtain connection with the Work People's College at Duluth, Minnesota, for the benefit of its members. However, through the persistent persecution of the American capitalist class against the members of the I. W. W. and the organization as a whole, it was practically six years later, or in the year 1923, that the organization directly took charge of the school to such an extent as to place its own teacher in it.

### What Is the Work People's College?

Undoubtedly there are many members in the I. W. W. asking, "What is the Work Peoples College?" Briefly told, the history of this college is similar to that of the American working class, which is largely emigrated here from various other countries. This particular school was first founded by religious reformers. The first revolution over the school was made when the political socialist movement had taken strong hold among Finnish workers in America, and thus this college was taken over and the program of the school was changed accordingly. When the split came in the Socialist Party of the United States, the Work People's College was left to those who were inclined toward industrial unionism. Thus the offer was made to the I. W. W. to co-operate with this college to maintain its education.

The next school year, opening on November 15, being the third year in which the I. W. W. co-operates with the school, sees the Work People's College known throughout the membership of the I. W. W. It is interesting to note the enthusiasm displayed by the members of the organization toward this problem of education. This attempt by the members of the I. W. W. to secure systematic education is giving more hope than anything else at this time. We must emphasize **this time** for the reason that although we are nearing, perhaps rapidly, an industrial revolution, nevertheless, the revolutionary situation in America is not here now. With this fact in view, it is high time for industrial workers to secure education, the **right kind** of education, to be ready when a revolutionary situation shall arise.

Some political groups have charged us with being counter-revolutionary because we told the facts about the economic situation in the United States. Now everybody, knowing the least of the economic situation in America, knows that the revolutionary situation is not here now. Let us understand our position more clearly in the future, and for this we must use all our efforts on educational lines.

### Best School For Workers

The Work People's College is now in a better position to serve American labor than it ever has been before. Last year the school was modernized with a city water system. On the financial side, which has been many times a burden for the institution, things are now also cleared up. Early in the summer the Finnish members, who were heretofore the backbone of the school, collected ten thousand dollars for the payment of a mortgage loan, and thus that embarrassment will not hinder any more the real function of the institution.

Best, and most interesting, however, is the fact that now the I. W. W. as an organization is also in the best position to fill the faculty with most capable teachers and lecturers. Let every class-conscious fellow worker try to direct his or her way to the Work People's College and transfer class-consciousness to class knowledge, for in this way we make ourselves better and more fitting to **construct the new society within the shell of the old.**

For further information write to the Work People's College, Box 39, Morgan Park, Duluth, Minn.

# A New Sun Worshipper

By MARY HOPE

SOME of the ehoicest huts of Bradley had eellars in which the foreigners kept thiek peppered rolls of bologna and gray-stockinged cheeses and kegs of wine built to the roof of the eellar. Even the most wretehed of familics possessed a small portion of these products of the European belly-culture. Rajov, a steel worker, lived in a house whieh was baek of a dump from whieh a perennial mist sailed like a wave of smoke through the windows. A few yards the other side freight ears were harbored in the millyards, where all green growths and eourageous blossoms were crushed beneath the weight of countless-shaped steel boulders. Rajov's roof, eold and blaek, had waited a long time for a kind shower of sunlight, but with the years, the mill-ehimneys grew higher and higher, spitting their fumes vieiously and keeping the sun from Rajov's roof. In his cellar, Rajov kept not eheese or bologna or wine, but a real human being, an old man whose head was growing toward the ground on aeeount of the low roof of his underground dwelling plaee.

The neighbors were not eurious and did not bother about the old man; there were many queer things in the little steel city and the watehfulness of the great maehines they tended kept them from prying into eaeh other's affairs. Day in and day out the old man stayed in his eellar and never onee was he seen to come out of his hole and stand in open light.

Something happened in Bradley during the time when the mill-people were wrapped in a great black heat. The mills were enormous boilers, sizzling forth long russet streams of sweat whieh melted into the slack and the millions of gassy substanees. The smoke of the mills formed thiek elouds hiding the sun, and the walls of the mills made a barrier strong as a forest against the wind. Maehine-tenders were absorbed and eollapsed by the heat; children were pale flowers whose rosy vitality was being sueked up by the hungry lips of the sweltering eity; lonely patches of grass were of a shrunken yellowness from laek of a eool rain or the reviving slap of the wind. Heat ran like a beast through the eity, fastening savage teeth upon the population and any breath of life. Yet in this world of heat there was no elear view of the sun whose golden throat was elutched within the blaek bands of smoke and soot.

But the something that happened in Bradley was not the death wrought out of the sunless, heat-slaughtering walls of the steel eity. It was a desire that eame out of the red hearts of men and like a strong wind it tore off the roof of their apathy and whispered one word: **Strike!**

This one word beeame a mighty roar that shook the gates of the mills open and sent long files of sooty men streaming into the street, hats in hands, and with smiles that seemed to have emanated from their muscles, waiting and glad for this rest—the first sinee the mills were built. The bells stopped blowing, the roars of the machines were silent, the ooze of smoke trailed into the elimbing vine of slaek, settled into little nests and did not move for lack of steam to blow it further. Empty, mute, lonely, the dark monster of the steel mills lay slain by the daggers of the workers' red manhood.

During the night the mills were quiet, not a stream of soot sailed out of the throats of the chimneys and no man passed by the elosed gates. Aeross the faee of a strange moon some birds flew quiekly, afraid of the dark eity they had never before seen.

And in the Rajov eellar, the old man heard the word eome through the crevices of the kitehen floor: **Strike.** In his clay-hole he slept that night, and dreams he had lost in a seabound foreign land returned to him; in the morning he rubbed his museles and ehuekled as though something beautiful had happened to him.

Rajov and his wife looked up in astonishment at the sight of the old man elimbing the eellar steps. He saluted them and went outdoors. Far across the arrogant tops of the factories had eome a wind during the night, a sweeping pilgrim, and with great breaths had eleaned the roofs and streets and wiped the faees of the flowers until they shone like tiny sunsets. Far above the old man's head shone the sun. Children playing in the gutters paused and whispered to eaeh other that the old man was praying, for there he stood, his hair blowing in the glad wind, his faee uplifted to the sky and on his lips a prayer, "The sun. The sun."

**Mary Hope, the author of the above has written an artistic and sympathetic biography of Rosa Sacco, wife of Nicola Sacco of the Sacco and Vanzetti case. It was intended to have this sketch appear in the November issue of the Industrial Pioneer, but circumstances over which we have no control have compelled its postponement until a later date. The Sacco-Vanzetti case will be very much in the public eye for the next few months, owing to the decision of Judge Thayer of Massachusetts to disregard the evidence of prosecution perjury and attempt to rush these two workers to the electric chair. A subscription to Industrial Pioneer will insure your getting the issue in which "The Story of Rosa Sacco" is printed.**

# Nobody Loves a Fat Man

By JIM SEYMOUR

ONCE upon a time there was a man who was very fat. He was festooned with layers of blubber that began directly under the eyes and increased geometrically in size to a point below politeness, as though he were a mannikin built of varisized auto tires. His eyes were the eyes of a hog and his snout was one that would make a farmer itch to put a ring in it. His whole general appearance was that of a hog, but the scientists of his day knew that his brain was only partly porcine. It had not yet developed to a stage where he could claim intellectual equality with the hog; besides, the development, infinitely slight though it was, seemed to be along the lines followed by the brain of the fox in the remote past. In short, the fat man was cunning, but not intelligent; not even intelligent enough to know the difference between the two.

And be it known that in the fat man's day there were many others similarly built, though to a lesser degree. They were just as stupid as the fat man, but not so cunning; and they were just as greedy as the fat man, but their respect for the fat man's greater cunning prevented their even trying to nose into his wallow. So it was that their snouts were not so well covered with filth, and often what filth did adhere to them was encrusted and cracked and ready to fall off. This caused them to feel that they were cleaner than the fat man, and oftentimes to glory in the thought, but it never deterred them from their incessant attempts to smear their noses with fresh filth when the fat man wasn't looking. True, the fat man was so fat that his eyes were nearly closed and he never would have noticed their rooting but for the fact that they always squealed on one another and attracted his attention.

One day while the fat man was waddling around, sniffing and grunting and looking for more swill, perhaps longing instinctively for some exceptionally filthy tidbit, he wandered to the edge of a swamp that to one of any other species would have been nauseating, so vile was the smell arising therefrom.

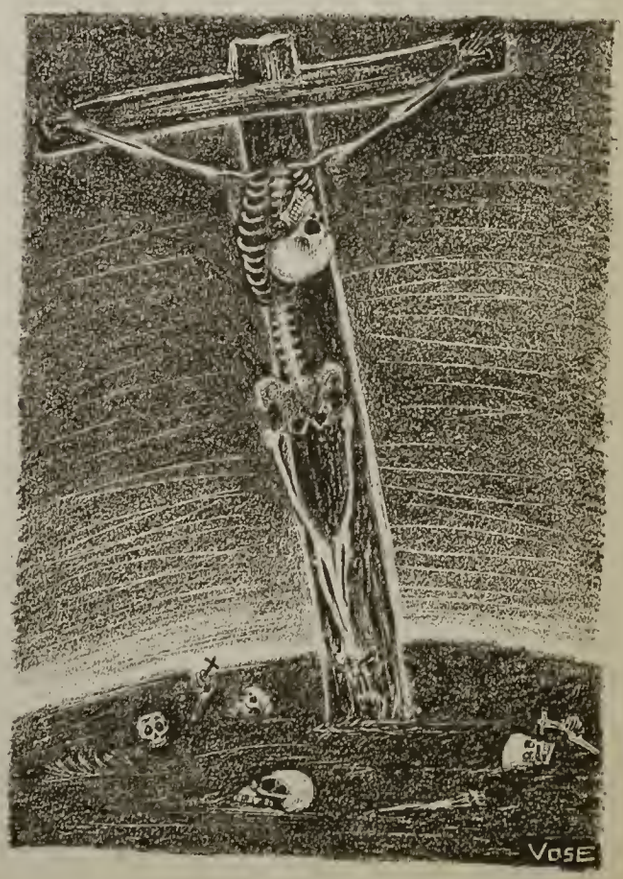
"Ugh, ugh," said the fat man, "this looks like good pickin'. Whee-e-e! just smell the aromy of that muck further out."

He called for his retainers to advise him how best to get out there, but the retainers had wandered off in search of a tidbit for themselves. They had discovered the decaying carcass of a coyote, and being very hungry they did not hear the fat man's calls. Otherwise, as every psychologist knows, they would have scampered pell-mell to the fat man, to advise him in earnest whines and to growl and snap at each other the while.

So the fat man, much as he resented being compelled to exert himself, gathered a few layers of fat in each hand and jumped for a tuft of grass standing in the slimy water. He landed all right, but the grass was not stable. It tipped forward and the fat man slipped into the muck. This was just where he had wanted to be; but very soon he discovered that it was hardly the place for a fat man, for underneath the muck was some quicksand, and already the fat man's feet were imbedded and he was slowly sinking more and more. He squealed loudly for his bodyguards and they, having finished their banquet, came running. They approached as near as their courage would permit and pulled him this way and that, but with each pull he sank deeper. And the sand, working in between the layers of fat, tickled him so that he shook violently and sank deeper and deeper. His valiant rescuers then noticed that he had sunk so far that his pockets were covered by the quicksand and it would be impossible for him to put his hands into them. They accordingly held a very brief pow-wow and trotted away, leaving him to his fate.

As the shades of night closed over the noisome morass the muck closed over the top of the fat man's head; the moon peeped from behind a cloud and smiled contentedly, and a wise old owl fluttered into a tree, winked at the moon and said, "Who, who?"

**MORAL: If you are unprincipled, beware of your kind.**




RELIGION.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEE

# The Wobs Are Psyched Again

A BOOK REVIEW By CARD No. 794514

THE I. W. W. has endured many attacks by psychologists. First the social psychologists of the McDougall type blamed us for having "mob spirit," accused us of surrendering our individuality to the "mob mind," and intimated that we were highly suggestible personages. After that came the Freudians, who said McDougall was all wrong, and they converted our old friend Carlton Parker, and he decided that we were all suffering from "complexes." Now the behaviorists are knocking spots out of Freud because his "genius is painfully narrow," and they too are beginning to battle the I. W. W.

All of this should not prevent us from learning something from the psychologists if we can.

Floyd Henry Allport of the University of South Carolina has written a most readable book on the subject of social psychology, and still maintains that he is a behaviorist. In this he is assuming a somewhat heretical stand, according to the older behaviorists, who were disposed to assert that there wasn't any such thing as social psychology.

The reason for their attitude is understandable when one considers the basis of their theory, and the origin of it. It is essentially a reaction against the dreamy, mystical, introspective methods of still older schools which seemed to some of the more scientifically minded investigators to be getting nowhere. These latter started, a few years ago, to demand accurate, and if possible, experimental measurements and comparison of human behavior, leaving out of consideration, for the present at least, all such immeasurable things as consciousness, will power, etc. This method developed a mass of fact, from which a working hypothesis was formed to the effect that all human action and thought was to be explained as a result of material stimuli upon the body, which set in motion certain automatic responses, as mechanical as pressing a button and making a bell ring.

As a beginning, in behaviorist books, this one not excepted, we are treated to a discussion of nerves and nerve tissue. All nerves are made up of nerve cells, which are branched. They lie closely enough together so that the branches of one nearly touch the branches of others. If some stimulus is applied to one of these branches, so arranged that it can be stimulated by pressure, light, sound waves, temperature, or the secretions of the body itself, a wave of some sort, electrical or chemical, passes along the tissue of the nerve cell until it comes to the ends of the other branches of that cell. Then it has to cross a minute space, called a synapse, after which it continues through another cell, to set in motion some part of the body, as a response. Feeling and emotion do not cause this passage of the nervous current nor do they cause the reaction of the body; they accompany it, or not, depending on other circumstances. Even if they accompany it, they sometimes are not felt even, until the action is started, or perhaps until it is completed. It is as though they were by-products of the action.

On the other hand, they are implicated in the next reaction, and serve perhaps to intensify reactions, though some behaviorists would deny even that. Many if not all emotions are the accompaniments of secretions of internal glands of the body, and seem to be caused by them. But the glands act in response to physical stimuli.

The experimental evidence of the laboratories seems to prove most of this. The theoretical part is the ascribing to the synapses of peculiar and important powers. Behaviorist theory must stand or fall on the correctness of their guess as to the ability of the synapses to resist the conductivity of the nervous impulse (this prevents overstimulation, and permits selection of impulses); to change their own conductivity, as a result of repeatedly conducting the same sort of stimulus, (this is the way habits are formed, and learning accomplished); to correlate numerous incoming nervous impulses, and send them out along one outgoing nerve, and vice versa (this permits complicated reflexes); and to permit the impulse to pass in one direction only (without which, presumably, there would be a high state of disorganization.)

If the synapsis can do all this, then the behaviorist can explain every-

Introverts And Extroverts?

thing else, including thought, which is simply a rapid implicit (not overt) trial and error learning, the trials being stimulated by slight efforts in the direction of every possible reaction to the stimulus, each of which is inhibited, or stopped, by great resistance of the synapses which have not habitually acted ni that direction, until the path of least resistance is found, through the synapses which previous experiences have "educated," or reduced the resistance of, and the man acts, as we say, logically. Some thought is consciously of this type. All thought depends on previous experience, with its education of the nervous system, which is, essentially, a weakening of the resistance in certain synapses, and an increase of the resistance in others.

**"Prepotency"**

The behaviorists allow us mighty little instinct. Man, they think, is born with certain "prepotent" tracks through the wilderness of his synapses, and these are extremely vague and general in nature; they may be called, "starting and withdrawing," "rejecting," "struggling," "hunger reactions," "sensitive zone reactions," and "sex reactions." Some of these do not develop until after the child has been born some considerable time. Contrary to the Freudians this behaviorist will argue that sex does not develop until the age of puberty, and that the theory of infantile sexuality, almost a basis of psycho-analysis, is false, "sensitive zone reactions" accounting for the facts which Freud observed in infants and thought were sexual.

Education, learning, environment, account for all modifications and "broadening" of these fundamental reactions. The theory of conditioned response explains much of the complexity which the human reactions show after some training. In a few words, a conditioned response is a reaction which the body makes to a stimulus not originally sufficient to cause such a reaction. The reason for the reaction is that this slight stimulus has always, or usually, accompanied a bigger stimulus, and the synapses have a reduced resistance for both of them. Thus the baby learns at the slight stimulus of the word "hot" to avoid any object to which that word is applied, if he has previously touched objects which are actually hot, and heard the word "hot" applied to them.

It is these conditioned responses, of which there are an immense number of possible combinations of stimuli, including the tones of voice, catch words, phrases, facial changes, bodily postures, as well as more overt movements and acts, that make not only learning, but social learning, possible, or, in other words, make a social psychology possible. The newer behaviorists regard the nervous syste of the individuals as necessary for psychology, a right, but recognize that crowds and all sorts of other combinations of people are part of the individual's environment---as much so as other sources of stimuli.

This opens up the subject of drives, ambitions, rivalries, leadership, suggestion, organization, submission, newspapers, the state, unions, riots, war, patriotism, schools, the family, fads, fancies, styles, advertising, salesmanship, and many other things dependent on social relationship. There is much that is stimulating to thought, and some that can be accepted uncritically, perhaps, though a radical will always have a lingering doubt as to whether or not Mr. Allport might be guessing at some of this nearly as badly as he guessed at the ideas and slogans of the I. W. W. There are some terrible errors, in the parts we know most about, and they detract from our faith in those parts we know little about. This is a wrong attitude on our part, for experts in one field of knowledge are always butting into other fields where they know little, and assuming there authority they do not possess. Allport's errors in sociology do not prevent him from being a good psychologist.

**God—On Probation**

The behavioristic theory, with its emphasis on the necessity of the nervous system, and its minute inspection of the human body, finding in it all necessary explanations of the supposedly "mental" or "spiritual" acts of mankind, should be a complete antidote to religion, the idea of the soul, spirits, spooks, ghosts, gods, angels, etc. Allport is able to make out a case for religion, but only as a means of escape, for "introverted" people, those who follow what he has previously, in this same book, condemned as a most unsuccessful method of overcoming personal deficiencies, namely, imagining that they are relieved. The sinful or the defective introvert can lay his shortcomings on Jesus, and be loved by him, all in fantasy. And Allport advocates this; well, we all have our inconsistent moments.

**"Soak The Reds!"**

There isn't the same excuse for the author's repeated attempt to explain away the radical. Listen to this:

"Uncompensated attitudes of inferiority in regard to poverty and obscurity are reflected in the tendency toward political and philosophical radicalism. Here again the cry is against the injustice of the environment, but this time it is an unfair political and economic regime which has robbed the individual of success. Differences of ability are overlooked and all men are considered equal in merit and deserved reward. From this axiom, it is deduced that, since some achieve more wealth and power than others, there must be a basic injustice in the social order. Inferiority within the individual is obscured by this rationalization. . . . . The type is too familiar to require illustration."

Perhaps the type is too familiar to Allport to equire illustration, but it is wholly a newspaper ype. If Allport had taken the trouble to read any soeialist, anarehist, or I. W. W. literature, he would have found that none of these main braneh es of radiealism hold any such views about "equality." That doetrine is written into the Declaration of Independenee, the Freneh constitutions, and sundry other highly respectable and conservative doeuments. No one believes it any more, and least of all the radieals. What the radicals want, is the full net product of their labor, be it mueh or little. Even those who wish to take it socially, that is, in a form of distributive eommunism, readily admit that one person will ereate more than another.

### Doesn't Sound Natural

But Allport doesn't know anything about radieals anyhow. Listen again: "A leaflet was recently eirculated by the I. W. W. headquarters deseribing twenty-nine ways in whieh their members had been unjustly perseeuted. Referenees are frequent in these groups to their 'eeonomic oppressors,' and to their 'beloved leaders' who are languishing in prison through the injustiee of a eapitalist regime."

Those groups of radieals which believe in leaders at all never refer to them as "beloved." The attitude of radicals to their fellow workers in prison is exactly that of an army which has lost some of its men in battle. They are to be recaptured; it is part of the struggle. Allport's evident unfamiliarity with radieal theories and attitudes has led him again into ridieulous misstatement.

And onee more: "The Bolshevist believes in sending bombs through the mail because . . . . " Whatever else the Bolshevist does or does not believe, there is an extensive pre-revolutionary literature made up of arguments between the Bolsheviki, who did **not** believe in sending bombs through the mail, with the soeialist revolutionaries of the left, who did so believe. Merely Allport making another exhibition of ignoranee about all sorts of radicalism.

### Peaceful Rioting

His knowledge of radiealism is on a par with his knowledge of English history. What are you going to do with a man who says, "Thus in England, a peaeeful class system has existed for generations, while in Ameriea . . . . " And he says this right in the faee of peasant revolts, "Great Rebellions" (of the bourgeoisie against the nobles), "Glorious Revolutions," maehine smashing riots, Chartist riots, and the present arming of the British Faseisti against the labor unions!

What are you going to say to a man who stops his diseussion of soeial psychology to boost the League of Nations as the agent of peaee—in spite of the faets that all the countries in the League are even now arming against eaeh other, and the whole League is arming against Ameriea?

On what eommon ground can you meet a fellow like Allport who thinks that "overspeeulation" and "too great an extension of eredit" lay the foundation of a panie, and brings about depression—that old, disearded theory!

But for all that, he admits that some soeial wrongs are objeetive. If he eould be eonvinced of the Marxian theory of surplus value, he might admit that some radieals, at least, fall into the group of inventors, whieh he praises highly. There are sueh people as soeial inventors. He might admit that the bulk of the individuals in radical movements are men who see a little farther than some, and are fighting for their class, even as the present masters of industry eame into power, by fighting for their class, against the nobles.

And we, on our part, will do well to remember that some "radicals" are really not radieals in our interpretation of the word, but in Allport's, and we will save ourselves a lot of trouble by watching them. Every movement has its "lunatie fringe," and if Allport helps us to realize this, we forgive him his insults, even his ignoranee.

Behaviorism does destroy the foundation for that aneient but stil persistent argument against radiealism: "You can't change human nature." Man, according to the behaviorists, is not a bundle of eternal instinets, but a mass of conditioned responses, whieh are learned, and are therefore socially changeable.

**SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, By Floyd Henry Allport. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 453 pages. $2.50.**

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**STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,**

**Of The Industrial Pioneer, publisbed once a month at Chicago, Ill., for October 1st, 1924.**

State of Illinois ) ss.
County of Cook )

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Frank Gallagher, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Industrial Pioneer, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Name of Publisher: Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Name of Editor: Vern Smith, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Illinois.

Managing Editor: Vern Smith, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Business Manager: Frank Gallagher, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

2. That the owners are: Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.; Tom Doyle, Sec.-Treas., 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

F. J. GALLAGHER,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of September, 1924. EMIL HORWEEN, Notary Public.
[SEAL] (My commission expires Jan. 24, 1928.)

.W.W.I

# INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

# INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY

## *Read These Popular Labor Papers, You Don't Know the Labor Movement Unless You Do It.*

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# The Vanguard of Capitalism

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## *Labor Must be as Aggressive as Capital*

Capital, even in these days of its decadence, is restless, expansive, lustful of new conquests. Capital is like an old and faded harlot, ever anxious and longing for victory over youthful virginity. The emissaries of capitalism go out all over the world, prying, investigating, appraising, and claiming the raw materials of commerce, and the markets of primitive peoples. The exploiters march into the noble forest, and lay it waste, without a thought for the future generation. They scour the world, spoiling, and making wars for spoil. From the Arctic Circle with its gold, seal-skins and whale-bone, to the islands of the South Seas, where the native is cheated of his pearls, copra and tropical woods, go the active spirits of capital, working night and day to swell the money bags of their masters who rot at home.

Labor can meet this mad energy only by equally great energy. Labor can defeat this destructive looting of the treasure boxes of the universe, only by rallying at once, to stand on guard before them. Organized labor demands that the world be placed in its safe-keeping, for the protection of this and all future generations—but Labor must struggle to take it from the fat hands that hold it now and crack the whip over all workers.

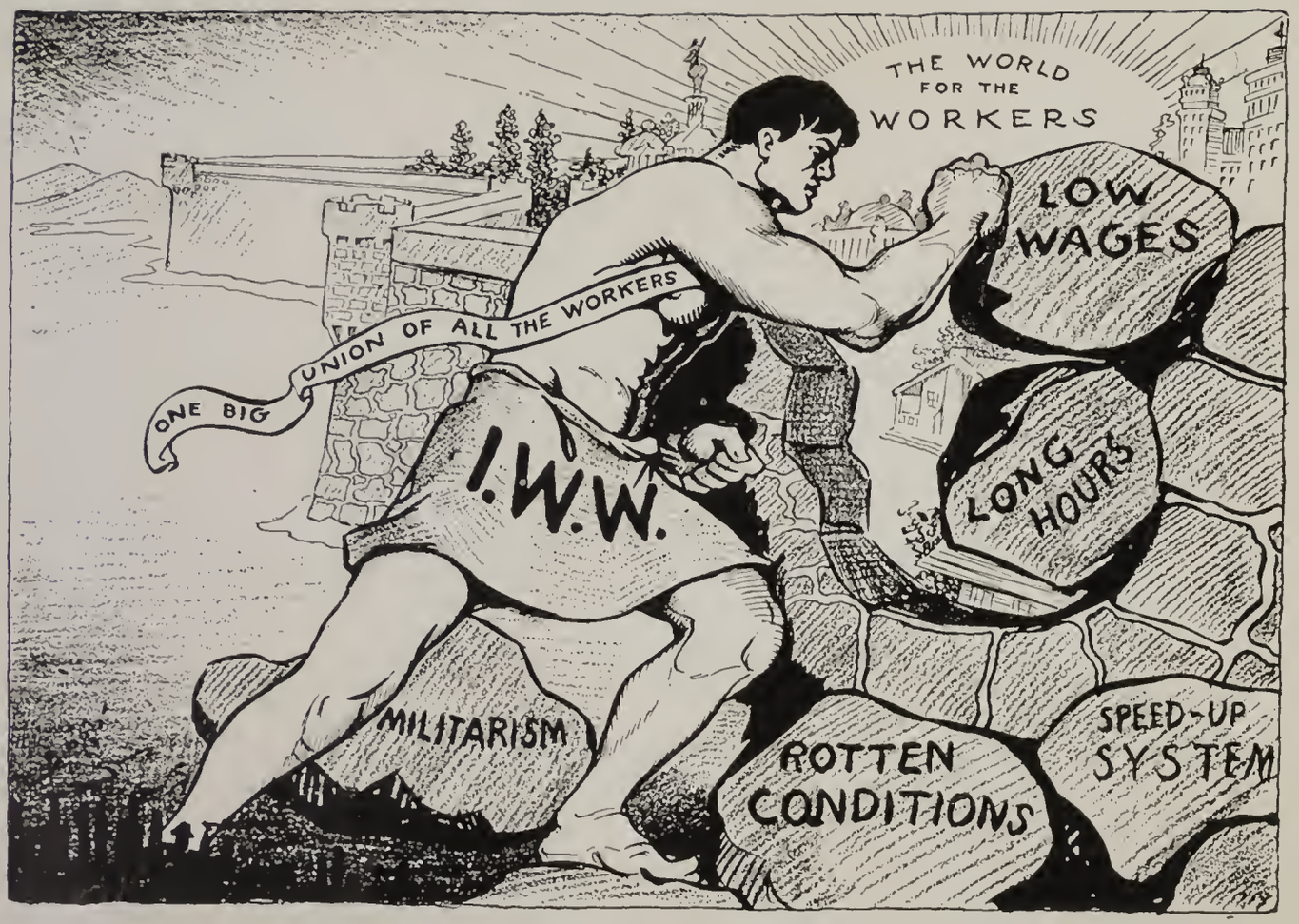
Be Ready, Workers! Join The Revolutionary I. W. W., The Advance Guard Of Labor!

# The Industrial Pioneer

*An Illustrated Labor Magazine*
*December — 20c Single Copy*

## *CHRISTMAS IN THE U. S. A.*

"Peace on Earth - Good Will Towards Men"




# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system".

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

# A Wobbly's Birthday

By MIKE GOLD
**(By Permission of The Plebs)**

OTHERS got tired, others lost hope and shut their mouths or started little garages and grocery stores, found harbors of peace,
Others sold out, turned respectable labor leader, or politician or foreman,
But Big Joe never shut his mouth, or turned respectable.
He was loyal; the enemy nailed him to a hundred crosses, they strangled him in a hundred prisons,
They spattered his body and soul with their machine-gun fire of lies, beating and persecutions,
His quieter friends thought Joe was wasting his life, his wife grew discouraged, his children became Americanized and left him,
But Big Joe Connolly could never desert the labor movement,
The cords of birth still held him to his mother.

They tried to make a foreman of him once, but he turned them down.
And once a silly District Attorney tried to buy Joe, but Joe laughed at him in the prison.
And once they tried to frame him with a woman but he laughed at the woman.
And once they tried to lynch him, they strung him up and let him down, but they never made him show the yellow,
The cords of birth still bound him to his mother.

He never knew why he was loyal, or why he would rather die than desert the labor movement.
And thinkers would argue with him, and try to understand his passion, but he could not explain it to them.
He could not explain that his mother had given him birth on the stormy sea of poverty,
Where strong men had wept, knowing the bitter fate before the child,
But his mother's faith shone like a light on a rock,
And she bred him to manhood, despite the black midnights and steep waves of poverty,
And the cords of birth still bound him to his mother.

Her back was twisted and bent with many loads, her hands scarred by a thousand labors.
She was small, weak, kind, but dark and terrible as a jaguar at times;
She sewed, swept, cooked, she never rested,
She took in washing, she stole wood and coal from the railroad yards in winter.
When her man was killed, she did not despair, but went on fighting,
And Big Joe loved her, and never forgot her after she died,
The years went by, jail-sentences, discords, strikes, defeats, spies, fighting, thirty-five years of tragedy and hope in the labor movement,
And the cords of birth still bound him to his mother.

Big Joe Connolly is fifty years old today,
And it is thirty-five years since he entered the labor movement.
And the workers have brought a horse-shoe of blood-red roses to the union hall,
And they present it to Joe, who blushes behind his big grey moustache like a schoolboy,
And they shake his hand, punching him and hugging him like huge brother bears, showing him their rough love,
The pretty young girls kiss him, and the big, slow, kind mothers in shawls smile as they clasp his hand,
The children climb his knees and grab his arms for affection,
And someone makes a rough speech, built of honest words like bricks,
And Joe answers in a torrent of words, like logs pouring down a Maine river,
And the workers listen with tears in their eyes, glad that he will be loyal to the grave,
And glad that the cords of birth still bind him to his mother.

THE I.W.W. IN 1924
FEDERAL POLITICALS FREED
ORGANIZATION IN MAINE
CRANBROOK STRIKE
BURNS DUPLICITY EXPOSED
IDAHO C.S. LAW SMASHED
AID TO MEXICAN STRIKERS
CENTRALIA AFFIDAVITS
NORTH DAKOTA BLACKLIST SMASHED
MAGNIFICENT RESISTANCE IN CAL.

# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Edited by VERN SMITH

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Vol. II. DECEMBER, 1924 No. 8

The Burden Bearers

# A Few Black Flashes

By VERN SMITH

## Some Aspects of Present-Day Negro Slavery

The "Big House"

### SECTION I. THE WHITE TERROR

**FIRST of all, there is a negro problem, a race problem. It is a miserable nuisance. More than that, it is a crime and leads to crime. That would not be so bad, if it were not for the human suffering, terrible and unforgivable human misery and cruelty, involved. You will hardly be able to read the newspaper for a single day without some evidence of the more spectacular sort of pain and terror being impressed upon you. Some negro is lynched, or nearly lynched, or has his house burned, or is ejected from a white restaurant, or whipped or threatened with burning at the stake, every day, in the United States of America. This is merely the surface of the thing. This is the part that is "news." Down underneath, in drab, perhaps uninteresting ways, there must be running a broad current of horror, fear, cruelty, misery, subjection. It stands to reason that there is far more actual pain inflicted on a far greater number of people in this every-day subjection and repression, than in the (relatively) few actual cases of mob violence that come to the front and get into the newspapers. Only a personal investigation, and a careful one, could get at the matter; you would not ordinarily find the intimate sorrows thrown at you.**

In 1921, as many a reader will remember, there was a period of unemployment throughout the whole of America. Having no job, and a little saved up wages, I felt the urge to travel through the Old South, which I knew was, industrially, fifty years behind the times, and see what last century looked like, and what they were doing to the negroes anyway.

The negroes live in the South. About ninety percent of them live in the states known as "The Old South," Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia.

My trip took me on foot, really on foot, no railroads, and very few "lifts," from New Orleans north along the new highway to Meridian, Miss., from there eastward over well travelled roads to Montgomery, Ala., and from there to Atlanta, Ga., Columbia, S. C., Greensboro, N. C., and Richmond, Va. This is a pretty fair cross section of the South, except that it omits the rice swamps of the Atlantic coast and the sugar cane section of

the Gulf coast. It does take in the timber country of Louisiana and Mississippi, where the cypress logs come from, and the cotton district of Alabama and Georgia, and the tobacco country of the Carolinas and of Virginia. And these are the main industries of the South.

Now it would be quite impossible to give you an adequate idea of the situation by describing this route, day by day. Generalizations are dull. Probably the easiest way to get an impression, or a general idea of the situation, is to pick out illustrative incidents, some of them so illuminating, that like flashes of light on a photographic plate they stick, they change something chemically, and they leave their picture behind them forever.

* * *

The first of these flashes was in New Orleans. There I met a girl, the daughter of an old French family, that had fought through the American Revolutionary war, and lost good blood, and fought again through the Civil War, and lost most of the family, and had been ruined by losing, as all the "best people" of the South did lose, "that species of property known as slaves." She trotted me around to all the parish socials, and took me to Easter services in St. Patricks, where you can see a statue of the good saint that was brought from Rome. He has a fence all around him, to prevent too many affectionate embraces from too religious Catholics. (New Orleans is all Catholic). But there is a hole in the fence, through which the saintly toe projects, for people to kiss. They have already worn away the toe-nail with their kisses. But this is a digression, and shows merely the hold of superstition on the "best people" of that part of the South.

In other parts of the South they horsewhip Catholics out of town, and would as soon kiss St. Patrick's toe as the devil, but there they have other superstitions.

Now to show the position of the negro. One day I came to see this young lady, and the negro maid went up to announce me. I had called at that house perhaps a dozen times, and the negro girl probably knew of but one word with which to designate such persistence. I heard her say, loud enough to sound down the old carved staircase to me, sitting below, "Miss Cam-meel, yo' beau's heah."

I'm sure she meant no disrespect. But she certainly learned that there are things about the affairs of young white ladies that the colored race may **not** take cognizance of. There was the sound of a loud blow, and then the sound of other blows, and heavy breathing from the exertion of applying them, suppressed weeping and threats, and orders to be silent. I don't know what the maid was beaten **with**, but when I saw her face with the marks still upon it the next day, I can vouch for the fact that she was beaten thoroughly.

Meanwhile, my lady came down, quite smiling and collected, though just a little bit apprehensive

Locomotion In The South

as to whether I might not have heard the remark about "beaus." After a careful question or two, she proved to herself, as she thought, that she was safe on that point, and then she passed the whole affair off with an excuse for her flushed cheeks. She had been forced, she said, to "put that black girl in her place," and it had "upset her." She didn't object to my knowing she beat the black girl, as long as I didn't know why.

* * *

North of New Orleans, near the Mississippi border, a genial person picked me up in his buggy. Yes, down there they have lots of horses and buggies. There are automobiles too, but a good many of those belong to northern tourists. Your Southerner sticks to his good old nag and the four-wheeled buggy. This man said he was a doctor, whether horse or man he did not specify, and I delicately avoided asking. I led the conversation onto the negro question, and my host declared it didn't exist. "We got 'em sca'hed," he explained. "Yo got to keep 'em sca'hed." That's the way the Ku (he pronounced it "Q") Klux Klan wuhks. Plays on the supi'stitions of the stoopid niggahs. I 'clare, yo'd be suhprised how supistitious a niggah is—any niggah.

"Yo' see that tree ovah theah—that dead one? That's wheah we hanged Mary Liza. Mary Liza had some trebble with the she'iff. Ouah last she'iff was jus' one of the boys, and he sho' was fond of his niggah wenches, aluz chasin' 'em. Mary Liza put on airs—too doggone pahticulah fo' a wench. Altogetheh too pahticulah.

"Anyway, she stuck him one day—killed him with a butchah knife, and we had to hang heuh, Yeh, we hanged heuh on that tree.

"Well, this is what Ah was sayin'. One day Ah come by heah with my black boy, Jim. Ah says to Jim, 'Jim, if youah brave, yo' can uhn a quatah, easy.' Ah don' nevah pay Jim mo'n about two dollahs a week, so a quatah looked good to Jim, an' he said he was puhpahed fo' anything.

"So Ah says, 'Now Jim, that white spot theah undah that limb on the groun' is the last piece of eath that Mary Liza evah teched on live, an'

(Continued on page 41.)

# Textiles–First Capitalized and Most Capitalized

By INDUSTRIAL PIONEER SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

IF you want an illustration of the latest developments of capitalism, just come to the textile towns of New England. There you will find another industrial revolution going on, and with it a financial evolution, that are making for enormous changes in this historic industry.

The Draper automatic loom is coming in rapidly, displacing skilled workers and enlarging the army of the unemployed. And great company mergers, engineered largely by banking interests, are centralizing the power of the owning class. Coupled with this is the movement of the industry towards the South, the new super-companies transferring much of the work to the fields of cheaper production in the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Texas and Kentucky.

The writer recently visited the leading cotton and wool centers in Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Everywhere he found a condition of misery that is probably not paralleled in any major industry outside of bituminous coal mining. Half the cotton workers and nearly half the wool workers are continuously unemployed and most of the rest are on a part-time basis. The average wage, even at full time, is only $20, or thirty-odd percent less than that of the average worker in other industries.

Before discussing the tangled union situation which is largely responsible for the pitiful condition of the textile operatives, let us take up some of the industrial changes that are victimizing the workers:

The Spirit Of The Whole Textile And Garment Industry

The comparatively small number of workers required to operate the great spinning and weaving rooms strikes a visitor to any of the giant cotton mills of such typical textile towns as Lawrence and Lowell, Massachusetts, or Manchester, New Hampshire. Where before the war there was one operative to every six or eight looms in the weaving rooms one now finds the workers widely separated. From sixty to forty whirring looms are now found to each weaver. The ratio of machinery to worker is widening every month as the newer automatic looms come in.

### Demotion Or Discharge

Skilled weavers who lose their old jobs are kept as helpers in some cases. An experiment is now being conducted in the Pacific Mills, a $20,000,000 cotton corporation in Lawrence, whereby one weaver is operating 72 looms, with three assistants. The weaver who is making this test demonstration is paid a wage which is extraordinary for his trade. He is getting $30 a week. His three assistants, former skilled weavers, get about half that.

In the spinning rooms new machinery is rapidly reducing the number of workers needed to produce a given amount of thread and yarn. With the changes in technique craft skill is being eliminated. For instance, the mule spinners, a once well-organized part of the craft union councils in the industry, are disappearing. New Bedford, which clings to older methods of production than some of the other towns, has one of the few mule spinners' locals still remaining.

Financial consolidation is taking place rapidly. In the last three years as many great mergers have been effected. Take the case of the Amoskeag Manufacturing corporation, which runs the town of Manchester, with its 14,000 mill operatives. This is an old company and many workers still think it is a Manchester company. But recently it was taken over by Kidder, Peabody & Co., the largest banking corporation in New England, with headquarters in Boston. The same company runs the great American Felt company, one of whose subsidiaries is the Roxbury Carpet company, which is now fighting a strike by the United Textile Workers. It also stretches its arm into other industries and a glimpse at Moody's Manual of Corporations will show the reader that it is the boss of the Waltham Watch company, where 3,000 watch workers are on strike against a wage reduction. The bankers who are taking over more and more of industry from the old "captains of industry" are concerned only with dividends. The wage reduction just posted at Manchester and the Roxbury and Waltham strikes are in line with the policy of the new control.

### North and South Compete?

Go a little further south, into Rhode Island, and you will find the old-fashioned, independent manufacturer disappearing. In the Blackstone Valley, in the northern half of this tiny industrial state, the Manville-Jenckes company, a new $39,000,000 cotton cloth concern, leads the field. Its mills beat the other plants to it, by putting a ten percent cut through two months before the election. The Manville-Jenckes company also has big plants in the Carolinas. It plays the slaves in Dixie off against the Rhode Island workers.

Again in the southern half of Rhode Island, in the Pawtuxet Valley, a great cotton mill consolidation has taken place. The B. B. & R. Knight company, with more than a half million spindles, was taken over by the Consolidated Textile Corporation, with large interests in six southern states. Still later the bond holders of the Consolidated assumed control. The bond holders are a group of big banks, chief of which is Chase National of New York City. In keeping with the bankers' psychology, a 12½ percent wage reduction is announced for two Knight mills that are reopening. All the Knight mills had been closed since April while the market was being supplied from the South. There are 19 Knight mills in all in Rhode Island and Massachusetts. The new wage rates are expected to apply to each of them as fast as they reopen, unless the workers organize resistance.

Of interest to I. W. W. readers is the name of William M. Wood, of Lawrence strike and dynamite plot infamy. Income tax reports show Wood splitting more than a half million dollars with his Uncle Sam. Wood did not take all his profits from the American Woolen company. He had his finger in other textile pies. He is chairman of the board of directors for both the Knight and Consolidated companies and on the board of directors of smaller concerns.

Many textile companies are still outside of these combinations. Particularly in the old cotton milling towns of Fall River and New Bedford is ownership still largely in the hands of the local families. But the trend towards consolidation is rapid. Fall River mills have not been getting much trade lately. More than two-thirds of its spindles are idle. The day of the independent operator seems to be passing.

### Ever Notice This?

The bosses are organizing more: the workers less. That is the unfortunate situation. The feeble and confused state of textile unionism is a disgrace to the American working class. This is not a pleasant admission to make, but facts had better be faced or we will never get anywhere.

Let us take up a half dozen of the leading textile centers and look them over from the standpoint of organization. Begin at the north with the great company-controlled town of Manchester, N. H. Here is the United Textile Workers, with just about enough members to hold a charter. It led the 1922 strike and may lead another movement, but all it has today is a small nucleus. Besides it there is the new company union that has voted for the ten per cent wage cut.

### Historic Lawrence

Take Lawrence, historic battleground. We all know about the great Lawrence strike of 1912, which the I. W. W. won—against the mighty American Woolen company. Today there are some wobblies in the town but no I. W. W. organization. We still remember the 1919 Lawrence strike led by the Amalgamated Textile Workers' Union. No Amalgamated organization is in Lawrence today. Again in 1922 the One Big Union furnished the leadership for most of the Lawrence strikers in the successful fight against a proposed wage cut. The One Big Union has closed its office in Lawrence, though some O. B. U.ites are still there. Small organizations of the United Textile Workers' Union and the American Federation of Textile Operatives—a still more conservative union—remain, but they are very small.

Lowell, first of all New England textile cities to use modern power-driven machinery; scene of early union efforts in the forties; battleground in 1912 of the striking I. W. W.—Lowell has just one local office, that of the loom fixers' local, affiliated with the United Textile Workers' union. This

DRIVEN OUT BY MACHINERY

The highways and byways are cluttered with old horses, displaced by motor trucks. The parks of New England are full of old, skilled men, driven out by the automatic loom. Capitalism cares no more for the one than for the other. They can both starve. Only organization can save the men. Only men secure themselves have time to think of the beasts.

union may have sixty members. There are mills where it hasn't a single member in good standing.

Fall River, with its 4,000,000 spindles, and its neighbor cotton city of New Bedford, have proportionately more union members than the others, but the card carrier is in a minority even in these cities. Their union is the American Federation of Textile Operatives, very conservative and non-militant. While the United Textile Workers, the One Big Union and the Amalgamated Textile Workers were tying up other textile centers in 1922, the American Federation of Textile Operatives kept their mills running at Fall River and New Bedford. It is true that they supplied several thousand dollars to strikers in other places, but they made infinitely more profits for their owners as a survey of the 25 and 50 per cent stock dividends of that year will show. The A. F. T. O. has been losing members during the industrial depression.

Down in Rhode Island the United Textile Workers' union has enough members in the Blackstone Valley to stay on the map, but it has not risked a battle to restore the wage cuts in the Manville-Jenckes mills. It fought through the 1922 strike, but it has a bad record in strikebreaking in strikes led by other organizations, and the distrust which the radical workers feel for it is one of its most serious sources of weakness.

Last summer the I. W. W. had two good mass meetings. There were a thousand workers at one. But here again, though there is interest in the I. W. W., there is no I. W. W. organization.

In the smaller Pawtuxet Valley the Amalgamated has one energetic local but only a small minority of the workers are enrolled. It may, however, be able to lead a second fight here; its leadership in the 1922 strike was militant.

Two years ago another independent industrial union, the Amalgamated Textile Workers' Council, was organized. It claims 1,500 members in woolen mills in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and led a small strike this fall.

### Few And Divided

In considering all these unions it must be understood that less than ten per cent, probably less than five per cent, of the textile workers are enrolled. And this tiny majority is split among a set of rival unions, competing with each other, and often carrying on an energetic warfare against each other, rather than against the employers.

A movement for unity has been going on for several years under the leadership of the dyed-in-the-wool conservative American Federation of Textile Operatives, which feels its own weakness. None of the radical unions are in this movement, and the United Textile Workers' union of the A. F. of L. throws cold water on it. So far, however, it is the only unity movement of any success.

A way must be found! Who will find it? There are Wobblies in New England who say that the I. W. W. will again rise to the position of influence it held after the Lawrence strike.

# As a Working Girl Takes a Slant

ANONYMOUS

## ARE THE "COMMON WORKING GIRLS" WAKING?

**This article comes from no radical. The feeling throughout is one of hatred for intolerable conditions, born of observation. It is the rebel spirit that speaks, not the educated, class-conscious unionist. But is not this a first step? Would not women who feel like this one be ready for our propaganda?**

**I AM a laborer, therefore I am unintelligent, dumb, inclined to be vicious, and were it not for the good corporation for which I work, the consensus is that I would be in jail—such are the low tendencies of a working girl.**

**The shop I toil in has everything for the uplift of the down-trodden working woman. To begin with, there is the Savings and Investment Fund, to teach us to save. Marvelous! If we save we will not be paupers. That is what Mr. Boris, the head of the personnel department told us, and he must know. We pay five dollars a pay day into the Savings Fund. Our pay day is every fifteen days. When we pay five dollars a pay day in for five years our money doubles! We are rich! Provision against old age is assured us!**

But it is a strange thing that not a person has ever been with the corporation long enough to double his or her money. They lay you off for several months, when you are in the Savings Fund four years or more. When you go back to work, you begin all over again on the Savings Fund, for when you are laid off you are given every cent you invested, and no more. Interest? Who said anything about interest?

The trouble with these working girls is that they are positively dumb! They do not want to learn! That is what Mr. Holst said, and he ought to know. He is head of the Welfare Department. He says we imitate the rich; we wear silk stockings, fur coats, hand-made hats. We do. We earn them. So, is it any of his business how we dress?

"Young Dave," is what we fondly term the manager's son. Some day Young Dave will be the manager, and he will be no good! He is a pretty boy, ultra-fashionable as to dress, and has three cars. He takes us girls out to roadhouses, dances, dinners. I went with him once—to a dinner. I wore a dinner gown, and had my hair marcelled. Next day I was laid off—indefinitely. His dad and mother were eating with a party near our table and spotted Young Dave with a working girl. After three weeks I was taken back. Our corporation is just.

I sew in the cushion department of an automobile plant. There are thirty girls in this department. Some noons a "Y" worker comes and teaches us to play games, for the poor working girl must be shown. Again a city welfare worker comes through and stops to sympathize with us. We are, according to the head of the corporation welfare department, "poor, scurvy working girls."

I went one morning to the welfare department to see about withdrawing from the Savings Fund. I had over three hundred dollars since my second start, and with it I meant to purchase a fur coat. Mr. Holst was not at work at that hour—almost ten. I sat down to wait. He entered from another entrance and asked his secretary what was wanted of him. She said: "Joan Fair is here to cash her Savings certificates."

"Another of those scurvy working girls!" he said. "Show her in."

When I stood before him he sniveled and said smilingly: "What can I do for you, my dear? It is a pleasure to help you girls out."

We have also a woman welfare worker. When first she came she was said and led by Mr. Holst. We girls got hold of her and pepped her up. She is about thirty-five and a regular thoroughbred. She was long on baths, healthful lunches, ventilation and plain dressing for us when first she came. We soon cured her and plainly demonstrated to her that even though we do labor for a living we like nice things, and we are not really vicious; also that we take a bath when we feel like it, and if the night is cold enough to freeze a brass monkey, we do not open the windows.

Most of the girls in our room are intelligent. All are good workers. Some are real high class and other take university extension courses. They all hold that if the firm paid us a better scale of wages welfare workers would be unnecessary. They pay us as low as they dare and then hire people to tell us how to eke out a small wage!

The office workers scorn us. They are typists, file clerks, accountants. We are laborers. The welfare considers us their specimens. They educate us to spend little. Then they make a report relative to this and their work for the day is done. They eat good food, attend good shows, read good books, wear good clothes, live in modern houses, drive their own cars. But the "scurvy working

(Continued on Page 30)

# A Perspective of Tonopah, Nevada

By CARD NO. X-112357

**Tonopah, Nev., October 28, 1924.**

**This article was read at the M. M. W. I. U. No. 210 regular business meeting, Sunday evening, October 26, 1924, at Tonopah, Nev. Motion made and carried that article be sent for publication to Industrial Pioneer (and other papers.—Ed.) Signed by Tonopah Branch, M. M. W. I. U. No. 210.**

## Data on Conditions in Camp and Mine

A SILVER mining camp is Tonopah. Here the "white metal" is mined, milled and refined into bullion bars, before being shipped by express to the Selby Smelter or perhaps the mint, at San Francisco.

Tonopah is a typical desert town in southwestern Nevada—hot, dry and dusty in the summer time, windy and bitterly cold during winter months. Temperatures range from 100 degrees on hot days to 10 degrees below zero on cold ones. Altitude is 6,100 feet; annual rainfall about 6 inches; not a tree—not a stream; just a rocky, sagebrush, cacti basin on the west slope of the ridge, with stony hills and peaks surrounding the town.

About 4,000 people inhabit this mining camp. Approximately 600 men work in the mines and mills. Other workers are employed by coal and lumber yards, garages, oil companies, in stores, etc. A few find work with the water, light, telephone and sewer companies. Tonopah has two daily papers with their staffs, politicians as usual; also school teachers and educators earn a livelihood by training the youngsters in the grammar and high schools. "Main street" for four blocks is one continuous row of "business houses." Many of these are soft drink (?) places and clubs. There is a casino in the lower end of town whose furnishings and amusements are second to none in the west. The nightly "cabaret life" is a magnet in drawing the workers, to buy drinks and dance with the girls who work upon a "percentage basis." The "Line," where many men and women complete the picture, is in this vicinity and is common to nearly all mining camps. The accompanying photos will help the reader to a clearer perspective of Tonopah and its environs.

### Born by Accident

This camp was founded in 1901 after a fortuitous discovery of a rich silver ledge outcropping on the hillside east of town. A burro's slowness was instrumental in helping the prospector discover the white metal. The missile picked up to throw at the domesticated dumb slave was extra heavy, and proved to be a silver specimen from the ledge that erosion had loosened.

Tonopah's early boom days were typical of frontier mining life—rag and tin houses—hardships and privations. Travel and transportation were by

stage coaches and wagons. The first orc was haulcd a distance of sixty miles to the railroad. High grade orc was necessary to pay the costs of primitive mining and transportation. Two of the old leather spring stage coaches repose in a yard at the foot of Main street. Some present-day residents rode into this arid pioneer town in these vehicles.

Two broad-gauge railroads now serve this desert section—one from the south, connecting with the main line of the Santa Fe at Ludow, Calif., the other from the north, leaving the Southern Pacific trunk line at Hazen, Nev. A dusty, stifling ride is encountered from Los Angeles to Tonopah via Ludow on a hot summer day, desert a-plenty, for 275 milcs north of Ludow, past Shoshone, Death Valley and Beatty and on and on farther north.

Economic pressure must have been great to force men to brave this vast descrt, suffer hardships and prospect in search of rare metals and minerals that, if found, might make them more secure in life.

It isn't romance, nor is it the beauties of thc desert that lure (?) men to these isolated spots. Some there arc who sing and write about the wonders of desert greasewood and its aroma, of silvery moons and enchanted, starry, silent dcsert nights, but miners and prospectors usually have different perspectives from poets. Those who see romance and laurels in the mining industry have never drilled footage in the grinding, choking terror of the mine; they have never experienced a mine fire, a cave-in or a flood.

### Economic Determinism

It is economic determinism that forces men and their families to take up abode in these "out of the way places" on a dry desert. The early pioneer was governed by the same urge. The struggle for existence makes species migrate in search of greener fields, more favorable spots where competition is not so keen and subsistence is assured. That is why the emigrants crossed the plain to California, to Nevada, to the Comstock, to Tonopah and elsewhere. Thc "Big Wide West" was the path of least resistance to escape the carly factory exploitation system. (Eulogists of the Trail Blazers, take note!)

The concentration of mining wealth has gone on apace here in Tonopah the same as in other communities. The prospectors and miners of Butte, Montana, once owned "the richest hill in the world," but now the Anaconda Copper Company claims it. They have dispossessed the pioneer owncrs. Thcy dominate the state of Montana—exploit the great natural copper resources and the workers by the wage system of cxploitation.

The mining companies of Tonopah have acres and acres of mining claims. The ore deposits are striking toward the west of the district and a rush has been made to locate and filc on claims out on this big flat territory that was considered outside of the ore regions.

Hundreds of the populace have located and filed on claims. It is their "birthright" to have access to Mother Earth. But how does their "birthright" slip from them? "The History of Great American Fortunes," by Gustav Myers (Kerr Pub. Co., Chicago) tells how the land and natural resources were stolen by fraud and graft, as instanced in the huge railroad land grants, timber steals, oil and mineral frauds, etc.

These recent claim filcrs cannot compete with the established silver mining companics. The populace on the average can't sink modern mine shafts, but must sell their "birthrights" to the corporations for a few hundred dollars. These mining companies will then extract the mineral wealth by using the locators as their wage slaves.

Some system, isn't it, in this great land of opportunity, where everybody is supposed to have a chance, where honest effort fills the cornucopia, thc symbol of plenty?

### Machine Ousts Prospector

The prospectors arc vanishing. No longer can a windlass compete with a modern mine hoist. Private ownership of the means of life has been concentratcd to such a degree that the few own all while the many have empty hands.

This is the machine age of production. Capitalism is on the stage now and is playing its final acts before the curtain drops on the social drama of "Dog Eat Dog."

The present economic system is sick and needs constant bolstering to keep the structure from crashing to the ground; it has no equilibrium. The profit system is a contradiction; it robs and beats instead of assisting and providing.

The total production record of Tonopah mines is high. Nearly 7,000,000 tons have been dug from its wonderful veins. A deposit now being mined in the Victor shaft of the Tonopah Extension Mining Company (which is the largest producer) has a width of 110 feet and 600 feet long, of a good grade of silver ore. Last month a record shipment of bullion was made—the stated value being $234,000 for one month's production. The

TONOPAH—WHERE MINERS LIVE

JUST WAITING FOR "T. B."

total production values of the district amount to the huge sum of $130,000,000.

The Rotary Club of Tonopah has cast about for a suitable slogan to advertise this great silver mining camp and offers a cash prize for the best one submitted. A truthful slogan, one that would give facts, is no doubt sought for. I suggest this slogan: "Tonopah, the producer of white metal—and the white plague."

### One Dusty Hell

Miners of wide experience declare these mines to be the worst of all to work in, being hot and dusty, temperatures as high as 120 degrees, with humidity near the saturation point. In these "hot boxes" men work with just overalls and shoes on, and these get soaked with sweat in a few minutes. Until recently drilling with air machines (the stopers—"widow makers") was done without using water to prevent dust. The cuttings from this rock are sharp and glass-like. They stick to the tissue of the workers' lungs and cause a wasting away process known as the "miners' consumption."

In some cases it takes only a few months of this kind of work and these kinds of conditions to sap the miners' vitality to such an extent that if they do not get out of these mines and find work that is not injurious to the lungs they are soon planted out in the "boneyard"—the local cemetery where hundreds of workers' bodies are buried.

The water connections to drill machines and the use of hollow drill steel for water to reach the dust at the drill bit is not a total success; considerable mud and water is spattered over the machine miner and rheumatism is contracted. Again, the hole in the drill steel gets plugged up for various reasons, and the cuttings are dry and dusty.

The dust evil is far from being solved. The stopes and drifts are laden with dust and air currents keep it in motion. The mines are still claiming their toll of lives and the underground workers show visible effects of this dust scourge. Nor does it end with the miners; the population of Tonopah breathes the dust laden winds that carry back the dry mill tailings that are spread out over the flats below the town. Reports of government doctors state that a high percentage of the residents in Tonopah are afflicted with consumption. All this is a manifestation of civilization—of modern silver mining processes! Efficiency engineers direct these enterprises—well, anyway, lots of bullion is shipped!

### Swiftly to the Grave

The speed-up is used here. One man on a Leymer machine is required to drill a certain footage or break so much "muck", excuses for failing do not suffice—a time check is given the worker who would dare slow down. Where miners have better conditions and something to say in regard to work perfor-

med, two men on a machine is the rule instead of only one as in Tonopah's mines.

The general working conditions in these great (?) silver mines and mills are at a low ebb. Men are underground for eight and a half hours; lunch is eaten in the stopes and drifts; ventilation and sanitation in the mines and on the surface need immediate attention, for these conditions cause industrial disease and a high death rate.

The surface drys and locker rooms are stifling with foul odors from sweaty garments and modern flush toilets should replace the open filthy "out houses" around these shafts. Some mines have no change rooms—no shower baths—not a sign of a sanitary toilet.

Workers come out of these hot, foul mines and go to their rooms or homes, where a bathroom or other modern conveniences are rare. Tonopah is not a camp noted for sanitary conditions, and what there is comes high in cost; barber shop baths 50c—haircutting, 75c—shaves, 35c—the domestic water rate is three and a quarter cents per gallon. The water supply is pumped in from Rye Patch, a distance of fourteen miles north of Tonopah. A service charge of $2.50 per month for residences and more for business places is made by the sewer and drainage company. Sewage is dumped below town a short distance, making a foul place at that point—no treatment plant here.

Coal is shipped in from Utah and is only $20.00 per ton—cord wood $18.00. Necessary articles are high priced—desert food prices. Rents for modern houses are $30.00 per month—shacks, $10.00 to $20.00. Bootlegging is rampant in this camp, as it is in all the states of the country. Federal prohis make an occasional raid—confiscate a "still" or two—then booze prices soar.

### Fighting Effects

The dry raiders are "chasing a will-o'-the-wisp"—are in a vain pursuit. It's only fools who dabble with effects of things; common sense and experience prove that to eliminate an evil or solve a problem the cause or the root of the evil must be attacked. That job is left for the workers; it is they who will clean up the mining camps—make them fit places in which to live and work, where they will not have to drink moonshine in order to tolerate almost unbearable conditions.

To meet this high cost of existence in Tonopah the following wage scale prevails: miners and timbermen, $5.75; muckers and helpers, $5.25; hoisting engineers and blacksmiths, $6.00 per 8 hour shift; surface labor is as low as $5.00, while shaft work is highest at $6.75 per day.

The labor turnover is high, due to the hardships. Some workers stick and are willing slaves—their reward is the "miners' con" and ultimate death. The camp has many an old miner whose usefulness has passed and who is now thrown on the scrap heap, just like a discarded rock crusher, a worn out sinker pump, or a dilapidated mine cage.

When will slow industrial disease be compensated for the same as swift industrial accidents? The latter is covered by the state compensation while the former receives no attention—yet workers' vitality is ruined on the fields of industry.

Workers of Tonopah—you must fight your own battles. Nothing is ever given to you gratuitously—the conditions you now work under (as bad as they are) were fought for by the miners and other workers of yesterday—the recent strikes and demands of 1919-20-21 should be experiences of value to you—there is urgent need for further progress.

### Join The I. W. W.

The next progressive step for the workers in the mining industry is toward establishing the 6 hour day. It is imperative, not only in one industry, but in all.

The advancing machine processes, the standardization and simplification trend, are carrying on production with fewer and fewer hands and at the same time increasing the output of commodities. The shorter work day is the only logical remedy for unemployment and depression, and it is likewise a remedy to alleviate the dust evil and speed up in these mines and mills.

Is future history to record them as servile workers—enslaved and degraded? Or, on the contrary, will they shine as guideposts for future progress?

This article is an honest, truthful perspective, a vista or view, with data on conditions in this desert camp.

Exaggeration has not entered in the least; indeed, the picture could be more plainly drawn by citing specific instances of which there are many, but limit of space forbids that.

The mining companies and their tools are arrayed against the workers' progress. Manifestations of the class struggle are always apparent. The progressive worker—the educator—the agitator—is not wanted on the jobs. The bosses attempt to weed them out, but as long as working conditions are rotten and wage slavery exists, there will always be agitation and radicals!

May the time soon come when the workers will not permit their vanguard to be jailed and imprisoned or sent down the hill because of education and agitation, but will rally 'round every class-conscious rebel worker and proclaim that **"An injury to one is an injury to all."**

For we have a glowing dream
Of how fair the world would seem
When each man can live his life secure and free;
When the earth is owned by labor
And there's joy and plenty then
In the Commonwealth of Toil that is to be.

**It is the policy of Industrial Pioneer to get as many articles like this as possible. The fellow workers in Tonopah have done very well indeed. Next issue we are promised several good articles on the general construction industry. We also hope to have a review of the latest strikes in the Northwest in the field of general construction. All general construction workers who wish to get something in the January magazine are especially invited to write in. Make it a General Construction Workers' issue!**

WHY DON'T WE EVER HEAR OF AN ELECTROCUTION LIKE THIS?

# The Grafters of Los Angeles

(By HARRY FISHER)

**LOS ANGELES, Calif.—"Shakeup in County Charities Board. Names Withheld; Action Declared Result of Neglect of Duty.**

**"One employe of the county charities commission was suspended and another resigned as the result of an official investigation which was said to have uncovered evidence of misuse of public office for private gain.**

**"While there may be dismissals, there will be no arrests or prosecution.**

**"This announcement was made by W. H. Holland, superintendent of the charity department, who refused, however, to reveal their names."—LOS ANGELES HERALD, October 21, 1924.**

THE above is in substance the story of the latest scandal in official circles of the city that has arrested and imprisoned more members of the I. W. W. than any six other cities in America.

We have told in the columns of I. W. W. papers about the marihuana industry, of the opium-growing industry, and the correspondence school for instruction in the manufacture and marketing of fortified wines and ten-year-old whiskey.

We have shown that official investigation disclosed the existence and thriving business of these industries in Los Angeles. We intimated at the time that these "infant industries" were operated by enterprising Los Angeles business men and that possibly this, in a measure, accounted for the systematic arrest and persecution of the I. W. W., which organization closed the bootlegging joints of Portland, that the police were unable or unwilling to close.

### Sweet Charity

But we did not think a county that spent so many thousands of dollars to convict members of the I. W. W. of criminal syndicalism and to sentence them to twenty-eight years in state's prison, would use its **charities fund** to pay bootleggers' fines. Now we are convinced.

Here is the proof. Let us say first, by way of introduction, that the school authorities objected when they learned that school children, thirteen to fifteen years of age, formed a considerable part of the trade in the illicit traffic. When the newspapers got the story, traps were set, and in one week half a dozen establishments were found where booze was sold to children at six dollars a quart.

One fellow, a shoemaker, admitted his guilt and offered the detectives all the money he had, which he said was seventy-two dollars, and the remainder of his stock of contraband, if they would not take him to jail.

So he is now also charged with attempted bribery. In this connection it might be well to mention that about four months ago, in Pasadena, a suburb of Los Angeles, a truck driver who was the fiance of a minister's daughter and who made his home with the preacher, was arrested for bootlegging and sentenced to several hundred dollars fine and six months in jail. After a few days someone paid fifty dollars and the judge remitted the jail sentence. The preacher's daughter said she loved the boy and the preacher took him back under his roof. Whether he was able to do a more lucrative business after this publicity, or who paid the rest of the fine, if it ever was paid, the writer does not presume to know. If the Los Angeles County Charities bureau paid the fine, it was not reported.

### Excellent Teamwork

But this week somebody squealed and two of the charity officials were disconnected. Here is how it worked: John Doe is fined ninety dollars or ninety days. If he has the ninety simoleons he is liberated at once. But some of the parvenu vendors of hootch plead poverty and choose the ninety days. It must be assumed that the prisoner has a family depending on him for support. So here is a case for charity, and if a public charity is to function as such, it must extend charity to the needy dependents. But the Los Angeles County charities were nothing if not practical. After thirty days they philosophically reasoned that it cost two dollars a day to feed the family, while the prisoner is fed in jail and has still sixty days remaining. To feed the family will cost twice sixty dollars, whereas sixty dollars would pay the fine. So, as practical financiers, they decide they will pay the prisoner's fine and thereby save the county sixty dollars. Strictly a business proposition, as it were.

But evidently the superintendent was not taken into the partnership and the most recent deal fell through. What makes this particularly interesting at this time is the fact that in the past ninety days no less than eighty arrests were made of members of the I. W. W. charged with violating the "Busick Injunction," which prescribes membership in, as well as all activity for, that organization in California.

The injunction was resorted to, after it became evident that juries refused to convict on the criminal syndicalism charge.

### Where Charity Fails

Men have been in jail, or rather in a stockade, for varying terms of from ten days to three months without trial. Sometimes they are turned loose before trial, but since they invariably demand a trial, it is the exception rather than the rule, when one receives a five, ten or thirty-day sentence. Most of the cases are dismissed outright, only to be rearrested, when another period of waiting for a trial is only a repetition of preceding experience.

HE DIED FOR MORGAN.

# Making a War

By "VERSUS"

WAGING war is sometimes called a science, sometimes an art. And one time it was both. But here as everywhere else in modern affairs the machine has come in and craft skill has gone out. The old style professional soldier is no more, and any mutt is snatched by a draft board, flung into a training camp, given six or eight months' intensive military training, and adjudged sufficiently fattened for the slaughter. War is no longer a science, except for the general staff at the top, and not even an art any more, except for the field officers. For the ordinary workman, who makes up the rank and file of the army, war is a machine process. He goes forth as an individual, operating machine guns, or artillery, flame-throwers, or poison gas apparatus, tanks or tank guns, and is killed or wounded according to the laws of chance and the supply of ammunition on the other side, without much regard to whether he is personally skilful, courageous, or what not.

There is one thing about war, however, which is still both an art and a science. That is the business of making war, not waging war, but creating it. We have a great opportunity to observe this fine art going on at the present time.

The countries which are going to fight are the United States and Japan. It is not certain just when, though we know it will be soon, and any discriminating person can tell why. The reason for war between the two edges of the Pacific Ocean is that both nations need the markets of China, the last big, open market for cheap manufactured goods left in existence.

There are some other reasons, one of which is Japan's expanding population, needing territory in which to plant colonies that will not be cut off from the motherland. And still another reason is the desire of both countries to control the extremely profitable silk trade.

### The Little Guy Isn't Ready

If the capitalists of Japan and of America were about equally matched in wealth, and had at their command equally numerous and reliable units of cannon fodder, the fight would be on at present. This, however, is not true. Japan is much inferior in economic strength, and somewhat inferior in man power. Her superior position, next door to the market for which both countries struggle, is not of sufficient importance to offset her other disadvantages. She must, then, find allies. To whom

shall she go for aid? Naturally, to the economic helots of the United States, in Europe. The Dawes plan brought war much nearer in the Pacific.

The Dawes plan was a method for taking a mortgage upon Europe and placing the deed to the industries of Europe in the keeping of Morgan & Co., of New York. Grim economic necessity drove the European capitalists to this undignified position, and they are going to look with favor on any armed force that will come along, like a knight rescuing damsels, and save them from the American financial octopus.

### Two Ancient Enemies

Though not all of them. French capital is thoroughly united with Japanese capital in many enterprises besides this one. France will go all the way with Japan. But England is divided against herself. The same reasons that force the French capitalists to line up against America would also force the English capitalists to line up with Japan against the United States. In fact, England until very recently had a treaty of offense and defense with Japan. That treaty has been abrogated, and that for the very reason that England is worrying now as to which side she shall take in the new (the word is a jest of Fate) **Pacific** battlefield. England has colonies, with which by means of a sort of discriminatory tariff, something like the old German Zollverein, she is trying to do for herself what the Zollvercin did for Germany, namely, rivet half independent territories closer together, and lay a foundation for true, centralized Empire. But the colonies are developing industries of their own, and they are competing with Japan. Especially do they dread the Japanese immigration scheme. Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Newfoundland, may not agree to entering the war on the side of France and Japan, if the United States fights Japan.

Sir Auckland Geddes, master diplomat of the master class of Great Britain, recently used very plain language to a gathering of his peers at Westminster Hall, London. "The British dominions that look out on the Pacfiic," he said, "feel that in Washington there is an instinctive understanding of their difficulties which, when they come to London, they have to explain laboriously in Downing street."

The speaker seemed to surprise some in the audience with the remark that when the dominions look to the mother country and find no satisfactory understanding, "they are apt to look to Washington, and Washington, with inviting eyes, will look back at them."

The far-flung British Empire, Sir Auckland said, has yielded the leadership of the world in many respects, to the compact empire of the United States. He cited the Washington arms conference as an example.

And of course there is plenty of cause for disagreement between France and England, over German trade, and German mines, African territory, etc.

This leaves the line-up, France and Japan, with Italy as a probable aid, versus United States, the British Colonies, with England herself as a most unreliable ally of the United States.

### Morgan-Rockefeller Lose

The first skirmish of great importance was the consent which the League of Nations gave to Japan to fight the United States on the immigration question, without making formal enemies of the whole League. Score one for the Japanese capitalists!

The second step towards war was the battle of the puppet generals in north China. Chang Tso Lin is pro-Japanese, and Wu Pei Fu is pro-English and American. Japanese gold bribed away one of Wu's best generals, and Wu Pei Fu was soundly thrashed, though not entirely wiped out. Score two for the Japanese capitalists!

What the next test of strength will be, we do not know. But aren't things proceeding just as they did before the Great War of 1914-18? In that situation, there was a hurried groping about for allies, on the part of the two principal antagonists. There was a treaty, the Triple Alliance, which did not represent the new alignment any better than the Japanese-English treaty does now, and which was abrogated in effect if not in due form when the war broke out. And there was also the battle of the puppet generals, when the Balkans, with French sympathy, French aid, and Schneider-Creusot artillery beat the Turks, who had German staff officers, German sympathy, and Krupp guns. Once more the puppets fought; this time Russian and French Serbia gathered together a gang and trounced Austrian and German Bulgaria. That was shortly before the world war broke out. Germany, seeing her allies whipped, and the iron ring closing about her, slashed at it with the sword.

Will not the same thing happen now? Japan is winning the game of allies. Japan is winning the game of puppet generals. Japan is sitting next door to the Chinese markets. If the United States capitalists do not attack Japan, she will triumph. Will they not attack? A capitalist is a capitalist, whether German or American—and he will fight until the last common worker is dead before he will tamely submit to other capitalists running off with the market, and the source of raw materials.

### Fight Just Starting

The great war of 1914-18 was preceded by a terrific deluge of propaganda. This was necessary to make the proletariat and the farmers willing to bear the burden of taxation required for preparation for war, and to make the workers ready to fight in a quarrel that really does not concern them. Alarmist reports play a great part in this. Your statesmen, and particularly your military leaders, represent that your country lies open and undefended. They plead with you for just a few more battleships, just a few more trained officers. Here is Rear Admiral Fiske, doing his stuff at the service of flags," at the Church of the Heavenly Rest, in New York City.

ANTI-JAPANESE PROPAGANDA
(Cartoon from a Capitalist Paper, Showing Some Possibilities of Future Wars.)

"Certain nations are becoming stronger militarily, while we are becoming effeminized," said Admiral Fiske. "We can see, for instance, that in Japan the people are sternly repressing all tendency to luxury, and that a nation wide movement, almost feverish in intensity, is acting to aggrandize its air force, even working women and little boys and girls contributing their mites. We, on the contrary, are becoming more and more addicted to luxury and pleasure, while gaudy fashion shops almost monopolize our grandest avenue."

The ZR-3, if it had come on a mission of destruction, could have done a billion dollars of damage in an hour, said the admiral.

Admiral Fiske argued that competition among nations, while often leading to war, was also the stimulus of progress, and that "from this last it would be illogical to expect human beings could escape". He said the United States was surrounded by virile, ambitious and intelligent but poor nations, and mentioned Germany, Russia, and Japan. These countries, he said, "cannot justly be blamed" if they envy America's wealth.

"They realize that we have obtained it largely by means of war, and they can hardly be blamed if they say to themselves that they can get from us what we have, because they are more skilled in war," continued the admiral.

Admiral Fiske didn't say anything about our (that is, our capitalists') coveting the goods of other peoples, but he admitted in his last statement about our securing it largely by war, that we were probably no better than we should be.

**"Navy Day"**

Then consider the mass of inspired editorials that strutted and clanked their way through the pages of all our leading conservative dailies on "Navy Day," just passed. Here is a fair sample, from the Chicago Tribune:

"Britain's new program of fifty-two treaty cruisers (up to 10,000 tons), Japan's twenty-eight cruiser program, and the ten cruiser program of the United States are evidence enough of America's indifference to her naval needs. Japan's program of twenty-five cruising submarines to America's six is further evidence. America needs twenty-one more cruisers aggregating 209,965 tons to reach the 5-5-3 ratio of the Washington conference. Thirty-six cruising submarines aggregating 43,247 tons are needed.

"The next war probably will be a naval war on the Pacific. It will be a war of cruisers and airplanes. Two German cruisers acting alone destroyed 200,000 tons of British shipping in the last war. One hundred British ships were required to catch them. In the next war will be raids and savage thrusts at the great coast towns and the Panama canal. Fast cruisers will be needed desperately.

"The eighteen American battleships are built for twenty-one knots speed. Six Japanese battleships have a speed of twenty-three knots. Great Britain has one squadron of twenty-five knots, one of twenty-three knots, one of twenty-one knots. Our guns are outranged by Britain and Japan. The battleships Florida, Utah, Arkansas, and Wyoming are almost out of commission. They are coal burners with poor boilers. There is no money to repair them."

Lots of worries about the navy. More ships wanted, in spite of the 5-5-3 ratio. In spite of the round the world air flight. In spite of the Shenandoah and the ZR-3. In spite of Lewisite, and other poisonous compounds. In spite of all these, still more armament is needed!

Doesn't it remind you of "Preparedness Day" and its sequel?

Hear the echo from Australia:

SYDNEY, Australia, Nov. 13.—Prime Minister S. M. Bruce in a speech on defense problems strong-

ly repudiates the league of nations as being the reason why Australia has abandoned preparedness. Speaking at Orange, New South Wales, he said the league was too weak to enforce peace, and therefore it was useless to argue that the day had arrived when Australia might dispense with its defense system.

"The commonwealth navy should not be a mere mosquito fleet," Mr. Bruce asserted. "An attack on Australia will come from a raiding expedition under an escort of fast, modern cruisers. If those cruisers can be met by ships of equal power and speed an effective measure in defense will be established.

"The federal government had this in mind when it recently decided to build two 10,000 ton vessels armed with eight inch guns.

"The Singapore base is imperative to the security of the commonwealth and instead of contributing to warfare would be a factor in the promotion of world disarmament. Whether the British government proceeds with its work on the base or not Australia's duty is clear—it must maintain a relative defensive strength. If Australia strips itself of that strength there is no argument against an invader and white Australia is only a name."

And in regard to the Singapore naval base, this is what one of the most widely circulated and most capitalistic of American daily newspapers has to say:

"Britain, said Sir Percy Scott just before his death, cannot take a fleet to the orient adequate to defeat Japan. The same might be said with less certainty but with much truth in regard to the United States. The inevitable inference follows that Britain and the United States must cooperate in the western Pacific. The white powers in the Pacific must stand together.

"The key to the situation at this time is Singapore. With Hongkong, China, and Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, with Australia, New Zealand and Singapore well defended, ships of the Anglo-Saxon powers can operate with relative freedom from attack.

"Singapore hangs like a tuft on the tail of Asia down into tropical seas. It is the end of the Malay peninsula. It is three degrees from the equator and controls the channels of the shallow seas south of the great continent. Singapore is British. Before long it will be more British.

"With Conservatives returned to British rule the naval base at Singapore will no doubt be revived. A home for British battleships is needed in the east, if British power in the orient is to be maintained. Singapore was chosen several years ago. Later it was abandoned by the Labor ministry. Now, with the fall of McDonald, it will come back.

"British defeat at Coronel led the ministry during the war to consider the establishment of a base at Singapore. At the Paris conference it was decided to increase its fortifications.

"Singapore is a good place for a base. With Baldwin back, and maybe our dear Curzon, also Winston Churchill and fellow Conservatives, it is more than likely that Singapore will straightway be a base for British ships. Churchill already has come out for resumption of the Singapore project.

"That is good for America. The Tories never loved America too much, but their eastern policy usually helps out anyhow. The time may come when British and American ships will base together in Singapore as they once did in Ireland and Scapa Flow."

Yes, war is on the way. And all that will stop it is the overthrow of capitalism. Nothing else will be of the slightest avail. The thin piping voice of pacifism will be drowned out, as once before, in the war drums' rumble. The only thing that will save millions from dying again, and soon, is working class revolutionary action.

——wIw——

# Longview

By "BOOMER"

TO one who has eyes to see, and can analyze that which is seen, Longview, Washington, affords many sights. It is the stronghold of Industrial Feudalism, and the Long Bell Lumber company reigns supreme.

This company has revolutionized the production of lumber, not only in method of the actual sawing of lumber, but in many other lines of activity as well. It is estimated that of every dollar paid in wages by Long Bell, seventy cents come back to them.

The company also has supervision over the schools in their town, and own the picture theatres. Of course it is camouflage, interlocking directors. The mercantile establishments are run the same way.

The Columbia Mercantile company is only another name for Long Bell.

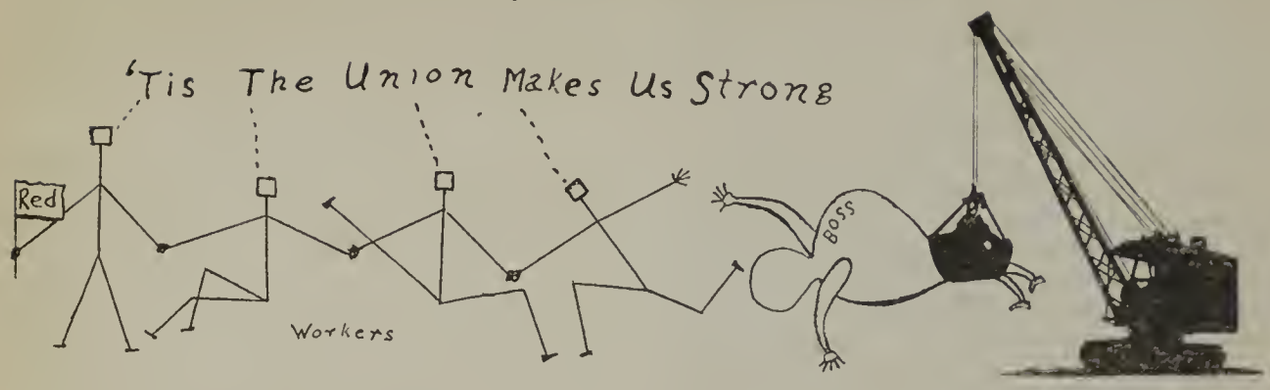
There are several score of neat little cottages at Longview. People passing there are led to believe that the sawmill employes live in them. Some do. The chief engineers, electricians, chief clerks, etc. But farther over towards Kelso is "Shanty Town," old shacks, cabins, tents, etc.—there is where most of the married employes working in the mill live.

Wages in the mill are $3.60 up, with very few ups. Just what prices are charged at the company-owned stores one can only surmise. But I was charged fifteen cents for one can of Tuxedo smoking tobacco, and when I informed the clerk that Tuxedo sold for 12 cents, he replied, "Not in Longview."

To obtain employment in the mill, one has to use the diplomacy of a Japanese minister extraordinary. To hold it one has to—well, many come but few stay. To remark that the rain is WET is sufficient cause for immediate discharge. All in all, Longview furnishes material for many educational articles, but as I am kept busy rustling jobs so I can eat occasionally, the readers will have to wait.

# The Social Forces

By JOHN CANNAVAN




## CHAPTER III.

### CLASS WAR

WHILE statistics are readily available, it would serve no good purpose to burden these pages with tables to prove what is of such common knowledge that it needs no corroboration—hunger and want are found, at all times, among the millions of the working people.

Very recently, and as a result of hunger and want, a conflict of nationwide proportions was waged in the coal industry; war threatened in the transportation industry. We have had a strike of the workmen in the railroad shop crafts with more than 400,000 shopmen involved; the textile industry is in the throes of industrial revolt; the building workers of Chicago and a dozen other cities are involved in disputes with the employers; the memory of the steel strike is still fresh; the packing industry has not recovered from the country-wide strike of a few years ago; the oil workers in California, the marine workers on both coasts, the lumber workers in several states, the printing trades, all over the nation there prevails and has prevailed a condition which goes to prove that there can be no peace between the employing class and the working class. Everywhere economic distress, or the fear of it, drives the workers to accept the gage of battle thrown down to them.

#### Work or Fight

The coal mine workers fought for an opportunity to live, for a small measure of security for themselves and their families. Despite the claims of the capitalist propagandists, the demands made by the mine workers were not extravagant. They were modest. These men, who go down into the dark of the underground and, at the risk of health, life and limb, wrest from its stony grip food for a nation's industries and comfort for a nation's homes, surely render a service that entitles them to food and comforts in keeping with the advancement of modern civilization. And, so far as the miners are concerned, there will not be permanent peace in the coal industry until there is permanent security for them.

So it is, also, with the workers in the transportation industry. They too, render indispensable service to society. They constitute one of the strongest factors in the social guarantee of security, yet they are themselves condemned to insecurity and to experience want. Where there is want there is not and cannot be peace. Economic insecurity is a common disturber of peace.

At a recent hearing by the United States Railroad Labor Board, the wives and children of railroad employees were brought before the tribunal to make the humanitarian appeal that no further wage cuts be considered, as they were already compelled to exist below a decent living standard upon the wages which the railroad corporations now propose to reduce. The women and children were poorly dressed and showed signs of malnutrition.*

Men and women, bearing the responsibilities of parenthoood, may endure these conditions without being at all resigned. They may observe the outward forms of legal peace, but in their hearts there burns the fire of resentment that threatens the social peace. Their fortitude is not to be mistaken for resignation. Theirs is an unvoiced resentment which has not yet found the means for its expression. Momentarily they preserve the peace, as do the conquered, under a coercion with which they have not yet fashioned the weapon to cope. The hope is ever with them that an end must come, and the means will be found to realize that hope. Peace there is not, and cannot be, for the material out of which peace is made—security—does not prevail among the workers.

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* The manuscript for this pamphlet was completed while the Railroad Labor Board was conducting a hearing, to which the railroad craft unions brought several of the families of railroad workmen, as living evidence that another wage cut would add to the want and misery which these workers and their families were then undergoing.

The Railroad Labor Board, a "public" body was not influenced by this human evidence that spoke so eloquently and pathetically of denial and distress. The wage cut demanded by the railroads was authorized by the Railroad Labor Board.

The shopmen's strike (1922) was precipitated by this action. But strangely enough the president of the organization which had supplied the greater number of the human "exhibits"—Mr. Grable of the Maintenance of Way Employees—refused to sanction the participation of his union in the shopmen's strike. He has since been appointed to the Railroad Labor Board—as a labor member.

### The Peace of Defeat

Throughout the length and breadth of capitalism there is only such peace between the classes as the victor imposes upon the vanquished. As long as forces of repression can be recruited by the capitalist class there will be the appearance of peace over considerable portions of society, but only the appearance, for the ferment of discontent, fed by hunger and want, and the sense of insecurity and uncertainty among the millions, is working everywhere and all the time. Peace, a dictated peace, is the wish of the capitalist class, but it is not the fact of our time, nor was it of any time in the past. Always there have been revolts—many of them crushed with a ruthlessness that would put the harshest tyrannies of old world history to shame—but the spirit of the workers has not been crushed. Every year, yes, every month, some portion of the working class submits evidence that the spirit of freedom still lives in labor.

Tyrants have always and unfailingly dictated a last decree. Even the very forces of repression, which the capitalists employ, and upon which, in the final analysis they must rely, to maintain their rule, are nearly one hundred per cent disappointed wage workers, whose sense of "duty" must be constantly on the alert" to suppress their natural sympathy with the element from which they spring and with whose experience and reactions they are familiar. A sympathetic wave might change them in a moment from the forces of repression to the vanguard of revolt. Peace in capitalist society is the dream of a fool, or the preachment of a rogue.

More than 6,000,000 bread-winners in the United States were involuntarily unemployed during the winter of 1921-22. This means that approximately 25,000,000 persons out of our population (estimated 110,000,000)—one of every five persons—were denied their supposedly "inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness".

### Soup and Salvation

When in our cities signs that are indicative of a decaying society hang without comment, what fool dares to take comfort from an illusive idea of peace. Here are some signs displayed this winter in Chicago: "Free lunch for the unemployed—12-2"; "Free bread and soup at 4 p. m. Women and Children Only"; "God is Love. No Free Lunch Today". These are not by any means all, but surely they are sufficient. These are not guarantees of peace. They are assurances that there is no peace.

Every city, town and hamlet contributes a quota to the ever-swelling ranks of the unemployed army. Little children—surely through no fault of theirs—upon whom no responsibility can be laid, equally with their parents, share and suffer the deprivations that result from unemployment. Stunted and dwarfed physically, mentally and morally, these little ones, members of future society, are denied opportunity to prepare themselves for the responsibility that the years will compel them to bear. And men speak of peace! The fathers and mothers, who contemplate the denials to which their children are subjected, are not peacefully inclined. Nor would they be worthy humans if they were.

### The Peace of the Dead

In the congested tenements of the larger cities, where cupboards are normally bare, and where clothing is scarce and thin; in the fetid gloom of the overcrowded lodging houses, where poverty-stricken workers drag their lean and hungry bodies for shelter from the biting, winter night's cold; in the homes of mechanics and laborers, which the long spell of idleness, unsought and undesired, has filled with the chill of poverty; in the roadside "jungle" where veterans of the "war for democracy" shiver,—bonusless and helpless in their idle misery, and ponder the rewards showered upon the nurses of "war babies". The men whose bodies prolonged capitalism's life tenure in the Argonne, and other bloody fields, are penniless, foodless and shelterless vagabonds.—Peace! How can there be peace? Peace under such conditions would be the peace of the dead in spirit, dead in ambition, dead to every sense of right, of justice, of responsibility. There is no peace. And because there is not, there is yet hope for the world and its workers.

The farmer, that man of peace par-excellence, stripped of his crops as cleanly as though he had never grown a bushel, is not peacefully disposed. Like the wage worker's his insecurity is irksome, and what irks does not induce to peace. The miners, the railroaders, the building workers, the oil workers, the textile workers, the marine workers, the slaves of steel, in every industry, in every locality, the workers want the peace that comes with security. Anything short of that means only a truce, with a renewal of hostilities at its termination. Everywhere in the capitalist world it is war to the knife and knife to the hilt, economically.

An organized capitalist class strives to impose its will upon society. It is opposed by a disorganized working class, which, from the reasoning inspired by its defeats, will eventually learn to organize itself correctly and press forward to ultimate and complete victory.

The hundreds of thousands in New York and Chicago, hungry and unprovided for, with the idle millions of others all over the country, emphatically deny the claim that there is peace. There has never been peace since the advent of capitalism. There never will be peace until another social system has been substituted for capitalism.

TO BE CONTINUED.

# Columbia

By VERA MÖLLER

When ancient tyrants sought to strike most dire
Horror and dread into the hearts of foes,
They found a fate for captives worse than fire,
Than crucifixion, torture's fiercest throes;
They bound a living captive to the dead,
They bound him to the dead man, face to face,
And left him smoth'ring there, till life had fled,
As if the corpse held him in foul embrace.
Who would not pray for tools to crush and wrench
His body, ere he gasped away his breath
Choking and strangling in the carrion stench?
And this land has chained herself to death;
For what is evil save corruption, what
Corruption, save decaying flesh to breed
Poisons, the loathsome things that breed in rot!
Columbia is bound by chains of greed
To many a corpse, for where the masters kill
Beneath her laws, why there a corpse remains
Whose dragging weight delays her progress still,
Whose poison spread in air creeps to her veins.
Manhood is slain where men are crushed by toil,
Body and soul in factory and mill,
Or where the masters' gold bribes slaves to soil
Their hands with evil while they work his will.
Childhood is murdered in the factory's hell
Where childish slaves grow wizened, dwarfed and old,
And womanhood is slain where women sell,
Goaded by want, their purity for gold.
And decency is slain wherever men
Are herded close like beasts in filth and slime,
Where Nature's instincts curbed in some foul den
React in darkness, many a loathsome crime.
Humanity is slain, where prisons rise
With lime-strewn dungeons, where the red whips fall.
Close to Columbia's feet each victim lies;

PRAYER WON'T HELP—DEEDS ARE REQUIRED.

With fleshless jaws they mock her, one and all;
And shall she stand as in a living tomb?
Then who shall free her from her self-made chains,
The masters' greed, before it brings her doom?
What force shall bring fresh vigor to her veins?
The workers' hands alone can set her free,
For they alone have grasped the sword of truth;
And she shall stand in that bright day to be,
Reborn through Freedom to a glorious youth.

# Rime of a Proletar Boy

By ENDRE ADY

(Translated by William A. Drake)

My father works from morn till night,
  Toiling his life away;
There is no better man than he,
  Search for him where you may.

My father's coat is frayed and worn,
  Mine new, but when I show
That I shall soon be grown a man,
  His old eyes seem to glow.

My father's masters are the rich,
  Whose taunts his spirit grieve;
But he brings with him hope and cheer
  When he comes home at eve.

My father is a valiant man:
  He spends his strength for us;
He bends his pride, but not for gold
  Is he most covetous.

My father is a sad, poor man,
  And were it not for me
And for my hopes he'd flee this vast
  And weary comedy.

And did my father say the word,
  The mighty rich would quake;
And there would be increased those few
  Who joy in life can take.

My father works and sweats and stints,
  Though strongest of them all;
He is more mighty than the king
  Of those who hold him thrall!

# EDITORIALS

*By The Editor*

## WE ARE HITTING BACK

TWO big strikes in the field of General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310 of the I. W. W., and one big strike in the lumber woods around Whitefish, are the proper answer to the boss, when he gets the notion that any old kind of conditions and any old sort of wages will do.

Each of these construction strikes has hit the California persecution a good blow, by demanding that no California products be used in the camps and that the class-war prisoners be released. If the working class were completely organized, so that all work could stop when a strike was necessary, the persecution of labor would drop altogether.

So would the exploitation of labor.

——wIw——

## A FAIR CONSUMPTIVE FLUSH

WHO ever heard such a lot about prosperity, now! Every form of capitalist propaganda is turned over to the Wall Street bulls, apparently. Every newspaper recites fresh advances in the stock market, fresh sales of iron and steel goods, fresh increases in the price of wheat.

True, closer inspection shows little ground for some of this shouting. The sales, while frequent, and frequently reported, are not big. Rails are being bought, but not in such quantity as to put the steel slaves back to work in any considerable numbers. Some of those who were working half time are now working full time, and there is a little more pressure from the bosses, to speed up.

The stock market advances, but no more than it has done many times, in the heat of an economic crisis. When industry looks shakey, certain kinds of stocks, which normally pay little dividends, are sought after by investors, because of their very conservatism. These stocks are those with a lot of plant, collateral, behind them, and they are considered by investors a harbor of refuge. This is even more true of bonds, secured by mortgage. The rise, slight rise, too, in price of these securities is nothing to justify such enthusiasm.

If grain prices went up, it is the world's misfortune. Crop failures in Europe are partially responsible, and that means starvation for some one. Wheat gambling in Chicago is partially responsible, and that means further concentration of wealth—no more money for the farmer, and no more men put to work. It means less consumption, not that the American working man will buy less bread, but that he will now have to spend more money for the same amount of bread, and will not have as much to spend for other things.

The building boom is slowly sinking into quietude. There will be some trouble about unemployment in the building trades before long.

The textile industry does not show much activity and such mills as are opening are doing so on a reduced force, and a reduced wage per man.

In fact, there is every indication that the period of continuous economic crisis into which Capitalism has fallen is not going to be improved very much or for very long. All this celebration about returning prosperity is like a tubercular patient congratulating himself on his rosy cheeks. There is a gorgeous flush on the face of things, but it doesn't mean anything good.

——wIw——

## SICK OLD CALIFORNIA

NOT all diseases are at present preventible. But modern medicine boasts truly of one thing, that no plague is possible again, if ordinary care be observed. Civilization has advanced to that point, at least. The old epidemics of cholera, smallpox, and the black death, are not to be feared, if ordinary, well understood, scientific opposition is made to them.

Thus by Aristotelian logic we prove that California is still in the dark ages. Every place must either be civilized or uncivilized. Plagues are impossible in civilization. There is a plague in California. Therefore California is uncivilized.

The matter goes farther. There is not merely one plague, there are half a dozen, in California. The capitalist press of Chicago still carries cold little news items about the spread of smallpox—a very deadly sort of smallpox—throughout the state of California. Well, smallpox, since the days of Jenner, has been an easily controlled disease. An epidemic of it was supposed until very recently to be absolutely unthinkable. All you have to do is to vaccinate the people, and they either do not get it at all, or have it in a mild and harmless form. Yet there are between eight thousand and nine thousand cases of smallpox in California, as this is being written, and they are of the very worst sort, the malignant variety.

The hoof-and-mouth disease we all know about. It affects primarily cattle, but people can get it. Just now it is appearing again, after they thought they got rid of it.

Hoof-and-mouth disease, at least in people, is a filth disease, caused by dirt getting into the food. The germs cling to the dirt.

Bubonic or Pneumonic Plague is a disease which cannot spread without the aid of rats and fleas, both of which pests demand as a prerequisite for their propagation dirt, ignorance and poverty among humans.

Typhoid epidemics are still slowly burning themselves out in several parts of California; there have been an unusual number of typhoid cases in

(Continued on Page 36)

# EDITORIALS

*By Pioneer Readers*

## THE INDIGNITY OF LABOR

By ROBERT GRAYSON

DO you remember Jack London's child slave, a marvel of efficiency in a speed-up factory? I mean the lad who finally quit his dear boss forever, walking away from drudgery and respectable society out into the green fields. He was "The Apostate."

To love that lad has been easy for me, since he is my twin soul—his flesh and my spirit—for in my heart wells up a great, abiding apostasy, the physical part of me still going into the industrial arena to win bread for my burdensome body.

So much twaddle has been said about work being dignified and such rot, even by radicals, who should know better, that it would be a breach of duty to remain silent any longer. A dissenting voice is needed to utter the sentiments we all hold for this work game.

Most of us have our hatreds. My own deepest loathing is reached with regard to those ugly and universal tasks that we slaves perform under penalty of death. It is, indeed, a fearful injunction that requires an alternative so supreme as its sole and inseparable impulse. There is nothing more degrading, nothing more painful, nothing more worthy of being shunned than work.

Let us resort to no pretending otherwise, just because the enemies watch and listen. We do not want their approval. We can be perfectly frank and declare that we hate work just as much as they do, and with better judgment, as we know the dirty thing better.

May no unsophisticated reader urge the fruits of work as extenuating circumstances, or reason for acquittal, as we try this miserable culprit before the bar of our prejudices against forced effort. Science promises to minimize the aching hours of labor performance. We revolutionaries see in a larger number of workers, i. e., all the race, and not one submerged class, a reduction of individual punishment.

If the goal is not away from work, then why not return to the more laborious productive methods of the past? No, we have a right to be lazy. It is more than this, our very bones house the marrow of laziness. This healthful estate should not be a peculiar possession of the rich. We must destroy the bourgeois monopoly of laziness, extending to the entire mass of driven, outraged, outcast robots its beneficent culture.

Work is a vile necessity. As civilization really comes into its own this curse must rob fewer and fewer hours from the lives of men.

——wIw——

**The evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race.—Mill.**

## CRAFT UNIONS AS A CAPITALIST SEES THEM

By W. H. SIKES

(Author, "Business Successes From Small Beginnings," Published in November Industrial Pioneer)

AS a small capitalist I will state for the benefit of the workers that so long as we can keep you divided into many different trade unions we are "sitting pretty" and can beat you at your own game.

Take for example the shopmen's strike in the rail industry with 16 or more craft unions. They lacked power to put it over and lost. On appealing for assistance from the trainmen they were informed that they were not comrades and must look out for themselves.

Three young men we had given employment to went into the rail shops during the strike. Recently they told me of the union the shop required them to join. This union, fostered and controlled by the railroad officers, is of course a movement intended to cripple the power of the workers.

Yes, Mr. Worker, just keep on supporting your craft union and voting with the political parties that are controlled by the trusts and **we are all right.** Above all, don't read and support the labor press. You might get wise to our game. It would not be respectable anyway to belong to the I. W. W. They are said to burn wheat fields, (though to be honest I live in Kansas and never knew of one set on fire by I. W. W. or anyone else).

I am a little ashamed that some of our fellows have raided and mobbed the I. W. W. halls, especially shoving the children into scalding coffee at San Pedro lately. But then, not many of our good people know about this and we don't think they will find it out. Stay with Sam Gompers and we are all right.

——wIw——

## SHORT POINTERS

(By A Fellow Worker)

By too much complaining you reveal your weakness—action is what is needed—change conditions that are bad.

By talking you give out something—see to it that those who receive what you have given out are getting something worth while.

By working hard and fast, you make profits easy.

By recruiting a new member for the organization, you accomplish a part of the historic mission of the working class.

By urging all workers to strike against rotten conditions, you are showing them the advantages of rebellion.

# The Sixteenth General Convention

By P. J. WELINDER
(Chairman of the Convention)

This article is an attempt at an interpretation of the I. W. W. Convention of 1924, the line up of force within it, the motives at work, and the economic situations back of the delegates of various industrial unions, which caused them to take the positions they did. Undoubtedly various other interpretations are held by other delegates and by spectators. It might be interesting to hear from some of them.

IT is doubtful if a convention has ever been held that has been considered worthy of publicity and has not been described as "the most important convention ever held in the history of the organization." As this, the Sixteenth General Convention of the I. W. W., happens to be the first convention I have attended, and the first one I ever attempted to deal with in the form of publicity, I ought to be permitted to start out in the time-honored manner.

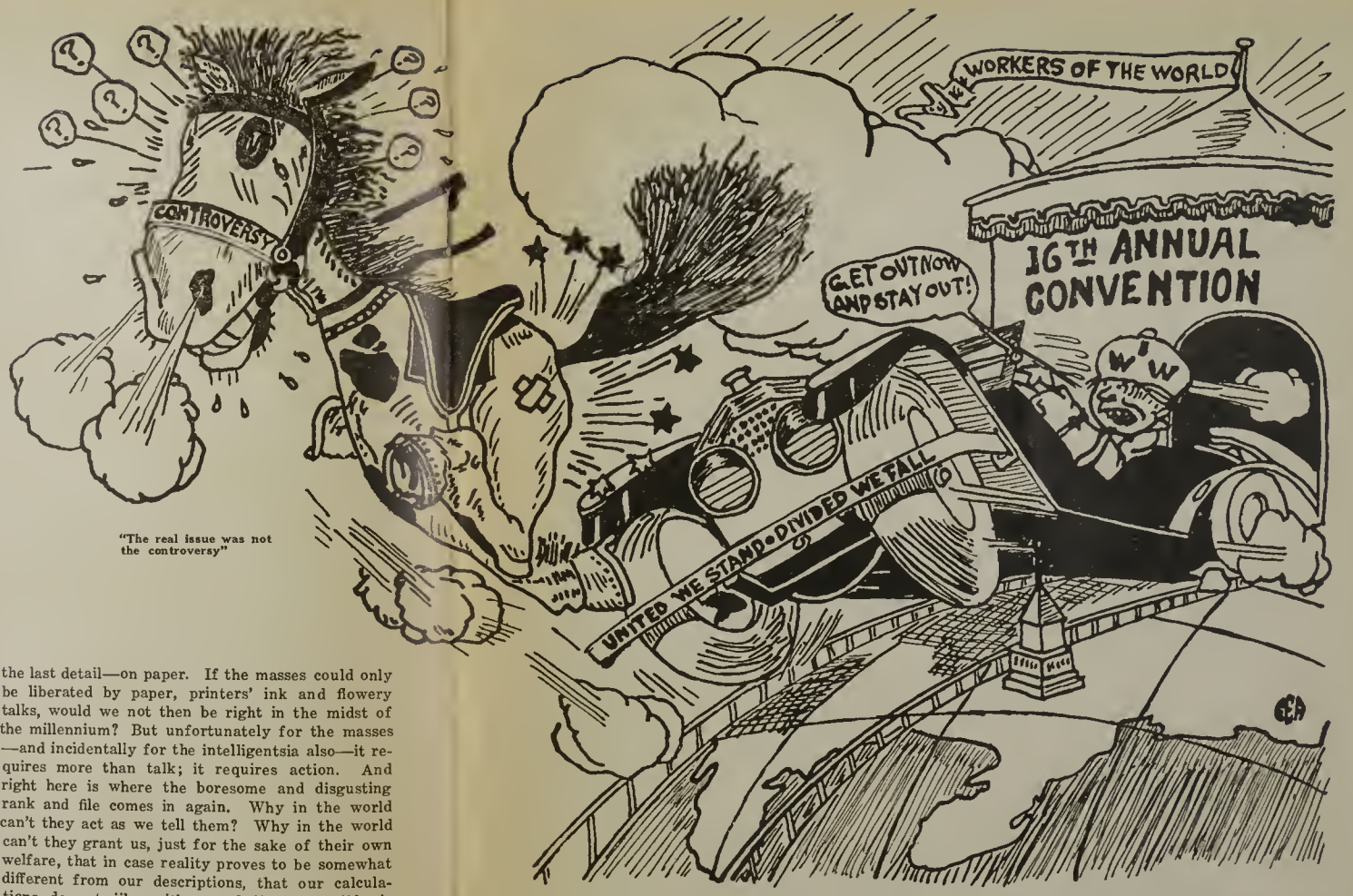
If the importance of this convention can be disputed, there is no one who can deny the fact that it lasted longer than any previous convention held by the organization. Also it cannot be denied that the many questions presented to the convention proved to be of such an importance that they taxed the working ability of the delegates to the limit.

### A Rank and File Convention

Now, of course, our critical friends will smile and tell us: "This doesn't say much as to the important or complicated nature of the problems at hand, but rather indicates the inability of the delegates in handling these problems," and we might grant them their contention. However, no matter how much disregard they may have for the rank and file as to its intelligence and ability to direct a working class movement such as the I. W. W., this much must be admitted: that the rank and file holds the finances and decides whether funds shall be available or not for the program outlined. We can curse or condemn or ridicule "the ignorant masses" all we please, but nevertheless we have to go to them when it comes to getting the means by which to realize our "intelligent," "logical," "sensible" and "scientific" (heavy on the "scientific") program.

### Economic Power of Rank and File

Not only is the rank and file the real ruler when it comes to the finances, but also when it comes to realizing our valuable programs—programs which we have so painstakingly planned and calculated to the last detail—on paper. If the masses could only be liberated by paper, printers' ink and flowery talks, would we not then be right in the midst of the millennium? But unfortunately for the masses —and incidentally for the intelligentsia also—it requires more than talk; it requires action. And right here is where the boresome and disgusting rank and file comes in again. Why in the world can't they act as we tell them? Why in the world can't they grant us, just for the sake of their own welfare, that in case reality proves to be somewhat different from our descriptions, that our calculations do not jibe with actual life; that life is wrong and we are right, and just do as we say? But no; all that these confounded masses do is to take life as it is offered them and attempt to make the most of it, and all our merciful philanthropy is only so much waste. Yes, they even laugh at our mental martyrdom and almost tell us to go to some rather unsatisfactory climate.




"The real issue was not the controversy"

### Don't Oversimplify

In the multitudes of "popular" treatises that have been written and are constantly being written, that which we call life is explained in such simple and plain terms that anyone can grasp it at a glance. It is no more complicated than a simple problem of mathematics, as in adding two and two together. Yes, by the very latest methods, and the modern form of specialization on this field, our social problems can be "logically deduced" and the solution arrived at as easily as a grocery man can compute our debt on a Burrough's adding machine. It can all be done by "canned brains" just as we are getting used to "canned music" and machine-made drama and art in general.

The only trouble in this case is that life refuses constantly to be canned, preserved or sterilized. Yes, it even strenuously opposes all attempts at evaporation and constantly insists upon a program of expansion and recomposition. Hence the many complications in our work.

To a close observer this convention certainly offered a great amount of material for study. No matter what may be said about the convention as a whole, this much can be claimed for it: it was composed entirely of workingmen, wage workers, if you please. And furthermore, although the gathering was not very large numerically, it certainly was representative. There were men from every industry, from the cities as well as from the fields and forests, from the mines and from the seas. There was the stationary worker, the so-called "homeguard" and there was also the migratory element of all shades. And each and all of them had their particular problems confronting them and sought to find a solution for them.

One would think that a classification of the workers into two main groups such as the migratory workers and the homeguards would be sufficient when dealing with our social questions, and theoretically it might be. At least it has the ad-

vantage of simplifying the question—on paper. But again, the actual conditions do not permit such a short cut, hence we might as well abandon it at once.

### The 110 Boys

Among the migratory element we have first to note the agricultural workers. They undoubtedly come into a group of their own. They are the industrial nomads and are rapidly developing a psychology corresponding to their present environment. While the construction worker or the logger at least can name a certain state as his home, the agricultural worker has to take in not only the whole U. S. A., but the whole North American continent as his address when asked for such information.

Viewing the delegation from the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, one could not help but think of Lewis Morgan's "Ancient Society." Those sturdy tribes of the aborigines, described by him, who refused to sacrifice their inherited and unbridled freedom for the blessings of our modern civilization, and whose nature so revolted against the bondage of capitalism that they committed race suicide rather than submit, seem to be reproduced in our modern agricultural proletariat of today. To them it is not a question of theories and of empty dreams or far-fetched speculations; to them it is a question of practical results. They know their prairie and their orchards and cotton fields; they also know exactly the financial situation of their boss, John Farmer. They know that before long he will be one of their numbers, tramping the highways and byways in search of a master, with the whole wide world as his home. They know all this from practical experience, and no amount of philosophy can ever tear down these naked facts.

Farmer John also begins to realize this unpleasant fact, and as a result he begins to fall in line with them. He can already visualize his future, not as a **retired** farmer in some snug and comfortable dwelling, but as a **tired** farmer without a farm, in a shaky "Tin Lizzie" hunting for a camping ground for himself and his family. Thus the class lines become more and more distinct.

### The 120 Group

The logger, on the contrary, is operating in a somewhat different environment. His harvest season is of a longer duration. The grain harvest on a field may last a few days only, but the "timber harvest" out on the mountainsides on the Pacific slope will last for many years, yes, for generations. The development of the transportation facilities have made the logging camps entirely different from what they were only a few short years ago. The families are invading the logging camps; we find schools, reading rooms, clubrooms, moving picture shows, electric light, water systems and sanitary facilities in modern logging camps just as we have them in the cities. If you ask a logger where he comes from he will tell you, "From Puget Sound," "Columbia River," "Coos Bay," etc. Ask a harvest hand, and he will tell you, "I take in the harvest." This last answer explains all; he doesn't know where he really comes from, neither where he will go.

Then we have the city worker, the one with a family and a little collection of household goods so necessary for him and his family. To tell this man to adopt the tactics of the harvest hands or the loggers is useless. Imagine for a moment that we offered the 65,000 slaves of Ford as a solution to their troubles, that they walk off the job and leave it for good in case Henry will not be decent! Would it not be a sight to see 65,000 workers with families starting out all at once in search for a Promised Land?

All these elements were represented in our convention. All of them were imbued with the same principles: Solidarity, One Big Union of all the workers. To solve this problem requires more than revolutionary phrases and philosophy. It requires actual knowledge of all these facts and practical experience in dealing with these problems.

### Not So Much the Controversy

The real issue in this convention was not the so much talked about controversy in headquarters. That is merely a temporary quarrel between individuals which will easily be overcome. The real issue was, and is, and will be for many conventions to come, the questions of centralized power and rank and file rule. The ultra-migratory elements were strongest in favor of centralization, and naturally so. It is only logical that they fail to grasp the real need for local rank and file expression. Why, when they look around them they find that all their fellow workers are really of the same opinion as they are themselves. When they cast their vote for or against a question they knew that they truly represented the great majority of their constituency. The similarity in their environment has established a greater uniformity in their ranks as to opinions than in any other group of workers.

It may be argued that here as elsewhere we find as great a variation in intellect and keenness as in any other group of men, and that is true. But they all look upon life from the same point of view. Place a number of men from all walks of life at the same point of observation, and it is a cinch that one will see farther than another and observe details overlooked by the others. But they will all be looking at the same object somewhat in the same way.

Among the city workers, on the contrary, we will find many different viewpoints. There are those engaged in industries which are yet more or less in a stage of individual ownership and operation and there are those engaged in industries almost completely trustified. There are the modern factories with specialization carried to the limit, and there are the out-of-date shops with diversified occupations. To them rank and file rule means something else than it does to the uniform type of the agricultural industry.

### A Deeper Aspect

Perhaps, if we go deeper into the question, it is really not so much a question of centralized power versus rank and file rule as still more the failure of the masses to grasp the difference between centralized power and centralized control over such power. I doubt if there was one delegate, or that there is one member, who doesn't acknowledge the necessity of centralized action, and it goes without saying that to secure it there must also be a centralized power to command such action.

How to so arrange our organization affairs that this power to act will always remain firmly in the hands of the membership is really the whole question.

In our discussions of problems arising out of this all-important question, our visitors and "friends" who always tender their valuable advice free of charge found themselves in a worse dilemma than the delegates themselves. The correspondent for the Daily Worker was especially embarrassed. The pictures he dew of the various delegates were certainly amusing. One day he found a delegate "truly revolutionary," next day he discovered that the same delegate was all "haywire." But we must give him credit for sticking to the job. Only one day he missed us. But we excused him gladly as the happenings of that day were enough to make any Simon-pure revolutionist dizzy. It was on the memorable November 4, 1924, when W. Z. Foster missed the presidency of the United States by a narrow margin of only 20 million votes.

We must admit that such a thing as true democracy within the ranks of labor, or anywhere else in society, can never be obtained under the capitalistic form of society, or any form of society that carries with it private ownership of the means of production. Yet we must admit, on the other hand, that until the workers are able to manage their own affairs they will never be free. To delegate the power of our organization, without a strict control over the use of such power, either to the delegates or officials means death to the organization. It will mean the desertion of all the fundamental ideals and principles upon which the organization is based and for which it is functioning.

Arguments in favor of disregarding the membership and depriving them of what is not only their right but their duty, to decide through a referendum or other equally representative medium their own affairs, should never be entertained. Such arguments are always based upon the same contentions: the failure of the masses to express themselves, and their failure to act correctly. Neither of them are any arguments at all.

### The Right to Be Wrong

Grant for the sake of argument that both are correct. What right has any man to decide for me if I want to decide the question myself? So long as there is one single member who demands to be heard on a question he must also be heard if we expect him to act. Only if we are willing to do the act required alone have we any right to decide alone. But so long as we appeal to the masses to assist in the actual work required we must grant them the right to decide the question also. And unless we succeed in interesting them so that they are willing to decide in a matter, we will never interest them enough to act on the same.

As to the mistakes of the masses nothing need be said. For hundreds of years the slaves have paid royally to the politicians and to "leaders" for making mistakes for them, and making nothing but mistakes, except so far as the individual well-being of the leader is concerned. They ought to be allowed to make their own mistakes if they choose to do it. Besides, I am firmly convinced that the masses will learn of their mistakes when making them themselves, while not even empowered officials learn anything from their mistakes for which the slaves have paid so terrible a price.

Yes, there is also the argument popping up of the necessity to act quickly, to make a short cut to paradise, whether the masses want it or not. It is as timeworn as it is foolish.

We are told that if we don't run to safety under the guidance of the intellectuals the whole darn capitalist society will come tumbling down on our back. Yet every time we try to escape the danger we find so many obstacles in the road which our leaders fail to remove that we never reach the much promised salvation. The only one who gets saved is usually the savior himself, and he does it by crawling into some hole barely large enough to shield him.

### For Emancipation

It might take generations and centuries before the workers as a class are free, in the full sense of the word. And not only the workers but mankind as a whole. But until the task is performed we have not reached the end of the class struggle. Again we will reaffirm our Preamble. We are not in the fight for a petty temporary gain. We are not in the class struggle as a factor seeking the rulership over subject classes. We are in the fight to the bitter end for the emancipation of our class.

That end can only be obtained by the long and toilsome work of educating the masses, of stimulating them to action in their own behalf, of making them self-determining human beings and not merely will-less slaves who obediently follow the voice or the lead of either appointed or elected governors or leaders.

The Sixteenth General Convention of the I. W. W. will prove itself most valuable to the masses by the fact that it voiced uncompromisingly its trust in the masses themselves; that it did not attempt to strip the members and prospective members of the organziation of their power. It reaffirmed our full confidence in our membership to solve its own problems satisfactorily to a sound progress along the lines laid down in our Preamble, and it is a cinch that the participants in this convention as well as the membership at large will soon realize the wisdom of such policy.

# The Revolution to the Front!

By FRED MANN
(Delegate to the Convention)

## Class Conscious Revolutionary Spirit Prevails—Reactionary Forces Receive Sound Drubbing—Principles Enunciated in the Preamble Have Taken Firm Root.

**THE sixteenth annual convention of the I. W. W. has acquitted itself creditably in its perusal of the internal affairs of the organization and the decisions that were made. The work of the convention shows that the great bulk of the delegates were not only Industrial Unionists but Revolutionists as well. The work of the convention can not be separated from the opinions that the membership holds. Telegrams and letters from all over the country expressed the devotion of the membership to the revolutionary principles that have stood the test of Capitalist persecution and the members' confidence in the convention and its ability to further the progress of the I. W. W.**

### International Affiliation

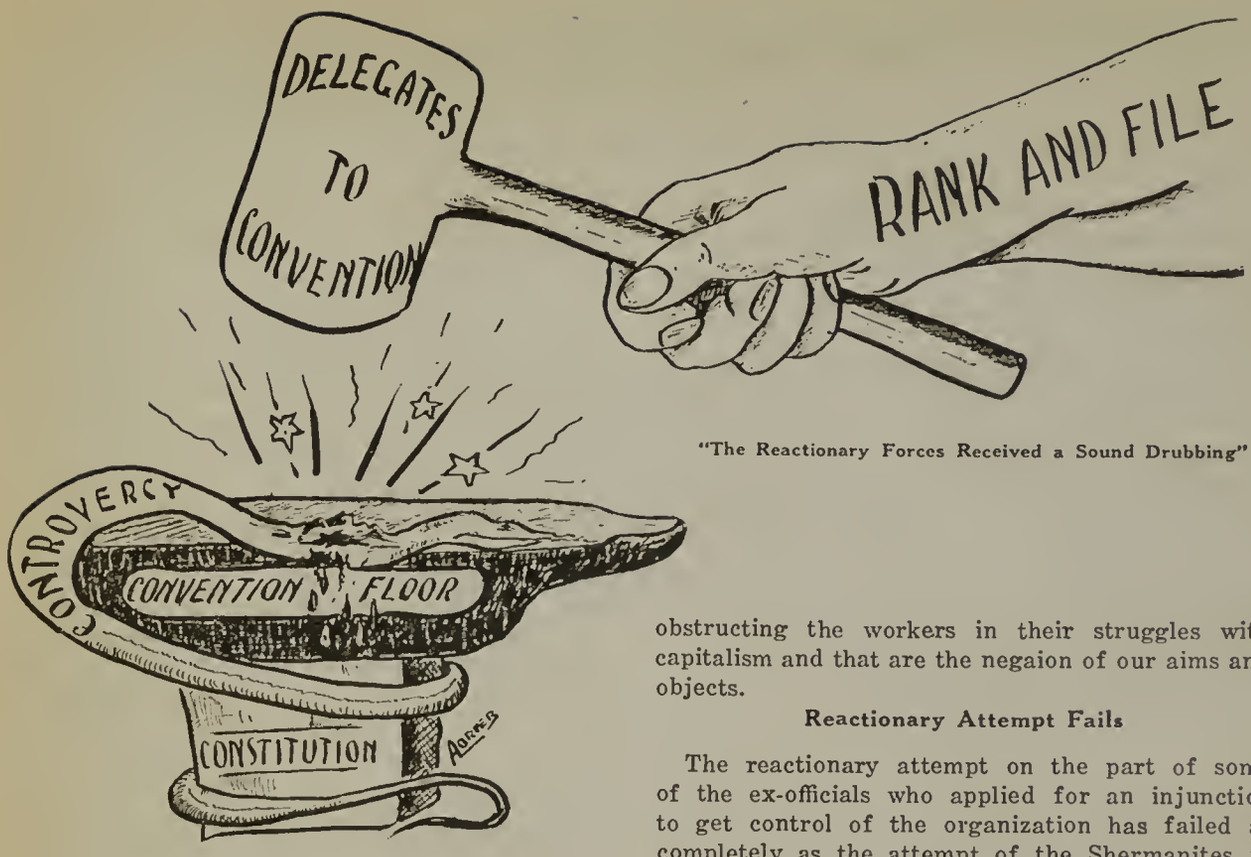
As usual the Red Trade Union International made its yearly appeal to the convention for recognition and the request for affiliation. The delegates affirmed the stand taken previously that the I. W. W. is an economic organization world-wide in scope and cannot have its policies controlled or dictated by any other organization.

To the surprise of many delegates it was announced that there are sixteen foreign administrations of the I. W. W. now in existence. Some of them are as yet unchartered, but have adopted the preamble and constitution of their American fellow workers. Requests from Germany, Australia and Sweden for charters were received. An urgent call from Czecho-Slovakia was read appealing to the I. W. W. to map out ways and means of establishing an administration there. A motion was passed by a unanimous vote to send a representative to Czecho-Slovakia who can speak the language and is acquainted with local conditions, to start them off in the right direction. The Convention instructed the incoming General Executive Board to work in conjunction with the Marine Transport Workers in calling a Congress of all the I. W. W. administrations. This is of great significance, as it will be for the first time that the I. W. W. will meet with representatives from all over the world. The Marine Transport Workers at this time have branches in every important port in the world. The I. W. W. is not nationalistic in its organization, as this action clearly shows, for this Congress it is hoped once and for all time will settle the question of international affiliation. It is the first real attempt to bring together the world's I. W. W. forces for a common assault on capitalism. The real workers' revolutionary Industrial International is in the making.

### The Future Policy

Ever since 1917 the I. W. W. has been on the defensive in its literature and propaganda as a whole. Because of the war with its hysteria and persecution and the strict surveillance of the Palmers and Daughertys of the Department of Justice, and on the advice of many of our attorneys who at that time were defending our fellow workers in the courts, our literature was modified to be "within the letter of the law" of War Espionage Acts, Criminal Anarchy and Criminal Syndicalism statutes. This process has been going on until it has become a pernicious belief with some of the elements in the organization. The fact is that the I. W. W. never did advocate any wilful destruction of property or injury to person or persons. The I. W. W. at no time gave any space in its literature to vehement assertions that the government must be captured or any part thereof. The I. W. W. did then, as it does now, advocate the capture of the industries by the workers through a well organized, disciplined Industrial Organization. It was on account of the principles of the I. W. W. and its program of organizing the working class that the master class became alarmed. Using the war hysteria as a means to an end, wholesale arrests were ordered, and many of our best members were kangarooed and sent to prison, sentences ranging from one to twenty-eight years.

This has been going on for years, is still going on and will continue so long as the I. W. W. adheres to its original cause based on its Preamble. In many states laws were passed prohibiting this or that, injunctions were issued enjoining the I. W. W. from organizing the workers. Through these trying war days our literature has not been consistent with our fundamental principles—here and there changes were effected, until we were faced with a clean-cut issue. Shall we continue along this uncertain course of education, and little by little submerge under the pressure of capitalist persecution? Or shall we take up where we left off before the war and pronounce our principles in uncolored words with no middle ground, no beating about the bush and without a single deviation from our preamble? Shall we put out our literature to meet with the approval of district attorneys? This policy is suicidal from a revolutionary point of view. The master class would have us on the run and keep us there. Whenever




"The Reactionary Forces Received a Sound Drubbing"

**the I. W. W. becomes active and shows signs of success, there and then the master class orders the state legislatures to pass laws, the judges to enforce them, and the sheriffs and gunmen to make the arrests.** Juries are **picked** and our literature misinterpreted to them (of course it makes very little difference, since the juries are bought and paid for). In patriotic fashion the press brands us "with the attempt to overthrow the government," and the millions of workers who have not as yet acquainted themselves with the true aims of the I. W. W. believe it to be true. From everywhere a cry of denunciation is heard. The I. W. W. can answer this in one way only—by broadcasting through the entire world its true aims and objects—to expose the entire well organized attempt of the capitalist class to wipe every vestige of working class organization out of existence and, in short, to acquaint the working class with the true nature of the class war, the causes underlying this struggle and their final solution.

The Convention discussed all these points at length and out of these discussions the following points of policy were adopted: that the Preamble was reaffirmed, that the class war is a grim reality, that mobilization of the workers on the industrial field for the overthrow of capitalism should be urged and advocated with more aggressiveness than ever before, that injunctions forbidding workers from organizing be disregarded, that the future policy of the I. W. W. be to disregard any laws, injunctions and decrees that have the purpose of obstructing the workers in their struggles with capitalism and that are the negaion of our aims and objects.

### Reactionary Attempt Fails

The reactionary attempt on the part of some of the ex-officials who applied for an injunction to get control of the organization has failed as completely as the attempt of the Shermanites in 1906. It is unnecessary to go into long detail in the matter. Suffice it to say that some time last year a conspiracy was hatched to place the organization in the hands of very questionable elements, and for no reason to warrant such action, an injunction was applied for in the Master's court. The usual cry of Rank and File was used by these **traitorous** splitters as a smoke screen for their hideous underhanded acts. They claimed that as soon as the Rank and File met in Convention they would lay their grievances before them and would be willing to abide by their decision. The Convention was two months off. In that period separate headquarters were set up and streams of propaganda were put out dealing with their so-called grievances. Lies and lies were circulated, causing dissension and disintegration within the ranks of the membership. Investigation committees from all over the country came to Chicago with the hope that some settlement could be effected and the organization be saved from the disgrace and dishonor it would endure in a capitalist court. But all attempts were brought to naught. Finally the Convention met. From all over the country telegrams and letters poured in expressing the confidence of the membership in the Convention. But the injunctionites under the leadership of James Rowan refused to recognize the Convention. All general officials were suspended; the entire executive board was deposed pending an investigation. Committee after committee was sent to Rowan & Co., asking them to withdraw the injunction and leave the convention, the representatives of the membership, to decide who is right instead of a

Master in Chancery appointed by a capitalist court. This they refused. After a thorough perusal of the controversy it was disclosed that their action in tying up the funds of the General Defensc Committee and depriving the men on trial of proper dcfcnsc and relief was uncalled for, as an auditing committee appointed from among the delegates found thc books in A-No. 1 shape. The books of the general organization were likewise in good condition, and the lies that were circulated about gunmen being in control of General Headquarters were just so much hot air.

That there was an attempt to split the organization and perhaps (who knows?) to deliver it into the hands of the master class, can be best ascertained by the testimony of J. A. Griffith, who turned "state's evidence" and laid bare the plot of his fellow conspirators. Under severe cross-examination that lasted a whole day it was disclosed that the injunctionites were preparing "to go it alone," as it were. Griffith admitted that Rowan and Buchwald were preparing the minds of their dupes to the point where a split would be justified. Then came the report of the auditing committee elected by the Convention. It was clearly proven that I. U. 440 officials were incapable and inefficient men and that the money of the membership was not paid out for incurred bills—but spent on taxicab rides, Pullman sleepers and boodle to further their intrigues.

After days of investigation the convention expelled Rowan and his gang, this to be ratified by referendum.

All the general officials were suspended permanently. This suspension was necessary in order to cleanse the organization. Not that the administration of Doyle, Fisher and Morris committed some crime, but because of the very fact that they were the point of attack it was considered wise and expedient. Temporary general officials were elected from the floor of the convention. The convention empowered the Lumber Workers and the Construction Workers' delegations to elect one from among each delegation to act as executive of his union. The Railroad Workers and the Metal and Machinery Workers are under the jurisdiction of the General Administration.

While this program of reorganization was being conducted, slimy propaganda was emanating from the splitters. They were calling upon the membership to line up with them and not recognize the convention. Their only points of issue were an attack upon the character of many of the delegates. All of their charges were fabrications.

They have been driven in the open and their propaganda clearly proves that their only cause is that of corruption and slime. The injunction is still pending and soon it will come up for final disposition before the labor-hating Judge Sullivan. The outcome, of course, is problematical, and no matter who is the victor in the court room the I. W. W. has suffered humiliation in the eyes of the world. The membership will of course vindicate the name of the organization by ratifying the expulsion of these traitors. This is a battle between the forces of progress and the tools of the master class in our own ranks. The working class must not have its confidence in the industrial movement dashed. We must oust the interests of capital from our ranks. Sherman tried this game in 1906 and failed, and so it will be written into the pages of history how the present splitters failed. The Class War suffers many setbacks, but the militants are never dcfeated.

——wIw——

## A WORKING GIRL TAKES A SLANT

(Continued from page 8)

woman" is ever to be meek, humble, poor, kowtowing to brains.

Old Dave cares no more for us than he would for an Airedale pup. Until Young Dave came to work at the shop we had a dark hole to work in and our foreman was unjust. Young Dave came in in 1916 and introduced modernity to his daddy.

My mother was ill two months ago. She was taken to the hospital for treatmcnt. I was in my locker a few days after mother had been removed to the hospital and I overheard the woman welfare worker say to Minna Arenson, the girl who works at the machine next to mine: "We must take up a collection for Miss Fair to help pay her mother's hospital bill."

"They got money," said Minna. "Joan's father is a railroad engineer. Her two sisters teach school and her brother is a bank cashier. They got a swell home."

"Then why does Joan work with common working girls?"

"Because she is common like us," answered Minna. "She ain't got no brains. I went to school with Joan. She can't learn and she tries awfully hard. She can do things with her hands but her brains are slow. She leads a Girl Scout Troop and—"

"A working girl a Scout leader!" gasped our welfare worker.

And so it is. We work in shops. Consequently we are dumb, ignorant, and full of evil tendencies. If an intelligcnt working woman refuses to do shop work and takes a minor clerical position, who will fill the industrial ranks?

More girls from good homes would go into industry if the personnel did not try to pick them up, do for them, educate them, and try to run their lives.

I make thirty-five dollars a week. I am good at this work. I am no good in books. I went to school for years and got nowhere. I wanted to be a milliner. My folks rebelled and I stayed home for two years. Then, in despcration, I took this job, made good, and stuck. Sometimes, when the brainy and all-good welfare workers try to patronize me, I think I will walk out, but I could not earn thirty-five dollars a week any other place in town, so I sit tight.

JOHN COMES HOME

# The Coming Freedom

A Dialogue

By PASQUALE RUSSO

PART I.

## IN THE MORNING

**(Two wage slaves meet as they go to their labors in Packing town).**

JOHN—(With a smile) Good morning, how are you Mike?

MIKE—I feel like hell, John. The landlord has raised my rent which means that the wife and kids will have less bread and butter.

JOHN—(Thoughtfully) Do not be ungrateful; thank the Lord for his many loving kindnesses.

MIKE—What kindnesses?

JOHN—At least one: that of giving you your daily bread.

MIKE—You are mistaken as to the source of my daily bread. It is not obtained from the Lord, but from my employer who in turn obtains it from the product of my toil. There is no relationship existing between my daily bread and the Lord

JOHN—(Dubiously) Infidel! Infidel!- Your arrogance will be punished in the hereafter.

MIKE—(After reflecting a moment) My concern now is not what may happen after my death but the very present pressing problem of feeding my children

JOHN—You blaspheme. Repent before it is too late. If you guide your actions by such thoughts,

at death you will be condemned to eternal torment in Hell.

MIKE—I take no stock in such dogmas. If there be a heaven, it must be on this earth and designed especially for the master class. They have all the good things of life. On the other hand, for the working class it is a Hell; they have neither comfort, convenience nor pleasure.

JOHN—(Excitedly) You speak as an anarchist. Are you a bolshevist or an I. W. W. agitator?

MIKE—(With some evidence of pride) I am an Internationalist, a class conscious workingman. I have no interests in common with the master class and I consider it my duty to carry the gospel of scientific Socialism into every shop, hoping thereby the workers will realize the immense value of that philosophy.

JOHN—Your statement makes it all clear. You are one of those foreign agitators going about creating class hatred.

MIKE—My aim is to educate the workers.

JOHN—(Very excitedly) If you do not like the way things are run in this country, why do you not go back to Soviet Russia?

MIKE—Evidently you misconstrue; I am an Internationalist, man of all countries, without allegiance to any.

JOHN—Then you are a renegade with neither religion nor country.

MIKE—(Emphatically) My sentiments are in accord with Thomas Paine's: "The world is my country, all mankind are my brethren; and I believe that religious duty consists in doing justice, loving mercy, and in an endeavor to make our fellow creatures happy."

JOHN—(Interrupting) Do you believe in social equality for Negroes; would you recognize them as brothers?

MIKE—Yes! They are my brothers and if need be I will fight by their side so that both they and I be emancipated.

JOHN—Uncle Joe, who by the way, has read the Chicago Tribune for the past twenty-five years, claims that the white man is mentally superior to the Negro, based on considerations of the size and weight of the brain.

MIKE—For the sake of common sense do not speak of the Chicago Tribune, which as you well know is decidedly biased and an avowed enemy of organized labor. If your uncle will continue reading the Tribune for an additional fifty years he will remain as ignorant as he evidently is now. But in reply to the theory of your Uncle Joe, I wish to call your attention to the findings of Prof. Beals. After a very painstaking and impartial investigation of a large number of Negro skulls, he came to the conclusion that they have a distinctive structural peculiarity, but that this difference does not indicate the intellectual inferiority of the Negro.

Dr. Alexander A. Goldenweiser wrote a book entitled, "Early Civilizations," and speaking about the unity of man demonstrated: "That the ape-like character of a Negro's jaws cannot be denied, but these very jaws are fitted out with a pair of lips that remove him as far from the animal as his jaws brings him near. For developed external lips are specifically a human trait, and in this particular the negro represents "man physical" more distinctly than any other race."

JOHN—Do you believe in the inter-marriage of white and negro workers?

MIKE—Yes, I do. It is quite out of the question for two races to live and work together without social intercourse and the frequent marriages that grow out of such a relationship. The two races have been intermingling their blood ever since the first slaves were brought to America and intermingling was indulged in during all the time of chattel salvery and even now after its abolition.

JOHN—Your statements are ridiculous and untrue! And, furthermore, your program is preposterous!

MIKE—Despite your opinion and despite all the laws framed, both races will fraternize matrimonially. According to so reliable an authority as William W. Gregg, a man who has devoted his life to study of the race question: "The mulatto percentage of the population in 1850 was only 11.2, in 1870 it was 12, in 1890 it was 15.2, by 1910 it had risen to 20.9 and it is now very probably much higher. The percentage of mulattoes in cities runs much higher, being for New York in 1910, 24.9, Boston 34.3, Washington 34,9, and Chicago 41.6. Such are the facts, John, whether you like it or not.

JOHN—Quote and say what you please. I dislike the negro, he is no good! In the Tribune of yesterday there was an editorial under the caption, "Rouge et Noir" in which it is advised that the negroes should not join the "reds," implying, of course, that "reds" are the enemies of society. While this advice is good, yet it is my opinion they will join the enemies and introduce a reign of terror in our country.

MIKE (Seriously)—John, you are evidently unaware that the Tribune is a tool of Big Business and as such inflames the workers' minds with race hatred, in order that they may be more successfully divided and controlled. Further, you fail to realize that the capitalists, as a class, fear the unity of the negro and white workers. By a union of the workers, white and black, we have the power to crush the despotic capitalistic class.

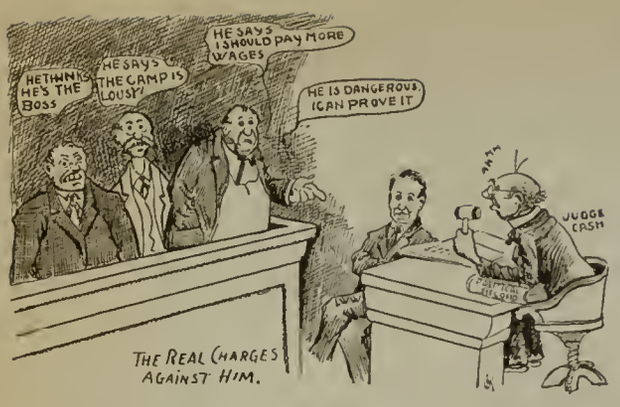
PART II.

## Lunch Hour

JOHN—Coming back to our conversation of this morning, I would like to ask why you insist on this class war when we as a people have the best government in the world?

MIKE—(Sarcastically) I admit we have a good government, the officials of which are all grafters.

JOHN—(Furiously) That is an untruth.


HE SAYS I SHOULD PAY MORE WAGES
HE SAYS THE CAMP IS LOUSY
HE IS DANGEROUS I CAN PROVE IT
JUDGE CASH
THE REAL CHARGES AGAINST HIM.

EVERY ONCE IN A WHILE FOR MIKE.

MIKE—Senator R. F. Pettigrew, in his book "Imperial Washington," tells the story boldly, truthfully and concludes: "The United States has already passed from republic to empire. We have a government of the thieves, for the thieves, by the thieves. It may be stated thus—a government of the corporations, for the corporations, by the corporations." In addition to this, Frank L. Vanderlip, following a $600,000 libel action stated: "Corruption has attacked the government at its very heart."

JOHN—It appears from these statements that both Senator Pettigrew and Frank Vanderlip are agents of the bolsheviki government and are trying in some manner to foster unrest in this country.

MIKE—Have you been reading the papers recently, especially in reference to the "oil scandal" in the Teapot Dome affair? If you read the items carefully, you will be compelled to conclude that the enemies of the American people are not the reds but the 100 percent pay-triots like Fall, Daugherty and William J. Burns, the last of whom was the Tsar of the Department of Justice.

JOHN—Right you are, Mike, there is some dishonesty in government affairs, but for this the capitalists are in no wise to blame. The people, in their collective capacity, are responsible; they elected the representatives.

MIKE—(Pessimistically) In this you are mistaken. The people do not elect their representatives. Elections, such as they are, are engineered by the money power.

JOHN—Well and good, but remember we have a wonderful document in the United States Constitution, which did and does permit liberty and freedom to all.

MIKE—The Constitution of which you speak is a scrap of paper, written on by lawyers and landowners. In the past it has served the master class well, and today is no less efficient. That document did not create a government of the people, but rather one of big business. The Constitution of 1787 was designed by a small class to further the interests of themselves. In regard to freedom, it is now a dead letter. Even now it is a crime to publicly read the United States Constitution.

JOHN—Such things could not possibly happen in the United States!

MIKE—They do not? Why, John, less than a year ago, Upton Sinclair was arrested in San Pedro, California, for reading the preamble to the Constitution, the document of which you have been speaking.

JOHN—Oh, yes! Upton Sinclair, muckraker and enemy of society; author of the Profits of Religion, Goslings and other bolsheviki books!

MIKE—Are you aware that Sinclair stood on Liberty Hill, in the land of the black hand, oranges and jails, protesting against the suppression of free speech and the persecution together with the prosecution of the membership of the I. W. W.?

JOHN—The I. W. W. should be exterminated! They are traitors to our country; preachers of violence and bloodshed.

MIKE—In one respect you are correct, the I. W. W. is disloyal to the master class, but their attitude toward the workers is one of sincerity. In regard to all these rumors of violence and bloodshed, you may rest assured that they are merely capitalist propaganda promulgated for the purpose of discrediting the organization.

JOHN—(Interrupting) Don't fool yourself, Mike, I wish to call your attention to the affair in Centralia, Washington, where with deliberation and in cold blood several American soldiers were slaughtered by the I. W. W.

MIKE—The facts of the Centralia affair are: the American soldiers were hired by the lumber barons of Washington to destroy both the property and lives of the I. W. W. They intended to wreck the union hall and hang several of the members. In defending themselves, the I. W. W. opened fire, killing a number of soldiers. In order that you may understand this matter, read "The Centralia Tragedy" by Ralph Chaplin.

JOHN—Chaplin, oh, yes! One of the traitors sentenced to 20 years at hard labor by the Honorable Judge Landis.

MIKE—Yes, it is true, Chaplin and many others at that time that opposed participation in the World War. The opposition of these men was based on the fact that all the industrial resources of the country are owned by the capitalist class and they as a class promote war. The members of the I. W. W. on trial were workers, and since neither they nor the workers obtained aught else but hardships from war, they, quite logically, opposed it. Should the time come when the workers take charge of the industries, the policy for which Chaplin and his fellows stood would be to reconstruct society, permitting each to do some useful work. whilst the resources of the world will be the property of all.

JOHN—Such a policy would do more harm than good. Should the workers capture society as

proposed by you, no doubt their first official act would be to kill all capitalists and preachers.

MIKE—In this you are mistaken. Our first official act would be, "'That all must work."

PART III.

**(The dialogue is continued as they return to their homes).**

JOHN—Referring to our conversation of the noon hour, I wish to ask: In case the preachers, lawyers, business men, and capitalists refuse to work, what then?

MIKE—(Resolutely) No work, no eat.

JOHN—Surely you would make some exceptions. Lawyers and business men, possibly, should be put to work, but you would not demand this of the preachers. They are the Lord's representatives on earth and should have leisure to study and preach his word.

MIKE—(Smiling) It is pleasant indeed, that you concede the necessity of lawyers and business men doing their share of the world's work, but consider more specifically the preacher. Under a worker's government he will possess the same right to preach as heretofore. He will in no wise be curtailed in that right. He may preach to his heart's content on Sunday, provided, of course, that he reports for work at the appointed hour Monday morning.

JOHN—What would result should Congress enact a law compelling every preacher to do useful work?

MIKE—(Laughingly) If the preachers should be put to work, for the first time in their lives they would be in a position to tell their listeners the truth, i. e., that the real hell is in this world for those who are exploited under the yoke of wage slavery. The useful employment of preachers would rid society of many parasites.

JOHN—During our conversation you have had much to say about the capitalists. Do you not know that the United States is the richest country in the world and this financial supremacy is due to the abilities of our capitalist class?

MIKE—You are mistaken, John. The wealth of this country has been produced by the workers although the capitalists have contrived to come into posssesion of it. Therefore, the workers own nothing at all.

JOHN—Surely, Mike, you are joking. Every one of our people enjoy the blessings of our prosperous condition.

MIKE—According to the report of the Industrial Commission for 1915, the distribution of wealth was as follows: The rich numbered two millions, each of whom owned on an average $42,000, making all told 84 billions of dollars. That is to say that 2 percent of the population owned 60 percent of the wealth. The middle class numbered 33 million persons, owning on an average about $1,500. The total wealth of this class was 49 billions of dollars. Thirty-three percent of the people owned 35 percent of the wealth. Of the poor there are 65 million persons, each of whom averages $107 or altogether 7 billion dollars. Sixty-five percent of the people of the United States own but 5 percent of the total wealth. Read the figures, the conclusion is plain.

JOHN—(Sadly) Yes, considering your figures, there are some injustices in the distribution of wealth, but they are modified and relieved by the very efficient work of the many institutions, all of which receive liberal donations from the capitalist class.

MIKE—In speaking of charity you overlook some obvious relations. During every sixteen minutes, in the United States, a worker is killed at his duty. At the very moment of his death he is engaged in producing a portion of the very wealth that is contributed to charitable organizations.

JOHN—Gompers, one of your own labor leaders, is a 100 percent loyal patriot and has for years fought the battles of organized labor; he does not talk as you do.

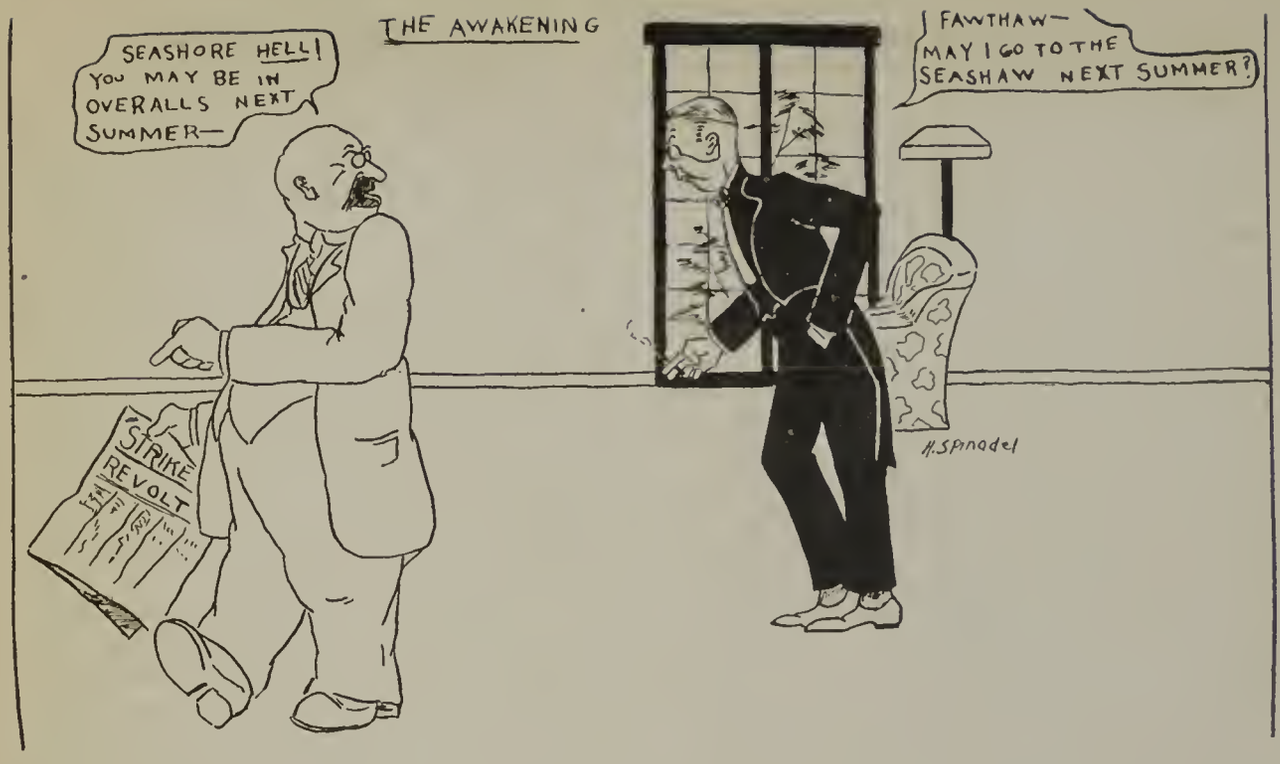
MIKE—Gompers, the supreme Emperor of the American Federation of Labor, is in truth one of the greatest enemies of organized labor in this country. He is a fakir and for the last forty years has been a tool of Wall Street. He has been instrumental, times without number, in the defeat of labor.

JOHN—During the war for Democracy, when our country was in danger, Gompers offered his services to the government and was of great assistance in the successful prosecution of the war. Had Gompers sided with the radical elements, the United States today would be under the domination of the reds, our avowed enemies.

MIKE—Wilson, under the influence of Morgan and other bankers, was forced to enter the European carnage in order to have the United States Treasury pay over $400,000,000 owed to American bankers by European governments. The workers had nothing to gain from this transaction nor from the war in general. But Gompers, as a lackey of the industrial lords, decided to offer his services, hoping thereby to make America a free country for Morgan, Sinclair, Doheny, Mellon, Guggenheim and other millionaires. Right you are when you say that Gompers aided the government in the prosecution of the war. How well it is realized that Sam Gompers was in a way the savior of the capitalist class.

JOHN—You may denounce the capitalist class all you wish, but there is one thing sure, and that is that we are living in a free country where justice is to be had equally by rich or poor.

MIKE—Under the capitalist regime there can be no justice for the workers. Let me call your attention to several very prominent incidents. During the late war the government was defrauded of millions of dollars by firms and individuals, all of whom have gone scott free. On


THE AWAKENING
SEASHORE HELL! YOU MAY BE IN OVERALLS NEXT SUMMER—
STRIKE
REVOLT
FAWTHAW— MAY I GO TO THE SEASHAW NEXT SUMMER?
H. Spnodel

the other hand, we see thousands of workers in jail for no other crime than that of defending the rights of their own class. You may be proud of America, but I am frank to tell you I see little to take pride in. In the state of Massachusetts, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti are sentenced to die for being loyal to the working class. The authorities of Michigan have for some time past engineered frameups against the Workers' Party, C. E. Ruthenberg and William Z. Foster being the victims. Ralph Dolla, a man active in the steel strike, is now serving five years in Pennsylvania. In California, Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings have been in a dungeon for seven years, victims of an infernal frameup, under the direction of the master class. Also, in that same state there are daily prosecutions and convictions of I. W. W. and other working class persons. In each case it is alleged that they have violated the Busick injunction or the criminal syndicalism law. Very recently in Chicago, Judge Sullivan issued an injunction against the Ladies Garment Workers using the sidewalks of the city for the purposes of picketing. Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, California, Illinois, Michigan, do you mean to say that they are lands of justice and freedom? Rather they are lands of frameups and lynchings.

JOHN—You are a reincarnated Benedict Arnold; a traitor to your country; you should hang your head in shame.

MIKE—If loyalty to the working class means that I am a traitor, then I am proud to be a traitor. However, all this is beside the mark. All the frameups and prosecutions will not delay the coming freedom. Even men with little discernment now know that the future belongs to the working class.

JOHN—What then will be the future of the working class without capitalists?

MIKE—The answer to your question is: In the course of history we have found it convenient to dispose of feudal barons and chattel slaves, and by the same token the workers can get along without capitalists.

JOHN—Won't there always be rich and poor?

MIKE—Poverty is a product of social conditions. It came as a result of our present diabolical system of exploitation of labor. With the passing of the capitalist mode of production, each person will receive the full product of his labor. Therefore, all those who labor will have sufficient means, thus abolishing poverty.

JOHN—In essence that is socialism and the abolition of private property.

MIKE—It will mean the abolition of all private ownership of the social means of production and distribution, but that only means those things which are collectively and socially used.

JOHN—You mean that I should divide my savings with some tramp!

MIKE—My words did not imply that. The theory of Socialism implies that the workers who produce all the wealth of the world should get the full value of their production.

JOHN—To inaugurate such a movement in America would be to introduce anarchy, bloodshed and terrorism.

MIKE—Your logic is weak. Instead we will have a very different country, it will be free of class domination, without hunger, poverty and jails and will be a country run for the benefit of all.

JOHN—Please explain, in somewhat simpler English, the aim of this workers' ownership of which you speak.

MIKE—Bishop Brown put it in a sentence: "Banish Gods from the skies and capitalists from the earth." This will free the workers from wage slavery and will transform this earth into a heaven for the working class. A world wherein there will be freedom, where none will go hungry, where each will love all. Such a society would in truth be the coming freedom, the brotherhood of man.

JOHN—I begin to comprehend the sense of your argument, and before going forward with you, may I ask, what should I and other workers do to further our emancipation?

MIKE—My answer is Organization! We must unite, organize into One Big Union. In fact, this is our historic mission. In order to succeed best in this undertaking, we must agitate and educate the workers—inculcate in them the philosophy of Scientific Socialism.

JOHN—I see more clearly now. In a sense my eyes are now open. Before meeting with you I lived in darkness, but now that you direct my attention to it, I begin to realize that capitalism is tyrannical. From now on, depend upon me as a rebel, one who will work night and day for the emancipation of the working class.

MIKE—Here, John, is the hand of comradeship, and may we two carry forward the gospel of Scientific and Revolutionary Socialism.

JOHN—Three cheers for the working class of the world!

MIKE—Long live the proletariat!

JOHN—Long live the coming freedom!

MIKE—Let us sing our anthem together:

**"Arise, ye prisoners of starvation,**
**Arise, ye wretched of the earth,**
**For Justice thunders condemnation;**
**A better world's in birth.**

**"No more tradition's chains shall bind us,**
**Arise, ye slaves; no more in thrall:**
**The earth shall rise on new foundations,**
**We have been naught, we shall be all."**

——wIw——

## INDOORS AND OUTDOORS

A case of lung tuberculosis. A young man. When I ask him about his past, he lifts his head, and his cloudy eyes glimmer. After a while he begins to smile and tells me the story of his adventurous life. Then he concludes with these words:—Yes, it is difficult to stay the whole day in a shop, together with so many other people, especially for a man like me. I was born on the water, in Europe, on a river boat, of which my father was the captain, and I was always out-of-doors, under the broad, blue sky, until a few years ago. Here in the shop I am suffocating. I cannot breathe. No, I cannot breathe—

And he has a fit of coughing.

—"As A Doctor Sees It."

# Sick Old California

(Continued from page 22.)

the "Golden State" recently. And typhoid fever is due to dirt. The germ has to be eaten, and can get into man's food only through contaminated water or milk supply, or by exposing the food to dust or to flies that have access to filth.

None of these diseases would be the least bit dangerous to humanity without dirt. Some of them even then can be stopped by inoculation.

But cleanliness costs money—it means that the wage must be high enough to pay laundry bills—to pay for a new shirt once in a while—to pay for decent housing conditions—and to afford leisure for the act of cleaning up. And the boss wants low wages and long hours on the job.

Wholesale vaccination against smallpox demands money, for the vaccination itself, and to convince certain religious and other fanatics that it is needed. The boss doesn't want to spend the money—and doesn't want to teach people scientific truths. Obscurantism, and romantic prejudice, and ignorance, he finds both cheaper and safer. If the worker learns too much he may become dangerous. It is significant that it is in California, home of freak religions, whose school system Upton Sinclair declares is run by the Black Hand, that these epidemics break forth.

It costs money in labor camps especially, to screen out the California plague of flies; it is cheaper, for the boss, to let the worker die of typhoid.

Yes, California is a great state. It is no more coincidence that the home of more plagues than they ever heard of in Egypt is also the home of the extreme in anti-labor legislation—the Busick Injunction and the Criminal Syndicalism law. Here you see the operation of cause and effect. The very suppression of Labor encourages disease. But the I. W. W. will clean up, yet.

No wonder he's fat—
He gets everything.

# Can the Leopard Change His Spots?

BOOK REVIEW By CALIF. PUBLICITY MAN

SOMEONE has said that history repeats itself. This can be proved by reading "THE LIFE OF JOHN BROWN," by Michael Gold. In comparing the records of the "Border Ruffians," the scoundrels who terrorized the Northern settlers in Kansas just previous to the Civil war, and the records of the "Respectables" who have terrorized the workers in San Pedro during the year of 1924, one senses a terrible sameness.

In order to understand the struggle between the pro-slavery element and the Abolitionists, one must understand something of the economic life of the country at that time. And to understand the struggle now going on in San Pedro, and for that matter all over the world, one must understand something of the economic life of today.

### Another Ancient Evil

Chattel slavery in America was an old and well entrenched custom. Its roots reached away back to 1619 when a Dutch sloop first landed its load of human freight on the shores of British America. It is only natural that the slave owners of the "chivalrous South" did not want to give up such a profitable business. They acted in accordance with the law of economic determinism, although they probably were not aware of it. And as the masters of all times have justified their brutality by moral platitudes, so the Bourbons of the Old South said that slavery was ordained by God, and that "it was an act of philanthropy to keep the Negro here as we keep our children in subjection for their own good."

Wage slavery is also an old and well established institution. It reaches back in various guises to the 13th century, but it did not become universal until the close of the 17th century, when the introduction of steam-driven machinery displaced the older mode of production. Wage slavery is very respectable. Some day, perhaps, men and women will learn to abhor wage slavery just as strongly as we abhor chattel slavery today. Some day it is possible that anyone who tries to enslave little children in the factories of the South and East, and in the vineyards of California will be looked upon as a brute. But as yet it is considered just and ethical to exploit the workers. In fact one is not reckoned among "our best people" unless he is an exploiter. It is only "radicals" who consider it is morally wrong for little children to be forced into the factories, mills and vineyards to produce wealth at the expense of their tiny, tired bodies.

### Puts Up Same Argument

The master of today justifies wage slavery much in the same manner as the Southern aristocracy justified chattel slavery. George F. Baer of the coal trust is quoted as declaring that:

"The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by labor and agitation, but by the Christian men whom God, in his infinite wisdom, has given control of the property interests of this country."

And to understand the other side of the picture one must understand something of the viewpoint of the members of the I. W. W. against whom all the recent attacks have been hurled. These men have been imprisoned, beaten, vilified, intimidated and murdered by the "respectables" who want to ride forever on the back of Labor, just as was the case of the Abolitionists and the slave-owning class. The struggle can be summed up briefly in the words of Abraham Lincoln:

"It is the eternal struggle between these two principles, right and wrong, throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time. The one is the common right of Humanity, the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'you toil and work and earn bread and I'll eat it'."

In San Pedro the shipping combine and their vassals rode rough-shod over the rights of the workers, and their retainers in public office winked at their actions, just as the "Border Ruffians" ignored the law and persecuted all who did not prescribe their doctrine of human slavery.

### A Perfect Parallel

Here are a few samples of the deeds of both. Read and compare them.

"Yet we will continue to tar and feather, drown, lynch and hang every white-livered Abolitionist who dares to pollute our soil," said a flamboyant editorial in the Squatter Sovereign, published in Atchison, Kansas.

The capitalist papers of San Pedro and Los Angeles openly instigate the "Respectables" to mob action and praise the action of the fiends who tortured little children and beat men and women.

Many acts of violence against the Abolitionists were perpetrated by the "Border Ruffians." One alone will be given.

Charles Dow, an anti-slavery advocate, was murdered by Franklin Coleman, a pro-slavery settler from Virginia. Nothing was done to bring Coleman to justice, but Jacob Branson who had lived with the murdered man was arrested and charged with having made threats to avenge the murder.

In San Pedro the I. W. W. hall was raided on June 14. Nine children were scalded with boiling coffee and hot grease; men and women were beaten and terrified; six men were tarred and feathered by the mob. One woman died as a result of the raid. Nothing was done towards apprehending and punishing the raiders, despite the fact that some of them were identified by eye-witnesses. On the other hand fresh arrests and persecution of the

I. W. W. members began immediately after the raid.

**Same Kind of Threats**

Threats were made against the Abolitionists almost daily. The following is a typical example:

"Sound the bugle of war over the length and breadth of the land, and leave not an Abolitionist in the territory to relate their treacherous and contaminating deeds. Strike your piercing rifle balls and your glittering steel to their black and poisonous hearts."

Read the following that was sent to the members of the I. W. W. in San Pedro after the raid:

"REDS, NOTICE!!

"You will move out of this town, or you will be blown out. Next time you are taken out your damn eyes will be torn out; that will mean that you won't be able to see to agitate, you dirty un-American dogs.

"You are done in San Pedro. Next time we come a-shooting. Damn such spawn as you and the women that bore you. Now you b—s hike!"

**Nothing New**

The slave-owning class is the same today as it was in the stirring days of John Brown and the Abolitionists. They still commit crimes against the oppressed and hide their blood-stained hands in the flag of the country. Anyone who does not prescribe their doctrine of slavery and exploitation is branded as an outlaw and traitor.

Yet today there are men who will not kneel at the feet of Mammon. There are John Browns and Wendell Phillipses and William Lloyd Garrisons of wage slavery as there were of chattel slavery. Nearly one hundred of them are in the "Twin Hells" of California. Others are in the stockade in Los Angeles. Still other are in Walla Walla, Boise, McAllister and the other prison camps of the masters for their unswerving loyalty to the working class. But the spirit of Liberty lives, and John Brown's soul goes marching on.

# In Regard to Psyching Wobs

(A Letter)

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER (Attention of Card No. 794514): You will be interested in learning that opinions stated in your review (in November Pioneer) of Floyd H. Allport's book, "Social Psychology," are confirmed by another reviewer writing in "The Journal of Philosophy," published by Ohio State University, Vol. XXI, No. 21, Oct. 9, 1924. Prof. A. B. Wolfe is the author of this review, and he says in part:

"The chapter (in "Social Psychology") on social adjustments likewise furnishes much food for thought, but also some matters on which question should be raised. The problem of adjustment is regarded as one conflict between the individual's socialized drives and his more primitive, unsocialized impulses. An old and familiar problem of morals is thus stated in new psychological terms. But the statement does not cover the whole problem of adjustment. The individual frequently has to face the problem of adjusting the conflict of two socialized drives. It is doubtful whether, as soon as we leave the field of child psychology and that of the defective and criminal, unsocialized drives play so important a part in the drama of conflict. To be sure, all psychological conflict may be traced back to the sub-foundation of prepotent reflexes and to repression or suppression somewhere, but a highly socialized drive may suffer repression just as truly as may a primitive impulse. . . . So, too, question may be raised as to the balance and validity of the doctrine which makes inferiority complexes the key to the explanation of the radical attitude. The author at this point very nearly involves himself in circular reasoning.

"In general it may be said that the last two chapters, on social adjustment and social behavior in relation to society, in which social psychology is brought to bear on sociological phenomena and problems, are less satisfactory than the rest of the book. Here the author becomes somewhat ecleetic and less critical. The mechanistie point of view is less clearly maintained. And the treatment is of a far more summary nature than the matter deserves."

Prof. Wolfe seems to be expressing, in guarded, polite, academic language, the conclusion of Card No. 794514, that Allport doesn't know anything about radicals, however fine a psychologist he may be. Allport has written a leaflet or pamphlet about the I. W. W., which I shall try to obtain for you.

One other point you might take notice of. Wolfe states that two highly socialized drives may clash, and that this may result in serious mal-adjustment, and may (presumably) result in open physical eombat, until the advocates of one or other of these be driven from the field. I can easily imagine that those who are mainly under the domination of such a drive as patriotism may clash violently with those whose main drive is elass solidarity. According to Behaviorist psychology, it would probably be discovered too, that these persons were dominated by their respective drives as a result of their early training, that is, by their environment. In that case, the open civil war in society would be preceded by a kind of mental civil war, in the individuals of the revolutionary class, while they fought out the issue between the patriotism taught them in school, and the new drive, learned from their actual daily life, and surroundings in the shops and about the workbench. This idea is not in any way different, except in phraseology, from that of economic determinism. **University Student.**

# How Masters Decay

**(A Dramatic Review By Card No. 794514)**

"WHITE CARGO," a three act play at the Cort, Chicago, is a melodramatic thing, but it is probably more truth than poetry at that.

I remember once sitting through about thirty lectures by Professor Bonn, of the Munich Handels Hochschule, one time assistant secretary of colonial affairs in the German Imperial government, and when I heard him, exchange professor at a certain American institution of learning. Bonn told his class (composed of the sons of capitalists and those who intended to become higher servants of capitalism) how to keep the heathen in subjection, especially the Africans.

Bonn quite frankly admitted that there was no logical reason why the native should work, from the native's point of view. The savage lived in a way, and had such wants and desires, that he could spend a large part of his time sleeping in the shade, or hunting, or engaged in tribal ceremonies. These things were all of much more interest and apparently gave considerably more enjoyment to the African than working in rubber forests, or digging in gold and diamond mines.

But the object of modern capitalist colonization in Africa is to obtain rubber, diamonds and gold. The white man can not stand it to labor in that climate, and there is no use trying to make him. Therefore the native must be compelled in some way to do the rough toil, swing the pick and shovel, etc.

One way is open slavery. This is a very primitive and crude way, though quite effective if secret enough. It it is not secret, there is trouble; humanitarians and laboring classes in Europe and America make a lot of fuss about it.

One excellent way is to take labor contracts in return for goods sold the negro. This is perfectly ethical, according to most liberals even, and would meet with universal favor, if it were not for the peculiar tastes of the negro. In the beginning the negro doesn't want anything the factories of Europe provide, except the very things he shouldn't have. He rejects plows, overalls, baby carriages, chewing gum, and frock coats—and everything else except whiskey and rifles. That would make very little difference, the negro would get whiskey and rifles, if the white trader had not discovered by experience that when the negro is about half shot he loses all his superstitious awe and reverence for the mysterious white man, and instead, always tries to ambush him somewhere on the garden walk and ram a spear through him. And if you sell the untutored savage guns, why, it's even worse.

White bourgeois ingenuity is not paralysed by these difficulties, however. There are two ways left, both of which have succeeded exceedingly well. One is the Kaffir way. You levy a tax, payable in money. All white people know about taxes; none of them, however liberal and humanitarian, can object to taxes. But the negro hasn't any money. You levy this tax on his huts, or his cattle. If you have to, you take these things, using machine guns if necessary. But usually the negro loves his hut, and his range cattle. He is willing to compromise. Very well, let him earn the money for the tax. You offer him a job. And the trick is done. You see to it that you get a good long labor contract, and charge him almost as much for his board as you pay him in wages, and then take the rest of the cash away from him with the tax. While he is yours, you keep him in a stockade, and perhaps you teach him to use civilized commodities, create a market for them. The mines of Africa were started by this process, except where the Boers used chattel slaves.

The other way is the Congo way. You levy a tribute directly, in rubber, on the chiefs, whom you keep drunk or drugged. You suggest to the chiefs that they make their people collect rubber, so many pounds per man, and that if they don't, it is a deadly insult to their royal majesty, and somebody must have his hands cut off. You provide a guard of honor for the chiefs, with whom you make such treaties, and in return for the tribute, you defend them from rebellion on the part of their subjects. But the mutilations and the torture that go with this method are usually performed by the black soldiers of the native kings, and European capitalism can still go to church on Sundays, and contribute to foreign missions. No stain on its hands.

The play, "White Cargo" is seriously misleading, in that it fails to specify which of these methods is used. It pretends to give a glimpse of African life, and leaves out this most necessary information. However, from references to rubber, we presume that it is the Congo way that occupies the ordinary working hours of the white masters in the play.

You are shown a hut or bungalow, somewhere in Africa. It is the station of some big English corporation, after rubber. Everybody is very peevish. All the whites are grouchy, except those that are drunk, either upon gin or religion. You are introduced to Witzel, the slave driver, too tough to rot; the doctor, too drunk to stay in Europe; the skipper and the engineer of the river packet, just comic relief; the missionary, same tribe everywhere—regular salvation army attitude, but the environment gets him, in the end he becomes an advocate of adultery; Jim Fish, much abused negro house servant; Ashley, in the process of decay, the younger son of some English master class family, he is supposed to be the chief boss; Langford, his successor, same type as Ashley—his decay is the main plot of the play; Worthington—same type as Langford—comes in at the end, ready to begin decaying.

Then there is Tondeleyo, half breed vamp—she is there to point the moral.

The characters, as you will observe, are all, with the exception of Tondeleyo and Jim Fish, of the master class—not exactly owners themselves, but straw-bosses and attaches of the ruling class, reacting as the real rulers do under practically all circumstances, and representing capitalism to the natives.

Now, as Bonn pointed out to his class some years ago, there is a very definite way of conduct for the white master in a negro country.

In the first place, he must **not** do "nigger work". He must **not** do what the Catholics call "servile labor". It is all right to perform clerical work—the negro probably considers that magic, anyway. It is all right to engage in sport, hunting, etc. But you must everlastingly drill it into the heads of the negroes that the white man is something divine, created on purpose to be worked for, or the primitive logic of the savage will cause him to try to invent some way to avoid working for you.

In the second place, there absolutely must **not** be any fraternizing between races. The negro **must** be kept in his place at all times. It is an excellent thing if the native women can be kept in their places, too, but if they can't be, why, above all else, don't marry them, for that admits a certain equality.

In the third place, all whites should be of a cold, superior, indomitable, tireless type. Any complaining, weeping or loss of nerve is fatal.

Witzel meets these requirements fairly well. He is nearly the ideal slave driver. He has an overpowering greed himself, and is staying in Africa just for no other reason than to buy two hundred shares a year of the stock of the rubber company. He is a little dirty, but that is as much as anything due to his association with the weaker whites who are supposed to be his bosses. He is cruel—the first thing he does on the stage is to hand Jim Fish a lick with a black-snake whip. He flies into rages at the complaining, whining bosses the company sends to order him around. He does what he can to preserve the dignity of the white caste. If capitalism had enough like him, its rule over the tropics would be secure.

But capitalism has no such sinecure. There is the problem of the younger son. The younger son, in America (the South), in Africa, in Asia, is a great spoiler of the omniscient, god-like white ruling caste idea.

The white ruler will have too many children. The older children under primo-geniture, to which ruling castes are addicted, will take over the family estates. The younger son has nothing to do, and has been necessarily brought up under a code of ethics which tells him he cannot do "nigger work". So, whatever his merits, or demerits, he has to be given a place as a petty official of some sort in some government service, or some big company, or he will become "poor white trash," poverty stricken, characterless, shiftless and a disgrace to his race and his family.

And the younger sons are usually descendants of people whose only claim to fame was greed, and unscrupulousness, whose only abilities, in a capitalistic age, were those that do not stand them in good stead as white masters of native tribes. They come to the tropics, full of illusions, and once there, find that they have either inherited no abilities from their parents, or those which are useless under these circumstances. The result is the rotting away of these individuals, and their spreading ruin about them as they decay.

Of course, the parts of Africa from which rubber comes are admittedly bad places to live in. All the authorities from the times of Cruikshank and of Livingstone to the very latest Geographical Society experts are unanimous that this region is extra hot, full of many sorts of fevers, humid, etc. These facts are brought out in the play. The very bungalow the company occupies is rotting away. Strings rot and pictures fall while the speeches go on. But that is part of the particular job these men are supposed to do. Scientists, even drunken ones, stand the climate pretty well. The younger sons of capitalists and landlords do not.

You find young Ashley, the first victim, a whining, gibbering wreck, panting for the ship to take him back to the coast, and eventually, out of the country. There comes in young Langford, the second victim, and you are treated to three acts of drama while Africa, or rather Langford's own weaknesses, get him. He turns into a monomaniac, dead set on breaking solidarity with his race and marrying the half-breed, Tondeleyo.

When he attempts this, even his enemy, Witzel, pleads with him not to do it. Even the missionary, who has held a high and mighty moral tone up until now, advises him that in this case an unchaste union with the girl is far better than one sanctioned by the holy St. Paul, and the practice and sacrament of the church. This is the best part of the play, where it shows the master class stripping itself of its hypocrisics, and demanding adherence to master class ideals.

The moral of the play is that the master who breaks this master class solidarity gets it in the neck. Tondeleyo, whom the half insane Langford does marry, poisons him. And again master class solidarity comes to the fore. Witzel has now added the utmost in disgust to his former resentment toward the erring Langford, but he can't let any "nigger" get away with the murder of a white man. He is two-thirds in love with Tondeleyo himself, but he sets a trap for her, catches her giving a second dose to Langford, and makes her drink it herself. Then while they carry out victim number two, victim number three appears on the scene, in the shape of young Worthington. And you get the curtain, fully confident that Worthington will go the way the other two went.

All workers have a right to be thankful for the weaknesses of master class children.

# A Few Black Flashes

(Continued from page 4.)

ef yo'll stan' theah, an' let me tie yo' eyes like heuh's was tied, an' let me tie yo' ahms like heuh's was tied, an' jes' stan theah till the moon shines in, fo' we pulled heuh up on the rope when the the moon shined in—why Jim, the quatah's youhs!'

"An' Jim, he look soht uh queeah, an' he says, 'Boss, Ah ain' a-scahed, but Ah reckon, jes' the same, Ah, won' do it.'

"Yeh, thas' it. Theah all supiśtitious—niggah supistition, an' it's a damn good thing."

And just to cap the climax, this same man, not five minutes later, in answer to some query of mine as to what killed the tree of the execution, or whether they picked out a dead tree to hang negroes on, looked at me in real surprise and said: "Dead tree? Why suah—it alluz kills a tree to hang a niggah on it!"

* * *

Then there was an episode in Pearl River County, Miss. You come up through the cypress swamps, and enter somewhat higher ground. Houses appear, negro tenants, the beginning of Southern tenancy. The land is owned by big landlords. The tenant farmers rent on shares, and turn over to the landowners their product. The landowners sell the product, and give the negro farmers back what they think they need of the cornmeal and bacon, and a little money from the sale of sugar cane, or cotton. This is really serfdom. In Pearl River County it is not as well developed as in other places. There is plenty of standing timber still, and more than the usual number of white workers in the logging camps.

Pearl River County, you see, has enough civilization in it, and enough industry, to require banks; and as luck would have it, somebody robbed a bank just as I strolled into Poplarville, the county seat.

All strangers were arrested, including myself, and I was thrown into a cell where they kept a most unsavory character. This individual had been an assistant nurse, or orderly, in a hospital for venereal diseases in New Orleans. He wanted to talk shop, and immediately flooded me with statistics about the prevalence of gonorrhea and syphilis in the South. It seems to be about twice as bad there as anywhere else in the world, due to the abysmal ignorance of the entire population in regard to elementary sanitation and prophylactic measures. This individual seemed to feel that a part of his duties was to aid the white prostitutes in their rivalry with the black, and especially the mulattoes, quadroons and octoroons. He was well able to prove that he was not alone in this attitude. The race war in the redlight district was a matter of some moment in the larger cities of the South. There were innumerable clippings from the best and most widely read daily papers of

The Home Of The Black Slave

Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia, making propaganda against the mixed breeds in the brothels.

Few white women would consort with any but white men, and not so very many white men would deliberately seek out the coal black women. But the cream colored women took customers from among the blacks and whites indiscriminately, and got rich twice as fast as the purer bloods. They were gradually taking over the redlight districts of the South, and white supremacy was endangered. My cellmate got quite indignant over it, thoroughly worked up. He was in jail, as I found out afterwards, for some particularly mean sort of graft, but he was a white man, and standing for white supremacy everywhere.

So, finally, the sheriff found my alibi in good shape, and tried to make amends for my imprisonment by carrying me several miles on my way in his car. On the way he conversed, to pass away the time, about his latest execution. He had hanged a negro the day before. There had been, several months before, a hold-up, in which three negroes shot and fatally wounded one white man.

Those particular negroes got away, but when negroes kill a white man, the logic of a white terror demands victims. Some negroes have to suffer for it, as an example to the rest. So they arrested a couple of black men, and brought them to trial. The judge was, as my sheriff companion said, "soft." Perhaps he was infatuated with the law, or perhaps he was merely a kindly soul, who did not realize that a master class must be heartless, cruel, and terrible, if it is to rule by terror. Anyway, after these negroes were convicted (negroes are **always** convicted) this judge declared that there was no evidence against them, and that he would exercise his privilege, and sentence them to a term of years instead of to death. Within an hour after this became known, "the boys" assembled, and took the two negroes out and hanged them.

But this was not the end of the story. After

a bit, and in the way of an object lesson to the judge, the sheriff arrested a promising young fellow in whom the judge had shown some interest —perhaps he was a relative. All around the most glorious of old Southern families there is a twilight zone of black relatives, sons and daughters of the concubines of the slave-holding ancestors.

Anyway, this young negro was charged with being the third murderer—there was no evidence, but that meant nothing in a Southern court, and he came up in due form for sentence. And the judge said, "George, I'm going to sentence you to death. I know you didn't do this killing. But if I don't hang you the boys will, and I reckon we can hang you better than they can."

* * *

Another doctor, a real one this time, one who had studied at Harvard Medical School, picked me up in the actually civilized part of Georgia, south of Atlanta. His northern residence had made him a little critical of the Southerners. He despised them also because of the quantities of Coca-Cola they drank. And he told me this story:

Roosevelt appointed a negro postmaster to a little station on the Georgia side of the Alabama border. Such a thing had never been heard of since the carpet-bag days. And the doctor, whose practice lay in that vicinity, rode into town a few days after the new postmaster arrived and found the office padlocked.

"Where's the postmaster?" he said to the justice of the peace, who was chewing tobacco on the porch next door.

"That niggah!" came the slow and scornful answer. "The las' time Ah seed that niggah, he was tryin' to swim across the Chattahoochie Rivah, with a piece of railroad rail tied to his neck, an' Ah nevah heeuhd whethuh he made it across oah not —'spec' prob'ly he didn'."

* * *

All these things, and many more like them, I heard from the whites, the master class. They did not try to conceal the fact that they ruled by terror, they tried to make it plain to me. It was their justification for the things they did. They were cynical, amused, confident—morally superior, for they knew that they held the right of life and death over the black slaves that hoed their cotton, plowed their fields and did all the heavy work of whatever sort.

When you go to the negroes, to ask about the white terror, be sure that you roll your r's and clip your pronunciation—talk as little like a Southerner as possible. The Northerner and especially the Westerner, are liked. When you have talked a few minutes with any negro in the South, any one long enough to convince him you are not of the tribe of his enemies, you will get some story of violence and oppression. You will hear of wholesale cheating by white bosses, of wanton and brutal assault, of black men being knocked down with hammers, or shot dead with rifles, shotguns or revolvers for slight discourtesies, or fancied insubordination. No white man is ever punished for this sort of thing.

The negro has just two things the master class wants, his women and his labor power. The white landowners in the South are in the habit of taking either one of these, without recompense, and requiting any attempt to defend either, or to secure payment for either, by the infliction of extreme pain, or sudden death. You can hear stories of whole families of negroes being wiped out in a few minutes by some infuriated employer whose servants have dared to ask for the payment of their wages, or the return of their daughter. They will tell you ghastly tales of black men being burned to death an inch at a time, with kerosene-soaked rags, because they resented with a blow, perhaps, some intolerable insult. But all these stories come from the oppressed, and there are too many of them to repeat, and when they are repeated, the apologists for the Southern master always dismisses them as "nigger lies" intended to excuse the negroes' "well known laziness, sinfulness, and immorality."

That is why I have chosen in illustration of the white terror, to stick pretty closely to the "confessions" of members of the white ruling class itself.

## SECTION II. THE FUTILITY OF SEGREGATION

The entire system of the white terror is built on the **fact** that the whites own the property, the land and all the machinery of production, while the negro works for a living; but it is also built on the **theory** that the whites are immensely wiser, better, and more respectable, while the negroes belong to a sub-race, different essentially from the whites, unfit to own property, or to be masters of their own destiny, and especially unfit to associate with the superior race, the whites. The theory draws upon a pseudo-scientific literature, is full of half-baked arguments about the shape of negro heads, and the hardness of the sutures in negro skulls, and has lately derived new support from the intelligence testers. These, during the period in which they were a fad, contrived to draw the same erroneous conclusions from tests of negroes that they drew from tests of workers; namely, that both negroes and white workers were inferior, intellectually, to white business men, and that negro workers were inferior to the whites. The intelligence test is coming under fire now; it makes too many mistakes; all the most honest of the intelligence test advocates are beginning to admit that training, education, home environment, and a thousand factors in personality intervene in tests which the older "testers" thought they had been excluded from. But the South hasn't heard of the repudia-

A PLAN SURE TO FAIL
The desire for segregation of races carries the Southern legislator to ridiculous extremes. This small railway station, hardly larger than a packing crate, has still its two tiny waiting rooms, one for whites and one for blacks.

tion of the intelligence test. It has just learned of the test itself, and Southern magazines and newspapers are making the most of it.

The Marxian theory that men, in the mass, are prone to accept those intellectual theories that suit their pocketbook, is being proved in the South by the uncritical way the Southern intelligentsia swallows every faddish notion that tends to the discredit of the negro.

* * *

But the theory that the negro is a kind of beast, fore-ordained to an infra-human status, is doomed anyway. A beast can be kept in a stall in the barn, while men sleep in their beds in houses. This division was never observed in the South. The Southern white man either cannot or will not observe it. And as a result, there is hardly such a thing as pure Ethiopian blood any more, in spite of the fact that the negroes brought to America came mostly from the Gold Coast, where the tribes were about the least mixed with non-Ethiopians of any negroes in Africa. There are coal black negroes in the South now only as Mendelian reversions. They may look black, perhaps some of them are black, but only because of some peculiar crossing of chromosomes. The race itself is thoroughly mixed, and many an almost white child is born of parents both of whom seem absolutely African in feature and color. By the same token, the number of African looking negroes is growing steadily less. During the period of slavery and afterwards, the negro women have been willingly or unwillingly mated with white men. The mere fact that the white man had no respect for negro women has resulted in a kind of poetic justice. His lack of respect has made it now so that there are no more black women, but only mulattoes, anywhere from half white to thirty-one thirty-seconds white, at which stage it is not very easy to tell whether there is any Ethiopian strain left at all.

The mixture still goes on. I remember with what a shock I observed, for the first time, as I walked along the country roads, that all negro women I met left the road on their first sight of me, and went way out around, ready to flee at any sign of pursuit by me. Afterwards I got used to that, as I also became accustomed to the frank boasting of the white boys wherever I stopped, among whom leadership seemed to descend upon him who could count the most "nigger wenches on his string."

Another thing you begin to notice, is that the mulattoes are crowding the white business men. There are a lot of little retail stores and shops being opened by the mulatto. The mulatto buys a little land where he can. If he is very light in color, he poses as white and avoids the worst of the persecution. He is hardy, he stands the climate better than the white. He has energy, more than the white man has in this subtropical climate.

And still another thing you see, in the industrial sections of the South, the white labor unions are beginning to realize that the negro and the mulatto can do a white man's work. They can run machinery, truck cargo and dig mines. The white unions, filled with the petty bourgeois notions that abound in that part of the country, clinging to all the hopes and ideals of the white race, insisting on white supremacy just as vigorously as the white employer, are beginning to be worried. It is all right to declare that you are a one hundred per cent K. K. K., and that by the God of White men, no dirty animal-like negro is going to get into the good old A. F. of L. International Brotherhood of Skilled Craftsmen. You can feel fine and supreme about that, until your boss gives you the air, and puts one of these "animal-like" negroes in your place. Then you may try to lynch the negro, but after a while the fact sinks into your consciousness that the boss regards him as your equal—considers both of you merely as a source of labor power, and incites you to keep him out of your union, approves of your attempts at race segregation, merely to keep the negro's wages down and be able to replace you with the negro.

In all the bigger cities of the South, New Orleans, Birmingham, Atlanta, Savannah, the theory of se-

Crowded School House

gregation is collapsing. The negro is gradually being admitted to the unions, under restrictions usually; or where he is not, the union is disappearing, throwing whites and blacks alike into the same common pool, the labor market for unorganized labor.

Civilization, industry, and biology alike operate to break down the race lines, and in the end they will have their way. But the white master class of the South is putting up a furious contest. Its economic security depends on keeping the black and white races quarreling, and it has accomplished much.

## SECTION III—THE BLACKS STRUGGLE

The first definite breach in the wall of oppression came on the educational field. The passion for learning among the common, field negroes of the South is amazing. The Southern white landlords, who control the agricultural states of the South just as their capitalist brothers control the industrial states of the North, realize quite well that one secret of domination is to keep the dominated group in ignorance. This prevents easy communication between individuals, prevents knowledge of the struggles of labor outside of the South, and permits all sorts of prejudices, especially religious prejudices, to be implanted among the negroes, doping them, and dividing them.

So there are very few schools for negroes. As I walked through Alabama, as good a state as any in the South in the way of negro education, I made a special study of this feature of negro life. The country schools provided for negro children are few and far between. I remember one, typical of the best, close to the main road from Meridian to Montgomery. It was an old and shattered church building—they still held church services there on Sunday. The floor had many boards missing; you had to tread carefully on the boards that were left. The walls were built of logs, with chinks between them. The roof leaked; there was mud under the floor, where the water ran down. The children sat on every sort of stool and chair you could think of, and many sat on blocks of wood. They were crowded as thick as sardines, about twenty of them in a single room, and this was only half. At noon these children were to go home, and another twenty were to come for the rest of the day.

This double shift stunt was a shock to me. It was not until I came to Chicago that I could believe that it was done anywhere else than in the last century Southland. The teacher who had charge of this swarming mass of children was not a normal school graduate, not even a high school graduate, just an eighth grade graduate. A beneficent county had selected her, probably because she was docile, and religious, and not for her intellectual equipment. It paid her thirty dollars a month to teach forty children, of all ages and degrees of ignorance. She was doing the best she could, but I don't think the youngsters were learning much.

* * *

That is what the state of the Southern Gentleman will do for the sake of education among his slaves. The negro himself does more. In the outskirts of Demopolis, Alabama, there is a fairly good, six-room house, in a fairly large yard. It is not exactly the best type of building for a school house, but it is decidedly better than those dilapidated ex-churches the state provides. A very energetic, thick-bodied, pleasant-faced negro teacher is in the yard, the first instance I saw in the South of school playground supervision. On the porch, and seated at desks inside, are the rest of the faculty, very busy, for this school too is evidently overcrowded.

I am invited in, when I explain that I am interested in negro schools. The bell rings, doors are thrown open, all the interior rooms are thrown into one. There is an assembly of all the students. And the work starts with a song, a negro "spiritual". The "spirituals" are all religious, but no worse than the Wesleyan hymns that are sung in the Southern state schools. The selection of this indigenous negro song, and its substitution for the regular church hymn, show two things, first that the negro is not ready to abandon his religion, but secondly that he is not anxious to take the white man's variety unquestioned. There was a certain amount of race patriotism, perhaps of social protest, in that "spiritual".

Then class room work begins—not under anywhere near such bad conditions as in the regular public schools. The floor is all right, the children sit in regular school seats and write on the standard slanted desk—the teachers give as much personal attention as is possible with the small teaching force, which runs about one instructor to every twenty-five children instead of one to every forty. The two-shift system is not in use. The teachers, I find on enquiry, are all high school graduates. The principle has had a course of pedagogy at a Northern university. One of the other teachers is a college graduate. One has studied at Tuskegee. Not a bad school, though the teachers' wages are low.

And how was this school maintained? Not by the white master class of Alabama. Oh, no. There was a big club, of the parents of negro children of school age. These parents worked farms on shares, for enough to live on, and sold the corn meal they should have eaten to raise the money for dues in their Parents' Association. Or they worked on plantations for wages, usually a dollar and a half a day, and raised a couple of dollars a week out of that, for dues to the Parents' Association. This Parents' Association was the financer and manager of the school I saw, the best negro school in the South, though others are being organized now, I understand, in other cities and in the country districts.

This is the struggle of the negro proletariat to

gain knowledge. There is nothing revolutionary about it, they are still willing to cringe to the white master; the school stationery carried a whole list of white patrons and protectors, and the school itself was very careful to confine its activities to elementary education and avoid dangerous topics. But the school itself was a symbol of rebellion, of successful revolution, against the master class tactics of ignorance for the negroes, and shows certain forces at work.

Tuskegee, the negro college, financed by northern business men, liberals, is not nearly so significant, Undoubtedly, however, the Tuskegee institute does its little part in breaking down the barrier of ignorance. The young negro who can read, even if the sloppy sentimentality of Booker T. Washington was the thing that taught him to read, is likely to be some kind of a rebel, either a racial or a social revolutionist.

A brief conversation with one of the retail storekeepers in the town of Tuskegee satisfied me of this. Here was a family that was making good money out of the presence of Tuskegee Institute. In fact, their town would have amounted to absolutely nothing without the institute.

And the good burger admitted this at once. "Yes, that niggah college brings a lot of trade to the stoah—but don' it look like an awful waste of good money, spending it on them young bucks an' black wenches that way! Seems like the folks in the No'th would have something bettah to do with they-uh money! Education spiles a niggah!"

That's the attitude of the Southern white towards the negro's attempt at self-education, and undoubtedly they are right, from their class point of view. Education does spoil the negro as a slave. It gives him somewhat of a true idea of his position and he reacts.

## SECTION IV—CLASS WAR OR RACE WAR

Before long the negro is going to fight. That fact is growing more obvious all the time. The race has been so badly abused that it feels it cannot sink much deeper. Its members have literally nothing to lose, not even their lives, for these are forfeit already. Even in their abasement, the toll of lynchings and plain murders, never recorded in the papers, is outrageous. It is only, as we said once before, when something like the Williams farm affair comes to light, that much stir is made about these matters. In the coming battle the class and the race issues are confused, deliberately confused, by the ruling white oligarchy. This keeps the two issues confused in the minds of the white workers, and of the negro workers themselves. The rising fire of negro rebellion is as likely to sweep over the white worker as it is likely to scorch the white master. The white worker's foolishness is mostly to blame for this, next to the vicious and false propaganda of the conservative oligarchy. The white worker has failed to do a single thing to explain the true situation to the negro worker. On the contrary, he has, especially in the South, barred him from the unions until the last possible moment, and has even then refused him any measure of comradeship or of fellowship. As long as the white worker clings to the shreds and dregs of bourgeois racial pride, he can not expect the negro worker to be so very anxious to show solidarity with him.

The Garvey movement, the middle-class and professional class negro Sanhedrin held last summer in Chicago, are the first steps toward a race-war, perhaps a very bloody and terrible race-war, and, as far as achieving any lasting benefit for the negro worker is concerned, almost a useless war, since it will put the negro worker under the negro capitalist, where he will be nearly as badly off as he was under the white capitalist.

What we have to do is to prove to the negro that he is not so much exploited as a negro, as he is robbed as a worker. In general, the whites own, and the negroes work. They work twelve hours a day on the plantations, for enough of the crop to live on. Those are the tenant farmers. Or they work twelve hours or longer, for wages running from $1.50 per day down to fifty cents a day. Those are the laborers. In the sawmills and logging camps, they get a little more, perhaps $2 or $2.50 per day. In the mines they do piece work, and possibly make $3 per day.

But a lot of the work in the South, all the public work, much of the farm labor, is done for no wages at all. It is done under the form of law, called in "Barbarous Mexico" of the Diaz period "peonage". Or it is done by negroes enslaved through the vagrancy laws. All the temporarily unemployed inhabitants of the South who do not own property are guilty of vagrancy. The laws are very sweeping and general in character. But it is only when there is need for recruits on the county farms that these laws are enforced. Or when some big plantation needs labor.

One such plantation owner south of Atlanta told me how it worked. He didn't have any labor problem. When he wanted men, he didn't go out on the "skid road" (they call it something else down there) and hunt for men, or patronize the employment shark. He called up the sheriff, and said, "Bert, I need twenty niggahs this afternoon."

"All right," says Bert.

And that afternoon the planter would go into town and attend court. There would be a mass of worried, woe-begone negroes, arrested for "vagrancy". They would be sentenced to eleven months and twenty-nine days, and sentence commuted if they could find some one to stand their bail and act as parole officer for them. Up steps the planter, and there are his workers, handed over to him by the law.

He pays them a dollar or two a week if he cares

## *THE BOYS IN SAN QUENTIN*

**This is a group of San Quentin prisoners. Members of the I. W. W. who are identifiable in this photograph are marked with crosses. These men have done nothing wrong; no crime but that of joining the union of their class is charged against them. They are flung into this state penitentiary as a result of master class hatred. It is necessary for all workers to show that they are not forgotten. Send your donation to Class War Prisoners' Christmas Fund, General Defense, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago.**

to, or nothing, if he doesn't think they deserve anything, and if any one of them tries to run away, the sheriff is ordered to catch the fellow and bring him back. Any time any of them fail to work properly, they are turned in to the court again and put on the chain gang, building road, or put on the county farm. I used to pass hundreds of these chain gangs, anywhere from fifty to half a thousand men, all fastened with short chains to a long chain, one end of which was attached to a big iron ball. They worked mighty hard and fast, under the broiling sun, with guards sitting over them and carelessly swinging shotguns about. Also, the mortality was high in these chain gangs.

The farmer lost nothing by turning these men over to the state or county, because the work they did reduced his taxes. He stood to win, one way or the other. And the worker stood to lose.

Now this is capitalistic feudalism, and something like chattel slavery. The white landowner, lacking negro labor, would treat white labor in the same way. The fact that the worker and the master have different colored skins merely confuse the issue, but should not obscure it entirely. As a matter of fact, when work is really plentiful, and the negro, because of migration or for some other reason, is scarce, the white masters of the South do enslave through the vagrancy laws white workers. Remember the Martin Tabert case?

What we have to do is to help these workers, negro workers, in their struggle for elementary education, and recognize them as equals, as producers, as co-workers, as good as any other workers. It is not our business to encourage race-wars, but if such wars break out, we ought to be on the side of the negro. And all the time, we have to emphasize, and prove over and over again, that white labor is not at war with black labor, that on the contrary white labor sympathizes with black labor, and will show solidarity with it, and will fight the masters, whether white or not, side by side with black labor, any time the latter wishes. What we want, and what will save the negro worker, even as it saves the white worker, is a recognition of class-war—open class war.

# "The Scum of Industry"

An Answer, By CHARLES J. SMITH

**A recent issue of the Machinists Monthly Journal carries an article a page and a half long, written by Matthew O. Tobriner, entitled "California and Syndicalism." Tobriner is opposed to the anti-labor C. S. law, his conclusions being, "Such laws eliminate no causes of the trouble; accomplish only one thing—the aggravation of the problem."**

**Tobriner's analysis leading up this conclusion is, however, a sentimental fallacy, comparing the I. W. W. to the flotsam and jetsam of the sea of industry, and to the dirt in a kitchen which, he advises, should be cleaned "with Dutch Cleanser," meaning, "make conditions better in industry, and thus rid us of the I. W. W."**

**In the article below Tobriner is answered by Fellow Worker Charles J. Smith, serving time as a victim of this same criminal syndicalism persecution.**

LET us investigate the industries and their unemployed, or "scum." What is the cause of all this "scum?" Is it not a fact that the progress of the machine development is the cause of the unemployed "scum" of industry?

You, Mr. Tobriner, say of this scum, that from it the Industrial Workers of the World secures its membership; you also say they are men who have not developed and cannot develop under the present system.

I will show you that we are more developed mentally than you and your kind in regards to unionism and the betterment of the working class as a world class struggle. We organize scientific industrial unions to keep up with the scientific machine development, while you, with your backward craft unions, go backward instead of forward.

We are organizing scientific industrial unions regardless of the persecutions, always going ahead regardless of jails, tar and feathers, scalding hot coffee poured on little children by the K. K. K., and lynching of our fellow workers. Our enemies, the master class, are paying men (excuse me for calling them men) to get into the I. W. W. to cause internal trouble, to try to stop the growth of the One Big Union. There is a force driving us to the "One Big Union."

Could we overcome all these obstacles, if there were not some force driving us forward, pushing us on, in spite of every hindrance, in spite of our own mistakes, even? That force is economic necessity, the greatest force in the world. It will yet bring us and our idea victory, in spite of everything.

If the craft union officials and leaders had taught the workers to organize on industrial lines long ago, we would not have this so-called "scum" of industry, for we would not now have unemployment.

But the craft union leaders sold out the workers in times of strikes, instead of staying with the workers and being true to the working class.

Now, Mr. Tobriner, "how come" that the master makes laws that put I. W. W. members in jail for from one to fourteen years? How well we know, and any thinking person knows, that if we get the workers organized in the I. W. W., the master will lose his profits. Our past history shows that we "got the goods" for the workers in the harvest, on construction jobs, and in the woods.

Our forefathers fought for new ideas and went to the front, and Darwin's early ancestors came out of the woods with their big clubs and had courage enough to face their enemies, and so it is with the I. W. W. We will come out of the woods with our One Big Union club, and face our enemies —the masters.

You say ninety per cent of us are itinerant, (migratory workers) going from job to job. We know that we have to work for our living and we have to go where the work is, that's true necessity, it forces us to migrate.

It is always the migratory worker and blanket stiffs who build the railroad and do all frontier work; and the harvest stiff who has to harvest the wheat in the hot sun. Now, if the migratory worker did not build the railroads and do all the out of the way labors of all kinds, you and the machinists, engineers and trainmen would have to do that work before you could run your engines and work at your trade. So why all the slams at the poor hard-working stiffs?

It is no disgrace to work in the harvest fields or construction jobs or to be a timber worker, but it is a disgrace to have a system of society in the world, with rotten bunks, rotten pay, rotten food, and rotten women, and damned rotten men, who try to stop the growth of Industrial Scientific Unionism.

We will keep on organizing the migratory workers and timber wolves and stiffs, and we will show the world how to do away with this so-called "scum of industry."

# WOBBLES

## THE MISSING LINK

**(Unfortunately no longer missing)**
By IMA DUBB

Now Darwin's theory is profound
And reading you will find
How man rose up from off the ground
In Evolution's grind.

But I think old Darwin must have lost
A specimen or two;
Maybe their breed was somewhat crossed.
But now they've come to view.

You'll find them now in saw-mills
In the woods and on the grade,
The farmer's help when land he tills
When it's a hundred in the shade.

He says he's never seen the day
That he would organize;
He sits around and waits his pay
And thinks that he is awful wise.

He's decorated all his bunk
With pictures in the nude;
The Hollywood beauties and such junk
His simple mind delude.

When payday comes the union man
Puts stamps upon his card;
He tries to help out all he can,
Each oppressed one is his pard.

But Henry Shears, whose money is burning
A hole in his pocket so worn,
Must find a chance for turning
His ten dollar bill into more.

The Crown and Anchor he tries to buck;
His buck it is immense.
He cries: "My God, what rotten luck!
I'm left with fifty cents."

From pay to pay, this way he goes
Bucking the game of chance,
Working for what? God only knows,
Maybe, to line the tin-horn's pants.

Easy come, easy go,
Is a moral, I understand,
But when a man works hard for dough
How comes it to slip from his hands.

"A man's a man for a' that"
Wrote Robbie Burns, the Scot,
But sometimes I stop and wonder if
This specimen's a man or not.

But on with the good old O. B. U.
We'll educate them yet;
And show the boss a thing or two
And call the Missing Link's last bet.

——wIw——

## ACTION!

The new delegate is giving a hammer to each new member.

Why the hammer?

O, that's to strike with.

**Primitive Accumulation**

## MAYBE HE'LL BE PRESIDENT

A crabby millionaire, as he climbed out of his limousine, was approached by a newsboy. "No, I don't want any paper; get out!" he snarled.

"Well, keep your shirt on, boss," replied the newsboy, "the only difference between you and me is that you are making your second million and I am still working on my first."

——wIw——

## MAKES YOU MORE OF A MAN

Ma, has Pa taken out a red card?
Yes. How did you know?
I heard him tell the boss, "Go to hell."

——wIw——

## BY-PRODUCT

Experience is what you get while you are looking for something else.

——wIw——

**This one comes from Miles McCabe, G. O. C. of I. U. 110.**

During a free speech fight in Sioux City, Iowa, a few years ago a fellow worker who was working in the harvest came into town on a train and immediately went down to the corner where the fight was in progress. Upon arriving there and seeing no one on the box, and thinking they were all in jail, he got up on the box himself. Throwing out his hand in a majestic way, he said, "Fellow workers and friends."

A slight pause and then again: "Fellow workers and friends!"

Another pause, as he looked around expectantly, and then he said, in an aggravated tone, "Say! Where in hell's that bull?"

# Can YOU Get 150 Subs by February 1st, 1925?

# A Bigger Press-A Bigger Union

# A Small Press is an Indebtedness

WE MUST DOUBLE THE CIRCULATION OF THE PIONEER AND SOLIDARITY WITHIN THE NEXT TWO MONTHS

To do this we must have 6,000 new subs and 4,000 additional bundle orders for each of the two publications.

## Can We Do It?

## We Can Because We Must!!

We are going to do it by making it worth your while to gather subscriptions for Industrial Solidarity and Industrial Pioneer.

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### RULES GOVERNING CONTEST

**Contest opens November 21, 1924, and ends February 1, 1925. To the Sub-Agent Who Turns In the Highest Number of Subscriptions Over 150 an Additional Prize of $25.00 Will Be Paid.**

Only subscriptions accompanied by payment will be credited to Sub-Agents. Sub-Agents will not be credited with subs from books that are carried by other agents.

New subs must be turned in from week to week.

Subs put in the mails on or before February 1st that do not reach this office before the closing date will be credited to Sub-Agent. Subs will be counted four days after contest closes and winners notified by first mail and in publications.

Six months subs count one-half. Three months subs count one quarter.

**Special prizes of $35.00 will be paid to everyone turning in 50 subs before December 20th. All those who turn in 50 before this date will be credited 15 subs for contest closing February 1, 1925.**

Read the next issue of Solidarity for further information.

## Let's Go! Write in for a Sub Book!

# Boycott California Products

## The Flies of California

THE flies of California are bringing death to you if you are eating California products. They go from the pens where cattle are dying from Hoof-and-Mouth disease over to the raisin packing plants; they go from heaps of excrement full of typhoid germs right to the tables of the workers in grade camps and lumber camps; rats and fleas breed under the same rotten conditions that give birth to flies, and they are spreading Bubonic Plague.

The capitalists of California are so used to suppressing Labor, disregarding Labor's rights, murdering Rebel Workers in their San Quentin jute mills, destroying free speech, free press and freedom of assemblage with their Criminal Syndicalism laws and their Busick Injunction arrests, that they have no longer any hearts left, no mercy, no consideration.

Instead of keeping their poisonous products at home, they are concealing the diseases that infect them, and advertising them more and more for sale!

Thousands of labor camps throughout the United States put dangerous California products on their dining tables. The capitalists of California don't care; your employers don't care—but you care. Strike as the workers of Natron Cutoff and the workers of Concrete struck, for freedom from California products!

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 450, I. W. W.